

DISSOLUTION OF CRAFT IN THE CONTEXT OF ETHNICITY, GENDER
AND CLASS: GOLD AND SILVERSMITHING IN
MARDIN AND TRABZON, TURKEY

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

BY

MEHTAP TOSUN

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

AUGUST 2018

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name: Mehtap Tosun

Signature :

ABSTRACT

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Tosun, Mehtap
Ph.D., Department of Sociology
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör

August 2016, 260 pages

The aim of this thesis is to examine the dissolution of the craft of gold and silversmithing in two cities in Turkey, Mardin and Trabzon, by focusing on the boundaries between state politics, ethnicity, class and gender as results of the social and historical processes in Turkey. This study is based on the assumption that the reasons of the dissolution of craft include historical turning points which pave the way for modernization, nation-state formation and the advance of industrialization. Taking these arguments as a starting point, this study traces the mechanisms of the dissolution of craft-based production in terms of boundaries of state power, ethnicity, class and gender. Within the aforementioned dynamics, the study explores both the dissolution of gold and silver smithing as craft and also as survival strategies of craftspeople in Mardin and Trabzon. In line with this aim, semi-structured, in-depth and life story interviews were held with the gold-silver craftspeople in Mardin and Trabzon, and the research findings serve as the primary source of information for this study. Based on these interviews, the study claimed that nation-state formation, capitalist modernization and advance of industrialization both lead to the formation of ethnic, gender and class boundaries in craft and also accelerated the dissolution process. As a result, research aims to present a different perspective to the mainstream craft history of Turkey as the dominant view that relates the dissolution of craft only to the progress of the advances in industry by exploring reasons of dissolution of gold-silver smithing.

Keywords: Dissolution of Craft, Boundaries in Craft, State Politics, Capitalist Modernization, Industrialization.

ÖZ

ZANAATIN ETNİSİTE, TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET VE SINIF BAĞLAMINDA ÇÖZÜLÜŞÜ : TÜRKİYE, MARDİN VE TRABZON'DA ALTIN VE GÜMÜŞ İŞLEMECİLİĞİ

Tosun, Mehtap
Doktora, Sosyoloji Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör

August 2018, 260 sayfa

Bu tezin amacı, Türkiye'nin toplumsal ve tarihsel süreçlerinin sonucunda ortaya çıkan devlet politikaları, etnisite, sınıf ve toplumsal cinsiyet arasındaki sınırlara odaklanarak Mardin ve Trabzon kentlerindeki altın ve gümüş işleme zanaatının çözülüşünü incelemektir. Bu çalışma, zanaatın çözülmesinin nedenini ulus-devlet oluşumuna, sanayileşmenin ilerlemesi ve modernleşmeye ve bunların zeminin tarihsel dönüm noktalarını içerdiği varsayımına dayandırmaktadır. Bu argümanları başlangıç noktası olarak ele alan bu çalışma, zanaat temelli üretimin devlet gücü, etnisite, sınıf ve toplumsal cinsiyet sınırları açısından çözülme mekanizmalarının izini sürmektedir. Sözü edilen bu dinamikler içerisinde, çalışma, hem Mardin ve Trabzon'daki altın ve gümüş işlemeciliği zanaatının çözülüşünü, hem de bu zanaatın zanaatkârlarının ayakta kalma stratejilerini araştırmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda Mardin ve Trabzon'da altın-gümüş zanaatkarları ile yarı yapılandırılmış, derinlemesine ve yaşam öyküsü görüşmeleri yapılmış, araştırma bulguları bu çalışma için temel bilgi kaynağını teşkil etmiştir. Bu görüşmelere dayanarak, çalışma, ulus-devlet oluşumunun, kapitalist modernleşmenin ve sanayileşmenin ilerlemesinin hem zanaat içinde etnik, toplumsal cinsiyet ve sınıf sınırlarının oluşmasına yol açtığını hem de zanaatın çözülmesini hızlandırdığını iddia etmektedir. Sonuç olarak, bu araştırma, Mardin ve Trabzon'daki altın-gümüş işlemeciliğinin çözülüşünün nedenlerini araştırarak Türkiye'nin zanaat tarihinin ana akımına (zanaatın çözülüşünü yalnızca

endüstrileşmenin ilerlemesiyle ilişkilendiren hakim görüşe) farklı bir perspektif sunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Zanaatın Çözülüşü, Zanaat İçerisindeki Sınırlar, Devlet Politikaları, Kapitalist Modernleşme, Endüstrileşme

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the course of researching and writing this thesis, there has been experienced very hard times for the critical academic community and world of thought in Turkey. Except this, the state of being unable to tolerate the critical knowledge and adherence to the dogma in the academic environments in Turkey stands as a reality in itself. Unfortunately, I experienced both of these situations throughout my Ph.D. process. During times of intimidation, disappointment and despair my supervisor, Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör, has consistently encouraged me in continuing my study, boosted my enthusiasm for producing critical knowledge and helped me in restoring my hope for the future. She never let his enthusiasm for this thesis waver, and without that support I may not have undertaken this thesis, let alone completed it. She has been an outstanding mentor and friend, and has believed and supported me in every way. I have had the privilege to meet and benefit from her as mentor in every sense. My thesis defense committee members Suavi Aydın, Nesim Şeker, Çağatay Topal and Kurtuluş Cengiz meticulously read the final draft of my study and provided constructive feedback to me. I am thankful to them for their critical comments and for helping me enhancing my arguments in the thesis. I feel very fortunate to have met E.J.Zürcher during my six months long study visit to the University of Leiden in 2016 as a visiting researcher. I was then trying to shape historical chapter of my thesis during this period. Special thanks goes out to Martin V. Bruinessen for his good support and interest as a mentor and friend. I would also like to express my gratitude to the diligent and helpful staff and research environment of the International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam.

I have many special people in my life to thank for their support, interest, and help in the preparation of this thesis. I have been very lucky considering the endless support and companionship offered by my friend Yeşim Mutlu, Eren Kırmızıaltın, Fatma Torun, Zöhre Benli and Elif Uyar Mura who all provided support in every sphere of research and life. I wish to express my special thanks to Çağlar Dölek and Volkan

Deli. Finally, I would like to thank Sümercan Bozkurt for her technical and emotional help in the last and most forcible phase of the thesis. Most importantly, I have to thank the respondents and participant of this research that I interviewed for their trust in confiding to me some of their most sensitive memories.

And, finally, I wish to express my endless thanks to my mother, Fatma Erenođlu for her unconditional support and love in all phases of my life. She is the person who has taught me the stay strong and fight against difficulties as a woman. I would also thank Yoldaş Tosun, I feel very lucky to have in my life as a brother and friend.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP	Justice and Development Party [Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi]
AP	Justice Party [Adalet Partisi]
CHP	Republican People's Party [Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi]
CUP	The Committee of Union and Progress [İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti]
DP	Democrat Party [DemokratParti]
MGH	National Outlook Movement [Milli Görüş Hareketi]
MNP	National Order Party [Milli Nizam Partisi]
MSP	National Salvation Party [Milli Selamet Partisi]
TÜSİAD	The Turkish Businessmen's and Industrialists' Association [Türkiye Sanayi ve İş Adamları Derneği]
MÜSİAD	Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association [Müstakil Sanayici ve İş Adamları Derneği]

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“A piece of silver can reveal much about the background and standing of its maker and the way of life, status of its original owner. It can also suggest characteristics of the larger society of which it forms a part”¹

1.1 Purpose of the Study

In this research, I seek the way to close the distance between macro and micro processes that compose the reasons of the dissolution processes of craft through social and historical developments and events. To bridge the gap between those two processes of social and historical inquiry and to construct new perspectives on Turkish craft history, I will emphasize that there is no single explanation the of dissolution process. In this way, I will critically re-evaluate the theoretical tools and examine the context within which historical evidence was produced. In other words, I will work to uncover significant details concerning the dissolution process of craft that is based not only on the macro-organization of the Turkish state and economy but also the micro-organization of one particular craft that is gold and silver-smithing. So, it can be acknowledged at the outset that this study’s perspective on this historical process is one seen largely through the eyes of a particular social-group: artisans and craftspeople. That is, the craft and craftspeople’s own story and

¹ Jennifer Faulds Goldsborough, 1990, in *Women Silversmiths 1685-1845*, The national Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, D.C., eds. Philippa Glanville and Jennifer Faulds Goldsborough, p.31.

the social and historical patterns within this story will be revealed throughout the research.

The socio-historical connotations of the figure of the artisan include various images and it is assumed that these naturally lead to dissolution and rapidly disappear. One of the images presents craft belonging to another age, another atmosphere, that is, it has nostalgic meanings that are based on the romantic vision of artisan life. This romantic vision of craft is in contrast with the industrial society, so it intrinsically disappeared. In the other image craft is presented within traditional social and economic relations that actually melted away as a result of modernism and capitalism. This image also refers to describing craftsmen as preindustrial skilled workers who found their skills eroded within the progress of time. Each of these perspectives on artisan history has its merit, but each tells only the part of the story. If we keep our eyes fixed on craft history as a nostalgic and traditional manner only and do not recognize the changeability of the craftspeople's role within society, we shall never understand the whole story of craft. So, my aim is to deconstruct craft that is a historical agency in order to disclose its causes of dissolution. For this purpose, my research challenges the mainstream craft history of the Turkish State, and seeks to answer the questions about the kinds of state mechanisms that effect the dissolution of craft, the social and economic circumstances under which craft dissolves, the social and occupational mobility of the role artisans played in the economy and history, and lastly who all these men and women were in craft industry. Taking these questions as a starting point, this study traces the development of the changing criteria of craft-based production in terms of sociological, historical and theoretical contexts.

The craft has a story linked to both the self and the society, that is, craft has a macro-universe and a micro-universe. The macro-universe includes the transformation and the dissolution of the craft within itself. This process begins with a separation between art and craft. Craft has been known as art since the antiq ages and dates

back to the form of craft in the industrial era when artisans were integrated into larger exchange and distribution networks. After the division between craft and art created during the Renaissance, the status of craftsmen/women became that of a worker locating her/him within a class in society as a part of a productive group in the economy. Moreover, craft has become an occupation that is the chief determinant of place and status of craftspeople in society. After the story of the craft itself, its role and processes of transformation and dissolution in society have begun to gain importance. In order to exemplify and analyze these processes, minor-universe of craft that includes both one form of it and place in specific society was analyzed. For these accounts, this thesis aims to comprehend the dissolution of silver and gold craftspeople in Turkey's cities of Mardin and Trabzon. The narrative of dissolution of craft in Turkey typically is accompanied by historical turning points or breaking points. The turning points and reasons of the dissolution process of craft production can be traced throughout the history of Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic which opened the way for an interpretative and critical approach to analyzing large-scale societal configurations. That is, it is propounded and interpreted that in three ways within which the social and economic histories of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey intersect regarding the story of craft. Firstly, the research will make an effort to answer who the craftsmen were. To answer this question, the social history of the Ottoman artisans and their guild-like organizations are central in understanding the institution of artisan life and they could help as a historical and theoretical basis for our discussions to understand the structure of current craft production. Secondly, the impacts of the process of integration in the Western capitalist economy, modernization, and Westernization and centralization policies on Ottoman land that caused the steady decline of traditional Ottoman craft industries in the nineteenth century will be analyzed. Thirdly, the reasons of the dissolution of craftspeople with the coming of the Republican era will be explained at the background of the actualization of Turkification and the homogenization of economy and society that is based on ideological and political implementations on non-Muslims due to the construction of nation-state in the first quarter of 20th century. In order to perform

these implementations, the political behavior of the Turkish State legitimated to ensure Ottoman Christians' removal from the social scene by strategies such as forced conversion, expulsion or genocide. Hence, it can be propounded that these processes have a role in the construction of boundaries of states as ethnic and class boundaries. Lastly, the crisis of nation-state and the concurrent demise of nationalist developmentalism in the world at large, the globalizing trends and high technologies of the market also also started to find their way into Turkey by the end of 20th century. Thus, the process of accumulation of capital and capitalist industrialization on local and global levels have damaged and eroded craft production and this process makes craftsmen virtually invisible in the 21st century. As a result, these historical and chronological developments of the craft world in Turkey underline that there is no single explanation of dissolution, that is, the situation is far more complex and has many intricate interrelated components. Thereby, this research aims to examine, interpret and analyze to what extent capitalist modernization, nation-state formation, advance of industrialization, implementations of neoliberal capitalism and the agents of transnational capitalism paved the way for the dissolution of craftsmanship. In addition to this, how this dissolution process can be linked together with ethnicity, class and gender will be discussed.

To conceptualize the variables of the dissolution processes of craft I shall examine theories by using boundary metaphors between them. In this way, it is propounded that borders in craft dissolution reflect both the conceptual and empirical interconnections. For this aim, firstly the effects of state power and its political, ideological and economic apparatus on the process of dissolution are analyzed to address the relations between state and society in order to understand these interactions in the Ottoman and Turkish case. Secondly, it is propounded that the boundary and interaction between ethnicity and class causes this dissolution. Thirdly, industrial automation and mechanization in the age of transnational capitalism dissolute craft/craftsmanship mobility and the transitivity of class relations reveals the class disintegration in craft production, and finally, gender boundaries lead to

excluding women from the craft world. So, in this world, women are subjected to a sexual division of labor and gender gap.

This thesis is going to investigate the dissolution and devastation processes of crafts of gold and silversmithing in the cities of Trabzon and Mardin. In order to do so, this research attempts to trace aspects of the history of the city of Mardin and Trabzon regarding several aspects related to different cultures, ethnic compositions, religions and class relations. At the same time in relation to the cities' ethnic and religious diversity, the study focuses on craft's past and present. Trabzon and Mardin are chosen for a number of reasons in order to exemplify the processes of dissolution of craft. Firstly, the reason of the selection of Mardin as the case of this study is Mardin's Christian (Armenian) and Assyrian population that rule economic life. Trabzon is preferred due to the local Christian population of Greek and Armenian agents that dominated the city's economic life. Therefore, the focus will be on the possible role of the ethno religious characteristics of craft of silver and gold smith in Mardin and Trabzon. Secondly, Trabzon is one of the cities in Turkey where gold and silversmithing is maintained today in different types that compose of Kazaziye, Telkari and Matting (Hasır Örgü). In Mardin, only Telkari craft is made by Assyrians and Armenians. Investigating the devastation of craft/craftsman in gold and silversmithing in Trabzon and Mardin both enables the understanding of the current outcomes of both the homogenization and Turkification of the economy and the also the process of modernization and industrialization of Turkey and helps to capture the present. Therefore, the main purpose of this thesis is to offer a framework for understanding the class and ethnicity-based dynamics of cultural and institutional ravage of craftspeople and handicrafts. By documenting such changes, this thesis also makes the investigation of the subject of women silversmiths who are subjected to a sexual division of labor and a masculinized occupational scene of male dominated craft world in Mardin and Trabzon.

1.2 Significance of the Study

The main contribution of this study is about focusing our attention on the economic and social history of Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey which offers prospects for considerable progress in understanding the modalities of transformation of society and economy in relation to the dissolution of craft and craftspeople. Scholarly research on the social and economic history of the Ottoman Empire has concentrated primarily on the early modern period, which allows us by comparison and contrast to draw some tentative conclusions about the workings of the craft guilds throughout the Ottoman imperial lands. The study of Ottoman guild history has traditionally been dominated by a state-centered perspective, which reduces the importance of the human side of guilds in favor of their institutional structures². In accordance with, resea the above, rchers of Ottoman craft guilds have tended to emphasize administrative and financial functions of Ottoman institutions at the expense of their economic and social functions, so that little or no attention has been paid to the problems of craftspeople as producers and as people. Thereby, the main contribution of this study is to display both the transformation of craft organization in Ottoman social and economic formation which contains corrosion and resolution dynamics of craft production in the 20th and 21th century. Thereby, this study will both mediate to obtain investigating the historically changing ways in different societal settings and attempt to grasp the specificity of the present through narratives of interviewed craftspeople.

Secondly, though most of the recent studies mention the problem of guilds and religious or ethnic communities, they generally do not include social, cultural and

² See details in Faroqhi, S. (2011). *Osmanlı Zanaatkârları*, trans.by Kılıç.Z.,. Kitap Yayınevi : İstanbul, Yıldırım, O. (2008). "Ottoman Guilds in the Early Modern Era", IRSH 53, Supplement, International Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, pp.73-93, İncılık, H. (1973). *The Ottoman Empire : The Classical Age 1300-1600*, Praeger:New York, İncılık,H.(1970). "The Ottoman Economic Mind and Aspects of the Ottoman Economy", in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, ed.by M.A.Cook, Oxford University Press: New York/Toronto,

economic conclusions of ethnic and religious disintegration of craft organization in Ottoman Era³ and during the phases of the foundation of the Republic. The academic studies focusing on this subject label these ethnic and religious components of craft/craftspeople while ignoring and forgetting the aforementioned phenomenon. Therefore, considering the most basic elements of the social and economic system of Ottoman Empire in 19th century and the twenty years of the 20th century, this study aims to reveal the reasons of segregation and dissolution of traditional craft industries both in occupational/class division and in religious and ethnic criteria.

Thirdly, in the periphery areas of capitalism, its “conventional” expressions such as class exploitation become less evident. However, it can be said that a factor complicating the internal class composition was the coincidence of ethnic divisions in society with class division. Therefore, rather than understanding capitalism merely as class exploitation or distribution of life chances, we need to investigate social dynamics whose reflections can be seen in the daily life, such as ethnicity, ideological/political/economic uses of genocides and violence, state power and apparatus, ethnic/religious conflict, Islamism etc. which support the oppression and subordination of craftspeople/craftsmanship and utilize a multi-faceted class analysis. As I will point out, most of the current literature ignores the investigations that combine the interaction and integration of class and ethnicity⁴. But, emphasizing

³ Baer, G. (1977)“Ottoman Guilds: A Reassessment” in *Social and Economic History of Turkey(1071-1920)*, eds. Osman Okyar and Halil İnalcık, Ankara: Meteksan. Göcek, F. M. (1996) *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire*, Oxford University Press : New York/Oxford

⁴ Thompson, E.P (1991).*The Making of the English Working Class*, Vintage books: New York. Fitzsimmons, M. P.(2010), *From Artisan to Worker*, New York:Cambridge. Zdatny, S.M. (1990), *The Political of Survival : Artisans in Twentieth-Century France*, Oxford University Press: New York. Katznelson, I. and Zolberg, A.R. (1986) *Working Class Formation; Nineteenth-Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States*. Farr, James R. (2000) *Artisans in Europe, 1300-1914* , Cambridge University Press: Cambridge; New York.

on the concept of class and ethnicity allows the researcher to create a comparative framework to replace the present self-evident approach. With this in mind, to broaden the horizons of craft history, this study will help to understand and analyze how ethnicity and class as categories of identification and differentiation intersect in craft production.

Fourthly, the sociological literature on Trabzon and Mardin is quite limited. There are only a few published studies. Much of these are on the history of the cities and their provinces in the Ottoman era. However, this thesis, with its focus on Mardin and Trabzon gold-silversmithing will provide a comparative perspective on both of these cities' urban and social history. At the same time, the story of gold-silversmithing craft in these cities can lead to motivate researchers to study other crafts in Turkey. In this perspective, this thesis aims to open pathways for ethnicity, class and labor studies and the sociological literature on Turkey by providing evidence related to Trabzon and Mardin.

Fifthly, the particular historical, ideological, economic, social and cultural qualities of Turkey do not plainly fit into theories developed for Western societies. Thus, a critical investigation of these theories is necessary in order to understand these particular conditions of the country and the place of these particularities in the overall social theory. Therefore, this thesis is going to be built upon a critical investigation and expansion of a number of stimulating theories and researches. Thereby, this thesis will aim to both give a critical history of Turkish modernity and industrial capitalism in the context of dissolution of craft/craftspeople, providing an institutional analysis and an interpretative approach to modernity as an example of modern experiences. By focusing on the dissolution of the craftsmen this thesis aims to shed light on the social history.

Finally, even though the debate was necessary for understanding the prospects of craftspeople, the debate unfortunately remained silent on the issues of sex and gender as integral elements in a meaningful analysis of craft history. The relationship between craftsmanship and gender is generally ignored because of the space of crafts is described as “male”. So, there emerges a need to use the concept of “gendered craft” to develop a non-gender form of craft production, institution and literature. This research, making female artisans on the shop floor visible and bringing their experiences back into labor history, seeks to fill a gap in the sex-blind literature of the craft world. The first and foremost important indicator of gender blind situation is the "man" emphasis at the end of the English word “crafts (man)”. In other languages, there might not be such an emphasis on “man”. For example in Turkish, the word “zanaatkar” is used, which has no gender emphasis. However, most social scientists or researchers must be aware of the gender emphasis in the use of the word as they prefer to use non-gender words which qualify the craft owner in literature as the craftsworker, artisanal small producers, artisan, craftspeople. Hence, in order to respect gender neutrality, I often use “craftperson / craftpeople” rather than “craftsman / craftsmen”.

1.2 Methodology

Craft is generally known as a mediator between the present and the past and between the individual and collective, tradition and modern, society and economy. That is, craft is key to understanding the social. As I prepared to do this research, it was clear to me that I would need to use mixed method model. Mixed research method for collecting evidence can offer unique advantages that offset the disadvantages of any single method. Thereby, this research is conducted with two major methodological tools: comparative historical analysis and qualitative analysis. Firstly, it will be examined how or in what way historical analysis contributes to research. Secondly, a detailed qualitative method was used.

1.3.1 Historical Analysis

This study, aiming to research the dissolution process of gold-silversmith in Mardin and Trabzon is based on two historical stages. The first stage includes the examination of 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century Ottoman Era, and the second stage is the Turkish Republic era. Such grand historical macro analysis and its powerful tilt in the direction of periodization and structure might have the risk to miss big moments of large historical change. So, both of these stages basically trace historical breakpoints of the dissolution process of craft and craftsmanship/artisanship. This periodization facilitates interpreting and re-interpreting significant historical events in the context of dissolution of craft-based production.

Throughout the time period that starts from the late Ottoman period to Republican and to current day there had been many significant social, economical, and political developments. These developments are also reflected on the history of Mardin and Trabzon where this research is conducted on the craft of gold and silversmith within two ways. Firstly, due to the fact that majority of masters of these crafts have ethnic and religious identity that are Armenian and Assyrian that have exposed to policy of subordination and ethnicization, they are directly related to this history. Secondly, there is another paralleling story related to the process of modernization and industrialization of craft-based production which include changing patterns of technology, production, employment and consumption habits. Therefore this research aims to uncover significant details through major macro historical transformations such as modernization, nation-state formation and industrialization that completely reconfigured the political and economic landscapes around them. Analyzing macro historical transformations refer to the field of macro-historical sociology, as Mann propounds:

A historical causal analysis of origins considers the conditions which give rise to modern institutions relevant to understanding their present nature and likely

persistent...A quest for variation seeks to understand modern institutions like capitalism or the nation-state or particularly by comparing them with social groups with other types of economic, political or gender institutions...A more abstract-comparative macro-sociology, less tied to understanding the present, analyses the past to test more general propositions about human communities.(Mann, 1994:39)

So, the major breakthroughs conceptualize the kinds of factors that drive macro processes of change. Within this respect, to ensure transitivity between macro-level and micro-level historical and sociological events, this research aims to carry out Comparative Historical Analysis. This analysis's central feature is the causal argument, that is, comparative historical inquiry fundamentally related to the "explanation and the identification of causal configurations that produce major outcomes of interest" (Mahoney and Rueschemeyer, 2003:11). Thus, comparative historical researchers explicitly analyze historical sequences and take the unfolding of processes over time as serious events. For example, examining Turkish state formation is not static occurrence taking place at a single, fixed point; rather, it is a process that unfolds over time and in time. Furthermore, close inspection of particular cases also allows comparative historical investigators to explore how variables may have different causal effects across heterogeneous contexts. (ibid: 13).

Dissolution process of craft and craftsmen calls for more study to better understand how these changes are happening, the effects of multiethnic/religious organizations have on the people and the benefits and struggles of creating and maintaining them. These are precisely the kinds of break points of dissolution. So, an analysis both of the mechanisms of reproduction that sustained these institutions and of the mechanisms behind their functional and distributional transformation over time, which these institutions were transformed through politics, is critically important to understand the dissolution process. Looking at these social institutions from today's vantage point, breakdown of the old institutions and their replacement with new ones reflects, "power asymmetries in a society, for it is such asymmetries that allow more

powerful actors to impose their institutional preferences on the less powerful actors” (Thelen, 2003: 216). Therefore, it can be said that any institution which survives major socioeconomic transformation (industrialization) or political disjuncture (revolution, conquest) has the story of institutional reproduction that is likely to be strongly laced with elements of institutional transformation - through layering, conversion, or some other mechanism. (ibid: 230).

In viewing cases and processes at a less abstract level, by contrast, comparative historical analysts are frequently able to derive lessons from past experiences that speak to the concerns of the present (Mahoney and Rueschemeyer, 2003: 9). In this context, in this research, I provide illustrations of these arguments from the comparative historical and institutionalist literatures and I close with a brief consideration of the advantages of such a perspective for understanding historical and institutional dissolution and change of craft and craftsman of gold and silversmithing in Mardin and Trabzon.

1.3.2 Qualitative Analysis

As mentioned earlier, this research, aiming to shed light on the dissolution process of gold-silver smithing in Mardin and Trabzon is based on two stages. The first stage of the study includes examination of secondary sources. These sources will be those focusing on history and the dynamics of urban development in Mardin and Trabzon, together with the changing nature of gold and silversmithing in craft production starting from the Ottoman period to Republican period. These periods had different societal settings in relation to homogenization, ethnicization and Turkification of population and economy and the processes of Turkish modernization and industrialization. The second stage of the study includes historical analysis, qualitatively designed fieldwork, observations of the researcher through ethnographic study, in-depth interviews and life story interviews. I believe that a qualitative study design will be the most appropriate means to conduct this research.

My first reason to believe so is that there is not so much well- coordinated literature on the issue and thus, qualitative data collection methods will provide me with substantial information. The second reason is the acknowledgement of qualitative methods in providing the researcher with a comprehensive insight of the lived world from the subjects' perspective. Within this prospect, qualitative methods help to explore the subject' wider perceptions or everyday behavior. This method attempts to document the world from the point of view of the people studied and provides a means of interpreting the effects of the penetrating hidden mechanisms that the people experience. Thereby, this method also contributes to interpretations of people's experiences to which they refer. Qualitative research techniques help researchers construct better representations of their experiences. But as in most of the qualitative researches, the representativeness of the sample of this study is a controversial issue. However, snowball sample helped me to reach craftsmen comfortably. Despite the fact that the findings of this study are not likely to have a claim of generalizability, the sample in this study is sensitive to ethnicity, gender and age categories.

For this research, I made observation, ethnographic research, in-depth interviews and life history analysis. In this study, I investigated the dissolution of craft of the gold and silver into two cities of Turkey, Mardin and Trabzon. In these cities, the craftspeople of gold and silver smithing are generally Christians. For this reason they have different dissolution dynamics in comparison to the majority of the people. Therefore, using observational methods helped me to understand the sub-cultures and experiences. In depth interviews enabled me to gather deeper information from the respondents. This technique enables the researcher to gather the information of the experiences of the respondents with their own words. The respondents are allowed to speak about their own lives from their own perspectives, using their own conceptions and perceptions of the world. Moreover, the researcher is able to notice and utilize the differences within the gestures and speeches of the respondents. Life history interview is a qualitative research method for gathering information on the subjective

essence of one person's entire life (Atkinson, 2002:123) which aims to understand single lives in detail and how the individual plays various roles in society (Josselson and Lieblich, 1993:76). In a life story interview, the interviewee is a story teller, the narrator of the story of her/his own life; the interviewer is a guide or director in this process (Atkinson, 2002:126). Life stories can help the researcher both to become more aware of the range of possible roles and to understand the individual's place in the social order.

The important point is that the qualitative approach mandates close attention to historical detail in the effort to construct new understandings of culturally or historically significant phenomena (Ragin, 1994:84). There are a number of reasons for using in-depth interviews and life story interview in this research. Firstly, in-depth interviews enabled me to gather data on the experiences of dissolution of craft production and I aimed to learn how the gold and silversmith craft is experienced by the craftspeople themselves. An in-depth interview was for "listening" the craftsmen/artisans' usually unheard voices and their own words. During the interviews, they spoke about (and from) their own living experiences, work/craft conditions and reflections. In-depth interview technique enabled me to understand and reveal their subjectivity, which cannot be learned using other techniques. This technique enabled my respondents and me to be more flexible. Secondly, life story interview can provide me with information about a social reality existing outside of the craft history. It also helps me to explain how individual members of group and generation see certain events.

1.3.2.1 Life Story or History

Stories help us understand our commonalities with others, as well as our differences and help to create bonds, while fostering a sense of community, by helping us understand the established order around us (ibid :10). That is, stories themselves are social constructs which include both social reality and the personal constructs of

reality. Narrators who share experiences and testimonies about their lives both understand social reality in their life story and also they confront issues surrounding the changing contexts of time and space. Therefore, “stories help to make sense of, evaluate, and integrate the tensions inherent in experience: the past with the present, the fictional with the different and unexpected” (Dyson and Genishi, 1994: 242–243).

Life story is a qualitative research method for gathering information on the subjective essence of one person’s entire life (Atkinson, 1998: 3). There is a separation between the life story and life history; while life history means the lived through life, life story means the narrated life (Rosenthal, 1993:1). But at the same time, life story and life history always come together; they are continuously dialectically linked and produce each other (ibid:2). That is, the life history and life story are very similar in their approach and what they cover, but specific information sought differentiates them from each other. There is also a critical distinction between life stories or narratives and life histories. While the life stories can be seen in the light of changing patterns of time and space in testimony and action as social constructions (Goodson, 2009:139), life histories focus only a limited part of the life or limited only to certain topics. Thanks to both , our voices echo those of others in the sociocultural world, and we evidence cultural membership both through our ways of crafting stories and through the very content of these stories. (Dyson and Genishi, 1994: 242). In this research, by uncovering the name, gender and social status of artisan who made an object, I attempt to both humanize the cultural remains of the distant past and mediate to echo their voices. Moreover, due to the fact that narratives record human experience through the construction and re-construction of personal and social stories (Webster and Mertova, 2007:71), by recording narratives and experiences of gold and silversmiths, I aim to document critical life events in illuminating detail and yet also create holistic views for research. Thereby, it can be said that there is a close link between life story and narrative records, namely, narrative inquiry is human centered in that it captures and analyses life stories

(ibid:13) and this inquiry allows researchers to get an understanding of that experience. Consequently, the purpose of the analysis of the narrated life story is the re-construction of the present meanings of experiences (Miller, 2000: 133) that allows narrative to be associated as a tool of research.

According to Carr, narrative is not associated with short-term elementary experiences and actions, but pertains to longer-term or larger-scale sequences of actions, experiences and human events. He argues that action, life and historical existence are themselves structured narratively, and the concept of narrative is our way of experiencing, acting and living both as individuals and as communities and that narrative is our way of being and dealing with time (1986). Due to the micro/macro interplay between motivations of the individual actor and the social structure, history alters the industrial structure and forces people out of previously secure niches as old occupations dwindle or disappear and replaced by new, different opportunities that require new abilities and skills (Miller, 2000: 22). To understand how craft, modernity and industrialization relate to one another and under what conditions craft and craftsman dissolve in Turkey, it is needed to use narrative that is a long-term and an event-driven tool of research. With this inquiry, we can both theorize the reason behind the dissolution processes and explore how historical moments influenced lives of craftsman.

At every stage of historical procession, craft is known to serve as a means to articulate the present. Therefore, craft articulates collective memory or it functions as memory work. In addition to this, in Turkey craft is specifically seen as missing jobs and craftsman as missing people. These features move between the changing biographical history of the person and the social history of her/his life span. Thereby, gathering of the life histories of craftsmen entails the subject moving to and from between the developments of their own life cycle and the ways in which external crises and situations (wars, political and religious changes, economic change, and so forth) have impinged on this. Consequently, a life story cannot be told without a

“constant reference to historical change and this central focus on change must be seen as one of the life history’s great values” (Plummer, 1983:70,). In other words, life story that is the essence of what has happened to a person involves the important events, experiences and feelings of a lifetime. But at the same time, it is a way to better understand the past and the present and a way to leave a personal legacy for the future, because we carry part of our personal and collective past into the present with each act of our lives (Ragin, 1994:8).

1.4 The Plan Of The Dissertation

In this thesis each chapter examines the various reasons for the dissolution of craft, establishing a conceptual framework on the basis of that historical exercise, later applying the framework to contemporary practice. I chose to study the craftspeople of the Mardin and Trabzon area who strive the gold and silver smithing. My findings in regard to the gold and silversmiths provided valuable material for several chapters in this thesis. I have organized the research in 5 chapters. I will start with presenting important theoretical, methodological and conceptual standpoints of the study. Chapter 2, divided into two major sections will examine historical turning points of dissolution of craft in two fold. The first section is concerned with the dissolution dynamics of craft within itself. This dynamics will be based on relationships between art and industry. At the same time the breaks and continuities with art and industry will also be presented in terms of their effect in shaping the story of craft. So, I will try to include a little of this story in this section of the chapter. The other section of the chapter analyzes the position of craftspeople within the light of major sociopolitical transformations of the Ottoman and Republican history. First of all, it will discuss the dynamics of dissolution of crafts in Ottoman era that is included both in guild times and the 19th century. Examination of these periods also paves the way for investigating the ethno-religious and gender relationships in the craft world of the Ottoman era. Second it will question the turning points of social and economic history of the Turkish State in the context of devastation of craft production. For this

reason, the periods of modern Turkey that include construction of the nation state and national economy which aims to create a homogenized and ethnicized economy, protectionism in economy and the capitalist industrialization will be examined within the context of global trends. Therefore, this chapter aims to create a historical background which will explain the dissolution of craft both within itself and in a social and regional sense.

Chapter 3 will start with presenting important theoretical and conceptual standpoints of the study. The analysis will begin by tracing the role of state power and continue with debating the boundaries of and conflicts between ethnicity, class and gender in craft production. For this aim, firstly, the overall goals and basic mechanisms of the Turkish State are discussed in the context of the dissolution process of craft. The chapter then will illustrate how economic cleansing has been institutionalized in occupational discrimination in craftwork. In order to analyze class and gender boundaries in craft, the chapter will seek to understand how artisans were integrated into mass production and distribution networks that result from industrial capitalism. Consequently, I will closely investigate how and in what way the craftspeople's mobility occurred. Lastly, chapter 3 will discuss and problematize gender position in craft world that affect the dissolution process.

Chapter 4 will present a detailed analysis of the findings related to the fieldwork that include gold and silver craft in Mardin and Trabzon. The third part of the thesis contains two case studies intended to demonstrate the complexities of the dissolution process of craft. The case studies in this thesis- Mardin, Trabzon will prove how structures and relations of power are clearly connected with the dissolution process. By witnessing the disappearance of craft, this chapter will analyze processes of dissolution in gold and silver smithing.

Finally, Chapter 5, the conclusion will review the main findings of this thesis and will re-center main questions posed in this introduction and draw the general results

of each chapter together. It will report in a lucid style how and why crafts dissolve in Mardin and Trabzon in the context of gold and silver craft.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS OF DISSOLUTION OF CRAFT

*Slippery breath flies from the exhausted gold
The wearied metal scarcely touches her white limbs
The cost of the breathing furnace has diminished its weight
The master has dissolved golden threads
through clouds⁵*

This chapter is an attempt to discuss the reasons of dissolution of craft in the context of major historical and social transformations. For this aim, the chapter is divided into two complementary parts. While the first part contains the dynamics of transformation, dissolution and breaks in the craft world, the second part tries to seek these dynamics in the historical turning points of Turkey. Both of two parts help to grasp important points for understanding dissolution processes of this field research that composes from gold-silversmithing in Mardin and Trabzon. First aim of this section seeks to answer a series of question that can help to define both prehistorical and today's meanings of craft and its relations with society clear what we mean by the word "artisan". In this context, the questions to be answered are: What is the role of craft in society? How does craft function? What are the breaks and continuities of craft in itself? What is the difference between Art and Craft? Are they related or co-dependent in any way? A second aim is to explore what happens when art and craft are separated and what defines an artist or a craft maker, or even divides an artist from a craft maker, at the same time, to explore what happens when hand and head, technique and science are separated. One of the fundamental characteristics of this period that is the criticism of relationship between industry art and craft will come up

⁵ An epigram had written by Ennodius(d. 521) on the wondrous lace-like quantity of openwork. Bishop of Pavia. Translated from latin text by M.C.Putnam, in the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, vol.6 (Tony Hackens and Rolf Winkes, *Gold Jewelry : Craft, Style & Meaning from Mycenae to Constantinopolis*, 1983: 146, Art and Archaeology Publications: Belgium).

for discussion over Turkey. And lastly, this chapter by focusing gold and silversmithing that is main case of this research is wanted to tell a short craft history in the world and Ottoman with respect to disintegration of the craft itself. As a result of three aims, understanding the breaks and continuity in the craft itself paves the way for discussing today's situation and allows a comparison of the process of modernization and industrialization.

In the second part of this chapter, I will go beyond the history of the craft itself and try to connect it with social history. For this purpose, I will briefly present history and dynamics of dissolution processes of craft in Ottoman and Turkey to help understanding the devastating reasons that is originated inside and outside of relations of craft production.

2.1 The History of Craft

From prehistoric times to today, craft has passed through various stages. With this process starting with *Homo habilis* (a skilled man who uses hand) who makes simple tools by shaping the surface of stone pieces, the first step towards art production had been taken. However, the formation of the objects that we can give the title of artworks coincided with 5000 years ago (Honour and Fleming, 2009: 24-25). These objects that pass through the distant ages and reaching to today reflects both the admirable studies of ancient craftspeople and also their place in society. For example, in primitive societies, which have no complex power structure, the crafts serve the total community: there was no ranking of the crafts, especially into major and minor arts, as long as they were “folk arts”(Whitaker, 1967:5). As a result, looking at the position of the craft at the beginning of the ages, it is seen that craft is not described separately from art. That is, there was no division between art and craft. Most of the objects that we see in museums and admire so much were art products at that time, but it has become the craft products of today. So, it can be

propounded that there has been an evolution of the crafts as a separate art form on today.

The meaning, which we give nowadays to the words “craft”, “art”, “craftsman” and “artist” and the place that they occupy in modern society, refers to a historical process that includes disengagements and continuities. A perspective on this historical process helps to illuminate the boundaries between craft and art that have long been contested. The cause of formation of these borders has social, political and economical features, but it has been a gradual and irregular process of bringing these factors together. With reference to this process, it should also be made quite clear that “the histories of various art forms include typical sequences of change in which what has been commonly understood and defined by practitioners and public as a craft becomes re- defined as an art or, conversely, an art becomes redefined as a craft” (Becker, 1982: 272).

Edward Lucie-Smith asserts that craft has three historical stages: firstly, there is the time when everything is craft and all of processes of making are hand processes; secondly, at least in Europe, from the Renaissance onwards, there was an intellectual separation between the idea of craft and that of fine art, which eventually came to be regarded as superior; and finally, with the Industrial Revolution, there arrived a separation between a craft object and thing made by a machine-an industrial product (Lucie-Smith,1981:11). If we leave aside developments of Middle Ages and the Renaissance, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a pattern is established for the crafts, as we know them today. That is, during this period, there is monitored a fully developed range of craft skills, which now provide a basis for the techniques used by the modern hand-craftsman. Together with the separation of the fine artist from the craftsman, which appears as an essential part of Renaissance art-theory, “the fine artist began to accumulate the outward honors and signs of respect which confirmed his rise in the social hierarchy” (ibid: 165). Larry Shiner, in his book, *The Invention of Craft*, wrote there is a differentiation of craft from fine art that was first emerged in the Renaissance and culminated in an absolute institutional separation in

the eighteenth century. The concept of art that over two thousand years of signifying a human activity performed with skill and grace go into division: the new category fine arts (poetry, painting, scripture, architecture, music) as opposed to crafts, that is, the fine arts became a matter of inspiration and genius (Shiner, 2010: 22). But, after nineteenth century, this historic change of use of meaning dropped the adjective “fine” and spoke only of art versus craft or art versus entertainment or art versus society. This chronology come up for discussion by Glenn Adamson, for him, “the opposition between craft and fine art (rather than industry) is drastically overemphasized, but the domain of production as a whole was massively reshaped in the late eighteenth century, and fine arts plays a very minor role indeed in that transformation”(2013:intro-xiv).

Before the eighteenth century, the terms “artist” and “artisan” were used interchangeably, and the word “artist” could be applied not only to painters and composers but also to shoemakers and wheelwrights, however, at the end of the eighteenth century, “artist” and “artisan” had become opposites; artist now meant the creator of works of fine art whereas “artisan” or “craftsman” meant the mere maker of something useful or entertaining (Shiner, 2010: 23). In the mid-eighteenth century, the word of “craft” implied and substituted “tradition” that is a more intense word and it is positioned as fundamentally conservative, both in the positive and negative senses of that word (Adamson, 2013:intro-xvii). After the eighteenth century, the artisan/artist that has an older nobler images including such as grace, invention, and imagination were ascribed solely to the artist, in return for this, “the artisan and craftsperson was said to possess only skill, to work by rule, and to care primarily for money” (Shiner, 2010: 32). The 19th century was a period that craft was generally consigned either to a merely mechanical role which includes the execution of designs, ideas, and imperatives, or to a static role that take charge of tradition (Adamson, 2013: Intro-xvii). In the Ottoman Empire, the second half of the nineteenth century is a time when industrialism in the West rises to the top, and critical thinking is also reflected in craft, art and industry production. Debates over

industry, crafts and arts that is experienced at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century in the West did not reflect simultaneously to Turkey. It can be said that these debates only emerged during the early Republican period. As a result, there was no distinction between the terms of art and craft in Ottoman terminology (Cezar, 1971: 431).

In the whole of the world, the new system of fine arts was connected to behaviors and institutions of the patronage system that is composed by an art market and a middle-class art public replaced with old art system (Shiner, 2010: 24). Through this new system and its institutions, craft, as a cultural practice, became opponent of the modern conception of art itself and marginalized. This process required both the dissimulation of craft within modern industrial production and alienation from the central notion of craft. The consequence of this split is not only the substitution of one definition of art for another, but also the substitution of one entire system of concepts, practices and institutions for another.

2.1.1 The Movements Between Craft and Art

While the middle of the eighteenth century witnessed a separation of fine art from craft, craftwork became marginal and traditional within sociocultural and economic sphere in the 19th century. As these developments continue, there a movement was rising known as Arts and Crafts Movement that originated and began in England in the 1870s as a reaction to the industrial revolution and it spread to America and Europe during the 1880s⁶. This movement was both an attempt to return dignity to labor and provide meaningful employment for skilled craftsmen and an idealistic protest against industrialism (Wissinger, 1994:8-9).

⁶ In the United States, the Arts and Crafts movement flourished from about 1890 to 1915. (Joanna Wissinger, *Arts and Crafts: Metalwork and Silver*, 1994:10 Chronicle Books: San Francisco).

In the period of the industrial revolution, there is understood that the story of craft was in decline due to the both expanding technological advance and splitting up with art. In other words, until the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the beginnings of Art and Crafts Movements, the more contemporary sense of “craft”, “craftsman” and “craftswoman” does not appear as common currency (Dormer, 1997:5-6). Because, artisans were drummed out of work by machines, with tragic consequences both for the experience of the makers themselves and the quality of the things they produced, the Arts and Crafts movement arose in response as a reclamation project (Adamson, 2013:intro-xv). Two of the most important figures in the movement were John Ruskin⁷ and William Morris⁸. For Ruskin and Morris, craft was tied down by tradition and it was valued a line tradition cast backward into history. They were strongly opposed to industrialization and all use of the machine in manufacturing. Believing that assembly lines turned craftsmen into anonymous laborers, they asserted that a return to handwork would restore both individuality and quality (Wissinger, 1994: 8-9). John Ruskin’s more influential book which in the British and the Arts and Crafts context is “The Stones of Venice” that was first published in 1851. This book was help to reasoning for the Arts and Crafts Movement. In “The Nature of the Gothic” chapter of book, he emphasized a basic of political ideal: the right to be human both craft and art:

You must make a tool of the creature or a man of him. You cannot make both. Men were not intended to work with the accuracy of tools, to be precise and perfect in all their actions. If you will have that precision out of them, and make their fingers measure degrees like cog-wheels and their arms strike curves like compasses, you must unhumanise them(Ruskin, 2001: 157).

7 Ruskin was the Professor of art history at Oxford University. He proclaimed these tenets in many widely read books, including *The Stones of Venice* (1851,1853) and *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849).

8 Morris is not only a writer and lecturer but a talented designer in his own right.

Like Ruskin, Morris wrote stirring passages on the need to introduce art into everyday life and by doing so, improve the lives of all. But, he stipulated using of art that it must be done for a beauty 's sake, and not for show. His best-known saying is in the "Hopes and fears of art: the beauty of life" passage: "If you want a golden rule that will fit everybody this is it: have nothing in your houses that you do not know to be useful or believe to be beautiful." These principles appealed to many craftsman and artists around the world, particularly in the United States (Morris, 1931: 152).

It is commonly acknowledged in literature that the ideas of William Morris and John Ruskin inspired from Karl Marx. For Adamson, their thoughts both were formative to an international craft revival that sought to undo the pernicious effects of industrialization and envisaged a total reform of society along socialist lines (Adamson, 2013:intro-xv). According to Greenhalgh, vision of craft of Ruskin and Morris as much as resemble the heritage of Luddism that is resistance to mechanical and political control of the workplace went back to the origins of the Industrial Revolution itself. However, rebellion against the constraints of machinery and the division of labor were far from new in the mid nineteenth century (Greenhalgh, 1997:34). Due to having Marxian ideas, the Arts and Crafts movement known as distinct form of arts and crafts socialism. The theory and practice of arts and crafts socialism relied on the creation of art both intellectual and decorative. This movement was able to apply the philosophy of uniting the head and the hand⁹ only in small artisan communities via manual training school. Arts and Crafts practitioners chose the decorative arts, which are intertwined with the daily lives of all, as the subject of their reform. In this way, they hoped to use design and handicraft to create works of art with a social as well as an aesthetic message (Wissinger, 1994:8-9). But, the economic pressures of a rapidly expanding industrial economy and the political pressure of business and labor did not allow the manual training school to continue to educate in accordance with the Arts and Crafts principles (Floyd, 2005: 50).

⁹ The head and hand division will be explained in chapter 3.

At the opening of the twentieth century, the Arts and Crafts movement lived its best moments by which time it had become a fully international movement, Europe, North America and many nations within the then British Empire had powerful craft movements of their own (Greenhalgh, 1997:35). The outbreak of World War I was the final of the manual training school movement, as factories producing war goods required only skilled hands, with little need for cultured minds, because, war production means fast production, and there was no time for handcrafted items that celebrated the simple beauty of nature (Floyd, 2005: 50). Therefore, after the First World War, the original Arts and Crafts movement had dwindled into confusion and decline. Most manual training schools closed by the 1920s, or changed their curriculum to become technical and vocational schools (ibid: 50). In the decades following the Second World War, there was another paradigm occurred that is the “designer-craftsman” of the 1930s- a figure that was itself descended from Arts and Crafts goals-was gradually though incompletely by the “artist-craftsman”. From the Arts and Crafts movement around the turn of the century through to the Studio Craft movement, the counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s, and today’s fashionable DIY¹⁰ scene, the craft has changed and transformed up to today (Adamson, 2013:intro-xv).

According to Adamson, when looking objectively at the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, John Ruskin and William Morris did not see the whole story. To him, they ignored “the nuanced interdependencies of the hand and the machine: the variable rate and irregular manner in which automation was introduced to workshops; the many trades in which new tools extended the reach of hand skills, rather than replacing them; and the craftsmanship necessary to make machines and other industrial tools in the first place” (ibid :intro-xvi). So, Adamson continues, the

¹⁰ DIY, that is, Do It Yourself means an activity of decorating, building, and making fixtures and repairs at home by oneself rather than employing a professional.

Arts and Crafts Movement and its later derivatives were in traumatic symptoms that has three characteristic that particularly seem deeply inscribed in the history of craft revival: repetitive behavior, false memories, and flashbacks (Adamson, 2013: 185). Unlike Adamson, presenting two positive views, Greenhalgh defends effects of Arts and Crafts Movement. First of these views is as a cultural phenomenon vernacularism that can be clearly identified as urbanism and industry took their inexorable toll on older forms of life (1997:31). It was of great symbolic importance for the founders of the Arts and Crafts movement, because the rural and handmade aspects of craft production arose at least partly as a result of the desire to return to the vernacular world. Therefore, there is a powerful irony, in fact that it was the modernization of European culture, which gave the vernacular a presence on the cultural scene. Its status as being “authentic” culture has made it attractive to a surprisingly wide range of opinion over a long period of time, the Romantic vision of pure simplicity affecting the cultural sphere up to the present day (ibid: 31). Second positively view about the Arts and Crafts Movement is its vision of craft as unalienated labor, provided the intellectual and emotional underpinning to left-wing thought in British society throughout the entire period (ibid: 34).

At the same time, the Arts and Crafts Movement has taken the Ottoman Empire and Turkey under the influence. Since the second half of the 19th century, Ottoman became the European external market, which led to the closure of many workshops of traditional producers. That is, during this period, not because of industrialization, mechanization and standardization of mass production output in Turkey, but due to products that imported from Europe and created a favorable environment, the traditional branches of production based on workshops were in danger. Therefore, to remove the dependence on imported products, steps took in all other handicrafts, especially in ceramics. For this reason, in the late Ottoman period, porcelain and tile factories were established and this initiative was seen as one of the first Arts and Crafts Movements (Aslan, 2014:11). In the early years of the Turkish Republic, although industrialization was the primary goal both ideologically and as an

economic necessity, the craft type did not reach the positions that would affect production. However, also in this period, new enterprises were opened on the axis of craft and industry discussions and production started to be done with industrial machines. These developments took place within the framework of the principles of the Arts and Crafts movement in the sense of arts and crafts. (ibid:12). Besides these developments, in this period, many people who were sent to Europe for arts education affected from this movement and when they returned to the country they opened institutions in the direction of this movement's method and purpose (ibid: 13).

2.1.2 The Dichotomies Between Craft And Art on Today

Today, craftsman is more and more both the rival and the ally of the artist. The division, which Renaissance created between craft and art, is being broken down, but in circumstances very different from those that Renaissance theoreticians would have recognized (Lucie-Smith, 1981:8). To demonstrate this point, let us firstly compare the differences and similarities of them in today's language. Because, to definition of differences and similarities between "craft" and "art" or between "craftsman" and "artist" uncovers significant meanings and details concerning them both their relationships and connotations within society in the current time. If we start with art, it is generally known as a form of work that expresses emotions and expressions and relies on creative merit and imagination. Whereas craft is seen as a form of work that is based on learned skills and technique and has a physical form involving some kind of handwork and commonly resulting in the production of a useful object. Defining craft as the knowledge and skill, which produce useful objects and activities, gives rise to thought it as non-intellectual manual skill. In other words, while artist concerned with expressing ideas and feelings, craftsman concentrates on products skillfully made. Thereby, craft believed to have the technical (physical) means, nonetheless art have intellectual (the cerebral) means. Craft as a term was later extended in meaning to signify the workers (and ritual practitioners) who used proper tool (Barbieri-Low,

2007: 36). This position that defined artisan a worker, simply locates craft as a class in society. So, artisans have become a necessary, productive group in the economy.

In most modern works an artisan is characterized as a general category for craftspeople who either make or decorate objects as their major occupation and their products can be as useful as pots and tools or as ornamental as paintings, sculpture, and jewelry (ibid: 31). Thereby, artisan is generally known as possessing some creative genius and superior to the manual laborer. After 1918, craft began simultaneously to expand, fragment and factionalize, and this degenerative process is the key to the condition of craft as we have it at the end of the twentieth century (Greenhalgh, 1997:36). In other words, for Becker, “artists invading and taking over a craft world, bringing new standards, criteria, and styles to an activity previously dominated by craftspeople and artist-craftspeople” (Becker, 1982: 286).

At the diagrams below, Rita Greer shows differences between Artist, Artisan/Craftsman and designer (Greer, 1975: 117,118). These charts also demonstrate how artist, craftsman and designer function both in the micro and macro universe of society. Explaining how they worked and evaluating what qualities made a work special; artist, craftsman and designer trace different methods. Meanwhile, these diagrams demonstrate that the interplay between design, craft and art are a compelling and revealing focal point for analysis. The table demonstrate, in addition, the normative or unchanging usage of the terms design, craft and art, which are mutable in relation to both time and space.

Figure 2.1 : Artist concerned with expressing ideas and feelings

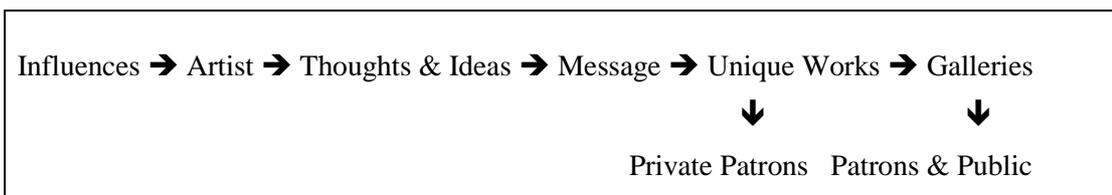
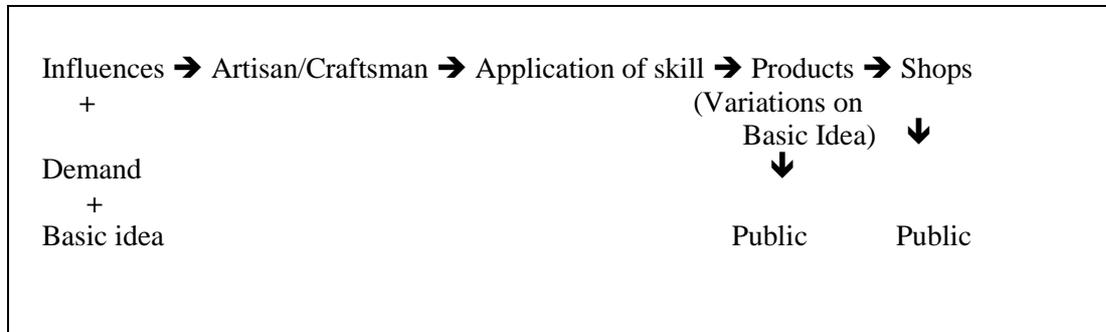


Figure 2.2 : Craftsman focuses on skill and the way things are made



At the first table, it can be interpreted that artists have expression of emotions, thoughts and ideas, with these characteristics they try to give message. In the end, they usually try to sell their work privately or through galleries. This chart also supports a general theory that can explain how and why an artist has created something of special value. At the table 2.2, artisans are usually trained actually at work with a master-craftsman under the apprenticeship system. With this training, they apply knowledge and skill to manufacture products. At last, artisans sell products that they display on their own shops. Alongside differences between artist and artisan, it can be seen that at two of these tables show a similarity with “influences” that is a motivating factor of both artist and artisan. However, in addition to “influences”, artisans have two another stimulation, which are sufficient “demand” and “basic idea” for his /her craft.

The terms of “art “ and ‘the craft’ are not as simple to define as they sound in progress of time. Mixing in with design to create design-craft/art, craft has taken on many meanings. In literature, these meanings are considered as blurred/hybrids of boundaries between art and craft that based on rethinking and reinterpret concept of craft.

Figure 2.3 : Artisan/Craftsman concentrates on expressing ideas

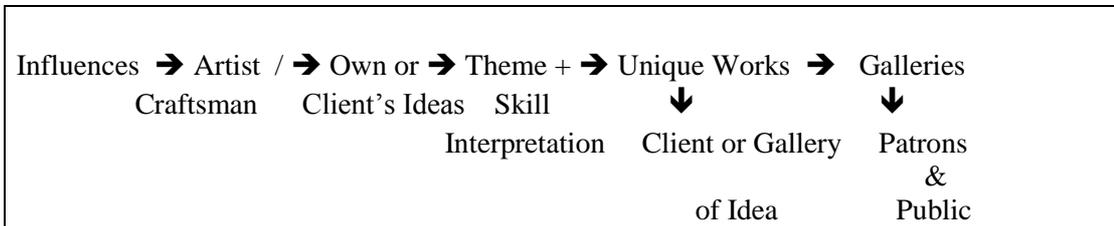
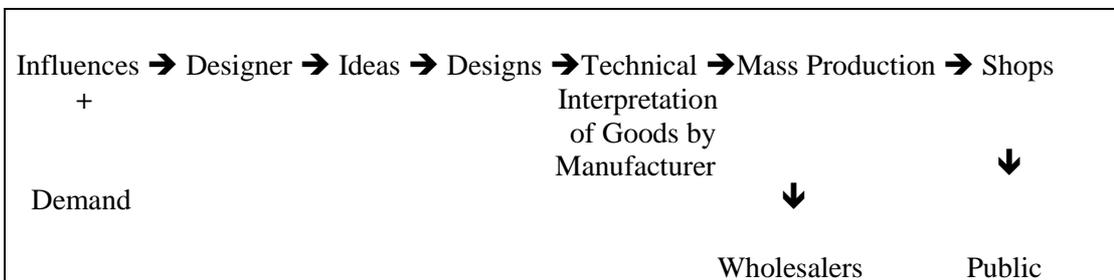


Figure 2.4 : Designer concerned with ideas and their interpretation for industry



In the above table 2.3, it can be seen that both artist and craftsman concentrate on expressing ideas which belong own or clients and based on theme or skill and product for clients or public and sell to galleries and shops to be sent to gallery patrons and public. The craftsman appears to have client-based products, on the contrary artist have public products. According to fourth diagram, designers who both make technical interpretation for industry and design mass-produced objects or goods sell own products to shops for public. Therefore, it can be said that appearance on stage of designer presents the rise of modern industry and the mass production methods. But, the principles that define the differences and relations between design, art and craft both are subject to historical and cultural change. For example, in late-twentieth-century Western culture, the consequences of split of craft from art and design have led to the separation of “having ideas” from “making objects”. And it has also cause to the idea that there exists some sort of mental attribute known as

“creativity” that precedes or can be divorced from knowledge of how to make things. So, this has led to art without craft (Dormer, 1997:18).

2.1.3 The Craft of Gold and Silver

After exploring the specific process that shaped separation of craft and art, it is important to consider the position of a craft-based production and craftsman. In this context, we do need to take some forms of craft out from behind the screen. Due to the fact that goldsmithing and silversmithing are the subjects of this research, they are chosen for understanding a craft’s story.

Silver that has been valued highly since the dawn of metallurgy for its natural properties has basic atomic and molecular structure makes it malleable and ductile. At the same time it was also known as a luxury item because of the rarity and expense of the raw ore. It is easily maintained, durable, and adjusts to changes in temperature more quickly than any other metal and its gleaming, reflective surface provides visual and tactile pleasure (Goldsborough, 1990:29). In old times, silver reserved for the use of Church and Royalty and silversmiths use it iconography and visual symbolism of Christianity. Therefore, church silver was exquisitely crafted and imbued with conventional symbolism (ibid: 30). As a result of the expansion of the British silver industry in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the middle class could afford useful household objects of silver for the first time (ibid). That is, the 18th century was rich in silver for decorative purposes and usages (Banister, 1971:11) and its position as a status symbol derived from its serviceability, however, as much as from its aesthetic appeal. (Goldsborough, 1990:29). From that moment onwards, the silver is distinctive for its conservatism, simplicity, and middle- class appeal rather than for its sophistication (ibid: 31). So, both the value and usefulness of silver have led silversmiths’ to enhance the metal’s natural luster with their own carefully crafted shapes and decorations (ibid: 29).

Gold has been a difficult metal to operate, but it has been both valuable material as the universal medium of exchange and also portable wealth as compared with silver. Therefore, goldsmith is straightforward term concealed an enormous range of activities related to the precious metals, however, from banking to refining, from casting to retailing. The term goldsmith also encompassed the work of a silversmith. By the mid 18th century in London, goldsmith implied a retailer as well as member of the Goldsmith's Company, while silversmith referred to a manufacturer or artisan (Glanville, 1990:14). To Taylor, this distinction between workers in the two precious metals then known was not later always valid, because their manipulation is so similar (Taylor, 1967:11).

The far-reaching changes in social life brought by the Industrial Revolution began to touch the craft of gold and silversmithing. The Revolution in 1789 put an end to the goldsmith's guilds in France and the destruction of large quantities of plate voluntarily handed in for recoiling marked the turning point from the traditional conception of plate to a phase in the development towards the modern (ibid: 103). The reorganization of the goldsmiths in France came in three distinct phases: from 1791 to 1797 there was virtual anarchy owing to the disbanding of the corporations; from 1798 until 1819 one system was followed by another which in its turn was replaced in 1838 by the constitution which remained in force during the next century (ibid: 103). The silver market, formerly governed by the needs and the taste of the aristocracy and the Crown, now started to respond to the preferences of a wider clientele. The demand for simple spoons, cups and dishes was met by increasing numbers of competent artisans (Goldsborough, 1990:30).

When examining the gold and silver crafting techniques, it can be seen that goldsmiths and silversmiths worked separately, and those expert in various techniques. In order to make gold and silver products many technical processes were used. By learning how objects were made, we learn not only about ancient technology and materials but also about how labor and materials were measured, valued and economized. We also learn to temper our appreciation of 'works of art'

that may turn out be mass-produced objects. For example, It can be seen a silver and goldsmith workshop, division of labor in there, used materials and works in figure 1. At the same time, figure 1 shows how this craft is an equipped human form. When the figure1 and figure 2 viewed, it can be said that there is a partnership in terms of tools used to melt gold and silver. At the same time, in figure 3 and 4 show this partnership because of being poured into a container by a goldsmith using long-handled tongs. As a result, some techniques, of course, have fallen into disuse or are completely forgotten, as we can see, some techniques and tools of gold and silver smithing are not entirely disuse. But, it is very amazing to see similar technique and tool between in 18th French and 19th century Germany and in Mardin, Trabzon in 2015.

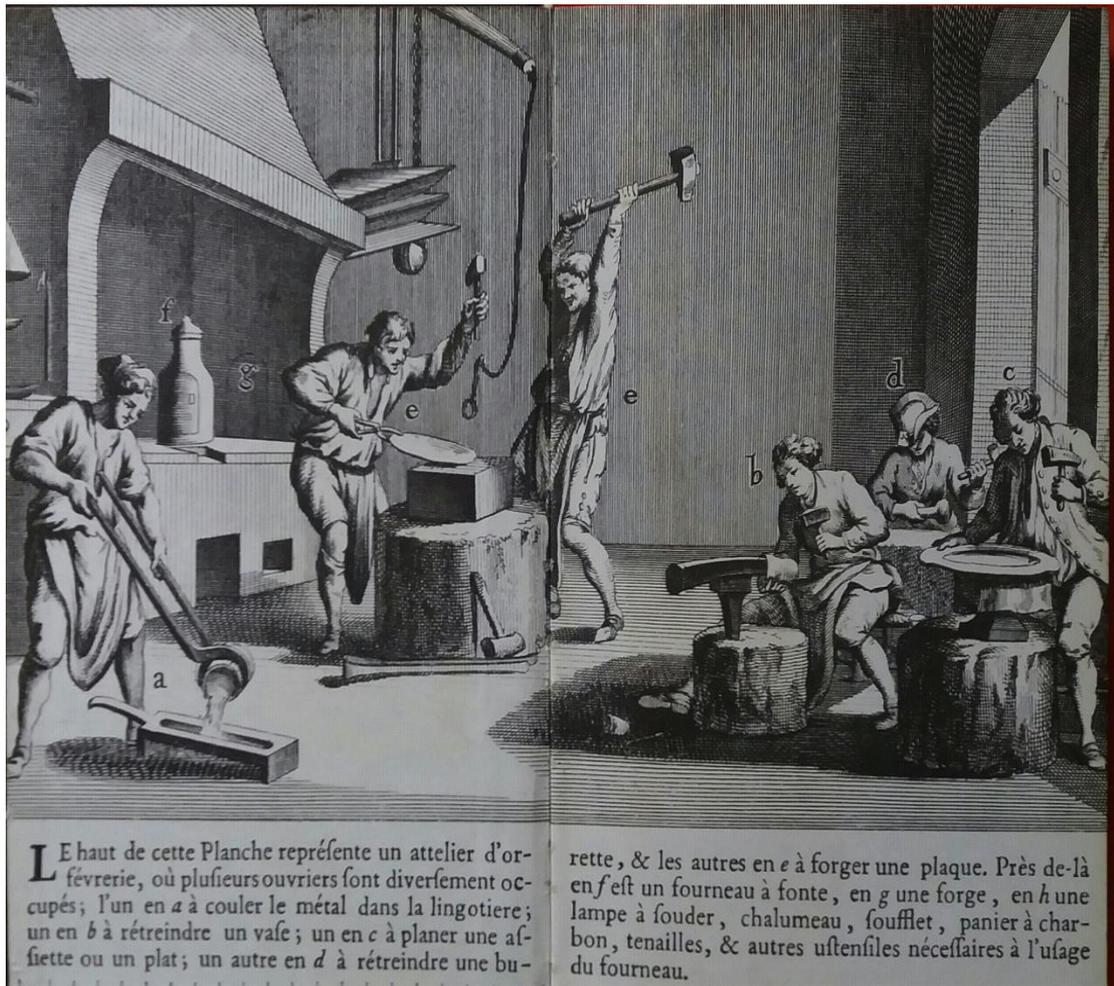


Figure 2.5: Silver and Goldsmithing¹¹

¹¹ The subtitle that is translated by French writes that : In the picture above, it is seen that each of the craftworkers in the silver and goldsmith workshop busy with different tasks; a) spilling metal to vessel; b) swaging vase; c) swaging flat tray; d) swaging glass; e) swaging plague; f) an oven to melt material; g) furnace; h) a lamp, and other paraphernalia were blowpipe, coal basket and nippers. Illustration from Denis Diderot's, L'Encyclopedie, ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des métiers, Volume III, published 1762-72.



Figure 2.6: Silver and Goldsmithing melting tools in Trabzon ¹²

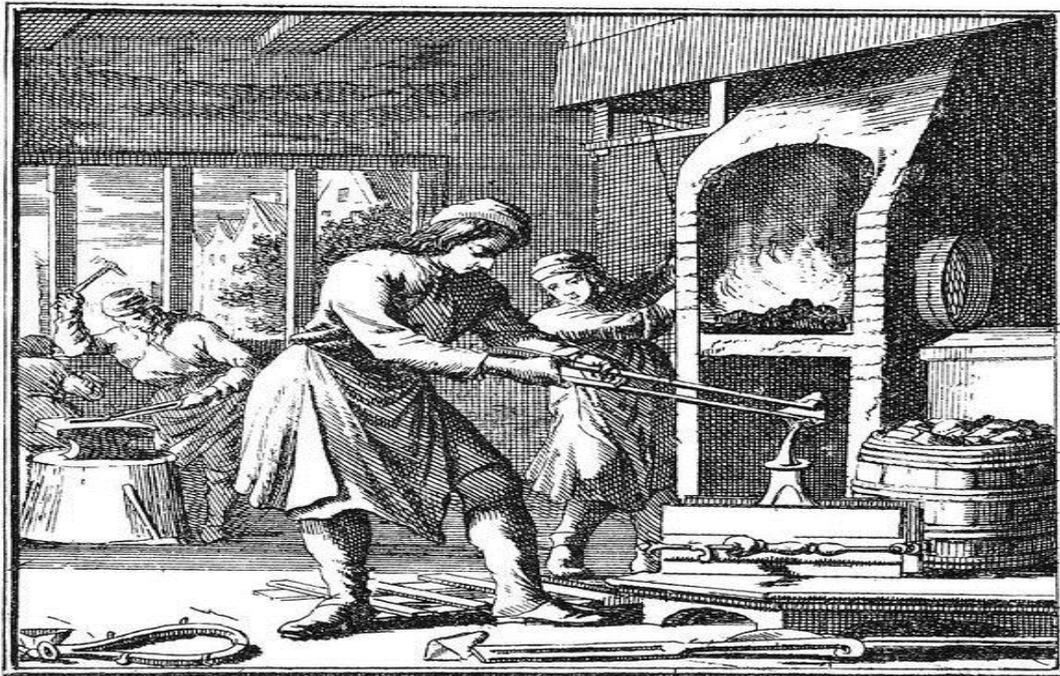


Figure 2.7: Goldsmith historical artwork ¹³

¹² The photo taken by me in Trabzon, in 2015



Figure 2.8: Silver and Goldsmithing melting tools in Mardin¹⁴

In figure 5, there is found a sixteenth-century (1576) French goldsmith's shops, their materials and techniques and tools. It can also be seen a process or activity of this craft.

¹³ This artwork is a woodcut by German artist Sandrardt. The description of the Picture is as follows: "Molten metal heated over a fire in a crucible is being poured into a container by a goldsmith using long-handled tongs. In the background, a man is using a hammer and anvil to shape a metal object. This workshop is being used to work silver as well as gold." This photo can be seen in this link: fineartamerica.com/featured/goldsmith-artwork-science-photo-library.html

¹⁴ This photo taken by me in Mardin in 2015.



Figure 2.9: A sixteenth-century (1576) French goldsmith's shops. Notes the capstan and the goldsmith at work.¹⁵

¹⁵ N.Y. Public Library Picture Collection, (Tony Hackens and Rolf Winkes, *Gold Jewelry : Craft, Style&Meaning from Mycenae to Constantinopolis*, 1983, p.161,203, Art and Archaeology Publications: Belgium).

Mint, bank and workshop remained complementary until the development of credit banking in the 17th century and the general withdrawal from gold and silver currencies in the 20th century (Taylor, 1967:11). The issues for the silversmiths at the beginning of the twentieth century were clear and get worsen, as Taylor stated:

On the one hand lay withdrawal into the financially perilous artist-craftsman's tradition of independent, often solitary, work for individual clients, augmented perhaps by some teaching. At the other extreme, association in whatever capacity, with one of the established and shamelessly industrial limited companies, bound to considerations of technical feasibility and profit, and dependent on retailers' assessments of what was, or could be, sold steadily. The first was the course of strong moral indignation for the silversmith with abilities above average. Less inventive craftsmen were bound to the factory. (ibid: 108)

But if the relative value of the metals has fallen since the turn of the century, the cost of working them has risen at an even steeper rate. In 1967 the dilemma is to choose between silver and stainless steel or other metals produced in quantity rather than between bespoke silver or factory-made silver alloy to which end many experiments have been made during the last decades, because modern protectants are palliatives, not cures, of the metal's swift combination in the usual copper alloys with sulphur and nitrogen(ibid:114). Therefore, the silver-christening spoon has been replaced by the luxurious baby carriage, the enameled centre-piece by the ten-ton yacht, and the great sideboards of gilt ornamental plate by the personal ownership of a twin-engined airplane (ibid).

2.1.4 The Ottoman Gold-Silver Smithing

Thorough history gold and silversmithing have always been closely associated with art and power. According to Türkoğlu, in Anatolia and the other lands, two major factors had a profound influence of Turkish achievements in this field of art: first the traditions of the Islamic religion which the Turks were gradually beginning to adopt

and, second the local arts of the areas to which they migrated (1986: 13). Differences in the interpretation of Islam also emerge in another aspect of the art of metalwork. Because, like the use of precious metals, the depiction of humans and animals was also prohibited under Islam, a ban more frequently observed in the Ottoman period and less frequently under the Seljuks (11th, 12th and 13th century), on whose metal objects do we see a large number of human and animal figures (ibid: 15). In relation to this, recent findings confirm that the traditionally high level of achievement in this field of art/craft was maintained uniformly both under the Anatolian Seljuks and in the period of the principalities that followed them (ibid: 16). The human and animal figures on the metal objects produced in the Seljuk period which derive in general from the Central Asian animal style, are based on certain shamanistic beliefs and notions. Through reconciliation with Islamic practices, such beliefs were kept alive for a long time in works of art. Motifs employed included symbols represented power and good fortune, and certain mythological and heraldic animal figures (ibid). Therefore, it can be said that art/craft is part of a complex structure consisting of beliefs, rituals, history, morality and social rules.

While the Ottomans changed, artisans or artists never entirely disconnected from the eastern Turkish world in art (Artan, 2000: 31) and they did not ignore the traditions of the Islamic culture. That is, they only synthesized, harmonized and balanced between new influences and culture they already possessed (Türkoğlu, 1986: 14). So, it is known that Ottoman art had a special place within Islamic art (Çağman, 2000:46). Metal objects made of gold and silver and decorated with precious stones, such as weapons, helmets and armor as well as table settings and cloths were created for a refined taste. Weapons of all kinds of Turkish swords and helmets merit special attention. They were used mainly for religious and military purposes are among most important examples of metalwork (ibid: 29).

The Ottomans who experienced the creative and corrosive tensions common to all such complex societies had members of multi-ethnic and multi-religious society

(Deny, 2000:25). Sources for identity of Ottoman master artisans and jewelers reveal that the minorities resident in the imperial lands, such as Armenians, Greeks, Iranians, Arabs, Slavs and Jews occupied a prominent place among them (Türkoğlu, 1986: 23). Important centers of metalworks in Anatolia included Trabzon, Diyarbakir, Erzincan, Erzurum, Sivas, Van and Gümüşhane.(ibid). Between these metalworks, silver was not a so much of a prestige material as gold for the Ottomans. The palace and its environs usually ordered small or big gold and silver pieces. (TİBKY, 1993: 360). Part of time, silversmiths reworked imported items, such as a late-Ming porcelain bowl and the other times they used a variety of techniques to produce very different looking objects. (Çağman, 2000 :54). At this point, it is important to determine that in these techniques human and animal figures were disused under Ottomans by Muslim artisans, these images continued to be used by non-Muslim artisans.

The Ottoman art, which remained largely out of external influences until the 18th century, found itself in a different culture and art environment due to the political and economic relations with European countries. In addition to this, the admiration of the West, European fashion, also led to the development of a new level of appreciation in Ottoman society. This European influence has once again shown itself in Istanbul and then up to the provincial cities. As a result, in the 19th century, the Ottoman art was no longer a continuation of its own development; it was under the pressure and control of a completely foreign culture. Thus, the classic ottoman forms and motifs of the 16th and 17th centuries left their places largely to forms and designs imported from Europe since the 18th century. That is, it was clear that in the 18th and 19th centuries, as in every branch of art, European taste become dominant in gold and silver art/craft (TİBKY,1993: 360). When examined the production processes of the art/ craft, it can be said that Ottoman art/craft organizations faced conditions that changed rapidly after 1750 and leading to a violent competition with Western products at the beginning of the next century (McGowan, 2006: 819). For instance, there were 1,500 members in the guild of gold and silver wire in 1825 in

Istanbul. This guild was privileged, because it provided precious metals with subsidized prices from the state treasury. But, in the second quarter of the century, when the world market situation changed, production and sales decreased and the guild became poor (Quataert, 2006:1003). In addition to this, goods imported from the West gradually destroyed domestic production (TİBKY, 1993: 360).

2.2 Historical Periods of Dissolution of Craft in Turkey

“Craftsman both stands in Pandora’s shadow and can step out of it”¹⁶

Throughout the major historical developments and transformations various crafts at local, regional and national level took shape differently depending on the decisions and opportunities of historical actors. My aim in second section of this chapter is to highlight the importance of the economically and politically constructed dimensions of the craft relations between historical actors/events/turning points in the Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey. Thus, I will briefly present history and dynamics of crafts and craftsmanship in Turkey to help understanding the reasons of dissolution processes related to this research context. Firstly, it will be explained what social and economic role artisans in Ottoman state played specifically in guilds time and in 19th century. It will be also showed how craft had changed through both a period of Eurocentric industrialization that changed it externally and a process of ethnic and religious conflict in domestic market. Secondly, in order to better understand the context in which current craft-based production relations and position of craftsman are practiced, I will discuss important moments in recent history. In the first stage, these moments will build on the politics that include emergence of nation-state of Turkey and second stage, will build on the experiences of social, political and economic events and turning points that craft has dissolute. This chapter does not

¹⁶ Sennet, R. 2008, *The Craftsman*, Yale University Press: New Heaven & London, p11

claim to present a comprehensive history of craft in the Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey; it will analyze the how social histories of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey intersect in the history of craft considering gender and ethno-religious characteristics of craft.

2. 2.1 The Ottoman Era (Guilds and 19th century)

Artisans fulfilled a vital role in the functioning of the state and its economy. The role and position of craftsmanship varies according to different countries, localities and cultures. In Ancient, Medieval and Renaissance periods in Europe, and also in Asia the Americas, Oceania, and Africa, skill played a key cultural role and to refer of “craft” generally “involves an imaginative projection in which certain forms of labor are isolated and interpreted in terms of Eurocentric worldview” (Adamson, 2013:intro-xvi). Therefore it is generally said that craft has had an inseparable position with long-established Eurocentric mechanisms of domination (ibid: intro-xvii). When traced characteristic of crafts in Asia, while craftwork and craftsman were seen to have a moral value and position in Japanese culture (Lucie-Smith, 1981:90), in China, an artisan who was defined as a man or woman who made or decorated objects was seen to constitute a major class in society (Barbieri-Low, 2007: 24). When examined the role in India, it is determined that craft was not appear an economic compulsion, was a sacred duty, but also a great national heritage (Chattopadhyay, 2010:193). In ancient Africa, the craftsmen considered not only to be merely utilitarian, domestic, economic, aesthetic or recreational occupations but also they had religious significance and played a specific role in the community (Hampate Ba, 2010: 380). Like many other parts of the world, crafts workers is evident in the Canadian historiography, where historians have either acknowledged combined and uneven development before proceeding on to accounts of dispossession or presented it as an economic feature (Kristofferson, 2007: 5). From the pens of economic historians, we can learn that in Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey the term “craftsman” have been mostly used referring to key

economic engine, transmitter of sagely knowledge, and mediator between state and society

2.2.1.1 Times of Guild

In Ottoman cities the craft-guilds were the mainspring of economic life and guild members made up a great part of the population. It has not been known where and when merchants or craftsmen of the Ottoman Empire began to organize in guild (Baer, 1977:95). In other words, how did Ottoman craftsmen's guilds come into being, not only in the core provinces of Rumelia and Anatolia, but also in Arab Lands (Faroqhi, 2005b: 86) remained as an mystery. The word of "guild" in Turkish language "lonca" comes from Italian "loggia". Most likely, in the 17th century, Muslim craftsmen and non-Muslim artisans separated their gathering places and non-Muslims began to say "lonca" to their rooms (Berkes, 2013: 57). It is seen that the origins of guilds in the Islamic world remain obscure. Regarding to origins of guilds, some sources claims that there is a connection between *âhi*¹⁷ and guild in terms of religious values and ceremonials that referred to mental framework of artisans in the guilds (Yıldırım, 2008: 77-78). However, the *âhi* was different from the guild as structurally and organizationally, because while *âhi* was independent from the state, the guild was in control of the state¹⁸. The *ahi* movement fused with the beginnings

¹⁷ Ahi-ism, was the prevailing element in Anadolian society during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (İnalçık, 1973: 78).

¹⁸ As İnalçık put it "In the cities, each group of craftsmen was organized, according to *futuwwa* principles...Because there was no strongly centralized authority in Anatolia during this periods, the *ahis* performed a number of public functions and became a political force in the cities"(İnalçık,1973:79). The Ottoman guild system (called *esnaf*, *hurfet* or *lonca*) was actually a continuation of the *akhi* organization with this difference that the independent and powerful position of the guilds in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries weakened under the absolutist and centralist system of government of the Ottomans guildsmen(Yıldırım,2008: 77-78).

of a guild system in which *âhi* and *futuwwa*¹⁹ and traditions ethics²⁰ that exercise a great influence over the guilds survived (Baer, 1977: 95). According to Faroqhi, even though “many of guilds’ members must have been craftsmen and while the *ahis*’ descendants formed guilds, the links between *ahis* and guilds do not explain why and how the *ahis* did not constitute guilds, and thus, the genesis of Ottoman craft guilds will remain something of an enigma” (Faroqhi, 2005b: 87).

The attitude of the Ottoman government towards the guilds and domestic commerce is important for understanding the Ottoman economic mind. There were a number of developments that affected the evolution of craft guilds from the seventeenth century to the early part of the nineteenth century. Stanford Shaw, argues that between 1566 and 1683 the rises of prices in Europe led to demand for wheat, wool, copper and precious metals such that they “were sucked out of the Ottoman Empire, where the prices had remained relatively low” and thus, the consequent imports would destroy the traditional Ottoman craft industry (1976:172). However, Shaws dated this as of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In the early 18th century there was “outsider” problem in craft-production, that is, many individuals with no experience or training had the opportunity to enter guilds without the consent of other members. Ottoman state solved this problem by giving a certificate known as *gedik*²¹ that is an important development of guild-based craft production as an eighteenth-century institutional innovation. This certificate protected members of craft guilds against increasing outside involvement and provide effective manipulation of government

¹⁹ The *fütüvvetnames* were popular among guildsmen. In these texts, Ottoman craftsmen attested to their continuing relevance and many guilds probably arranged their own rituals accordingly. (Faroqhi, 2005b:86).

²⁰ According the *futuwwa* ethics the perfect person is one who is generous, self-sacrificing, self-disciplined, obedient to his superiors and sober (İnalçık, 1973: 78).

²¹ The emergence of the *gedik* practice in the capital around 1727 which granted the masters of a particular craft the exclusive right to practice their craft as well as to the usufruct of the tools and implements in their workshops. From its inception, the new practice triggered a historical process whereby a great number of masters found it more advantageous to practice their crafts as independent operators rather than under the strict surveillance of guilds (Yıldırım, 2008:74).

support (Yıldırım, 2008:82). With the gedik certificates, craftsmen won exclusive rights and these rights that attached to their certificates provided a legitimate ground for adaptation to changing market conditions, which were increasingly becoming unsupported by the traditional dynamics of guild-based craft production (ibid: 74).

It can be added that the gedikization of craft guilds was not a process unique to Istanbul during the eighteenth century, in Aleppo as well as had resorted to the same practice by 1750 to secure a monopoly over the production process (ibid: 78). However, due to the failure to pay their debts or credit to merchants on time, there was an unintended consequence of the gedik that many craftsmen began to sold their gedik certificates. This situation led to two dissolution process in craft guilds: First, after having lost their certificates, master craftsmen sought to practice their crafts outside the area designated for their guilds, and second, the selling of gedik certificates enabled people with no artisan background to enter the guilds²². Thus “gedik implied not only the spatial disintegration of the guild system but also significantly hampered its hierarchical workings in the long run” (ibid: 87). Despite these problems, the gedik continued to exist as a major mechanism for designating the monopoly rights of a master to a certain craft until the mid-nineteenth century (ibid: 92).

The craftsmen were organized into guilds in the Ottoman Empire and guild system changed in different periods and different areas and towns. During second half of the eighteenth century, the response of local guilds to various developments was determined by the nature of regional conditions as well as by the general economic conjuncture. There was original information about craft-guild organizations in some major cities of the Ottoman Empire such as İstanbul, Cairo, Jerusalem, Bursa,

²² Another channel through which “outsiders” gained access to guilds was created by the members of a deceased master craftsman’s family inheriting his gedik and selling it to unrelated individuals (ibid: 92).

Aleppo, and Damascus, and the cities of Balkan²³. As the capital city of the Empire, Istanbul received disproportionate attention due to the richness of the available material. Studies of the skills of Cairo, Damascus and Istanbul, as well as other sources, show that the principal functions of the guilds in these towns were to serve the government as an administrative link, to collect taxes and to supply labor and services to the government (Baer, 1977:100). It must be take into account that considerable differences existed between Ottoman guild systems in different areas and towns. Thereby, generalizing findings for a specific town or a specific period lead to make mistake.

The transformation of Ottoman craft guilds from state-bound institutions to autonomous structures in line with the gradual withdrawal of the Ottoman state from the economic realm took place in the mid-eighteenth century. The guilds, “which had traditionally depended upon state agencies for the supply of raw materials, were confronted with a series of challenges that threatened their traditional role in Ottoman economic life” and led to the steady decline of the guild monopoly over economic activities (Yıldırım, 2002:409). When examining domestic issue of the guilds of Ottoman state in the eighteenth century, it can be argued that this century witnessed the growing domination of the Ottoman economy by foreigners and the members of the non-Muslim communities. These circumstances not only occurred primarily in the commercial world, but also in manufacturing sectors (organized according to traditional guild structures) that catered to the needs of the European markets, came increasingly under the control of non-Muslims²⁴(ibid: 411). The guilds performed all kinds of social functions for urban population often in alliance

²³ There is no information on the guilds of Mardin and Trabzon could be found. The cities mentioned above have been the biggest and favorite cities in terms of their guilds in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, a more detailed archive search may be needed for the cities of Mardin and Trabzon.

²⁴ Non-Muslims were better able to weather the tide of change, thanks to the close ties of their communities to the local agents of European trading companies. Thus the Muslim and non-Muslim members of the guilds began to present.

with the religious orders or millets. Another critical point of internal matter of guilds towards the end of the eighteenth century was that the relations between artisans and Janissaries become known. As more and more Muslim artisans became Janissaries so that their control of the guilds and the protection of their craftsmanship turned the guilds into a militia-like organisation. (Karaömerlioğlu and Balıkcı, 2013:186). So, one threat to craft-guilds' stable economic life during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries came from the members of the local Janissary garrison. (Yıldırım, 2008: 86). In conjunction with the abolition of the Janissaries in 1826 by Mahmud II, crafts guilds got rid of to be perceived as militia-like organisation.

2.2.1.2 The 19th Century

The guilds had great prominence for the state, because they produced goods that meet the civilian and military needs of the government and provided a significant portion of the tax revenues (Quataert, 2006:1003). Guilds also were one of the fundamental urban institutions of the Ottoman Empire. They organized the majority of the economically active urban population from Balkans to North Africa from at least the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.(Chalcraft, 2005:238). The traditional structures of the Ottoman economy and trade were able to sustain their existence in the 17th and 18th centuries without major changes. But, it was no longer possible to talk about the control of trade routes that were entirely in the hands of the Ottomans in the 18th century (Faroqhi, 2011: 68). Ottoman craft organizations faced conditions that changed rapidly after 1750 and they came across the conditions that are determined by a fierce competition with Western products (McGowan, 2006: 819). Hence, in the early 19th century, the Ottoman State was in depression, but this depression does not show that the Ottoman craftsmen are completely dissolved. There were artisanal crafts that fit the situation, for example weaving; craftsmen were producing fabric for domestic consumption with imported yarn. Apart from the integration in the direction of the world market, the Ottoman enterprises had to

surrender to the ups and downs of the world conjuncture, which was then led by Europe and then the United States (Faroghi, 2011: 68).

There is a common opinion of historians that the 19th century constituted new and unprecedented period for the Ottoman society and economy than before. During the nearly 100-year period from the 1820s until the First World War, the volume of manufactured/finished goods imported from Western European countries expanded rapidly and the Ottoman State faced the military, political and economic power of the West (Pamuk, 2010: 191,224). Faced with the competition of the products of the industrial revolution, production activities based on crafts have been able to resist some branches, have declined in many branches, and have been totally destroyed in some branches (ibid). In contrast to this 19th century view, Rifa'at Ali Abou-el-haj objected that 19th-century changes are treated as a sudden, new and indeed unprecedented phenomenon (2000: 110). For him, political change was not based solely on foreign pressure that is composed the military threats of the Great Powers or the commercial and economic rivalry of Europe. On the contrary, the main forces that caused the change were internal forces. Therefore, political change needs to be addressed in the light of economic and social interests. That is, instead of concentrating exclusively on the foreign politics of the great European powers and treating the Ottoman Empire as a dependent variable, the internal dynamics of the Ottoman society must be examined (ibid: 124).

Early nineteenth century marked the beginning of a series of revolutionary changes in the Ottoman state. The comprehensive reform programmes of 1839, known as the Tanzimat, craft guilds, were exposed to significant revisions. Economic reforms of the Tanzimat regime, craft-guilds dissolved into individual enterprises, lost most of their traditional privileges in receiving raw materials and enjoying various government subsidies, especially in the field of taxation (ibid: 75). Due the fatal effects of the commercial treaty signed with Great Britain in 1838, craft production suffered a major setback with Tanzimat reforms (Pamuk, 2010:207). That agreement

with Britain challenged the predominant role of craft guilds and increased the advantage of foreign effect over domestic goods in the Ottoman market (Yıldırım, 2008: 75). It is important to note that the Tanzimat reforms is a historical turning point and a critical stage that initiated modernization²⁵ and manifested economic peripheralization of Ottoman Empire. In order to understand not only effects of peripheralization of Ottoman economy and but also craft production, It is important to take into consideration Wallenstein' explains. For him, relationships with the Ottoman Empire and capitalist world-economy with respect to paradigm of the social change and social structure can be paid attention:

A world empire and a world economy are two different kinds of social systems in terms of their economics, their politics and their cultural expressions. A world-empire is defined as a single social economy (division of labor) with an overarching political structure. A world- economy is defined as a single social economy. These two system have different modes of production. While, a world-empire uses a redistribute mode, a world-economy uses capitalist mode.... When a world-empire and world-economy “meet” however, one tends to absorb the other. Historically, it has almost always been the case that an expanding world-empire has absorbed a surrounding world-economy into its imperium (Wallenstein, 1977:117).²⁶

At this perspective, the Ottoman Empire was a classic case of a world-empire and came into contact with a capitalist world-economy, that of Europe that absorbed it. Thus, at this stage the “Ottoman was no-longer a world-empire, but simply one more state located within the boundaries of the capitalist world-economy (Wallerstein, 1977:118). That is, the production within the Ottoman Empire peripheralized and governed by the pressures for capital accumulation. According to Wallerstein, process of peripheralization was dated from the nineteenth century or from early seventeenth century, but, Ottoman Empire had clearly become a peripheral area, a

²⁵ The Tanzimat reforms signaled the beginning of the transition of the Ottoman state from a patrimonial empire to a modern state.(instituting private property, equality of all subjects of the empire without regard to ethnicity and religion.

²⁶ I do not fully agree with the view of center-periphery of Wallerstein. This paradigm defends that the economic decline and collapse of guild is based only external factors. But, I propound that internal conflicts as well as external factors have a large share in economic transformations.

peripheral zone in the capitalist world-economy in nineteenth century (ibid:119-121). The peripheralisation of the Ottoman economy or peripheral integration into the capitalist world economy in this century led to the economic decline of the Empire and most Ottoman guilds failed to respond to the European impact. This development was to result in the destruction or dissolution of the guilds into their constituent elements, namely individual artisanal enterprises (Yıldırım, 2002:410). Thus, the Ottoman Empire was integrated into the capitalist world economy in a subordinate fashion.

Peripheralization of Ottoman economy and the modernization of the Ottoman state should be studied as a complementary process. The reforms of Tanzimat also was an attempt to introduction of the notion of the “Ottoman nation” or the policy of “Ottomanism” in the modernization of Ottoman state was also finding expression in the creation of a quasi-national identity (Gülalp, 1994:169). The major non-Muslim elements (some Jews, but mostly Greek, Armenian or Arab Christians) in Empire that was integrated in the European capitalist economy, linked their interests with European powers and they became in essence a comprador bourgeoisie, the economic intermediaries between Europeans and Ottomans (Ahmad, 1977:329). However, not all non-Muslims were members of the comprador bourgeoisie. The local commercial bourgeoisie aligned with the European bourgeoisie were non-Muslim, while the landed interests were Muslim. It is noted that in accordance with this development, at the end of 18th century, Muslim reaction started against this Christian bourgeoisie that took the form of a Muslim nationalism (Karpat, 2002:19). By the nineteenth century, the expanding trade networks and the increasing diversification of the Ottoman economy had created an ethnic division of labor (Gülalp, 1994:168). Commerce and industry were monopolized by the Christian (Greek and Armenian) minorities, while the Muslims were predominant in the countryside (Issawi, 1982).

2.2.1.2.1 Gendered Division of Labor

Guild history shows a trend toward exclusion of women from guilds both in Ottoman and in the rest of the world. The institutional world of work was overwhelmingly male, and so women hold a very small place in discussion of guilds. In general, all across Europe women saw their formal, independent participation in guilds narrow from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century. Although their presence was not entirely eroded, guildsmen and magistrates joined to increasingly exclude them from a range of guilds, leaving them in guilds upon which society placed little social value and deemed “unskilled” (Farr, 2000: 37). However, recent studies have shown that despite legal exclusion from most guilds, many women practiced artisanal trades nearly everywhere with unskilled works. As an example of these studies, in 1678 in Bursa that is known a huge and important silk weaving city women were not usually members of the guild, although they were paid to work especially in the silk spinning for merchant. In 1678, 150 of the 300 silk spinning devices in the city belonged to women or were operated by women (Faroqhi, 2005:718). Due to not being guild members, these women worked in their homes without paying guild tax and sold their labor products on the streets, even on a private market (Gerber 1982:238). Similarly, in 1840 in Ankara, mohair-weaving guilds trying to oppose European competition they used women labor. These guilds were buying raw mohair at prices set at markets in the region and distributing them to “poor” women who are silk spinning (Quataert, 2006: 1006). Within those years, the male rope fitter²⁷ in Karlovo in the south of the Balkan Mountains were guild members, but women who are woolen spinning was not (ibid). This trend to exclude categorically women from official guilds occurred in towns all across the Ottoman Empire; hence guilds were becoming increasingly masculinized.

²⁷ Cotton or silk ribbon

Spinning cotton with hand is a low-paid job and does not need to master the skill of it. In spite of this, manual spinning of the cotton continued in some regions until the 1st World War. In the 1850s all Kurdish women around Diyarbakir roved in winter. In the 1870s, peasant women in Eastern Anatolia provided yarn to the weavers of the village and received woven fabrics (ibid: 1019). In 1840's of Damascus, the line of work which women were concentrated was less paid work, such as the processing of yarn raw materials. It was the work of the monopoly of women to wrap the silk thread in the bobbin, to make the wool into felt and fabric. Men, however, had undergone the intermediate stages of production; the weavers and painters are always masters (Vatter, 2011:58). It is seen that, women practiced a wide range of artisanal crafts, but alongside this diversity is a trend toward an increasingly gendered division of labor or invisible labor as women were concentrated more and more in particular artisanal sectors (Farr, 2000: 110). This process is defined as in today's word a position of deskilled of women labor. Such "deskilling" was a product of particular social and gender relations. That is, the "skill" of female artisans had been undergoing a process of devaluation for centuries before industrialization.

The same trend of exclusion, masculinization of guild and increasing gendered division of craft was seen in admission ceremony of membership to guild that was a very visible area. At this ceremony, when the young people thought they were ready to be accepted, their father would appeal sheikh²⁸. After, if the sheikh realized that candidate was really ready for membership, he invited their masters for the ceremony to be held in the guild (Lewis, 2009:138). This day, for father, master and son were a day of pride and celebration and the rights and duties of the guild membership ultimately influenced a man's social life in all its aspects (ibid: 139). The ceremony that took place between the father-son-master show how a guild was explicitly gendered or masculinized. At the same time, the significance of this is that with the

²⁸ The guild consists of masters, chiefs and apprentices. A butler and "yiğitbaşı" responsible for prestige of guild, and guild is rigidly organized under the leadership of a sheikh. (Lewis, 2009:137)

admission ceremony of membership to guild, it appeared that the institutional world of guild and also craft were masculinized. As a result, it can be said that Ottoman guild history showed a trend toward exclusion of women from guilds and revealed the trend toward a more rigid gendered division of labor in terms of women. However, for recent studies have shown that, despite legal exclusion from most guilds, many women practiced artisanal trades nearly everywhere (Farr, 2000: 110).

2.2.1.2.2 Ethno-religious Division of Labor

The notion of ethnic and religious division of craft production has helped to illuminate our understanding of Ottoman economic and social history. Most of the recent studies mention the problem of relation between guild and religious or ethnic community. When examining the religious component of guild organization above a general overview in Ottoman state, in seventeenth or eighteenth-century, there were quite a few guilds with both Muslim and non-Muslim members. This meant that religious and communitarian allegiances remained distinct from the loyalties binding masters to their guilds. Seventeenth-century guilds could be organized on a religious or even denominational basis, but in many instances Muslims and non-Muslims shared the same guilds in core regions (Faroqhi, 2009:19). When examined ethnic and religious composition of craft-guild, some other major cities of the Ottoman Empire such as Cairo, Bursa, Aleppo, and Damascus guilds of 17th century; there were not separated according to religious community in Bursa; the early 18th century in Damascus, there were both mixed guilds and members of guilds belonged to the same religious or ethnic community in Cairo, but it was found that most guilds were mixed in there (Baer,1977: 98). Only in the 19th century, the number of separate guilds grew because of the position of Christians improved under Mehmed Ali in Egypy/Cairo (ibid).²⁹

²⁹ It is not known whether there is any data regarding the situation of the guilds in the cities of Mardin and Trabzon in the 17th and 18th centuries. As I mentioned before, Cairo, Bursa, Aleppo and

The relative frequency of multi-religious guilds was an argument against the assumption that seventeenth-century craft organizations possessed a strongly religious character. The separation of Muslim and non-Muslim artisans in guilds occur in the later 1700s and throughout the 1800s rather than in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Faroqhi, 2009:19). It has often been assumed that this tendency was indirectly due to both an increasing European presence in the markets of Empire and non-Muslim craftsmen in general adjusted more easily to the new situation (ibid:20). The Ottoman social groups that engaged in internal trade, industry and crafts, and professions started to vary across religious lines. For instance, according to a 1912 Ottoman yearbook, while Ottoman Muslim participation became limited to 15 percent in internal trade, 12 percent in industry and crafts, and 14 percent in the professions, the share of Ottoman minorities expanded to comprise 66 percent of those engaged in internal trade, 79 percent in industry and crafts, and 66 percent in the professions (Göcek, 1996:114). Thereby, the advantaging of the minorities over the Muslims led to a significant social polarization within Ottoman society during the nineteenth century.

On the other hand, the segregation of guildsmen by religion also occurred in crafts which lost ground owing to the technical developments of the nineteenth century, even though they were not directly exposed to the inter-regional or international market (Faroqhi, 2009: 20). Therefore the increasing prosperity and self-confidence of non-Muslims cannot have been the only factor furthering inter-religious tensions. However, Karpat determined that there was a tendency in the 19th century for an ethnic group to monopolize a profession, but this was a consequence of political and economic pressures and discrimination imposed from outside (Karpat, 2002:392). In other words, ethnic divisions in the Ottoman were being exploited by the Western

Damascus have a very rich structure in terms of the city guilds. The reason why I have to exemplify these cities is to draw a general framework for the guild structure at that time.

powers. This led to a situation in which material conflicts were articulated in ethnic and religious terms. Segregation by religion apparently occurred at varying times, and from one city or even one craft to the next relations between Muslims and non-Muslims might differ substantially (Faroqhi, 2009: 20). Hence, it can be propounded that the craftsmen's successes as well as their failures tell us a good deal about the interface of Ottoman state and society (ibid: xxvii)

2.2.2 The Term Of Modern Turkey

2.2.2.1 Construction of Nation-State

The Ottoman Empire was a multi-ethnic and multi-religious polity that played an integral part in the economy and politics, by contrast, the Republic of Turkey has been content to the function as a self-contained nation-state (Atabaki and Brockett, 2009:1). Barkey asserts that during the Ottoman transformation three different identity options were born and maintained: Tanzimat, II.Abdülhamid and Young Turk (Jön Türk) periods. Firstly, by 1908, the Ottoman Empire had witnessed many changes in terms of its economic, politics discourses and practices. The Tanzimat reforms brought the Muslim and non-Muslim subjects to the same level, and each group had equality before the law, stripping away the privileges they possessed (Barkey, 2008: 373). Secondly, Abdulhamid's pan-Islamic discourse was aimed at a great Islamic empire, and lastly, the long term Young Turk regime encouraged the national foundations and language and cultural characteristics of Turkishness against the Islamic view (ibid: 378).

When the World War I came, there was immigrant population of Anatolia. This migration originated from the nationalist movements and independence politics in the Balkans and the warfare with between Russia and Ottoman Empire. Hence, this migration process both changed demographic balance of the empire and increased

the social and economic tensions of the empire (Barkey, 2008: 374) At the same time, this immigrant population came from places where ethnic and nationalist identities were well formed. Hence, migration facilitated the period of Abdulhamid II's attempt to preserve the empire's supremacy via Islamic union. In other words, the increase of Muslim settlements was a good tool to organize around a Sunni-Orthodox construction (ibid: 375).

State's third attempt to legitimize or building tool of legitimacy was Turkish nationalism. The leaders of Young Turk took important steps towards creating a new national institution and class. These steps aimed to create Turkish bourgeoisie and to establish state institutions and cooperatives that promote Turkish economic enterprises. To perform these steps, they planned mass deportation and slaughtering of non-Muslim population that majority included Armenians (ibid: 382). Together with the dispossession of Ottoman non-Muslims that includes Armenian, Greek, Assyrian, Young Turks' ideology and policies of "National Economy"³⁰ put into action. In the poem "Homeland"(Vatan) published by Ziya Gökalp, the forerunner of this ideology in 1912, we can find traces of economic nationalism and the wish to create a national economy:

A country, where all capital circulating in its markets,
The Technology and science guiding its craft, is the Turk's.
Its professions always protect each other,
Its shipyards, factories, boats, trains, is the Turk's,
O Turk, that is where your homeland is!³¹ (Gökalp, 1976:11)

Gökalp as an ideologist of Turkish nationalism, in this poem, gave the message that the craft and the capital should be Turkified. For this aim, in 1916 artisan training

³⁰ Toprak, Z. (2012) *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat 1908-1918*, Doğan Kitap: İstanbul

³¹ Bir ülke ki çarşısında dönen bütün sermaye
San'atına yol gösteren ilimle fen Türk'ündür.
Hırfetleri birbirini daim eder himaye;
Tersaneler,fabrikalar, vapur, tren Türk'ündür;
Ey Türk oğlu, işte senin orasıdır vatanın!

centers and vocational courses for both men and women with the more able students often seconded to German Institutions and corporations. The idea Emin concludes “was to conquer fields of activity monopolized by non-Turks”(1930: 115). In this context, Donald Bloxham, in his study of the Armenian Genocide, assesses results of the Young Turk ethno-policies related to economic sphere:

1913-1914 saw a concerted CUP (The Committee of Union and Progress) attempt to create a Turkish-Muslim bourgeoisie at the expense of Christians. Drawing heavily on the model of the “national economy”...the CUP regarded it as essential in the formation of a centrally controlled and independent economic system that the key positions in the economy be occupied by “reliable” citizens whose interests coincided with those of the state. The prescription was for a reorganization of economic resources in favor of “ethnically desirable” citizens and therefore of the ethnically defined state itself (2005:63-4).

To this argument, it can be said that the Young Turk economic thought shaped with perception of “ethnically desirable” citizen to formulate national and homogenized economy in Republican Turkey. Parallel with the ethno-national economy policy, The Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) launched a demographic policies against Armenian citizens towards extermination their population that resulted in the death, deportation and displacement of Armenians. According to the command dated June 21, 1915, even if all Armenians without exception were targeted to deportation, craftspeople families were allowed to remain in Anatolia (Dündar, 2013: 298). Then, according to a new command, it is decided that Armenian craftspeople only who are needed by the state and also serviceable were be exempted deportation. However this situation was based on the rule of %5, that is, they would be allowed to stay 5% of the total number of families in the city (ibid: 299). In the consequence of this population politics of Unionists towards craftspeople, it can be said that the majority of qualified craftspeople was composed of Armenians. Hence, the CUP evaluated the population of Armenian craftspeople as nonexpendable, that is, the CUP needed these craftspeople.

As mentioned above, in the context of building the national economy, the CUP saw national tradespeople/craftspeople as a driving power. Hence, the CUP established the tradespeople associations that represented the occupations in 1915 (Toprak, 2012: 478). In addition to this, in the war years, the Babiali supported these associations, and protected Muslims tradespeople against non-Muslim tradespeople (ibid). In parallel with this policy, Kara Kemal (Ahmed Kemal) who was known as an important figure in CUP played an influential role in organizing tradesmen to form a political power (Tekeli and İlkin, 2004: 1). Kara Kemal had the task of ensuring that the small shopkeepers would reach the level to become the national bourgeoisie (Şimşeker, 2014: 103). For this purpose, he established companies to develop tradespeople organizations to monopolize and to control the sale of products (Toprak, 2012: 478). In other words, it can be stated that to create the national bourgeoisie, national companies was established.

In the following process, liberal policies aimed at bringing the different elements in the Empire around the concept of the Ottoman nation were radically abandoned. The CUP that seized power tried to create a Turkish bourgeoisie in the war years. In this direction, the ideas that included establishing national companies, establishing national banks and organizing Muslim tradesmen and merchants were in harmony with Turkish nationalism. It is seen that the first step of the development of any national economy is a national bank,³² that is incorporation and banking would bear the stamp of this term. The Industrial Promotion Law, which entered into force in 1913, is one of the first steps in this direction (Pamuk, 2010: 175).

³² In 1911 İstanbul Bank, İtibar-ı Milli Bank, 1917 Ticaret ve İtibar-ı Umumi Bank and 1918 Milli İktisat Bank. However, these developments, which symbolize the entrance of the Muslim Turkish population into the field of economy and finance, are the ones that have significance for the near future in Anatolia. Their common feature is that they appear as a "national" economic discourse and grow very quickly. For examples: in 1914 Konya Milli İktisat Bank, 1914'de Milli Aydın Bank, 1915 Karaman Milli Bank, in 1916 Kayseri Milli İktisat Anonim Şirketi, 1917 Manisa Bağcılar Bank, 1918 Eskişehir Çiftçi Bank (Kuruç, 2012: 300).

Besides these Turkification processes of economy and society, in the period 1913-1914 the CUP launched a boycott movement. Declared an economic boycott against the Ottoman Christians in order to strengthen Muslim economic power. Initially the economic boycotts were initiated against Greeks, but then its scope was gradually expanded to Armenians. The aim of this boycott was a call to Muslim-Turks to construct a national economy. For this aim, the CUP organized demonstrations and distributed booklets (Çetinkaya, 2015). In these booklets, it was stated that non-Muslims benefited mainly from the current state of the economy. While non-Muslims mastered different crafts, Muslim people made up their consumers and shopped only from them. Thus, non-Muslims became wealthy thanks to the money Muslims spend. The money that non-Muslims earned were using against the interests of the Ottoman Empire. (Çetinkaya, 2015: 172). Consequently, it can be seen that all of these processes showed primitive accumulation of nationalized economy of Turkish nation-state.

2.2.2.2 Construction of National and Homogenized Economy, 1923-1950

It is argued that the history of transformation from the patrimonial Ottoman Empire into the modern Turkish Republic took place incrementally, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in a process of Ottoman resistance and accommodation to globally expanding capitalism. Transformation of the late Ottoman state with the rise of modern Turkey, covers roughly starting from the Tanzimat of 1839 to the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. It can be seen that the entire process took almost a century. From this perspective, the transformation of the Ottoman state appears to be a product of the social change that accompanied the integration of the Ottoman economy into the capitalist world economy that captures elements of both dependency and modernization accounts (Gülalp, 1994:160). Turkey's history of modernization extending back to the institutional reforms of the late Ottoman era and epitomized by the establishment of a secular nation-state under Kemalism in 1923

(Bozdoğan and Kasaba, 1997:3). The rise of modern nation-state and nation building as an integral process of capitalist transformation offers a more historically grounded perspective. These processes showed that national consciousness was extended to the sphere of the economy. When examining the transformation of perception of nation-religion, the Turkishness of the Ottoman state purposefully was ignored as a matter of state policy and this policy allowed ethno-linguistic diversity. However, Ottoman state emphasized their Islamic characteristics and viewed that the basic source of individual and group identity was religion (Karpas, 2002:10,20). Thus, It can be asserted that the Islamic legitimization of the Ottoman state was replaced by national legitimization and there was a cumulative drawn-out historical process of social and economic change.

In response to the new and favorable conditions created by the Tanzimat and the general encouragement of private enterprise, trade and industry expanded in the years before 1876. The superiority of European manufactures and the continued restrictions imposed by the Capitulations, the Ottomans still were able to develop a nascent industry of their own (Shaw, 1977:122). The Young Turk Revolution of July 1908 that was the first political movement that is known as Unionist movement aimed both to rescue the Empire from the old order and liberate it from the control and affect of the European powers and to create a national economy and a national bourgeoisie so as to become dependent of Europe (Ahmad, 1977:332). These trends led to systematic policy of attempting to replace the non-Muslim bourgeoisie by the Muslim and Turkish elements of the population that started firstly under the Young Turk regime of 1908-1918 and was finally completed by the end of the Kemalist War of Liberation (Gülalp, 1994:170). The notions of “national bourgeoisie” and “national economy” were in circulation at the time of the Kemalist revolution, starting especially with the Young Turk constitutional regime of 1908 (Toprak, 1982:342). But here, the term of “national” had an entirely different meaning. It referred to the division of labor between the Muslim and non-Muslim elements of Ottoman society where the latter had privileged position of being the favored trading

partner of the European bourgeoisie (Gülalp, 1994:158). This division reflected to economic area and became the basis of the ethnic conflict between the Turkish Muslim and the Christian (especially Greek and Armenian) elements (Keyder, 1987:24). The policy of creating a “national economy”, which the Kemalist regime inherited from the Young Turk regime, meant the transfer of the economic position of the Christian minority to the Turkish-Muslim majority. In particular, several radical steps were followed in the forceful nationalization of the bourgeoisie and middle class during the first half of the twentieth century: firstly, the deportation and massacre of large numbers of Armenians in 1914-1915, followed by the exchange of populations with Greece between 1923 and 1930, then came the imposition of a special wealth tax of up to 75 percent on the properties of non Muslim entrepreneurs in 1942 and the whole process culminated in the government-instigated riots of September 6-7, 1955 (Kasaba,1997: 28). According to weekly report on July 18, 1918 that reflected outcomes of nationalized policies of economy noted that, “Turkish nationalism is also rampant in economic sphere. The plundering of Armenians and Greeks has momentarily placed capital in Turkish hands”(Ahmad, 1977:346). In this process and circumstances, it is wondered that what the craftsmen of Ottoman was happened. While artisans and craftsmen had found their way either to Europe or to neighboring countries, the non- Muslim commercial bourgeoisie had been subjected either to forced migration and massacre – as in the case of the Armenians –or to exchange – as in the case of the Greeks (Aktar, 2003: 90). Due to exchange, significantly non-Muslim population left from Turkey and this process has led to the loss of labor force in some occupations and crafts (Koraltürk, 2011:282).

Any reason of dissolution of craftspeople in Turkey should be pursued in the Republic’s ideological and political implementations on non-Muslims due to the construction of nation-state and Turkification and homogenization process in economy and society. After the ten years of war between 1912 and 1922, the country’s reserves of entrepreneurial know-how and artisanry had been almost totally drained with the departure of Anatolia’s minorities (ibid: 90) and numbers of

handicrafts industrial schools have sprung up all over the country, and hundreds of Turkish youths have been sent to them (Ahmad, 1977:346). Searching this period's class structure, Lewis determined that the farmers consisted almost entirely of Muslim Turks; the craftspeople and merchants were largely, though not entirely, members of the three minority communities, the Greeks, Armenians and Jews (Lewis, 1962 :291). Throughout this process, owing to the ethnic structure of the empire and to the civil war, as a result of which the Christian populations were expelled, the state elite did not have to worry about the cooperation or reluctance of a strong bourgeois class (Keyder, 1997:39). In this stage, the Kemalist Revolution completed the Muslim takeover of the economic positions originally occupied by non-Muslims. As a result, new bourgeoisie was created through the policies of the state during the project of nationalist modernity or Turkification and homogenization of economy and society. However, the newly emerging Turkish bourgeoisie and urban artisans could not replace the minorities in all sectors of economic and social life (ibid: 90). For this reason, local newspapers of some provinces called to have artisans among both the refugees in the process of exchange and the ones outside of the partnership, which will settle in the country³³ (Koraltürk, 2011: 282).

As a continuation of policies and practices of construction of national and homogenized economy, both decisions taken at congress and spoken issues in 1923 İzmir Economic Congress (İzmir Ekonomi Kongresi) and Industrial Incentives

³³ In this context, for example, in 1924, a local newspaper of Keskin that is the town of Kırıkkale city wrote to demand thus and so: “ Keskin’e gönderilecek muhacirlerin özellikle kasabada iskan edilecek olan kısmının sanayi erbabından, köylere gönderilecek kısmının ise tütüncüler arasından seçip göndermek gelecek zavallılar için de, buradaki ahali-i asliye için de bir hayat memet mes’elesidir. Çünkü mübadele burada bir tek zanaatkar bırakmıyor. Yarın şu memlekette ne çiğçinin sabanını yapacak bir demirci ne yıkılan bir duvarı yapacak bir duvarcı hatta lehimeci bir tenekeci bulunmayacaktır.”(In the First Years of the Republic Keskin Newspaper, haz. Bayram Sakallı, T.C. Kırıkkale Valiliği Yayını: Ankara, 1999, s.117. quoted by Murat Koraltürk, 2011: 282). Another example was Çorum Gazetesi that wrote : “İşçi aranıyor, vilayette kütüphane, mekteb, hastahane, köprü vesaire inşaatı vardır. Kısmen başlamış olan bu inşaat için taşçı ustalarına ihtiyaç bulunduğundan bu gibi usta ve kalfaların vilayetimize geldikleri takdirde faydalı iş bulacakları ilan olunur. (Çorum Gazetesi Çevirili 1921-26 (II), yay haz.Abdülkadir Özulu, 2008, Çorum Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları: Çorum, s.1562. quoted by Murat Koraltürk, 2011: 282).

Law (Teşvik-i Sanayi Kanunu) was passed in 1927 could be examined in the context of these policies. In İzmir Economic Congress Mustafa Kemal determined that foreign capital after the Tanzimat period had an exceptional position and “the state and the government made the gendarmes of foreign capital” (İnan, 1989: 65). Besides Mustafa Kemal, another speaker of the congress was Kazım Karabekir. He also by advocating homogenized and ethnicized economy said in congress that:

...Our craftsmen in factories, our merchants in banks and trades will create a new Turk universe, and we will as Turk have peace realm of the whole world with the victory in the field of economics³⁴

Therefore, it can be seen that there was a clearly emphasis about ethnic-Turk craftsmen and merchants to create national and ethnic homogeneity in economy. In addition to this, Industrial Incentives Law³⁵ (Teşvik-i Sanayi Kanunu) that was passed in 1927 aimed both raising a national industrialist class (Atılğan, 2012: 329) and also accumulating capital in the local private sector (Kuruç, 2012: 308). Another legal arrangement was the Law on Arts and Services Allocated to the Turkish Citizens in Turkey³⁶ (Türkiye’de Türk Vatandaşlarına Tahsis Edilen Sanat ve Hizmetler Hakkında Kanun) dated 1932. With this law most occupations and crafts were prohibited for non-Turkish citizens (Aktar, 2010: 121, Koraltürk, 2011:277). This law only reserved the craftspeople and professions to be assigned to Turkish citizens individually and forced others who were not Turkish citizen to leave these crafts and occupations. It can be understood that this law accorded with

³⁴ “...fabrikalarda sanatkarlarımız, bankalarda, ticarethanelerde tüccarlarımız kainata yeni bir Turk alemi yaratacak ve biz Türkiye evladları iktisat sahasındaki zaferlerimizle bütün dünyanın sulh nazımı olacağız”(İnan :1989 :89).

³⁵ The law was not entirely a product of the Republic, but a continuation of the 1913 incentive-industry law of the Committee of Union and Progress period and the scope expanded in 1927 (Kuruç, 2012: 308).

³⁶ For detailed information see law, dated 11/6/1932 and number 2007. Cited by Ayhan Aktar, 2010: 120.

implementations of national economy and Turkification of economy. By this way, it was aimed to increase the effectiveness of Muslim-Turks in the economy and to remove the role of non-Muslims.

The “Turkification” policy based on the idea of forming a society consists of just Turks. The next step was to make Turks have the control of the Turkish economy. The Wealth Tax Law (Varlık Vergisi) that was proposed the Şükrü Saraçoğlu government and was enacted by the Turkish Grand National Assembly on November 11, 1942 can be analyzed within Turkification and homogenization process of society and economy. All citizens of Turkey paid the tax, but higher tariffs were generally imposed on the country's non-Muslim inhabitants, often in an arbitrary and unrealistic way that was conceived and applied in a manner neither normal nor justifiable (Lewis, 1962:291). It was imposed on the fixed assets, such as landed estates, building owners, real estate brokers, businesses, and industrial enterprises of all citizens, including the non-Muslims. So, It can be analyzes that those who suffered most severely were non-Muslims like the Jews, Greeks and Armenians who controlled a large portion of the economy. Therefore, it can be claimed that this tax totally related with the formation of the Turkish National Bourgeoisie by taking the capitals of the non-Muslims. In other words, the law of Wealth Tax is entirely political and it can be propounded that through this law new national state achieved to destroy non-Muslim citizens economically in order to promote the ethnic homogenization. So, It can be said, “this is the most critical indicator of capital transfer which is realized by state”(Aktar, 2010: 205). According to Lewis, many businessmen were ruined by assessments greater than their total possessions; others, though wealthy enough to pay, were bankrupted because no time was allowed the to find enough liquid Money. Most tragic was the position of the numerous poor- the artisans, wage earners, an even the beggars, ragmen and bootblacks, licensed occupations with lists of license holders in official possession. These, if non-Muslims, were in most cases taxed at figures wildly beyond their ability to pay, and then sold up for their failure do so (Lewis, 1962:293). Thereby, it

can be propounded that main reason of the Wealth Tax was to nationalize the Turkish economy and bourgeoisie by reducing minority populations' influence and control over the country's trade, finance, and industries.

2.2.2.3 Protection of Domestic Market and Industry, 1950-1980

In 1950, there was a shift to a multi-party electoral regime that brought the Democrat Party (DP) to power. The most important characteristic of this term was populist economic policies that implemented firstly by the DP that tried to sustain economic growth with short-term expansionist policies for predictable longer-term consequences in modern Turkey (Pamuk, 2008:282). The 1950s also witnessed the dramatic acceleration of rural to urban migration in Turkey. This mobility originated from pull and push factors in rural areas that differed widely across the country and development of the road network (Zürcher, 1997:235, Keyder, 1987:135-140). After the first wave of industrial economy that occurred during the 1930s by the new Republic, the second wave of industrialization began in 1960s, again under heavy protection and with government subsidies and tax breaks (Pamuk, 2008:298). Thereby, the economic policies of the 1960s and 1970s aimed the protection of the domestic market and industrialization through import substitution via restrictive trade regime, investments by the state economic enterprises and subsidized credits (ibid: 283). Compared to the single-party era between 1950 and 1980, the craftspeople that were cleansed from non-Muslims elements aimed to pursue credit opportunities. In the 1950s and 1960s, due to the becoming bourgeois elites, the Turkish artisans were not an obsolete backward-looking social class with pre-capitalist inspirations in the context of a capitalist threat of 'inevitable' dissolution (Karaömerlioğlu and Balıkçı, 2013:203). The artisans actually embraced the values of the New World order of the post-World War II era, such as democracy; market economy and Western orientation and their mentalities, concerns, ambitions and endeavors went much beyond preserving their status quo (ibid: 203).

In the 1954 elections, the Democrat Party (DP) provided a certain alliance with the urban bourgeoisie, the rural peasantry and the newly enriched part of the townsman, using the religion as a vehicle (Tekeli, 2013:33). In these years, religious leaders had important support in the country, especially in the villages, in the small towns, and between the craftsmen and the small tradesmen of the big cities (Lewis, 1988: 315). However, non-Muslims were not close to the Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, CHP) that was known responsible for the fiscal massacres of the 1942 Wealth Tax, so they supported Democrat Party (ibid: 316). When it came to the second half of the 1960's, Erbakan and the National Salvation Party (Milli Selamet Partisi, MSP), who were representatives of an over-conservative-Islamic tradition, had great support for the peasants and craftsmen. Demirel who was elected the president of the Justice Party (AP) in 1964 made new tax proposals to help the country get the money for industrialization. But, together with this policy, Justice Party and Demirel lost the support of the most conservative wing, the representative of the interests of Anatolian landowners, craftsmen, small merchants and shopkeepers (Zürcher, 2011: 365). As a result, after its establishment, the AP, which has long represented the aforementioned minor interests groups, towards the end of the '60s became the advocate of the interests of the big capital and industry. By emphasizing this important point, it can be said in the second half of the 1960s, even through political parties, craftsmen continued to defy or resist against industrialization. That is, craftsmen became occupational interest groups that operate decision-making and voting mechanisms according to the parties' industrial and credit policies.

In 1970, National Order Party (Millî Nizam Partisi, MNP) that was founded by Erbakan represented independent business people, merchants and craftsmen under the threat of the industrialization. In this process, Erbakan launched National Outlook Movement (Milli Görüş Hareketi- MGH) and characterized this movement as national and other political movements as non-national (Aydın and Taşkın, 2014: 248). Erbakan described the political line of this movement that was based on

industrial development and spiritual renewal (ibid). Because of the support of traditional institutions and small manufacturer, craftsmen have taken under the influence of this movement and the most permanent representative of these parties was Milli Görüş.

2.2.2.4 Post 1980

At the last quarter of the twentieth century, the new form of capitalism, often referred to as “neoliberalism”, mainly causes the social change in the world scale that also affects craft and craftsmen. The character of this new form of capitalism is transnational, unlike the previous national, international and multinational stages. Neoliberal capitalism can be studied with reference to the debates on globalization. The increase in the penetration of transnational capital started to reach and enter the previously self-sufficient economies of the developing periphery countries like Turkey. The globalization also implied the integration of considerably self-sufficient periphery economies into the transnational world economy. As a result of that, the increasing financial dependency of the underdeveloped countries left the control of nation-scale production to the agents of transnational capitalism. As a result of these, the periphery began to change by increasing dependency of the nation-states to transnational corporations, in the global capitalist period. Due to the changes in both the production and reproduction spheres, today’s neocapitalism is currently experiencing a form much different than the previous classical capitalism. Global control of transnational companies goes beyond the nation-states. Currently, consumption is more distinctive and significant than the production. At the age of global capitalism, capitalism grewed, transformed and surpassed the old relations. Thereby, capitalism has not carried modernity with new appearance. Because, the bankrupt of national capitalisms and crisis of nation-state, the demise of nationalist developmentalism in the world at large, the globalizing trends and high technologies of the market have found their way into the world (Keyder, 1997: 47). In this

context, it can be propound that capitalist accumulation process has also transformed intellectual and manual labor that craftspeople have, in other words, they have become a main input of system at different levels.

The neoliberal ideology that is placed on the purification of the state from its regulative and controlling duties, by providing the spread of the relation of production to every sphere causes a great commodification on the sphere of social activity, labor force and employment. The changing structure of employment is provided by the global transformation of economic activity, on the one hand, and the technological change leading to the devaluing of work, on the other. This is a trend, which has been accelerating since the 1970s in Turkey (Keyder, 1995:153). In this process, craftsman doesn't feel safe in face of machine and innovations and for this reason he/she bears hostility to them. In other words, craftsman feels that his/her status and life standard is under threat. Technic innovations and cheap labor weaken his/her condition and in those industries where much capital, skill and machinery were required, the artisan lost some of his independence. However, in those industries where work could be put out, or where juvenile and unskilled labor could be drafted in, the artisan retained some of his independence but only at the cost of an increasing insecurity and a severe loss of status (Thompson; 1991; 263-64). In Turkey, when it comes to 1980s, with a result of the self-constitution of capitalist accumulation and changes, which place in technology, arguments as "society after industry" and "flexible production" have started to debate (Buğra, 2006: 24). Under these conditions, ateliers of craftsman have qualification as a station on the way that going factory and it transforms craft location which piece works are done. Hence, there seems to be no place for crafts in the cultural-economic policies of neo-liberal governments. As a result, the radical change in production process with nationalized economy, succeeding introduction of industrialization, state capitalism, corporate capitalism, transnational capitalism and free market economy not only made it impossible to sustain craft practice as the dominant mode of production, but also transformed the cultural meaning of crafts.

In addition to the economic developments conveyed in the above paragraphs, examining the transformation of craft in political developments is very important to understand the present situation. The researches on the 1980s have emphasized that these years have become increasingly export-oriented and that "Anatolian Tigers" played a big role in this increase. "Anatolian Tigers" are the general names of the industrial centers that come from tradition of craftsmanship and whose labor is not unionized and they have played the lead role in the rise of these centers that are for example Gaziantep, Denizli, Kayseri, Malatya, Konya, Çorum and the other places. (Pamuk, 2011: 302). Anatolian tigers both turned towards to conservative and religious social values and also favored open competition in politics and economy (Nasr, 2009), but they still most members of these groups have maintained mentioned features. So, instead of TUSIAD (The Turkish Businessmen's and Industrialists' Association, founded in 1971), they went under the leadership of the pro-Islamist MUSIAD. With the rise of the Anatolian tigers, the economic base of the bourgeoisie expanded socially and geographically; therefore these newly emerging elites in the provinces supported the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP) government (Pamuk, 2011: 302). As a result, this Anatolian capital (TIGERS) grew and developed, and in the 2000s, the AKP became more prosperous during the ruling period and the global economy integrated.

2.3 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has discussed the processes of dissolution of craftwork over two sections. Firstly, craft as a cultural and historical subject was examined over the stages of dissolution and disintegration in itself. It was propounded that craft has a story of its own dissolution that arises from the relationship of craft with both art and industry. This processes was based on whether or not there is an ontological break or evolutionary continuity. As a result, the first section of this chapter advocates that all stories of craft including gold and silver smithing had same story in terms of both

relationships with art and tensions with industry that lead to dissolution of craft in itself. Therefore, it can be propounded that craft is subject to historical and economical change that varies regionally and culturally.

Second section of this chapter sought to reasons of dissolution of craft in social life and historical developments. In this context, I traced the major sociopolitical transformations of the Ottoman and Republican history that includes the local and regional economic history of Ottoman dealing with multi-cultural, multi ethnic and multi religious conditions. In addition to these dynamics, the modernization and industrialization processes were examined to understand transformation and changes in relation with dissolution of craft. It is claimed that this dissolution began with the Tanzimat period and continued with the modernization and industrialization efforts.

The turning points and transformational phases along the path of dissolution processes of craft in Turkey started with guild times and continued with (CUP) Committee of Union and Progress's or Young Turks' ideological and economical policies that facilitated the processes mass deportation of non-Muslim craftspeople. As Roshwald points out, the period 1895-1955 brought a complete obliteration to the economic life of minorities of Ottoman, this process moved from the 1895 Abdülhamid massacres to 1915 genocide, reached interwar discriminations, accelerated during the 1942 Wealth Tax and found a conclusion in the 6-7 September 1955 and in 20 July 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation. These historical policies formed the basic mold for the etatisme and nurturance of an ethnic-Turkish economy and bourgeoisie that became the hallmarks of the postwar Turkish Republic's political economy (2001:110). After the 1980s these developments continued with craftspeople' experience of industrialization, automatism and mechanization in a particular economic context that has devastated them.

Christians of Ottoman played a role as an urban bourgeoisie, craftswoman/man and that Muslim merchants saw them as competitors, landowners saw them as creditors, and both groups put pressure on the Ottoman and Turkish state to expel them. Hence,

Young Turks fundamentally reshaped state and society to success imagined modern and centralized Turkish homeland. The Kemalist regime continued and carried forward the policies applied by the Young Turks. These policies aimed at reducing non-Muslims' role in the economy and creating Muslim bourgeoisie and craftspeople under state control. Every step that linked persecution and destruction caused to think possibilities to escape, refuge or resistance for non-Muslims craftspeople. In this process, most of them migrated, while the rest of them assimilated or became invisible. Under these devastating conditions, craftspeople in social and economic structure of Turkey, increasingly have changed in terms of ethnic, religion and political positions. After the 1950s, craftspeople entered a different position to the political scene. The Islamist movements and religious brotherhoods have had a strong effect on their political and economical choices. From that moment, craftsmen generally in Anatolia supported most conservative wing, Islamic political parties and sometimes right wing. Therefore, craftspeople have been among some important interest groups that play a role in shaping the politics of these parties. In other words, they as traditional middle class propertied people, craftspeople, and shopkeepers became Muslim periphery of these conservative political parties. As a result, it could be seen that craftspeople were organized under the conservative-Islamic tradition of political parties. At that point, it can be propounded that with contributions of Young Turks or CUP, Kemalist Regime and politicized Islamist movement policies that aimed to create ethno-religious homogenization have been successful in craftwork. It is clearly seen that craftspeople have encounter the legacies of key historical moments surrounding the changing contexts of time and space. To sum up briefly, this chapter reveals that the presence of craftspeople has a long dissolution history in both craft itself and Turkey, even preceding the Republic.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL TOOLS

-Boundaries as a Reason of Dissolution-

The general frame of theoretical understanding of this chapter includes that we need to develop a somewhat more differentiated set of conceptual tools to grasp social and historical processes of transformation and change. This processes need for theoretical integration that can explain not only the economic dynamics of social relations but also highlight historical discrepancies and intersections within ethnicity, class and gender identities themselves. Shedding some light on the theoretical logic of research, this chapter suggests and discusses the possible explanations of major socioeconomic transformation (modernization, industrialization, revolution) or political disjuncture (nation building, conflict, nationalism) relation with dissolution process of craft and craftsmanship in Turkey. In other words, considering the notions of critical junctures and developmental pathways this chapter investigates what is the role of state power, nation-building strategies and industrialization on reasons of dissolution. The weaving together of these historical accounts provided both the synthesis for theoretical articulation and insights about boundaries, categories, and meanings with accounts of power.

This chapter aims to bring together key perspectives and debates in sociological and historical theory on state power, ethnicity, minority rights, class and gender and interrelationships and intersection between them. What I want to do with them is to discuss questions relating to the constructions of boundaries and borders between them. The reformulation of boundaries to mark out unjust categories of insider and outsiders will facilitate to overcome theoretical concern with how boundaries have been drawn at the expense of the other and the political reality of marginalization. In this context, using boundary metaphor, I shall attempt to formulate and discuss a

number of interrelated theoretical propositions that can help to understand dissolution processes of craft and craftsmanship. The boundaries bring along following questions about who does the classifying or who can be classified as belonging within border and what are the reasons and results. So, boundaries of categories also help to identify the turning points and transformational phases of dissolution of craft production. For this reason, the chapter respectively concentrates on boundaries in the state power, ethnicity, class and gender that are the cause of the dissolution. By doing so, it will present four fold conceptual tools and analyses that provides the benchmark for a more detailed analysis that follows in the subsequent chapters.

3.1 Boundaries Between State Power and Ethnicization in Economy

Some words about the term “state” refer a field of power that shaped first by a general image of what a state ought to be and second by practices that are related to this image (Migdal and Schlichte, 2002). In this respect, state power illuminates redistributive role of the state and the changing center-periphery balance with particular reference to the devotion of centralized power. Mann’s conceptual model of the sources of social power is used to analyze how state power has been organized in relation to societal networks and association (Jacoby, 2004:1). Mann identifies the sources of power as ideological, economic, military and political and describes them as overlapping networks of social interaction:

Conceiving of societies as multiple overlapping and intersecting power networks gives us the best available entry into the issue of what is ultimately "primary" or "determining" in societies. A general account of societies, their structure, and their history can best be given in terms of the interrelations of what I will call the four sources of social power: ideological, economic, military, and political (IEMP) relationships (Mann, 1986: 13).

These sources of state power can be expressed and interpreted in the context of ideological, economic and political interactions. The political power in society means

that state has the leading role due to the fact that political power networks are distinguishable by their centralized location and their tendency in both domestic and geopolitical terms. When we look at economic power groupings, they are likely to be more diffused and decentered and they tend to operate in competition with other groupings in any given territorial delimitation. Ideological power movements are similarly interstitial often stressing the artificial and ephemeral nature of this division (Jacoby, 2004:13). Lastly, military power is “the state’s monopoly of organized violence over its territory”(Mann, 1986). The use of power mechanisms gives clue regarding shape of control of territory and mentalities of modern state-builders.

State needs to have apparatus of coercion and control to build an economic, cultural and political unity. Therefore, it can be said that the nation-state is the state dominated by one ethno-religious community whose ethnic and religious makers are frequently embedded in the economical, cultural and social build of the state. In other words, the terms of state and nation have interrelated and permeable meanings in it, that is a state belongs a nation or a nation belongs to a state. Naturally this perspective involves that both the main goal of nation-state is to create economic and social homogeneity and the state building depends on economic and social differentiation and changes of social mobility. That is, the state was of course itself an important vector of social mobility, but “its formation was based on the emergence of social forces that counterbalanced the weight and the power of the state. And the emergence of these social forces was in turn a result of disruptive modernization” (Schliche, 2003:39). The Young Turks and their Party of Union and Progress (CUP), which came to power in 1908, sought the ways for a centralized, modern and national state (Rae, 2002:8). So, Young Turks had a constitutive role to implement ideological and political formation of modern nation-state. As Gerald J. Libaridian determines:

The legitimation of power on the basis of ethnic, cultural, and religious identity of the population acquired a dynamic significance for old empires and new

states. For the Young Turks who engineered and supervised over the transnational stage, the creation of a new Turkish nation-state out of the old Ottoman Empire passed through the path of the homogenization of the population. (1985: 37-8)

This view illustrates which policies and its implementations can be traced to the modernizing intent of the Young Turks. In the quarter century before the outbreak of World War I, Young Turk adopted the model of national and homogenized society and economy. As Feroz Ahmad notes the state “began to play a more direct and open role in the economy” not least by embarking upon a policy of fostering an entrepreneurial class among the Turks” (Ahmad, 1980: 337,341). Thereby, the idea of fashioning a new nation-state accompanies economic logic of “national economy” and “Turkification of economy”. There are differences between this two logic that while the concept of national economy is based on the advantageous situation of the citizens in the economy against the foreigners and does not emphasize the policies and practices based on ethnic and religious differences, the concept of Turkification of the economy refers to the exclusion of citizens subject to certain religious and ethnic identities from various spheres of economic life (Koraltürk, 2011). In the light of this comparison, it seems to be evident that national economy does not have any risk for ethnic and religious communities because it is against foreign capital, so it stands as a passive concept for them. But, the Turkification of economy has an active meaning as it relies on the liquidation of religious and ethnic groups from the economic side, leaving out the national identity.

As aforementioned in chapter 2, at the turn of the twentieth century, in the Ottoman Empire, outside İstanbul, the country was devastated, its population reduced and fabric of its multi-ethnic and multi-confessional society destroyed. The Armenians, who had accounted for most of the craftsmen of Ottoman Anatolia and a large population of professionals throughout the Ottoman State, had been killed, deported or had fled in 1915 and subsequent years, leaving behind only a small community in İstanbul. At the same time Greeks were forcibly removed under the terms of the

exchange population (Mango, 2008: 159). In addition to all of these, other Christian groups such as Assyrians have experienced these historical and social processes in a similar way. These interventions made in the population of Christians both divided the population into enemy classes (Tilly, 1985: 181). With their departure, Turkey lost the bulk of its commercial class, its best farmers, as well as craftsmen. The large-scale dispossession of Ottoman Christians served to capital flow to Turkish nation state's economy and created opportunities for Turkish national bourgeoisie. To construct this bourgeoisie, the plans that are included to establish national corporations and national banks³⁷ and to organize Muslim tradesmen and merchants switched on. Therefore, it was seen that in the process of state building some of the classes were protected while others were tried to be eliminated (ibid: 181). In addition to this, as mentioned in chapter 2, legal arrangements have been made for some professions in the context of the Turkification of the economy and it has been aimed to abolish the occupational and economic activity of non-Muslims completely. Besides the legal arrangements, taxation as a method of economic integration is another example of mechanism of state power. In the case of Wealth Tax³⁸ in Turkish state, tax collecting has become another means of liquidation of the capital of non-Muslims. During the Wealth Tax, non-Muslim artisans are often taxed far beyond their ability to pay, and they are often sacked when they cannot pay their debts (Lewis, 1998:298). All of these processes show that Turkish State's ideological, economic, military and political power lead to confiscating and destruction of Ottoman Christian's property and occupations. Therefore, it can be said that the concept of "state power" can be seen as an important reason of dissolution of craft and craftsman. In order words, craftsmen classes could not escape

³⁷ These banks are mentioned in chapter 4, Historical Background.

³⁸ 1942 Wealth tax is described in details in chapter 4.

the state power and policies and they controlled exclusively by the state through its own mechanisms.

3.2 Boundaries of Ethnicity with Class

The notion of ethnicity is constructed through social and historical processes created to understand economic, political mechanisms. And ethnic relations involve question of economic and political power and the distribution of this power. Class is known as mutually dependent within the economic system and it affects from historical and political conjunctures. That is, both of them emphasize the historical and continuous dimension of social life. Thus naturally, the concepts of ethnicity and class are closely intertwined and take up a significant place in understanding how majority and minority groups are created and how, often as a result, minority groups end up being disposed and expelled. As a result, the relationality between ethnicity and class prepares grounds for not only situational but also historical discussions.

According to Marxian paradigm, ethnic identity is a form of false consciousness that disappears with the emergence of certain economic forces. Therefore, he propounds that economic interests preempt identifications, and class mobilization obliterates ethnic divisions, as a result of this, classes become the main actors in social transformation, with ethnic groups being configured only in relation to class categories and formations (Parkin, 1979:10,14). This dominance of class over ethnicity in the analysis of social transformations originated in Karl Marx's writings. For Marx, capitalism would eradicate all communal elements, including ethnicity, which interfered with the formation of class consciousness (1970:78). Marx was aware of the distinctions that existed within classes (Marx and Engels, 1971: 98).³⁹ But, his subsequent analyses of class relations therefore assumed cultural and ethnic

³⁹ When analyzing Ireland in 1869, and 1870, he noted that industrialization could enhance the differences and conflicts between communities. (Marx and Engels, 1971[1871])

homogeneity in the societies he studied. On the other hand, Rosa Luxemburg notes that people resisted ethnic forms of oppression with more intensity and violence than they did class exploitation, nevertheless believed that ethnic conflicts lacked the capacity to bring about social transformation (Luxemburg, 1976: 96-97). As a result, it can be seen that early Marxist formulations determined class conflict as the motor of history, thus downplayed the role of ethnic conflicts in structuring revolutions, states and their outcomes. In other words, Marxian paradigms see class conflict and domination as *sui generis* and ignore the importance of society as a factor during the formation process of state. Dahrendorf rejects the traditional Marxian concept of class, preferring to substitute a definition of class that stresses the relationship of the group to authority in “imperatively coordinated associations.” Group lacking in authority are thus subordinate class and inherent conflict groups (1959:138). In this context, Linklater propounds critical theory that seeks to go beyond the Marxist emphasis on class-based exclusion. He discusses the notions of legitimate inclusion and exclusion that is constitutive in terms of both society and also individual and collective identity (Linklater, 1990:82). These mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion situation are closely related to dominant-subordinate positions. Because, the ethnic conflicts are derived from both “changing dominant-subordinate relationships and the distribution of power within society” (Gelfand and Lee, 1973: 11). As Dahrendorf points out, it is the dominant group that is usually concerned about violence since they have been able to control both subordinate groups by means exclude physical violence and also housing and jobs, the economic means (1959). But, it should be kept in mind that this ethnic violence and hostility based on common class identity may develop only after the solidarity of individual ethnic and racial groups is achieved (Gelfand and Lee, 1973: 15).

Weber has made important contribution to assessment of ethnic groups. However, he excluded the concept of ethnicity from the rationality by emphasizing its “subjective” nature. As a result, he defined ethnic groups as “those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent”(Weber, 1968:297). For

him, ethnicity flourished only in the absence of rationally regulated action. That is, it was eradicated by industrialization and the modern bureaucratic state (ibid: 391). However, it must be taken into consideration that the persistence of ethnic groups in industrial societies and their mobilization against the state has necessitated a new interpretation (Zeitlin, 1984). In this context, firstly ethnic groups should be studied as product of political, residential, economic, legal and historical circumstances; secondly it should be kept in the mind that existing social organizations, ideologies and material conditions create or sustain particular identities and unequal group relations; and finally it should be advocated that occupational concentrations structure patterns of interaction and encourage people to see themselves in a distinctly ethnic way (Verkuyten, 2005: 84).

The book *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, Barth uses boundary metaphor to identify relational concepts of ethnic groups (Barth, 1969: 15). According to him, ethnicity is a most important piece of social organization, ethnic identity an issue of the way that ethnic boundaries are defined and maintained and ethnic groups have a relational concept (ibid: 77). That is, he observes ethnic groups as designs with a permanent organizational structure determined by the borders (1969). Barth basically discusses and focuses on how ethnic groups are socially constructed, bordered and how they protect their borders. As he determines:

...It is clear that boundaries persist despite a flow of personnel across them. In other words categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information, but do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained despite changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories (ibid :1-2).

In other words, the dynamics of belonging and exclusion contribute to the formation of borders by leading to ethnic divisions. In order to be able to define ethnic groups, it is very important to uncover the boundaries as well as the mechanisms of belonging and exclusion. These mechanisms are shaped by social, economic and

historical developments of a society. For Barth, in the case of limited competition arising from the inclusion of two or more ethnic groups in the same socio-economic area, it is expected that one group will replace the other group and increase the ties between the groups (ibid :20). This competition originates from an ethnic group that can carry out its activities in the production processes and keep means of production under its own control. Thus, there is a conflict and antagonism between ethnic groups because of competition based on relations of production and capital. It can be seen that this competition and hostility had showed variant examples in the term of the Ottoman Turkey. As noted chapter 2, the Greeks dominated maritime and trade; the Armenians had a good place as moneychanger and banker, and played a major role in the commercial and industrial development of the 19th century (Lewis, 1988: 449). Besides all these, Ottoman Christians possessed most of the workforce in various crafts that differed from one branch of craft to the other. Historically, Muslims in the arts of leather, saddlery, shoemaking, wool and silk weaving; Armenians in lingerie, jewelry, gold-silver smithing, blacksmithing and construction works; masonry, winemaking and small-store operations, the Greeks were specialized, while the Jews were traveling merchants (Kasaba, 1993: 87). Therefore, the emergence of a new Christian middle class coincided with the collapse of Muslim Turkish tradesmen and small merchants. The contrast between the two groups led to a wave of hostility against the Ottoman Christians as the national and religious tensions exacerbated (Lewis, 1988: 450). Due to the economic competition, the process of economic Turkism or Turkification of economy led to conflict/development of hostility among ethnic groups that was especially Christians and Muslims. Other historical events and processes that are detailed in chapter 2 proved this genuine circularity of the ethnic conflict and hostility in Turkish ethnocentrism. As a result, conflict situation that is originated from competition have produced the cohesion, boundaries, release of hostilities and tensions, alliances and social changes. That is, “conflicts between ethnic groups helped to shape and main distinct social boundaries between ethnic groups” (Gelfand and Lee, 1973: 3-4).

In parallel with Barth's "ethnic boundaries", the concept of the "middleman minority" that developed by Blalock has conflicts notion that occurs between dominant and subordinate or "host" groups. Ethnic conflicts have been aimed at changing "dominant-subordinate" relationships and the distribution of power within society (ibid: 11). So, according to Blalock, the role of economic competition, exploitation and realistic group compromise in relevant theories must be further increased (Blalock, 1967: 38). In that context, Blalock propounded that one role of an ethnic group can play is that of a "middleman minority" (ibid:79-84). The middleman minority mediates interaction between the two groups: subordinate and dominate. Blalock firstly considers these two groups the case of peasant-feudal societies that generally consist of a numerically small elite, large group of peasant class, and a relatively small middle class (ibid:80). He noted that:

The masses of peasants may or may not belong to the same ethnic group as the elite class. Intermediate between these two groups, however, there must always be a certain number of artisans, merchants, petty officials, and the like (ibid:80).

When this quote is considered, it can be asserted that artisans or craftsmen are one of the middleman minorities. Although middleman minority refers feudal-peasant economies in which the minority fills a middleman function between a small elite and a large peasant masses, it uses by Edna Bonacich to reflect both the conceptual and empirical interconnections of middleman in early modern era, the trading minorities of the Third World, immigrant groups in capitalist societies. She asserts that in contrast to most ethnic minorities, middleman minorities have an economic role that is occupying an intermediate rather than low-status position and they tend to concentrate in certain occupations (Bonacich, 1973: 583). According to her, if aforementioned these occupations are destroyed, there occurs a "status gap". In other words, middleman minorities "plug the status gap between elites and masses" (ibid: 584). In similar way, Loury identify this situation as the "substantial gap in skill" that is result of social exclusion and discrimination processes (2002:101). This gap also shows minority's ethnic specialization as determined by Zenner:

The societies need people to do certain jobs in commerce and crafts; this is especially true of feudal and colonial societies, but such gaps may appear in modern industrial societies as well. The minority, which occupies this niche, is generally of foreign or otherwise distinguished from the rest of the population. Its success in occupying this niche is enhanced by its ethnic solidarity and by certain attributes such as frugality and a double standard of economic ethics. Hostility toward the minority is the result of the tension between the minority as successful traders and entrepreneurs against majority group members who are their clients, employees and competitors (Zenner, 2008: 255).

The hostility that middleman minorities have faced includes efforts to “cut off their means of livelihood, riots and pogroms, exclusion movements and expulsion, removal to concentration camps, and final solution” (Bonacich, 1973: 589). This hostility/conflict could be seen in stages of nation building including that coercive assimilation, discrimination, ethnic cleansing, and eventually either the minorities will be crushed, expelled, as well as the conflicts results occupational integration and genocide. These stages were found in non-Muslims minorities in Ottoman Turkey and Turkish State. In the economic sense, as a result of natural stages of nation building, middleman occupations were easily liquidated or transportable occupations besides trade, and these are the various skilled trades, such as barbers, shoemakers, goldsmiths, jewelers, restaurant-owners, tailors, launderers, and the like, found among Armenians (Sanjian, 1965: 52). Therefore, on the account of deportation and liquidation of Ottoman Armenian and Assyrians in 1915 led to loss of occupational specialization, status gap and group solidarity as a result of competition. In these circumstances, it can be concluded, “the occupational specialization of the minority becomes one aspect influencing its ultimate fate” (Zenner, 2008: 262). On the other hand, this conflicts and hostilities that are originated from superiority on occupational skill and specialization of middleman minority are justified because of the images of minority middlemen as “economic parasites” and “collaborators” with alien enemies of the nation (ibid: 274). Ottoman and Turkish State also created these images to legitimate and confirm a level of coercion ranging from expulsion to mass murder of Christians. Although they committed mass crimes such as genocide and

expropriation, legitimation of hostility in this style shows inhuman and intolerance treatment against groups of Christians.

Due to the fact that the middleman minority exposes to host hostility, expropriation and a final solution of genocide or expulsion, they find themselves in social as well as physical mobility. Faced with all these hostility and conflict mechanisms, it is said that there was group solidarity between them. This characteristic and role of middleman minority have been tried to explain with concept of “stranger”⁴⁰. Social thinkers have introduced the concept of the “stranger” in terms of “a model of an isolated folk society beginning to be connected to a larger world through trade”(Zenner, 1991: 15). Emphasizing sociological importance Simmel identifies stranger as a trader or craftsman:

Throughout the history of economics the stranger everywhere appears as the trader, or the trader as stranger. As long as economy is essentially self-sufficient, or products are exchanged within a spatially narrow group, it needs no middleman: a trader is only required for products that originate outside the group. Insofar as members do not leave the circle in order to buy these necessities -- in which case they are the "strange" merchants in that outside territory -- the trader must be a stranger, since nobody else has a chance to make a living. This position of the stranger stands out more sharply if he settles down in the place of his activity, instead of leaving it again: in innumerable cases even this is possible only if he can live by intermediate trade. Once an economy is somehow closed the land is temporarily present in the society divided up, and handicrafts are established that satisfy the demand for them, the trader, too, can find his existence (Simmel, 2004: 1).

It can be determined that there is a recycling and interconnecting relation between trade and stranger. So, the stranger both temporarily existing in the society and settles and looks for permanent support within the group (Simmel, 2004:225). For Bonacich, concept of stranger is a key variable affecting the solidarity and economic

⁴⁰ The concept of “stranger” is described by Simmel as the person who touched upon in the past, as the wanderer who comes today and goes tomorrow, but rather as the person who comes today and stays tomorrow (Simmel, The stranger, 1)

activity of the ethnic group (1973:583). She links between middleman minorities and strangers as:

Middleman minorities are strangers. They keep themselves apart from the societies in which they dwell, engage in liquidable occupations, are thrifty and organized economically. Hence, they come into conflict with the surrounding society yet are bound to it by economic success (ibid: 593).

On the other hand, concentrating Jews community locations⁴¹, Becker firstly used “stranger” to explain their middleman characteristic. Then he discovered that the Armenians are strikingly similar to the Jews:

They too are a trading people with a long history of widespread culture contacts with other traders. Further, they occupied "middleman" positions for a long period, dwelling the while in ghetto-like seclusion from Arab and Turk. Again, they drew the line between in-group and outgroup-you treat the brother Armenian as you would be treated, and you skin the Turk alive, commercially speaking, and nail his hide on the family strongbox (Becker, 1940: 47).

According to him, this two-middleman minority and two cases were in parallel in terms of construction of a type of "marginal trading people." Focusing Jews, Becker selected traits that fit and relevant to Armenian conduct and worked into a “guiding pattern that gives some promise of other empirical approximations” (ibid: 47). Consequently, due to the fact that middlemen have different ethnic, religious and status/class composition that is source of hostilities and conflicts, they separate from the masses and become "stranger". In addition to this, having a stranger status on the one hand brings along insecurity of this position, on the other hand enables group solidarity.

⁴¹ The Jews also seen as stranger by Simmel not only with regard to the local people, but also with regard to religion”(Simmel, 2004:226).

3.3 Class Boundaries in Craft

In introduction of this chapter, it is asserted that this research has three fold theoretical backgrounds that compose the reasons of dissolution processes of crafts/craftsman. Hence, this title as a third fold of reasons, examines how modern capitalism and the industrial relations affect the dissolution of craft. Under previous headings, state power and the boundaries and intersections between ethnicity and class were conveyed to discuss reason of dissolution of craft and craftsmanship. The issue of the boundaries for defining particular class groupings has problematic character due to the homogeneity of positioning within the theories. These class theories have drawn the boundary between the petty bourgeoisie and the working class⁴². When dealt with through class structure of artisans, according to Poulantzas, there are two bourgeoisie classes, which are traditional petty bourgeoisie and the new petty bourgeoisie. Traditional petty bourgeoisie comprises of the small-scale production and ownership, independent craftsmen and traders (Poulantzas, 1974:204). The difference arises from generally economic relations of this class determination, economic relations that play the principal role here just as they do for every social class. To this class determination perspective traditional petty bourgeoisie (small-scale production and ownership) and the new petty bourgeoisie (non-productive wage-earners) both have in common the fact that they neither belong to the bourgeoisie nor to the working class (ibid: 206). Besides this class distinction, some authors intend to account for the history of working class formation to describe the position of craftsman⁴³. Each of these perspectives on class history of

⁴² For example see, Poulantzas, 1973 *Political Power and Social Classes* New Left Books: London, E.O.Wright 1985, *Classes*, London: Verso

⁴³ For further reading, see, Ira Katznelson and Aristide Zolberg (eds) (1986). *Working Class Formation*, Princeton University Press: New Jersey and Fitzsimmons, M. P.(2010) *From the Artisan to Worker* (Guilds, The French State, and the Organization of Labor 1776-1821), Cambridge University Press: New York

artisan has merit, but it tells only the part of the story. Moreover the explanatory power of each is often based on over determined economism and class domination that ignore the importance of social and economical relations and conflicts as a factor. But, it is so essential to consider the causes and consequences of conflicts in order to understand the class mobility of craftsman. In this context, Mann's model of Western industrialization that explains the relationships between the state and various class and subclass formation is offers that not only using capitalism or industrialism but also nation-state models determine economic relations in society:

Some modern sociologists and historians reject nation-state models. They equate "society" with transnational economic relations, using either capitalism or industrialism as their master concept. This goes too far in the other direction. State, culture, and economy are all important structuring networks; but they almost never coincide. There is no one master concept or basic unit of "society"(Mann, 1986: 13).

In other respects, assumptions about the impact of capitalism on modern and industrial social relations asserts that craft dissolution and mobility occur through process of institutional, occupational and technological development. That is, an inevitable devastation of capitalist threat that is based on technological changes, automation and mechanization in the process of capitalist industrialization and modernization composes the reason of dissolution of craft/craftsmanship. With the processes of developed industry, mass production, increased accumulation of capital, big companies, craft production had undergone appreciable change. Therefore, craftsmen who have means of productions lost their commercial property and became wage labor (Dobb, 2000:235).

In other words, transforming into workers, artisans have redefined and alienated skills in industrial work where is formed by both mechanized factory work, the putting out system, and centralized manufactories (Bruland, 1989: 157). It can be

interpreted that with the permission of the craftsmen skills to enter the market, they constitute a different class position than they had before. Although the craftsmanship requires mastering and owning a particular domain of knowledge; this new version of talent is not content-specific or content-determined (Sennet, 2006:105). Cutting-edge firms and flexible organizations need people who can learn new skills rather than cling to old competencies. (ibid). Thereby, craftsmanship sits uneasily in the institutions of flexible capitalism, because the dynamic organization emphasizes the ability to process and interpret changing bodies of information and practice (ibid).

Modern capitalist reproduction rests on a specific form of the division of labor: the manufactural division of labor that culminates in factory-style in large-scale industry (Jung and Piccoli, 2001:17). In other words, while industry-wide production based on the division of labor and extensive training provision, craft production uses the apprentices training system. Craftsman controls her/his means of production and the process of his labor in workshop, but division of labor uses to both achieves greater control of the workforce and the workplace and obtains hierarchy and the discipline of labor (Braverman, 1974). Therefore, in the face of industrial organization and institutional form, to use discipline and to train apprentices in workplace would not have provided the long-term solutions. That is, craft based production or craftsman could not have competed with specialized workshops that comprised much of the industry.

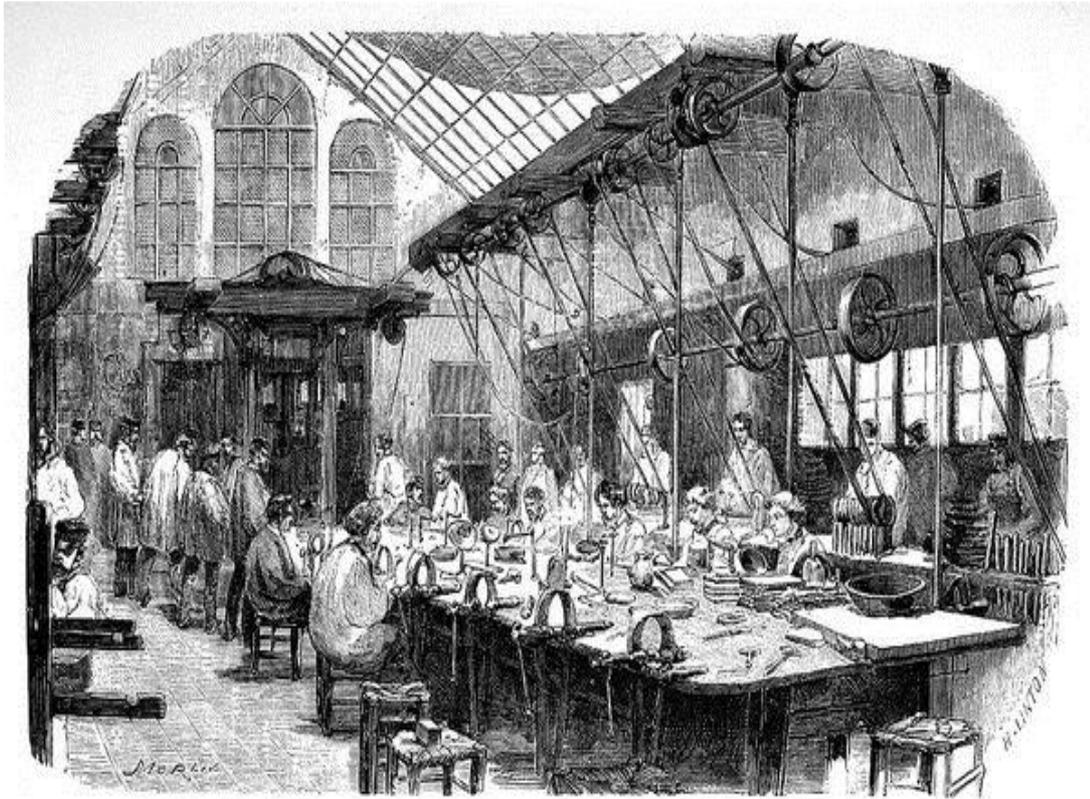


Figure 3.1: Silverware factory in 19th century, in Paris, France ⁴⁴

Advanced technology and industrialization, automatic machine tools by no means eliminated the need for skilled craftsmen and the skill level required by new machines. In this context, Marx interprets the relationship between automatism and labor process that causes the transformation of craftsmanship based on machinery and large-scale industry. The separation of the intellectual labor of the production process from the manual labor, and the transformation of those labor into powers exercised by capital over labor is finally completed by large-scale industry erected on the foundation of machinery (Marx, 1967: 435). Hence, the craft production was hugely transformed, because of machines and technologies that replace the hand

⁴⁴ Illustration is about workers at a silverware factory. This is the Christofle silverware factory, in Paris, France, 1875. Silverware Factory art print by Science Photo Library. <https://fineartamerica.com/featured/1-silverware-factory-science-photo-library.html>

skills through automation. As a consequence of this process, craftsmen have had insecure work conditions ever before:

Nevertheless, in spite of the mass of hands actually displaced and virtually replaced by machinery, we can understand how the factory operatives, through the building of more mills and the extension of old ones in a given industry, may become more numerous than the manufacturing workmen and handicraftsman that have been displaced (Marx, 1967:262).

Deterioration of skilled craftsmen's position led to conflicts antagonism between craftsmen and industry. Craftsman doesn't feel safe in face of machine and innovations and for this reason he/she bears hostility to them. In other words, craftsman feels that his/her status and life standard is under threat. Technic innovations and cheap labor weaken his/her condition, in those industries where much capital, skill and machinery were required; the artisan lost some of his independence. However, in those industries where work could be put out, or where juvenile and unskilled labor could be drafted in, the artisan retained some of his independence but only at the cost of an increasing insecurity and a severe loss of status (Thompson, 1991:263-64).



Figure 3.2: Making Newbridge Cutlery-25th July 1958 Ireland.⁴⁵

Under these circumstances, artisans that provide a collective portrait of the varied ways masters along with their journeymen and apprentices working in households or handicrafts workshops lost their ability to compete with more modern forms of industrial production and were forced into the ranks of an ever expanding, increasingly urban and propertyless wage-earning workforce (Kristofferson, 2007: 3). Due to the lack of independency, security and control of means of production that is feature of craft production artisan increasingly alienated. Therefore, these artisans are transformed from a mass of individual workers doing various jobs in handicraft workshops into an organized collective or compound worker though only still using hand tools (Sohn-Rethel, 1978:141). That is, proletarianization of an artisan means

⁴⁵ In 1934 the Newbridge Cutlery Company was established and quickly become renowned for its quality craftsmanship and design ethos. This photo can be found: <https://fineartamerica.com/featured/newbridge-silver-cutlery-1958-irish-photo-archive.html>

both becoming a factory worker and having capital subordinated labor (Farr, 2000: 292). This process replies the question of how these craftsmen and artisanal small producers simply underwent a specific kind of proletarianization or experience of alienation from capitalism in this industrializing context. In this way, it can be said that “craftsmanship sits uneasily in the institutions of flexible capitalism” (Sennet, 2006:105) and it has tried to resist conditions of these institutions. Craft’s steady disappearance, in the face of the more powerful and efficient forms of production that we call industry, at the same time points to the process of proletarianization. Hence, this process refers to workshop artisans thoroughly intimidated by the unpredictable advance of capitalist industrialization. In other words, process of deskilling, dehumanizing, alienation, proletarianization and mechanization is both a triumphant of industrial capitalism in the face of craft and also one of the reason of dissolution of craft in the face of industrial capitalism.

3.4 Gendered Boundaries in the Craft

This title includes the last ring or fold of boundaries that is used to create theoretical and conceptual tools. Divisions or boundary points of gender help us to see female role in the artisanal economy and the blurred distinction between the household and craft in economy. The existence of gender boundaries in craft world assists to discover both its gendered characteristics and sexual division of labor in it. Hence, the notion of “gendered” craft has been proposed as a way of thinking about non-gender forms of craft production. Because, the space of crafts is described as either “male-dominated” or "masculinized" field of occupation.

In the pre-industrial world women either by participating in a family craft or by agricultural activities, contributed a large share to their families' subsistence (Hartman, 2015:29). During that time, although women practiced a wide range of artisanal crafts, this diversity give rise to a trend toward an increasingly gendered division of labor as women were concentrated more and more in particular artisanal

sectors (Farr, 2000: 110). That is, the fact of women being traditionally tied to certain types of craft stemmed from that all women, as part of their home duties, knew the arts of textile manufacturing, sewing, food processing, and to some extent, trading (Clark, 1920). As an example; in the early modern trend in eighteenth-century England women dominated all aspects of textile manufacture, in France women were independently participated in the expanding clothing trades and also in German cities women concentrates certain textile trades. In eighteenth-century Turin city in Italy, textile production in particular (from silk fabrics to accessories such as stockings, gloves, buttons, trimmings, ribbons and embroidered clothing), constituted one of the city's most crucial economic sectors that the majority of female labor force (Micheletto, 2013:236) As Farr has determined, it can be understood that female guilds was found in early modern European cities. But to him, women were almost invariably in textile related trades, and of low status and relatively poor (Farr, 2000:112,111,41). The processes of female concentration and sexual division of labor in textiles can be traced also Ottoman guilds (I discussed this topic in more detail in Chapter 2 on gendered division of labor in guilds). Most research on the subject points out that women were not considered to be members of the guilds, although they were intensely involved in textile handicrafts.

The same trend of exclusion and increasing gendered division of labor can also be seen in gold and silversmithing that compose the main research topic of this thesis. The catalogue of "Women Silversmiths 1685-1845" concentrates on women worked as silversmiths all of the United Kingdom (Britain and Ireland) and covers a slightly broader period that is from the late 17th century to the early 19th centuries. It has emphasized the long participation of women that worked as silversmiths, marking everything from spoons to massive ceremonial pieces in the silver trade in Britain and Ireland (Valentine, 1990:9) and stated that women also played a pervasive role in the goldsmiths's trade from its inception (Goldsborough, 1990:27). Because of the ever-growing market, master silversmith's wife and other female relatives were pressed into "service frequently into the more routine jobs, such as engraving and

polishing”. In parallel with this situation, widows of silversmiths worked in running shops with the help of journeymen or partners and a few women were even accepted as apprentices, artisans, and entrepreneurs in their own right (Goldsborough, 1990:31; Farr, 2000: 108). But, the separate identity of widow should not be read as the total sum of the woman’s commercial and craft activity. Her craft activity probably began in a minor way in her late teens in her father’s workshop and continued until marriage, so her independent identity re-emerged on her husband’s death (Glanville, 1990:20). These characteristics of silversmithing showed it as “the profession of women who managed their husbands’ business, widows who inherited their trade, and unmarried women who began their careers as apprentices, burnishing and polishing” (Glanville and Goldsborough, 1990). Description of woman goldsmiths also had taken same positions and features (Glanville, 1990:13). Another important point about women gold and silversmiths who were often responsible only for polishing and burnishing process is that they were low paid and at the same time their earnings was lower than those of men in the same occupations (ibid).

The two examples above that are textile related crafts and gold-silversmithing present a unified picture of mirroring in terms of artisan roles and statuses of women in pre-industrial world. It can be seen that, in both of the crafts, although women played an important role, they neither had a status nor accepted as guild members. But as a wives of master guildsmen, “women could act legally in the market place if they did so with the permission of their husbands” (Farr, 2000: 108). Due to the fact that most women entered the craft in association with fathers, husbands, brothers, or sons, their place in the family as daughters, wives or mothers defined their status. In other words, women remained almost completely absent⁴⁶ from the guilds and men took over the craft and excluded women from it. As a result, one can see in these

⁴⁶ Excluding widows who had the right to continue the activity of their deceased husbands, as long as they employed a registered worker (Micheletto, 2013: 236).

examples the patriarchal control of craft and blurred role of woman in craft. In addition to these point of view guilds as an artisanal industry can be seen as a gendered and masculinized association of artisans.

Although women who lived by the labor of their hand had an important role and skill, many women's trades were apparently difficult to organize in strong guilds, because most women's skills could not be easily monopolized (Clark, 1920). In other cases, the women had an adjunctive role in craft production. As Farr exemplified:

Bakers' wives would set out loaves baked by their husbands, while butchers' wives would boil the tripe and bones of the beasts slaughtered by their spouses. Similarly, weavers' wives were often spinners, providing the thread needed by their husbands in the making of cloth. Wives of artisans everywhere can be found as the keepers of the accounts of the family enterprise, often making purchases of raw materials and paying workers. (Farr, 2000: 108).

It is clear that, women were seen as a wives of artisans distinctly restricted and excluded from the artisanal production. Their husband or other men who were one of the members of family segregated and devaluated their labor in craft. While on the one hand women worked in their kitchens where domestic tasks and childcare continued, on the other hand they met the demands of their artisan husbands for work. Hartman emphasized that by focusing previous history of the transition to capitalism in the cities and town examines the place of women in family authority structure and family industry:

In the towns and cities before the transition to capitalism a system of family industry prevailed: a family of artisans worked together at home to produce goods for exchange. Adults were organized in guilds, which had social and religious functions as well as industrial one. Within trades carried on as family industries women and men generally performed different tasks: in general, the men worked at what were considered more skilled tasks, the women at processing the raw materials or finishing the end product. Men, usually the heads of the production units, had the status of master artisans, for though women usually belonged to their husbands' guilds, they did so as appendages; girls were rarely apprenticed to a trade and thus rarely become journeyman or masters (Hartman, 1982: 150).

When considered the features of this household based industry in craft production, it can be said that women artisan can be scarcely get a place. It is foreseen that the women's position in crafts production is determined by the traditional norms depending on the assumption that "woman belongs to home". This gendered relation in craft displays the blurred and invisible role of women in craft production. The pictures below illustrate both this blurred role of woman and also a more rigid gendered division of labor in crafts of weaver and needle maker in 16th century.

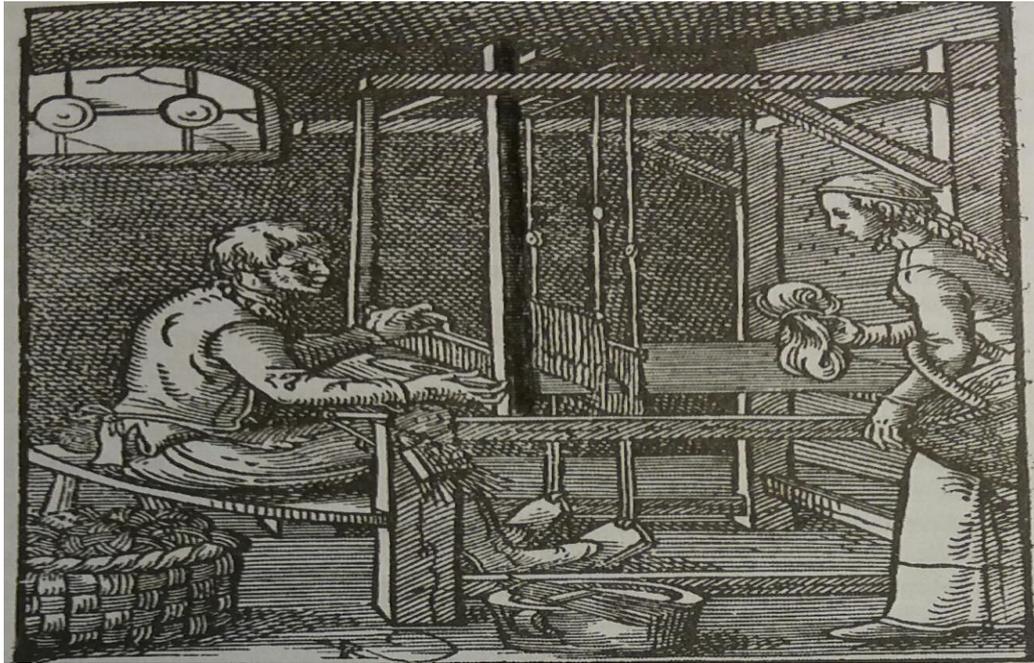


Figure 3.3: Sixteenth-century weaver⁴⁷ and Needle Maker, 1568⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Taken from Farr, 2008: 109, It can be seen: <http://deutschland-im-mittelalter.de/Kulturgeschichte/Berufe>

Craft production has an apprenticeship training system that helps to learn skill and transmit the knowledge and techniques that are learned by observation and imitation. The apprenticeship system that is a transitional process rather than learning skill has sustained male-dominated and sex-blind features. Craft workshop that was regulated and disciplined by the master was overwhelmingly male. In this workshop, “the role of the male apprentice moved from lad to man; it was a transitional period that mean far more than learning a skill”, so there was a sexual development that excludes women from the craft industry and determines the role of masculinity and feminity (Simonton, 1999: 34). Therefore, the exclusion of women from this training system that is an integral part of guild meant the transfer of property and power to man favor (Sheridan, 1992:52). As a result, women seldom were placed in apprenticeship, and rarely became masters in guilds. This situation can be interpreted that skills have a masculine quality or property in artisanal industry. Furthermore, all of these processes are interpreted that there was a deep gender gap in the craft economy.

Guild history while shows a trend toward exclusion of women from guilds on the other hand releases the quite important roles of women in the craft economy. So, women hold a very small place in the discussion of guilds, because of having segregated and marginalized existence and labor in guilds. That is, it can be concluded that the evidence of women artisans in guilds look like “the tip of the iceberg of their actual artisanal activities” (Farr, 2000: 110). The guilds and family industry started to break down due to the demands of greater production in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Hartman, 1982: 151). This change or transition of craft production has approximately same chronological and geographical contexts in the world⁴⁹. Most literature on the processes of industrialization have debated that

⁴⁸ Print by Granger. This illustration taken from Martha C. Howel, *Women, Production and Patriarchy in the late medieval cities.*, The University of Chicago Press: USA. It can be also found: <https://fineartamerica.com/featured/1-needle-maker-1568-granger.html?product=pouch>.

⁴⁹ I examined Ottoman guild in this context in Chapter 2.

from the mid-eighteenth century well into the twentieth, while there was a technological innovation, mechanization, and factory production, on the other hand there was a growth of output systems and greater participation of women. In these processes therefore capitalists started to organize a larger scale production and thus it was observed that “production became separated from the home as the size of establishments grew” (ibid: 151). Thus, it is not only known the female involvement in the early modern economy, but also propounds that family economy and market economy was not separate. That is, participation of women in the economy was not confined to the household; it was dynamically connected to the market economy. As a result, there was a blurred separation between the economy spheres (Farr, 2000: 107,145). The division within woman work force between women inside and outside of the family economy during the transition of the factory system illustrates the gendered economic and social roles of women in the family and in the society.

When all the developments mentioned so far have been taken into consideration, it can be said that women, as we have seen, could not had an artisanal identity both in the old regime and the age of industrialization. In the second title that is the “Boundaries of Ethnicity with Class” in this chapter, I discussed the position of “stranger” of craftspeople. The stranger described as both an insecurity group position that is “temporarily existing in the society and settles and looks for permanent place in there”. This conceptual tool is used to explain middleman ethnic and religious middleman status in craft. At this point, I put forward that women in craft production or industry have a “double stranger” role. Because, they were excluded from craft production by both male craftsman and also patriarchal social and economic constrains. That is, women even have no chance to become intermediate group and rigid gender relations and structures in craft production don’t pave the way for enter this world.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, by using boundary metaphor I argued and analyzed the reasons of craft dissolution in the context of state power, ethnicity, class and gender. I developed the concept of middleman minority and stranger, which I believe that is a useful concept for understanding dynamics of social and economic devastation of craftspeople in the Turkey.

Constructing boundaries and borders means that differentiate between those who belong, and those who do not. In this chapter, the boundaries relates not only to the difference in the boundary between each of them, but also to the boundary between one and another. In other words, borders between one ethnicity and another or one class and another, in addition to this, gendered borders were explained with examples. These theoretical observations find support in the social and historical turning points and developments in Turkey. Looking at these developments from today's vantage point through gold and silver craft of Mardin and Trabzon will help to understand and interpret reasons of dissolution processes of craft.

CHAPTER 4

FIELDWORK EXPERIENCES and NARRATIVES

*Craftspeople of Silver and Gold in Mardin and Trabzon in Turkey:
“The Stranger” Within*

*People are always tellers of tales. They live surrounded by their stories and the stories of others; they see everything that happens to them through those stories and they try to live their lives as if they were recounting them.*⁵⁰

This chapter will both present the data and the details of fieldwork and also discuss two case studies in the context of argument of this thesis. It will have three case studies describing the dissolution of craft of gold and silver in the cities of Mardin and Trabzon. First of two case studies focus on the southeastern city of Mardin where Assyrians and Armenians were employed in gold and silver craft. The second case study will concentrate on Trabzon where is a city on the Black Sea coast of northeastern Turkey and where gold and silver craftspeople were Armenians. This is where the two cities today in Turkey is still continued decreasingly craft production of gold and silver. The declining situation is connected with historical developments and state politics that caused deportation and dispossession of Armenians and Assyrians in both of these cities Therefore, the problem that confronted me at this research was how to confront the past in the present? How to confront the past in terms of how many Armenian/Assyrian craftspeople existed in Mardin and Trabzon and what were the of their experiences inhabitants? How to confront the present in

⁵⁰ Jean- Paul Sartre from his book *Words* (1964), Braziller: New York.

terms of the craft organization today? How to apprehend the ways in which the past experiences were represented at Mardin and Trabzon today?

This chapter draws on data from research exploring the lives and stories of gold and silver craftspeople in Mardin and Trabzon with specific reference to ethnic, religious, class and economic concerns. Therefore, the one aim of the chapter is to analyze craft's relationships to the state, labor market and their ethnic and class economic prospects with reference to dissolution processes. In this sense, this chapter will explore the complex relationship between ethnicity and economy and the mobility and interplay economic and social factors. It will be argued that the deprived economic condition of Assyrian and Armenian gold and silversmiths has a powerful influence on their mobility. As a result, the way the craft relates to the state, its historical relationship with the state and capitalist industrialism at the present time, and its future expectation will be the focus of this chapter.

4.1 The Fieldwork

4.1.1 Experiences Being an Insider-Outsider in Case/ Insider- Outsider Positions in Fieldwork

So far it is mentioned methodological backgrounds and tools of this research. This title includes as a researcher my experiences in the field and boundaries between researchers and the researched that is an important part of the research process. Experiences of researchers in fieldwork generally presents 'hygienic research' that emphasizes the 'objective' presence of the researcher and suggests that she/he can be 'there' without having any greater involvement than simple presence (Stanley and Wise, 1993:161). This position of research is extremely misleading. In contrast, I believe that all research involves an interaction, relationships, insider and outsider position between researcher and researched. Because the basis of all research is a relationship, this necessarily involves the presence of the researcher as a person, that

is, personhood cannot be left behind, cannot be left out of the research process (ibid:160-161).

Outsiderness and insiderness are not static position; rather they are ever shifting social locations and boundaries. Factors such as shared citizenship, ethnic, linguistic, religious, gender, cultural interactions, age, marital status etc. facilitate both the researcher's access to informants and getting information from the field. Being an insider and outsider statuses enable us both to negotiate our identities at various levels in the field and to understand dynamics of field. So, there is a critical question that can pave the way for illuminating this self-reflexive narrative: How could I negotiate my insider and outsider identities with the respondents?

Critical events have both positive and negative characteristics. Critical events are 'critical' due to their impact and profound effect on whoever experiences such an event. They often bring about radical change in the person and these events also are unplanned, unanticipated and uncontrolled (Webster and Mertova, 2007:77). Measor identifies three types of critical events or 'critical phases': extrinsic, intrinsic and personal. Extrinsic critical events can be produced by historical and political events; intrinsic critical events occur within the natural progression of a career and 'personal' critical events can be family events, illness, etc (1985). These critical events seem to have an important preservation and confirmatory function as well as assisting in maintaining a definition of reality and identity against the pressure of contrary forces (Webster and Mertova, 2007:77). In this research, my informants that were gold and silversmith in Mardin and Trabzon have different critical events. In Mardin, I interviewed masters of gold and smith that majority of them is Armenian and Assyrian who have been discriminated and victimized by Turkish State and society. The Armenians and Assyrians have critical events that include 1915 genocide, 1942 Wealth Tax, 6-7 September Events/Pogrom, 1974 Kıbrıs operation and 1980s. These events do not exist in a vacuum but are shaped by lifelong personal and community narratives. When I asked them about these processes with relation to

my research, they confidentially shared me own stories that is include state violences. Due to the fact that my family has a history of state violence event that is known as 1938 Dersim Massacres, my informants reaffirmed my commonality with them, as, they consubstantiated 1938 massacres with their massacre past. Although I was not a full member, I was involved in this field and later I was invited for my ethnic identity. That is, I have partial-insider status that means having a potential advantage in the field. I aware of my partial insider identity, but before going into the field, this was not apparent to me.

Members of subordinated groups were reluctant to open up to dominant-group researchers for fear that such information would used against them. For individuals to speak openly and for a collective story to emerge, an environment of trust and safety must be created with the group and be held in the place by the facilitator over a sufficiently long period of time for conversation to develop past introductions and awkwardness around sensitive issues toward depth and honest interaction among group members (Brotherton, 2011:241). I provided this trust and safety by means of having semi-insider position in this research. As a Zaza-Kurdish Alevis (Zaza or Kurmanji-speaking Alevis), I study with Armenian and Assyrian community, which differs from my identities in terms of religious, social and cultural practices. Although various sociolinguistic, regional, linguistic, and cultural factors distanced me from my informants, Armenians and Assyrians especially consociated with my Alevis identity that strengthened the bonds between us. That is, my Alevi identity both played an important role in facilitating access to them and built a trusting relationship. Facilitated atmosphere that is not threatening, communicate an appropriate level of comfort and safety helped me to play a significant role in shaping the outcome of research.

Having a position of a female researcher in the male-dominated environments (workshop or city) has advantages and disadvantages. Some of male informants based on patriarchal values and control mechanisms can show female researcher

protective attitudes. This attitudes both advantageous to facilitate research, and disadvantageous because of male informants use this position for their masculinity interests. In the fieldwork of Trabzon, I experienced disadvantages situations that were harassment from master silversmiths. While I was one step closer to my respondents than the other because of my Alevi and Dersim identity in Mardin, but as a female researcher, I found difficult to conduct research in male-dominated field in Trabzon. In other words, while I was a partial insider in the field with my ethnic and religious identities, but the having position of female researcher can force to reduce this status outsider. At the same time, this position shows “intersecting identities” in the field.

4.1.2 The data

I conducted semi-structured, in-depth and life story interviews with the gold-silver craftspeople in Mardin and Trabzon, and the research findings serve as the primary source of information for this study. In this study, those who were interviewed were selected through aim-based and snowball sampling methods. It is aimed that together with the aim-based sample research was to create a sample of the choices and events that would bring out the appropriate knowledge, compile the facts that reflect the richness of the experiences, and deeply grasp the research topic. In addition to the aim-based sample, the snowball method, which is reached by the people who will be interviewed through the source persons, is preferred. The source persons have been identified before I went to the fieldwork, and have been reached to interviewees with their help. In Mardin city and its district of Midyat and city of Trabzon were tried to negotiate with all of the gold silver craftsmen. In addition, the craftspeople whom I interviewed have directed me about the people to be interviewed, and they help me to have easily reached the network of gold-silver craftspeople of this city.

The question to be answered in the observations and interviews in this research frame is whether the craft of gold-silver smithing has been resolved in Mardin and

Trabzon, how and why it has been resolved and how it is resolved due to the dynamics, and what is the current situation of crafts and craftspeople. In this direction, during the fieldwork were asked questions to the interviewees, and then the data were prepared for the answers of the above questions. Between 2015 (May, September, October) and 2016 (May, October) the field visits were conducted in Mardin, Trabzon and İstanbul. I conducted interviews with craftspeople in total 80; 28 in Mardin, 50 in Trabzon, 1 in İstanbul and 1 in Ankara. While all the people interviewed in Mardin are male, in Trabzon 24 of women and 26 of them are male. In this study, along with interviews, my personal experiences and observations are crucial for the analysis. Most importantly, they helped me to understand the daily lives and production patterns of craftspeople of gold and silver and their relationship with the historical bonds of these crafts. Additionally, documentaries about these crafts and visual materials were included into the analysis.

Table 4.1 : The List of Profiles of the Participants in Mardin

No	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Birth Place	Craft of Gold and Silver	The craft is Tradition of Family
1	Male	45	Assyrian	Mardin	Filigree	Yes
2	Male	37	Assyrian	Mardin	Filigree	Yes
3	Male	34	Kurd/ Muslim- Shafii	Mardin	Filigree	No, trained by Assyrian master
4	Male	75	Assyrian	Mardin	Filigree	Yes
5	Male	55	Assyrian	Mardin	Filigree	Yes
6	Male	51	Assyrian	Mardin	Filigree	Yes
7	Male	70	Assyrian	Mardin	Filigree	No, his father was weaver

8	Male	60	Armenian	Mardin	Filigree	Yes
9	Male	45	Armenian	Mardin	Filigree	Yes
10	Male	39	Assyrian	Mardin	Filigree	Yes
11	Male	47	Assyrian	Mardin	Filigree	No, trained by Assyrian master
12	Male	55	Assyrian	Mardin	Filigree	Yes
13	Male	51	Assyrian	Mardin/ Midyat	Filigree	Yes
14	Male	35	Assyrian	Mardin/ Midyat	Filigree	No, trained by Assyrian master
15	Male	41	Assyrian	Mardin/ Midyat	Filigree	No, trained by Assyrian master
16	Male	53	Assyrian	Mardin/ Midyat	Filigree	Yes
17	Male	81	Assyrian	Mardin/ Midyat	Filigree	Yes
18	Male	78	Assyrian	Mardin/ Mdyat	Filigree	Yes
19	Male	62	Assyrian	Mardin/ Midyat	Filigree	No, trained by Assyrian master
20	Male	58	Assyrian	Mardin	Filigree	Yes
21	Male	48	Assyrian	Mardin	Filigree	Yes
22	Male	53	Assyrian	Mardin	Filigree	No, trained by Assyrian master
23	Male	39	Assyrian	Mardin	Filigree	Yes
24	Male	43	Assyrian	Mardin	Filigree	No, trained by Assyrian

Table 4.1 (continued)

						master
25	Male	50	Assyrian	Mardin	Filigree	Yes
26	Male	68	Assyrian	Mardin	Filigree	Yes
27	Male	61	Assyrian	Mardin	Filigree	No, trained by Assyrian master
28	Male	46	Assyrian	Mardin	Filigree	Yes

Table 4.2- The List of Profiles of the Participants in Trabzon

No	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Birth Place	Craft of Gold and Silver
1	Male	59	Turk	Trabzon	Filigree
2	Male	48	Turk	Trabzon	Filigree
3	Male	49	Turk	Trabzon	Filigree
4	Male	66	Turk	Trabzon	Filigree
5	Male	56	Turk	Trabzon	Kazaziye
6	Female	38	Turk	Trabzon	Kazaziye
7	Male	41	Turk	Trabzon	Kazaziye
8	Female	37	Turk	Trabzon	Kazaziye
9	Male	44	Turk	Trabzon	Kazaziye
10	Female	51	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
11	Male	58	Turk	Trabzon	Kazaziye
12	Male	46	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
13	Female	51	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
14	Male	38	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
15	Female	32	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
16	Male	43	Turk	Trabzon	Matting

Table 4.2 (continued)

17	Male	79	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
18	Male	78	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
19	Female	67	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
20	Male	57	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
21	Male	67	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
22	Male	63	Turk	Trabzon	Filigree
23	Male	55	Turk	Trabzon	Filigree
24	Female	38	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
25	Female	44	Turk	Trabzon	Kazaziye
26	Female	52	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
27	Male	56	Turk	Trabzon	Filigree
28	Female	42	Turk	Trabzon	Kazaziye
29	Female	34	Turk	Trabzon	Kazaziye
30	Male	48	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
31	Female	46	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
32	Male	51	Turk	Trabzon	Filigree
33	Male	39	Turk	Trabzon	Filigree
34	Female	56	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
35	Female	48	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
36	Female	34	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
37	Female	29	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
38	Female	43	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
39	Female	25	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
40	Female	36	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
41	Female	47	Turk	Trabzon	Matting

Table 4.2 (continued)

42	Female	54	Turk	Trabzon	Kazaziye
43	Female	32	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
44	Female	61	Turk	Trabzon	Kazaziye
45	Male	56	Turk	Trabzon	Filigree
46	Male	44	Turk	Trabzon	Kazaziye
47	Male	38	Turk	Trabzon	Kazaziye
48	Male	53	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
49	Male	42	Turk	Trabzon	Matting
50	Male	39	Turk	Trabzon	Filigree

4.2 Mardin: The Land Of Filigree

I am trying to protect this craft that belongs to our Assyrian and Armenian communities. Because the disappearance of a culture means: the loss of a person, the loss of a society.⁵¹

4.2.1 A Socio-Historical and Socio-Demographic Overview to City

As a city situated on the top of a hill, Mardin, that has been neighbors with the cities of Diyarbakır, Urfa, Batman, Siirt and Şırnak has known as an ancient and historical city in Southeastern of Turkey. The city is situated at the important crossroad of Mesopotamia and Anatolian cultures. Its historical and cultural richness provides sources for urban images that are “open-air museum”, “open-air theatre”,

⁵¹ “Bizim Süryani ve Ermeni halkımızın sanatı olduğu için bu zanaata sahip çıkmaya çalışıyorum. Çünkü bir kültürün kaybolması, bir insanın kaybolması demektir, bir toplumun kaybolması demektir.” Quoted from an Assyrian interviewee in Midyat, aged 41,

“civilizations cradle” and “cultural harmony”. Besides of its historical and cultural richness, Mardin has had ethnic, religious richness, that is, the city has consisted of historically various communities lived in mixed neighborhoods. This diversity of ethnic and religious groups had small and large, scattered and concentrated, urban and rural characteristics. There are different monotheistic religions and a myriad of peoples such as Assyrians, Kurds, Arabs (Mhalmi), Armenians, Jews, Nestorians, Chaldeans (Keldani) and Turks who are currently live in Mardin. But, in the city, population consisted mainly of Christians who are Assyrians and Armenians. This quality of the city continued from the end of the 16th century until the beginning of the 19th century. However, at the beginning of the 20th century, this historical continuity suffered a great break with the introduction of nationalism and nation-state policies of Turkish State. As a result of these policies, Mardin has become a Muslim city within a quarter of a century (Aydın, Emiroğlu, Özel and Ünsal, 2001: 127).

Table 4.3: According to cadastral record books, percent distribution of population in Mardin according to religions in the 16th century.⁵²

	1518	1526	1540	1564
Muslims	41	38,8	34,9	27,9
Christians	48,7	48,6	56,1	62,1
Jews	6,2	8	5	5,1

⁵² Göyünç, Nejat, as cited in Aydın, Emiroğlu, Özel and Ünsal, 2001: 102

Table 4.4: Comparison of estimated population rates of Christians and Muslims from 16th century to 19th century⁵³

	Muslims	Christians
1518	%41	%48,7
1530	%38,8	%48,6
1540	%34,9	%56,1
1564	%27,9	%62,1
1766	%50	%48
The end of the 18 th	%75	%25
1837	%60	%38

Although these population estimates, which the traveler has based on their observations, are fairly predictive, it can be said that they provide important evidence that Muslims reached the majority in the 16th to the 19th century. The change of percent distribution in the second half of the 18th century can be explained by immigration from rural to urban. Because, Christians lived and worked generally in urban, on the contrary, Muslims lived in countryside and made their living from the rural.

The social life in Mardin has frequently been described with reference to its tolerant multi-cultural character reflecting a ‘peaceful togetherness of cultures’ by its inhabitants, scholars and political authorities loss its significance. But, the interethnic and interfaith relations in Mardin province in the years before 1914 were far from idyllic. Therefore, it is hard to say that these religious and ethnic diversities are still continued at the present time. Thorough the 19th century and also in the near history had co-occurred with ethnic cleansing perpetrated against Ottoman Christians

⁵³ Göyünç, Nejat, as cited in Aydın, Emiroğlu, Özel and Ünsal, 2001: 103

(Armenians, Chaldeans and Assyrians) in Mardin. Due to the emigration of Armenians, Chaldeans that started in the 19th century and has continued until today, populations of them was greatly diminished and came to an end. As for the Assyrians have continued their existence with a very small population compared to the past.

The first violent deportation of Christian population (Armenian and Assyrians) of the Mardin in the last period of Ottoman Empire took place under the administration of Abdul Hamid. In this period, Abdul Hamid organized an army that is so-called Hamidiye who were mainly formed Sunni-Kurds (Kieser, 2005: 206). With this army, there had been aimed to mobilize the local Kurdish tribes to massacre the Armenians and Assyrians in Mardin. The Hamidiye regiments as they were under the personal protection of Sultan Abdul Hamid, were readiness to use violence for the sake of the deportation and destroying the Armenian millet as such. The mass violence of so-called Hamidiye started from the 1890s. In most parts of southeastern Anatolia, when Armenians were attacked, their Assyrian neighbors suffered the same brutality (Gaunt, Atto and Barthoma, 2017:2). In this regard, as Kieser determined, the Hamidiye regiments can be considered as a counter-mission in response to the development of Christian mission and nation activities in the region (2005:210). In addition to this, it can be said that the most important motivation of the Kurdish tribes to send the Assyrians and the Armenians to the region is the concern of confiscation of land and property. At the same time, the privileges granted by missionaries to Christians, the jealousies based on social status differences, the relative urbanized life of the local Christians that is originated early permanent settlement, and more productive imagery of Christians composed the other motivations (Öztemiz, 2012:41). As a result, with Hamidiye forces, it was clear that under theocratic Ottoman rule, the Assyrians were generally not defined as an ethnic group, but rather according to the religion (Gaunt, 2015: 327). For this reason, policies of extermination against Mardin Christians in the period of Abdul Hamid paved the way for 1915 Genocide.

In the near history, the district of Mardin witnessed systematic and planned destruction policies of the Young Turk government. These policies in 1915, took the form of massacres, death marches and forced deportations. As a result, these brutal and bloody policies resulted in the death, deportation and displacement of Armenians and Assyrians. According to Bloxham, the Armenian genocide was more systematic and thorough than the CUP's attack on the Assyrians. They, "collectively suffering was more intense, and the state intent more explicitly murderous" (Bloxham, 2005: 11). For example, in various sources related to the subject of 1915, it has generally emphasized that Armenians were subject to massive and repeated depredations on deportation routes at the hands of Ottoman Gendarmes, Turkish and Kurdish irregulars, and local tribes people. However, "the closest parallel to the wartime fate of the Armenians was that of the Ottoman Assyrians". (ibid: 98). The Turkist ideology of the CUP had taken the decision to destroy the Assyrians with Armenians as a complementary measure (Kevorkian, 2013:222). Therefore, the city of Mardin is a place where the oppression of Armenians and Syrians in the Ottoman Empire was communized both in the period of Abdul Hamid and also the year of 1915. This year is known as "Sayfo", which is used among the Assyrians in the meaning of sword. That is, Assyrians today usually refer to their genocide by the term Sayfo (also spelled Seyfo) and the year 1915 has become the symbol of this genocide and has been referred to in terms of 'the year of the sword' (Gaunt, Atto and Barthoma, 2017: 7). As a result, in Mardin, Armenian and Assyrian Christians "suffered the same fate without differentiation as to race or denomination" (Travis, 2011:126).

There are key differences and similarities concerned the characteristics of the two communities. As aforementioned, the 1890s and 1915, both of the two periods witnessed the removal and annihilating the Assyrians and Armenians in Mardin. But, in these periods, the treatment of Syrians was different from some of the Armenians. There was not much propaganda of the central government that defined the Syrians as traitors, but the administrative and local politicians were making such accusations within the power (*intra vires*) of themselves. So, the Assyrians were massacred in the

villages by Kurdish tribes who were mostly coordinated by local militias (Gaunt, 2015: 328). Another difference between Assyrians and Armenians is related to minority or “nation” (millet) status. The rights granted to non-Muslim minorities in the Treaty of Lausanne were not applied to the Assyrians, and thus they were not taken into minority status (Aksoy and Çelik, 2013: 375). This situation originated that the Assyrian were referred to as a clan/tribe (used in Turkish as taife) belonging to the Armenian nation: *Ermeni milletne tabi Süryani taifesi or Ermeni millet kullarına bağlı Süryani taifesi* (Özcoşar, 2008:61-62). This dependency showed that Assyrians did not have a separate nation (millet) under the Ottoman administration. They did not win the legal status until at least 1912 when a constitution (nizamname) promulgated for the Assyrian nation (ibid: 66).

When the history between Armenians and Assyrians read deeply, it could be propounded that Armenians and Assyrians were the closest neighbours where they lived together. This neighbourhood had had the Assyrian-Armenian interrelations and interactions in history that based on numbers many centuries. Hence, governors of Ottoman and Turkish state made no distinctions between the ethnic origins of them, they combined ethnic and cultural identities of Assyrians and Armenians with Christianity. Therefore, both Ottoman administrative and military expressions were used in reference to this relationship. In this context, the famous statement by administrative and military parlance for relation of Armenians and Assyrians is such as: “an onion is onion, whether it’s white or red, all must be chopped”.⁵⁴ As this jargon, it can be said that perpetrators of genocide acted in a planned and systematic manner against Armenians and Assyrians. This history of genocide has had a great

⁵⁴ "The government and military authorities in the region were started to exterminate the Armenians and Assyrians many villages around in Adıyaman. When it was the time for Assyrians in the Wank village of Adıyaman, they moved towards the village and they first met with the village head. Şeyho Bey, the head of the village, said to the Gendarmerie: ‘This is not an Armenian village. This is an Assyrian village.’ As a response, the commander had implied that it is not important for the peasants to be the Armenian Assyrians, it is enough for them to be Christian by saying: ‘for us, the color of the onion’s skin is not important, but the scent. Onion is onion’.Bkz. Rabo,2013, s. 7.

place in memory of Assyrians. An interviewee in fieldwork summarized this history in the following statements:

The remaining Assyrians in Mardin were also exposed to the same faith. Actually Assyrians do not have their own history of genocide. When they (the accused) were carrying out genocide on the Armenians, they did not care whether an onion is black or white. Their perception was just ‘onion is onion’. So, how would they know the distinction between Armenians or Assyrians in the village? They were not very knowledgeable, that’s why they had also swept the Assyrians away. So there had been genocide of the identities, not just Armenians, but also Assyrians were perished.⁵⁵ (Male, 45, Assyrian).

In view of all these historical and social events and developments regarding Mardin, it is important to look at the population movement of the city in order to analyze it. For this reason, the figures below show the population and religious composition of the city of Mardin.

Table 4.5: 1881-1893 According to Ottoman general census, population of Mardin central ⁵⁶

Mardin Sanjak	Muslims		Armenians		Catholics		Jews		Protestants		Assyrians		Total Population
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
Centre	11.266	11.292	-	-	1994	2233	-	-	218	214	1646	1913	30.766

⁵⁵ Mardin’de kalan Süryaniler de aynı akıbete maruz bırakıldılar. Süryaniler’in kendi soykırım tarihi yoktur aslına bakarsan. Ermeniler’e soykırım uygulanırken, bir soğanın siyah yada beyaz olması onların umrunda değildi “soğan soğandır” manasıyla baktılar. Yani nerden bilecek ki adam köyünde Ermeni Süryani ayrımını, bunu bilecek kadar bilgili de değildi, önüne gelen Süryanileri de kattılar. Yani kimlik soykırımı oldu, sadece Ermeniler değil Süryaniler de telef edildi.

⁵⁶ Karpat, Kemal, 2003, Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914), Demografik ve Sosyal Özellikler, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları: İstanbul, p.174

Table 4.6: 1894-1895 According to Diyarbekir yearbook, population of Mardin

Islam		Armenian Catholics		Assyrian Archaic		Assyrian Catholics		Jews		Protestants		Chaldean		Total Population
F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
15645	10415	1455	1389	1892	1515	588	597	-	-	263	277	191	134	30776

The census results in Table 4.5 show that the most crowded Christian group in Mardin is Catholics. The fact that the Catholics were not separated as Armenian Catholic and Assyrian Catholic could have caused confusion about the distribution of population among the communities. However, it is a fact that the vast majority of the Catholic population was Armenian Catholics (Özçoşar, 2008:186). Parallel to the results of this census, the traveler Geary who went to Mardin in 1877 put forward that total population of city was 16.386 of which 8.184 Muslim, 3.188 Armenian Catholic, 2.922 Assyrian, 1.340 Assyrian Catholic, 420 Keldani, 308 Protestant and 24 Jews (Geary, 1878:166). Both table 4.5 and table 4.6 show average estimates of ethnic and religious population diversity in Mardin from 1881 to 1895, even though there was a slight change in numbers. In other words, these tables reveal that the Muslim population became more predominant and brought down the rate of non-Muslims in the city.

According to Kevorkian, at the beginning of World War I, in 1914, there were living 7692 Armenians who was great majority Catholic and 12,609 Orthodox Assyrians in Mardin. (Kevorkian, 2013:222). The other data gives more details about ethnic and religious composition about the year of 1914. It is propounded that the populations included 3.000 Protestants, 7.000 Catholics, 1.243 Jews, 29.000 Assyrians, 3.762 Chaldean and 3.529 Assyrian Archaic (Kadim) in the sanjak of Mardin (Aydın, Emiroğlu, Özel and Ünsal, 2001: 370).

Table 4.7: 1927 populations in Mardin⁵⁷

Mardin	Muslims	Protestants	Catholics	Armenians	Christians	Jews	Other	Indeterminate
1927	163.274	157	1634	118	3601	490	9521	1660

As shown in table 4.7, in 1927, it is observed that Mardin both has a significant change in the religious and ethnic composition of the population and the non-Muslim population has decreased significantly. When the years of 1914 and 1927 populations are compared, it can be seen that while there was no fall in the Muslim population, the Protestant population fell from 3.000 to 157, the Catholic population from 7.000 to 1.600, and the Jewish population from 1.243 to 450 (ibid: 370). This decline of non-Muslim population data between the years 1914 and 1927 can be interpreted that mass violence both in the period of Abdul Hamid, his Hamidiye forces and also in the year of 1915 reflected on the numbers. In table 4.7, there are other (sair) and indeterminate (meçhul) populations, but it is not known which ethnic or religious groups of Mardin population belong. It is conceivable that the Assyrians may have taken part in these three categories, as there are no Assyrian sects in the religion statistics (ibid: 370). The above tables on Mardin, it can be seen that the population is mostly based on religious separation, that is, the Catholic, Protestant Orthodox, Jew and Muslim sects were separately categorized. Figures of tables show both a declining trend of population of non-Muslims and how the population of Mardin has changed in terms of ethnic and religious or how the population of the city Islamized year by year.

⁵⁷ Aydın, Emiroğlu, Özel and Ünsal, 2001: 371

In Mardin there are two major Muslim groups, Kurds and Sunni Arabs of Shafii sect. While most Kurds lived in the village, they have migrated to the provincial and district centers from the mid-1960s and especially from the mid-80s, and they have begun to form the predominant population in the city. However, it is asserted that a part of this Kurdish population is Arabized (Sarı, 2010: 41). As a result, Mardin's cultural and social structure can be described in terms of three important immigration phenomena: firstly, the forced emigration of the Christian population who are Assyrians, Armenians and Chaldeans, which started at the end of the 19th century and accelerated at the beginning of the 20th century; secondly, the migration of the elite and rich people from Mardin to the metropolis, the third one is the migration of the Kurds living in the villages in a large proportions to the city center⁵⁸ (ibid: 117).

Until now, a panorama of Mardin's historical and social events, religious and ethnic structure and population mobility has been presented. At this point on today, as can be seen from the tables given above, Mardin that was one of the predominantly Christian cities of the region has been increasingly Islamized. As a result of programmed and massive violence against Armenian and Assyrian populations, large numbers of people abandoned their homes, belongings, and ways of life and craft activities. Therefore, these processes have paved the way for both the disappearance of the atmosphere of peace and security in the city and dissolution of crafts of Armenians and Assyrians.

4.2.2 Gold-Silver Smiting in City

From the 16th century onwards, gold-silver smithing has had a predominant place among the traditional craft branches of Mardin. The most common gold and silver

⁵⁸ This third wave of migration is the migration of economic and political developments along with the economic dimension. (Sarı, 2010: 117)

smithing in this city has been filigree. Specific to the district of Midyat in Mardin province in upper Mesopotamia, a form of filigree using silver and gold wires, known as "telkari" in Turkish, has manufactured since old times. According to the information obtained from archaeological excavations, production with filigree technique has been used since 3000 BC in Mesopotamia, and since 2500 BC in Anatolia (Yılmaz, 1998: 2). So, the base and the beginning of this craft springs from Mesopotamia, although it has been the main focus in Mardin. Therefore this traditional craft that came to the city centuries ago has reached today.

To make filigree, silver as well as gold is used; both metals have been extensively worked by humans for thousands of years across many cultures. Telkari is a technique of producing jewelry. This technique follows these steps: to wire-draw in machine, cutting silver wires, crimping and brazing the wires together to form motifs. Hence, the filigree is known as the gathering of small motifs formed by twisting the silver that is made into thin wire. Because the wires are usually very thin, producing filigree requires very fine artisanship. In other words, it can be said that manufacture of filigree has a very labor-intensive technique (ibid).



Photo 4.1: Bullion of silver is turned into silver sticks in a rolling mill and then these sticks are worked up into a wire (thinner than a strand of hair) by artisan.



Photo 4.2: The master of filigree start working first on the skeleton called “muntaç”. The wire thickness of the muntaç is almost double the thickness of the patterns.



Photo 4.3: This phase is welding of millimetric wires



Photo 4.4: Expose for sale of filigree

4.2.2.1 Belonging and Ethnic Boundaries in Craft

The notion of belonging means to construct boundaries and borders that differentiates between those who belong, and those who do not. The contested and shifted nature of these boundaries and borders may reflect not only dynamic power relations between individuals and collectivities but also subjective and situational processes (Yuval-Davis, 2004:217). Depending on the different ethnic and national projects involving members of the same collectivity or people outside it, the boundary lines can be drawn in very different ways (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992). In the context of this fieldwork, it would be seen that the boundaries of collectivities are constructed and reproduced between crafts and communities in Mardin.

Not unlike the entire Ottoman Empire, the nineteenth century was significant in the political and economic life of Mardin. In the nineteenth century, Assyrians and Armenians in Mardin were intensively interested and had important roles in various crafts (gold-silversmiths, leather trade, weaving, stonemasonry, ironworking, coppersmith, tinsmithing...etc.). In these crafts, gold-silversmithing has had an important role until today. Filigree as one of the gold-silver smithing technique, has dominated this craft world in Mardin. Besides the center of Mardin, the filigree at the same time has had manufactured on a large scale in Midyat that is one of the largest districts and have the most concentrated Assyrian population⁵⁹ of Mardin. Anschütz who investigated this region said that: “Since old times Tur Abdin's⁶⁰ Christians have formed a monopoly in trade and handicrafts. Christian artisans economically and socially have an important place. (...)The jeweler and silversmith have a certain reputation.”⁶¹ This superiority in craftsmanships of non-Muslims is explained by an interview relation with the Islamic view of art/craft:

Why did the Assyrians and the Armenians choose this craft? That is, the freedom of artistic soul in our own belief. That's why, this art is widespread, and we were the ones who have sustained this art. So we do not have an art that is compatible with prohibitions and religious illicit. The church certainly does not interfere with our artistic work. I never heard it from the priest from our church. In Islam there are prohibitions, illicit acts, sins. An artist cannot improve and exhilarate his/her art because of these prohibitions. For example,

⁵⁹ Before 1915 Midyat was a town where about 7000 people lived. Most of the residents here were Orthodox Assyrians: 1452 Armenian Catholics also lived here (Kevorkian, 2013:229). Today, the Midyat Assyrian population consists 98 families (390 people) in the center and 150 families (650 people) in the surrounding villages. (Çetin, 2007:96). According to research, languages spoken in old Midyat include Turkish, Arabic, Kurdish, and Assyrian.

⁶⁰ The area of Midyat and its surroundings, came to be known as Tur Abdin which is considered the heartland of the Assyrians.

⁶¹ Helga Anschütz (1969), “Zur Gegenwartslage der Syrischen Christien im Tur Abdin, im Hakkarigebiet und im Iran”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, Supp.I/2, 483-510, as cited in M. Öztemiz, 2012:85.

s/he cannot picture a living being. Instead he makes an animal, cuts its head or makes a human and scratches out⁶² (Male, 45, Assyrian).

As exemplified in interview, forbidden by religion of art/craft was an important reality of traditional craft and art of Muslims (see Chapter 2). The Orthodox Islamic religious disapproved human and animal images (Deny, 2000: 22). Since they were seen as the work of pagan, it was forbidden to depict human and animal figures in Islam, some of the classical figures were destroyed. (Lewis, 2009:142).

In the fieldwork, there was an argument relating to whether the belonging of filigree as a gold-silver craft constructed boundaries between Armenians and Assyrians. That is, whether or not there were ethnic boundaries between two communities in the contexts of craft was discussed and evaluated separately by means of testimonies and experiences of craftspeople:

My mothers' side is Assyrian; my fathers' side is Armenian Catholic. According to our masters, there were also Armenian masters here. Ask whomever you want, ninety percent of the art belongs to Armenians, so it has passed from the Armenians to the Assyrians. Life changes of course...⁶³ (Male 45, Armenian)

In contrast with this view, Assyrian craftspeople generally determined that the craft of filigree belonged to both Armenians and Assyrians. One of these master told as such:

⁶² Neden Süryaniler yada Ermeniler bu zanaatı seçtiler, kendi inancımızın içindeki sanatsal ruhumuzun özgür bırakılışı var yani. Onun için bu sanattaki yoğunluk, yani bu sanatı devam ettiren biz olduk. Yani bizim yasaklarla haramlarla bağdaşan bir sanatımız yok. Kilise bizim sanatsal işimize kesinlikle karışmaz. Ben hiçbir zaman bizim kiliseden rahipten bunu duymadım. İslamiyette yasaklar, haramlar günahlar var. Bir sanatçı bu yasaklar yüzünden sanatını çoşturamıyor, geliştiremiyor. Mesela bir canlının resmini yapamıyor, ne yapıyor, hayvanı yapıyor boynunu kesiyor, insanı yapıyor üzerini karalıyor.

⁶³ Anne tarafım Süryani baba tarafım Ermeni Katolik. Bizim ustaların dediklerine göre burada Ermeni ustalar da varmış. Kime sorarsanız sorun, bütün sanatın yüzde doksanı Ermenilere aittir, bu yüzden Ermenilerden Süryanilere geçmiştir. Hayat değişiyor tabi...

This occupation is usually a profession that is left behind by the grandfathers of the Armenians and the Assyrians. It was done by the Armenians and Assyrians... There were not any Armenians left here anymore. It's been a while since they have been gone⁶⁴ (Male, 81, Assyrian, Midyat)

As mentioned before, bloody and brutality politics and practices that include 1890s Hamidian massacres, 1915 Armenian Genocide and 1915 Assyrian Genocide-Sayfo implemented by Ottoman and Turkish state lead to mass killing, displacement and deportation of Armenians and Assyrian communities in Mardin. As a result of these processes Assyrians were allowed to return after a while to Mardin. Therefore, these processes had greatly influenced both Assyrian and Armenian populations and craftspeople in the city. The Assyrian and Armenian interviewees told the affects of these processes on craftspeople in Mardin:

The craft is melting away day by day. 1915 is a great disaster, the cases of Armenian masters' escape, their disappearance. After a certain thing, the law came out; 'Assyrians for home'. So the Assyrians became more active, worked harder. For example, in the 1930s, since Diyarbakir did not have any craftsmen, craftsmen from Mardin were taken there for work⁶⁵ (Male, 56, Armenian).

Similarly, an Assyrian master told that:

Before, there were also Armenians in this craft. In the events of 1915 the ones that could stay have stayed, most of them were executed. The ones that could flee have fled. Some of them have fled to Syria, Iraq, India. That is to say, they have fled wherever they can ⁶⁶ (Male, 81, Assyrian, Midyat).

⁶⁴ Bu meslek genellikle Ermeni ve Süryanilerin dedelerinden kalan bir meslektir. Ermeniler ve Süryaniler yapıyordu bu işi...Ermeni kalmadı buralarda. Baya zaman olmuştur onlar buradan gideli

⁶⁵ Zanaat eriyor gittikçe. 1915 büyük bir felaket, Ermeni ustaların kaçıışı var, kayboluşu var. Belli bir şeyden sonra yasa çıktı, Süryaniler evlerine diye. O yüzden Süryaniler daha bir aktif oldu, daha bir çalıştı. Mesela 1930'larda Diyarbakır'da sanatkar kalmadığı için, Mardinden sanatkar götürdüler oraya çalışması için.

⁶⁶ Daha önce Ermeniler de vardı bu zanatta, 1915 olaylarında kalabilen kaldı, çoğu soykırıma uğradı, kaçabilen kaçtı. Mesela bunların bir kısmı, Suriye'ye kaçtı, Irak'a kaçtı, Hindistan'a kaçtı,yani nereye gidebilirse kaçtı.

On the basis of these interviews, it is possible to say that there was an interrelationship and solidarity between the Armenian and Assyrian communities in terms of continuation of silver or gold filigree craft. Due to the mass ethnic cleansing of Armenians in Mardin, this continuation of craft was performed by Assyrians. Barth states this “relationality and continuity” with following sentences:

These variables, however, only go part of the way in describing the adaptation of a group. While showing the qualitative, (and ideally quantitative) structure of the niches occupied by a group, one cannot ignore the problems of number and balance in its adaptation. If, on the other hand, two populations are ecologically interdependent, as two ethnic groups in a symbiotic relationship, this means that any variation in the size of one must have important effects on the other. In the analysis of any poly-ethnic system for which we assert any degree of time depth, we must therefore be able to explain the processes whereby the sizes of the interdependent ethnic groups are balanced (Barth, 1969: 20).

Local history of Mardin inevitably shows this demographical and economical transformation and change between Armenian and Assyrian communities. That is, focused as they are on a particular group in a particular place, offer the great advantage of allowing us to see in detail how economic and social pressures common to a whole region affect people on a local level (Yow, 2005:189). These economic and social pressures were originated both by state and society in Turkey. The Wealth tax that was enacted in 12 November 1942 composes one of these pressures. The real important factor in determining the tax burden in this tax was the community’s religion and nationality. Together with this tax, it is known that taxpayers were divided into two separate lists; M list of Muslims and G list of non-Muslims, and the non-Muslims paid taxes ten times as much as Muslims (Lewis, 1988: 297). After then, in early January 1943, the press published the names of those who did not pay taxes, along with the amount of taxes they would pay. The non-Muslims who did not pay the wealth tax were sent to stone for new road construction in Ashkale (ibid).

The remaining minorities, who were not sent to exile with the context of assets tax, removed tax debts by liquidating their capital and property (Atılğan, 2012: 335). Since the Assyrians were not taken into minority status in the Treaty of Lausanne, they had been loaded with heavy taxes under the name of wealth tax in the economic area (Aksoy and Çelik, 2013: 375). While the amount of wealth tax that must be paid in Mardin was 324.250 liras, the amount paid was 322.282 liras (Akar, 2000:92). As a result, since the population of the Armenians in the Mardin until the 1940s was almost removed, the Syrians constituted the large part of the population, and thus the whole amounts of wealth tax was paid by them. Interviewees told outcomes of the wealth tax in Mardin as follows:

I'm talking about the central Mardin. There were those who went away after the events of 1915 and after Wealth Tax of 1942. There were craftsmen among those who fled to Syria. My father worked in railroad tracks during the time of the Wealth Tax⁶⁷(Male, 37, Assyrian)

In parallel with that, an Armenian artisan said:

Mardin experienced a lot of emigration during the era of Ismet Pasha. 5-6 lira was coming in, since there was nothing the people was leaving their state in the back. Syria is full of our people. Many people have fled because of the Wealth Tax.⁶⁸ (Male, 56, Armenian).

Lewis states that the saddest was the poor, like craftsmen. Those who were non-Muslims were often taxed far beyond their ability to pay, and they are sacked when

⁶⁷ Mardin merkez için konuşuyorum. 1915 olaylarından sonra gidenler oldu, 1942 varlık vergisinden sonra gidenler oldu. Gidenlerin içinde sanatkârlar vardı, Suriye'ye kaçanlar oldu. Varlık vergisi zamanında benim babam tren yollarında çalıştı.

⁶⁸ İsmet Paşa zamanında Mardin Varlık vergisi ile çok fazla göç veriyor. 5-6 lira para geliyordu, e yok napsın, devletini bırakıp kaçıyor. Bütün Suriye'yi dolduran bizim halklar. Varlık vergisinden dolayı çok kişi kaçtı.

they could not pay their debts. (Lewis, 1988: 298). Another interviewee agreeing with this view, shared experiences of his family with Wealth Tax:

There was a lot of emigration after the Wealth Tax. I was very little. Everybody fled to Syria. My uncle was a filigree master; he fled to Al-Hasakah, Syria because of the Wealth Tax⁶⁹ (Male, Assyrian, 75)

Together with these interviews, it can be seen that the Assyrians and remaining Armenians affected from Wealth tax on a large scale. Majority of them abandoned properties and escaped to especially Syria and the other places of the World. Those who could not escape were expropriated. The aim was clearly liquidation of their immovable property and its transfer to Muslim population. As a result, all these processes affected the gold and silver craftspeople who almost all composed from Assyrians and Armenians. In this context, the interviewee summarized the reasons of the social and economic destruction of the own community:

At that time, all of the states' politics were about Turkification efforts and creation of a homogeneous society. Obviously that has an effect on the income injustice. The craft was in the hands of the Assyrians, the trade and the wealth were in the hands of the Assyrians. To be more precise, they were in the hands of the Christians. As a result, there was envy, jealousy. They were being annoyed tauntingly. They had become rich because of both their work and their unity. We have craftsmanship and work in our culture. What was happening? They (others) were putting pressure on, so some of them were going away⁷⁰ (Male, 37, Assyrian)

As the statement reveals Christians who had ethnic solidariy occupied a niche in the Mardin. Due to the fact that Armenians and Assyrians were concentrated

⁶⁹ Varlık vergisinden sonra çok göç oldu. Ben de ufaktım. Herkes Suriye'ye kaçtı. Amcam telkari ustasıydı, Varlık vergisinden dolayı Suriye'ye Haseki'ye kaçtı.

⁷⁰ O dönemlerde devletin bütün politikaları Türkleştirme çabaları ve homojen bir toplum oluşturma çabalarıydı. Tabi bu gelir adaletsizliğine yansıyor. Zanaat süryanilerin elindeydi, ticaret, zenginlik Süryanilerin elindeydi. Hristiyanların daha doğrusu. E noluyordu, kıskançlık, çekememezlik giriyordu araya, insanlara sataşıyorlardı. Hem çalışmaktan, hem de birlik olmalarından dolayı zengin olmuşlardı. Kültürümüzde zanaatkarlık var, çalışma var. E ne oluyordu baskı yapıyorlardı, bu yüzden bazıları çekip gidiyordu.

occupationally in commercial related occupations and craftsmanship, they had had a position that is named middleman minority. It is seen that these statuses of them caused inter-religious and inter- ethnic conflicts in Mardin. These conflicts pave the way for dehumanization and victimization that the types range from mild discrimination to optimal genocide. Armenians and Assyrians as middleman minorities in Mardin had a special vulnerability to attack because their social position is one with some wealth but with little authority or power (Zenner, 2008: 259). Hence, to survive economically and physically they had to follow various strategies such as reinforcing group solidarity, to migrate anywhere and to leave the craft/occupation to work in other jobs.

4.2.2.2 Class Mobility and Occupational Change in Craft

The great phases of state building and the politics of national or ethnicized economy of Turkish state led to mass expulsion or destruction of targeted groups. In other words, populations were targeted for expulsion and extermination to construct homogeneous social and political communities. As the fieldwork interviews also reveals, phases all of these policies and their implementation were traced in the city of Mardin. Lastly the Wealth Tax Law that generally imposed on non-Muslims to execute a wealth transfers from non-Muslims to the dominant Turkish majority, caused involuntary migrations and dispossession of non-Muslims in Mardin. As result of these criminal policies, Armenians and Assyrians were subjected massive forced deportation and displacement. At the end of all these processes, the population composition of Mardin has changed, there have remained few Armenians and the Assyrians, who constitute the majority of the population, remained in the minority. However, the pressure and intimidation policies implemented on Assyrians who are remained in the minority in the city continued in the following years. In 1962-63, with the pretext of Cyprus events, there were organized attacks on Assyrians in Midyat. Due to the provocations, pressures and economic troubles, the Syrians began to migrate to Istanbul, then to Europe, which opened its doors in the 1960s, as

workers and refugees (Aksoy and Çelik, 2013: 376). In addition to this, as like in 1962-63 events, during the 20 July 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation, pressures and forced migrations were continued against Assyrians (Atauz, 1994:128). The affects of Cyprus events is expressed by interviewees in Mardin, as follows:

The main migration started in the 60s. When the events had started in Cyprus, they (Turks) put cross on the dog as a collar, they came to take the spoils, they would plunder, they'd come to kill⁷¹ (Male, 41, Assyrian, Midyat)

Similarly, another filigree master told that:

They were clashing in Cyprus and after some people came to put pressure on us. I could not care less about Cyprus... I do not want to talk about it but they were calling us 'infidels', there were a lot of pressure⁷² (Male, 81, Assyrian, Midyat)

As the narratives reveal that the images of Chiristians that are potential "enemy" who threaten national and cultural integrity and uniqueness was reconstructed again. That is, ethnic borders are reproduced by the daily behaviors and discourse of individuals and groups (Barth, 2001: 61). For this reason, there were big class ethnic and religious changes in the population of the city. So, the 1950s and '60s were the beginning of the process in which Mardin's urban structure changed economically, socially and culturally (Aydın, Emiroğlu, Özel and Ünsal, 2001: 399). An interviewee explained clearly how the migration processes of the 1960s influenced craft:

In the '60s, the jobs were running short. In the 65s, filigree masters went to Germany to become workers. They have worked in factories. For a while, they were working in factories which work on gold in Germany. Some of them are in

⁷¹ Esas göç 60'larda başladı. Kıbrısta olaylar başladığında, köpeğin boynuna haç asmışlardı, ganimeti almaya gelmişlerdi, talan edeceklerdi, öldürmeye gelmişlerdi.

⁷² Kıbrıs'ta çatışıyorlardı gelip bize baskı yapıyorlardı, bana ne Kıbrıs'tan...Yok siz gavursunuz bilmem nesiniz, bu konulara değinmek istemiyorum ama baya baskı oldu.

Australia, they sell jewelry but surely they do not practice the craft there⁷³
(Male, 50, Assyrian, Midyat)

It is possible to said that with migrations of 1960s, filigree craftspeople of Mardin, become a factory worker; therefore they underwent a specific kind of proletarianization. With the military coup d'état on September 12, 1980, the policies of oppression led to intensively migration of the Assyrians to Europe. During this period, the movable and immovable properties of the Assyrians were confiscated (Aksoy and Çelik, 2013: 376), and there were a sharp decline in the Assyrian population⁷⁴. The Assyrian population in Mardin and its surroundings in 1980 were 16.405, but in 2001, it decreased by 16 times to 1.580 (Taşğın, 2002). As mentioned below, after the 1980 coup d'état affected the masters of filigree, and their numbers decreased with the migrations:

The filigree was decreased because of the emigration. After the military coup in the 80, the people were emigrated. There were 50 masters until the 80's and now there are only 10-15⁷⁵ (Male, 81, Assyrian, Midyat).

All the changes and their reasons in the Assyrian population until 1980 summarized by an interviewee with the following sentences:

In 1914-15 the Assyrians were suffered from genocide. Then this situation has continued until the 80's. Our people, who have been abused and harassed, were in search for migration and other ways. If you look at the population census of

⁷³ 60'lı yıllarda işler baya azaldı. 65'li yıllarda telkari ustaları Almanya'ya gittiler işçi olmak için. Fabrikalarda işçi olarak çalıştılar. Almanya'da altın üzerine çalışan fabrikalarda çalışıyorlar bir süre. Avustralya'da olanlar var sadece kuyumculuk üzerine satış yapıyorlar, ama zanaatı yapmıyorlar tabi.

⁷⁴ According to figures compiled from various studies, until the 1980s there were in a total of 15,000 Assyrians lived in the region. However, with the 1980s most of the Assyrians in Mardin migrated to Istanbul. A considerable amount of Assyrian migrants live in Germany, Sweden, the Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, USA, Argentina, Chile, Syria and Lebanon. (Sarı, 2010: 123).

⁷⁵ Telkari çok azaldı göçten dolayı. 80 darbesinden sonra millet göç etti. 80'lere kadar 50 usta vardı şimdi 10-15 tane var.

this region in 1914-15, I say almost 60-80% of it was composed from Assyrian-Armenian. But now, after a century later, they all remained as a minority⁷⁶(Male, 45, Assyrian)

Another development of 1980s was that with the rise of the Kurdish movement in 1984, to suppress this movement, the village guards system was brought by the Turkish state. In this process, the Hezbollah organization that has carried out many killing and abduction acts against Syriacs, village guards and secret units of state applied all kinds of oppression on Assyrians (Aksoy and Çelik, 2013: 377). In later times, the war between Turkish state and PKK (Kurdistan Worker's Party) in the region, reflected on the craft of filigree in the following way:

Let's just say terrorist acts in the region, let's just say, the villagers were evacuated. With the events that started in the 90's, the people were left in the middle. The people had to abandon their villages because of the pressures from our side, on the other hand because of the pressure from the state. When the villagers were vacated, Midyat began to be emptied, and the Assyrian masters also went away⁷⁷ (Male, 78, Assyrian, Midyat).

Another master giving the number of filigree workshops that were closed in the 1990s revealed the current situation of the craft:

I started this profession as an apprentice in 1985. When I started this work, there were 42 ateliers. There were some ateliers where 17-18 people were working. Currently, the number of masters is 6-7 people, apprentice 3-4 people. It dropped further after the year of 93. Due to the events that took place in the 90's, that is, the events between the PKK and the state really affected the craft.

⁷⁶ 1914-15' te Süryaniler soykırma uğradılar. Sonra bu durum kademe kademe 80'lere kadar devam etti, tacizler, tacizler, göç göç ve arayış içinde kalan bir halkımız ve ne oldu tamamıyla bu bölgenin 1914-15'teki nüfus sayımına bakarsanız, bölgenin neredeyse %60-80'I, abartmadan söylüyorum, hepsi Süryani-Ermeni iken 1 asır sonra azınlıkta kaldılar.

⁷⁷ Bölgede olan terör olaylarımı diyelim, ne diyelim işte, köyler boşaltıldı. 90'lı yıllarda başlayan olaylarla, buradaki halk ortada kaldı, bir taraftan dışarıdan gelen baskılar bir yandan devletten gelen baskılarla insanlar köyleri boşaltmak zorunda kaldı. Köyler boşalınca Midyat da boşalmaya başladı, Süryani ustalar da gitti

They migrate and go to Europe. We currently have 2 ateliers working fully in Midyat⁷⁸ (Male, 41, Assyrian, Midyat).

As stated above, with the year of 1990s, the workshops of filigree closed greatly, and the craftspeople of these workshops either migrated anywhere or completely left from craft. As a result, this situation clearly shows the dimensions of dissolution of craft of filigree in Mardin. In this context, it is important to know whether the craftspeople who migrated to anywhere maintain the craft or not. To satisfy this curiosity, an interviewee told by giving example from migration of his brother:

There are those who immigrated to America, Canada-Toronto, Syria-Damascus, Argentina, and Spain. It is unclear what they are exposed to at those places. Now I have a brother in Sydney-Australia. He moved from Mardin to there to find a work as a gold filigree artist. He could not keep this art there. Peoples' perception of jewelry is very important. If they are prone to it, maybe then it is possible. My brother worked in the jewelry business but it didn't work either. He did what he could after that, for example cable connection works. He has been doing parquet flooring work for 15 years now. I mean, he was a master here, there he became a worker. He did not continue his art. He went in 1997. There was unemployment; he went away because of financial difficulties. We said that my brother would go and after he buys some land we will follow him. But he could not; he could not perform his art⁷⁹ (Male, 45, Assyrian).

⁷⁸ 1985 yılında bu mesleğe çırak olarak başladım. Bu işe başladığımda 42 tane atölye vardı. 17-18 kişi çalışan atölyeler vardı. Şu an usta sayısı 6-7 kişi, çırak da 3-4 kişi. 93 yılından sonra düştü bu sayı. 90'lı yıllarda burda olan olaylar nedeniyle, yani PKK ile devlet arasında olan olaylar zanaatı çok etkiledi. Göç edip Avrupa'ya gittiler. Şu an tam olarak çalışan 2 atölyemiz var Midyat'ta.

⁷⁹ Amerika, Kanada-Toronto, Suriye Şam, Arjantin, İspanya'ya göç edenler var. Gittikleri yerde neye maruz kaldıkları belli değil. Şimdi benim bir abim var Avustralya Sydney'de, Mardin'den bir altın telkari sanatkarı olarak iş bulmak için oraya göç etti. Orada bu sanatı devam ettiremedi. Çünkü oranın halkının kuyumculuk sanatına bakışı çok önemli. Orda halk yatkınsa anca olur. Benim abim de orda kuyumculuk işinde çalıştı tutulmadı, ondan sonra ne yaptı, mesela kablo bağlantı işlerini yaptı, şu anda 15 yıldır döşeme parke işini yapıyor. Yani burda usta iken orda işçi oldu. Sanatını devam ettirmedi. 1997'de gitti. Hem işsizlik vardı, geçimsizlikten gitti. Dedik ki abim gitsin bize toprak yer alsın peşinden gidelim. Ama yapamadı, sanatını icra edemedi.

Here the crucial point is that craftspeople who migrated to other countries don't continue filigree. The reason why the craftspeople do not maintain this craft, explained by narrator with cultural differences between Turkey and other countries. Therefore, it can be understood that, also this situation, like migrations in the 1960s, lead to proletarianization of artisan. In other words, the artisan lost control over the means of production, and started to work in areas outside of craft as a worker status. On the other hand, this situation also can be explained occupational mobility that includes involuntary job displacement that means capital and work loss. At the same time, occupational mobility refers to changes in the kind of work people do across generations (inter generational mobility) or over the course of people's lives (intra generational). The craft of craftspeople is transmitted through intergenerational mobility. The Armenian and Assyrian communities transmitted the knack of filigree from generation to generation or intra generational way. To protect this knack or knowledge, they only trained apprentices who were Christians. This situation explained by an interviewee as such:

This occupation is usually a profession that is left behind by the grandfathers of the Armenians and Assyrians. They did not let us work in any state institution as non-Muslims, we cannot serve us as guards, neither in a state institutions. We could not even become a corporal in military service; they were holding us in back service... As a result, we could not of all those, we hanged on tight to our art. We do not teach our art to the others, we have chosen our apprentices among Assyrians to protect our craft⁸⁰ (Male, 81, Assyrian, Midyat).

Most important point in this interview is that because Assyrians were exposed to discrimination by the state, they did not open their crafts out. In other words, they saw this craft as "bread-and-butter". In other words, craft techniques were often kept as family secrets and were the guarantee of a family's or society's livelihood.

⁸⁰ Bu meslek genellikle Ermeni ve Süryanilerin dedelerinden kalan bir meslektir. Bize gayrimüslümler olarak herhangi bir devlet kurumunda görev vermiyorlar, bizi ne bekçi yapıyorlar, ne devlet kuruluşunda bir yerde çalıştırıyorlar, askerlikte bile bir onbaşı olamıyorduk, geri hizmet... Bunlar olunca tabi bizde sanatımıza sarıldık, sanatımızı öğretmiyorduk bir başkasına, zanaatımızı korumak için çıraklarımızı Süryanilerden seçiliyorduk.

Therefore, only the Armenians and Assyrians were accepted as apprentices in the craft of filigree. With the mass migration waves the masters of filigree removed this restriction. Other communities of Mardin such as Shafii Kurdish and Muslim Arabian worked as an apprentice with the Assyrian master:

There are now Muslim Arabs engaged in this embroidery. Muslim apprentices were not taken until 30 years ago. Then we had a lot of population until the 80's. Because we were a minority and because of the security issues: mostly Christians and Assyrians were hiring as apprentices to protect our craft⁸¹ (Male, 53, Assyrian).

In the interview, the master mentioned “security problem” that prevent to train Muslim apprentices. As mentioned before, it can be estimated that this problem was derived from interethnic and interreligious conflicts in Mardin. In addition to this, as nearly every interviewees determined, Assyrians masters are starting to take Muslim apprentices to their side after the 1980s. A master who is the only Muslim interviewee who I interviewed in the fieldwork, told his craft experience as a Muslim:

My master in Mardin is Assyrian. I also had a master in Midyat, I also worked with him, he was also Assyrian. I am Muslim. For sure filigree is a profession of Armenians, Assyrian masters. They have kept the craft until today. Thanks to god I am now continuing this profession. I did not see an Armenian master here, but there were many Assyrian masters. At one point the son of the priest came and learned the craft from me. I learned from the Assyrian and after I taught them⁸² (Male, 32, Muslim)

⁸¹ Şu an Müslüman Araplar var bu işlemciliği yapan. Eskiden bundan 30 yıl öncesine kadar Müslüman çıraklar alınmıyordu. O zaman nüfusumuz çoktu 80’li yıllara kadar. Zanaatı korumak için, bir de güvenlik meselesi azınlık olduğumuz için daha çok Hristiyanlar, Süryaniler çırak alınmıyordu.

⁸² Mardin’deki ustam Süryanidir, Midyat’ta da bir ustam vardı onunla da çalıştım, o da Süryaniydi. Ben Müslümanım. Telkari tabi Ermeni, Süryani ustaların mesleğidir, onlardan günümüze gelmiş, ben de Müslüman olarak allaha şükür bugün bu mesleği devam ettiriyorum. Ermeni usta görmedim burda ama Süryani usta çoktu. Bir ara Papazın oğlu geldi yanımda zanaatı öğrendi, ben Süryanilerden öğrendim onlara öğrettim yani.

Although the Assyrians have still composed the majority in this gold and silver craft, it is seen that the ethnic boundaries in the craft started to disappear. The reason of this change is based on both mass migration of Assyrians from Mardin, and also unable to find an apprentice to be trained.

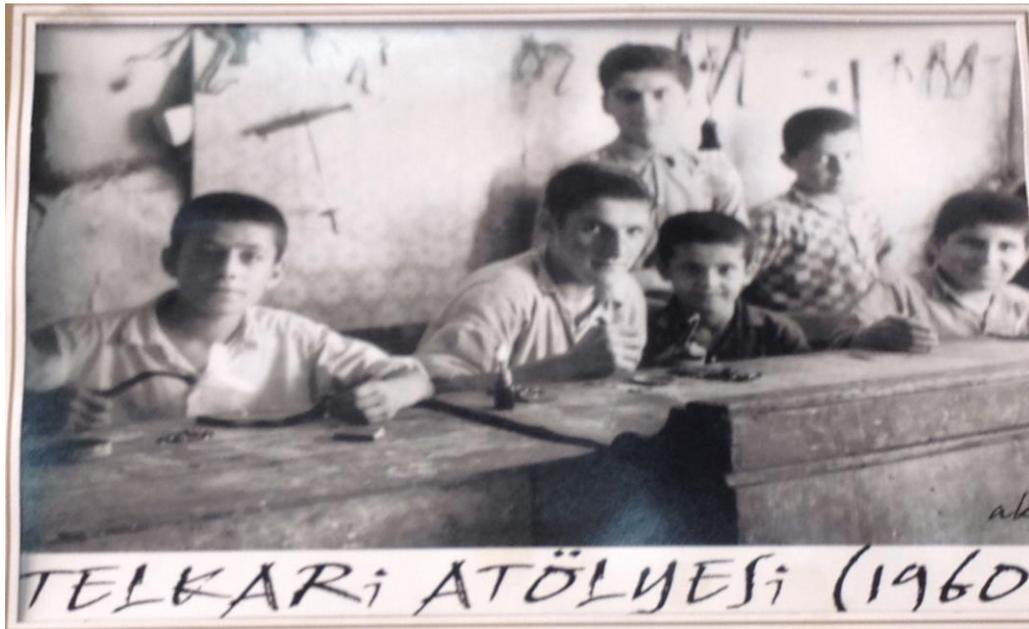


Photo 4.5 : Assyrian apprentices in filigree workshop in Mardin⁸³

In the 1980s, there was another dissolution story of filigree in Mardin. As in all other crafts, advanced technology and industrialization and automatic machine and tools transform the craft production (see in detail chapter 3). In addition to this, in fact, as is well known, multiple forces- legal, political, demographic, and economic- converged during the era of industrialization; one result was the destruction of the

⁸³ This photo was taken with the permission of a craftsman in Mardin.

culture of the artisan and the transformation of his and her identity (Farr, 2000: 276). The devastating affects of industrialization and automatism on craft of filigree were emphasized by all of the craftspeople in Mardin. One of them expressed that:

As you know, as technology improves, it hinders some things, especially the handicrafts. They can mold our product and cast it very easily. They lower the fine gold, produce a lot more and earn more than we do. It has emerged during the 2000s. When the casts are broken, the repairing process is very difficult, not like ours. This art has come to an end with the new motto of silver is silver and inclination of people to less expensive casted silver. I have been doing my best for not letting this profession to die since 20 years⁸⁴ (Male, 41, Assyrian, Midyat)

Another interviewee reflected the similar point:

Art is dead. Since the casting is out, craft is no longer in demand. It was good until the 1995, everyone was master here. When the casting came out, there was no money left at the craftsmen, larger pieces were being made before⁸⁵ (Male, 35, Assyrian, Midyat)

It can be clearly determined that the foundry in filigree that had started with 2000s influenced the craft devastatingly. With he foundry at the same time the filigree has come to a stopping point. In addition to the foundry, also the mechanization process related with mass production lead to dissolution and devastation of craft. In this process, “machine production invaded the province of the craftsman and drove him to a few obscure trades” (Ries, 1968: 9). The majority of the interviewees shared their experiences of mechanization through:

⁸⁴ Biliyorsunuz teknoloji ilerledikçe bazı şeylere engel oluyor, el sanatlarını çok etkiledi. Çıkardığımız bir ürünün kalıbını ve çok rahat bir şekilde dökümünü çıkarabiliyorlar. Daha düşük ayar yapıp, daha çok üretilip bizden çok daha fazla kazanıyorlar. 2000’li yıllarla beraber ortaya çıkıyor bu. Dökümler kırıldığı zaman tamiri çok zor oluyor, bizimkisi öyle değil. İnsanların gümüş gümüştür diyerek daha ucuz olan döküme yönelmesiyle bu sanat bitme aşamasına geldi. Ben 20 yıldır bu işin ölmemesi için elimden geleni yapıyorum. (Male, 41, Assyrian, Midyat)

⁸⁵ Sanat ölmüş, dökümasyon çıktı, artık zanaat rağbet görmüyor. 1995’e kadar iyiydi, burada herkes ustaydı. Dökümasyon çıktığı zaman sanatkarlarda para kalmadı, eskiden daha büyük parçalar yapılırdı. (Male, 35, Assyrian, Midyat)

I worked non-stop until 1988. The masters have left and so do I. Because of the mechanization in Istanbul, currently you won't earn much when you do handwork crafts in Turkey. It has been mechanized. Mechanization has been killing the craftsmanship, that is, manual labor. Machine workmanship is cheaper and faster, more error-free, smoother. When it is made by hand, mistakes are made, of course, depending on the skill of the master. So you cannot compete with technology⁸⁶ (Male, 56, Armenian)

In parallel with this experience, another master stated:

The computer is commanding, the machine is doing it. You have to be 20-30 people, in order to this job right now. That's why I have left it. I am currently in bag industry⁸⁷(Male, 47, Assyrian)

Besides the two interviewees, one master presented the case of ending of the craft more precisely:

All the arts go backwards, but there's nothing to do with it. Such machines have come out, we call this cnc. You are commending from the computer and when you press the enter button you immediately have your model. There were fewer alternatives before. But now because there were a lot of models, it gets harder for people to like our models. The bad thing is, art is dead. The profession turned into fabrication⁸⁸(Male, 45, Armenian)

⁸⁶ 1988'lere kadar full çalıştım. Ustalar ayrıldı, ben de bıraktım. İstanbul'da makinalaşma olduğundan dolayı. Şu anda Türkiye'de el işçiliği zanaatı yaptığınız zaman çok fazla getirisi yok. Makinalaştı. Makinalaşma sanatı yani el işçiliğini öldürüyor. Makina işçilik olarak daha ucuz ve daha hızlı, daha hatasız, daha düzgün. Elle yapıldığında hatalar oluşuyor, tabi zanaatın ustalığına yeteneğine bağlı. O yüzden teknoloji ile yarışmıyorsun

⁸⁷ Bilgisayar komut veriyor, makine yapıyor. 20-30 kişi olacaksın ki şu anda bu işi yapasın. O da kurtarmaz da yine. O yüzden bıraktım ben bu işi zaten. Şu an çantacılık yapıyorum.

⁸⁸ Bütün sanatlar geriye gidiyor, ama buna yapacak birşey yok. Öyle makineler çıkmış ki, buna cnc diyoruz. Bilgisayardan komutu veriyorsun enter'a basıyorsun model önüne geliyor. Eskiden alternatif azdı, ama şimdi model çok çıktığı için insanlara beğendiremiyoruz. Kötü yönü sanat kalmadı, sanat öldü. İş fabrikasyona döndü (Male, 45, Armenian)

As seen in all of these interviews, due to the mechanization and automatization, the craftspeople left the craft of filigree, have dealt with works other than craft especially and the status that they have has seen as “obscure trades”. In addition to all these processes, in today's global market, skilled workers with moderate skill are at the risk of losing their jobs in the face of Indian and Chinese counterparts who have the same skills but work at lower wages (Sennett, 2009:52). The craftspeople of filigree compared Turkey, India and other countries in terms of cheap labor and lower costs in craft production:

We import goods from abroad. For example, it comes from India. A master's salary here is about 1500-2000. A master works there for around 100-dollars. Labor is cheaper. The salary of the worker here and the insurance is quite costly. In the past, you could have paid at the value of the art and the labor, abroad work was not necessary. We are drawing motifs from here and they are doing them. We also receive gold filigree from India. We have been buying goods from abroad since 3-5 years⁸⁹ (Male, 78, Assyrian, Midyat)

This was repeated by another interviewee :

The goods are coming from the Far East too, they are making the filigree thinner. Far East goods have begun to enter the market since 10-15 years. They have fabricated it, the workforce is very cheap, and the technology is more advanced⁹⁰ (Male, 62, Assyrian, Midyat)

The views of the craftspeople on the global market and competitive situation shows that cheap labor in China and India has reflected and influenced the craft of filigree

⁸⁹ Yurtdışından mal ithal ediyoruz. Mesela Hindistan'dan geliyor. Burada bir ustanın aylığı 1500-2000 civarında bir paradır. Orada da 100-dolar civarında çalışıyor bir usta. Emek daha ucuz. Burada çalıştıracağın işçinin maaşı, sigortası oldukça maliyetli. Eskiden sanatın değerini, hakkını alabiliyordun, yurtdışına gerek olmuyordu. Biz buradan motifleri çizip gönderiyoruz onlar yapıyorlar.Hindistan'dan da altın telkari geliyor.Yurtdışından 3-5 senedir mal alıyoruz.(Male, 78, Assyrian, Midyat).

⁹⁰ Uzakdoğu'dan da mallar geliyor artık, onlar daha ince de yapıyor telkariyi. Uzakdoğu malları 10-15 yıldır piyasaya girmeye başladı. Yalnız onlar fabrikasyon haline getirmişler, ordaki işgücü de çok çok ucuz, teknolojileri de daha ileri. (Male, 62, Assyrian, Midyat).

in Mardin. Therefore, it is possible to said that technological innovations and rising of cheap labor weaken the situation of the crafts and the craftspeople have lost some of independence in industries that require more capital, machinery and skill (Thompson, 2006: 327). Under these conditions, the craftsman has come to the present day with increasing insecurity and serious loss of status. As a result, artisanship is now easily settled within flexible capitalist institutions (Sennet, 2006: 105), and it is trying to resist the conditions within these institutions.

4.2.2.3 Gender Relations in Craft

The women have so far remained largely invisible in the craft-based production, and thus the space of crafts is described as male. In other words, due to the fact that experiences of craft are generally based on masculine contours, there has been gender-based division of labor and sexual separation in the workshops of crafts. In the case of Mardin, all of these masculinized characteristics of craft world were seen very clearly. Women have completely been excluded from the public visibility of the craft of gold-silver smithing, that is, there can not seen a woman in workshops as a apprentices, journeyman or master in Mardin. Therefore it was not possible to have any interview with women, because there were not found actively women in this craft. However, during interviews with men, they were asked why women were not found in this craft, and it was tried to be understood that why the women have not placed in the craft. In this context, a male interviewee stated:

In our Southeast, women do not work in this craft because of feudal structures. But there are those who help their husbands at home. Women do what is necessary for the master's (husband's) product⁹¹ (Male, 56, Armenian).

⁹¹ Bizim Güneydoğu'da kadınlara bu iş gitmiyor feodal yapılardan dolayı. Ama evlerde beylerine yardım edenler var. Kadınlar ustanın ürününe gerekli olan şeyleri yaparlar.

In a similar vein, another interviewee determined bluntly the affects of the composition of the city and traditional gender-based division of labor on participation of women in the craft of gold and silversmithing as follows:

It is not the woman who works in the shop in this area; especially it could never be many years ago, you know too. It is not possible to be a woman in the shops, especially 50-60 years ago, impossible! There were some women, his father was working at home, and they were helping their father. I had a friend named Sait, he had taught filigree craft his sisters at home, but they were at home... The ladies could not go to the bazaar. They were always at home with housework and childcare⁹²(Male, 70, Assyrian).

Both interviewers particularly emphasized that the Mardin has been a feudal and conservative city to live as a woman since old dates. So, it is claimed by two interviewees that women rarely used public spaces and they did not have any experiences in craft of gold and silversmithing in the city. However, they could be visible in this craft only at the home with simple works by helping their husbands or brothers that are known as masters of the craft. Besides this help, the women as a home-based worker have been held responsible for child-care and houseworks. Therefore, it is seen that, the women have exposed to both rigid gender division of labor in craft and also they have faced with double burden that is used to describe unpaid domestic labor and unpaid help to the craftsmen of the family at home. As a result of all these traditional gender division roles in home have determined female sphere and the women have remained invisible in the craft of gold and silver smithing in Mardin. An interviewee exemplified and revealed the reason of this invisibility of women in the craft, as such:

My wife did not help at all, she said one time, but I said no, do your job, make us dinner, look at the children enough to care about them. My wife wants to

⁹² Bu bölgede dükkanda çalışan kadın olmuyor, hele o kadar yıl önce hiç olamazdı, yani siz de biliyorsunuz. Dükkanlarda kadın olması mümkün değil, yok yaw 50-60 sene önce...Bazı kadınlar vardı, babası evde çalışıyordu, babasına yardımcı olurdu. Bir arkadaşım vardı adı Sait, o kızkardeşlerine öğretmişti evde ama evde yaptılar...Bayanlar doğru dürüst çarşıya çıkamıyordu. Hep evde ev işlerine ve çocuğa bakarlardı.

work in craft, but leave it; she does the housework⁹³ (Male, 32, Sunni/Shafi-Kurd).

With this interview, it can be seen that women's participation in the crafts has been shaped by men's decisions and requests. The same interviewee gave details about the relation between processes craft of gold-silversmithing and women, added as follows:

There is no woman in this craft, it is not a job for a lady. Jewelery has difficulty. When it is melted, when it is worked in hearth fire, when it is working on the wire machine, it needs some strength and also it is inadequate⁹⁴ (Male, 32, Sunni/Shafi-Kurd).

Here the crucial point is that the men find female labor insufficient for craft of gold-silversmithing. This situation refers to the deskilling of woman in craft that is a product of particular social and gender relations. The skill definition includes knowledge of the properties of materials and how to assemble them into products (Farr, 2000: 42), but women 's ability to reach this skill and the process of craft production is restrained by men.

As seen all of these interviews above and also according to my observations or impressions about the city of Mardin, it is possible to realize that women are clearly excluded from the craft production of gold-silversmithing. Therefore, it is clear that the crafts of gold and silver have experienced completely by men in the city, that is, the production process and organization of workshops of craft have been overwhelmingly masculine quality.

⁹³ Eşim hiç yardım etmedi, bir ara söyledi ama dedim sen işini yap, bize akşam yemeği yap, çocuklara baksın onlarla ilgilen sin yeter. Eşim istiyor ama bırak kalsın o ev işi yap sin.

⁹⁴ Bu zanaatta kadın yok, bayan mesleği değildir bu meslek. Kuyumculuk zor iş tir, ağırlığı var, eritmeye geçildiğinde, ocaklarda çalışıldığında, tel makinesinde motorda çalışıldığı zaman biraz güç lazım, bayandaki de yetersiz.

4.3 Trabzon: The City of Matting, Kazaziye and Filigree

“There was an Armenian, I asked him why these Armenians were more artisan, he said that these Armenians introduced their identities this way.”⁹⁵

4.3.1 A Socio-Historical and Socio-Demographic Overview to City

Trabzon historically known as Trebizond where is a city on the Black Sea coast of northeastern of Turkey was both a strategic and commercially important port and also a bustling trading town on the Silk Road. These strategic positions of city facilitated to get through the regional capital and its links to other major markets and ports. Geographically, Trabzon was situated on a rocky coastal promontory rising between two ravines (Meeker, 2001: 94). In old times, before the Ottoman times, the city was known as the ancient land of Pontus and the Greek Empire. The old Ottoman province (Turkish: vilayet) of Trabzon has position a narrow and long coastal strip between Erzurum and the Black Sea. The province’s ethnic and religious compositions were more puzzling and complexity in Ottoman period. Originally, Trabzon province was heavily Christian, though mostly Greek Ortodox (Hewsen, 2009: 55). However distribution of ethnic groups in the early province of Trabzon can be roughly composed of Lazis, Greeks, Armenians, and Turks. Each ethnic group was scattered in different locations of the city. That is, while Greeks and Armenians in higher culture had lived in urban, Lazis in ethnic composition had lived in the rural areas of Trabzon. In the coastal region, as we shall see in later paragraphs, the older Byzantine peoples became Muslim by participating in an imperial project rather than by assimilating to a Turco-Islamic majority (Meeker, 2001: 93).

⁹⁵ “Burda, bir Ermeni vardı, ona dedim ki ya bu Ermeniler daha sanatkar aceba neden dedim, bu Ermeniler kimliklerini öyle tanıttılar dedi”.(Interview with master (male, aged 79).

There are three separate Christian sects and their population percentages in the cadastral record books of 1486. These Christian sects were ordered as follows: %80.67 Greek Orthodox, % 15.46 Armenian Orthodox, and finally %3.87 Catholic Latins (Lowry, 2010:48). When the population percentages of all the religious groups in the city are examined, the distribution in the cadastral record books of 1486 is as follows: %19.2 Muslims, %65.16 Greek Orthodox, %12.49 Armenian Orthodox, %3.13 Latin Catholics (ibid: 67). This population data demonstrates that the process of Islamized in Trabzon in the 15th century had not yet begun. In this context, it is important to know how the ethnic and religious population distribution is and whether there is a change or not in the next century. The table below shows the comparative population distribution for the 15th and 16th centuries, compiled from cadastral record books.

Table 4.8: Comparative population distribution in Trabzon from 1486 to 1583⁹⁶

	1486	1523	1553	1583
% Greek Orthodox	65.16%	69,22%	41,72%	38.34%
% Armenian Orthodox	12.49%	12,93%	8.94%	5.82%
% Latin Catholic	3,13%	3,53%	2.62%	2.22%
% Total Christian	80.78%	85.68%	53,28%	46,38%
% Muslim	19.22%	14.32%	46.73%	53.62%
Total population	6.711	7,115	6,100	10,575

Comparing the population of the city with cadastral record books, the figure shows

⁹⁶ Population data are compiled from Health W. Lowry, 2010, Trabzon Şehrinin İslamlaşması ve Türkleşmesi (1461-1583), Boğaziçi üniversitesi Yayınevi: İstanbul.p.67, p.84, p.112 and p.154

that in 1486 and 1523 Trabzon was a Christian city in terms of population distribution. However, in 1553 and 1583, while the population rate of Greek Orthodox and Armenian Orthodox decreased, the city's Muslim population increased dramatically. When the rates are compared, it can be seen that in the around 30 years between the 1523 and 1553, the Muslim population grew at a much faster rate than the Christian population. That is, in 1486 Trabzon was described as a Christian city with a Muslim minority, in 1583 Muslims constituted the majority of the population. Lowry propounds that this decline in Christian population originated due to Muslims moving into the town. In addition to this cause, Christians were deported probably to Istanbul, but in order to not to be deported to Istanbul, a smaller number of the city's Christians converted to Islam (2010). The reason of converting to Islam in various sources was probably based on the higher taxes paid by Christians (compared to Muslims). These increases of conversion were due both to the weakness in the hierarchy of churches and to the economic interests of the "monarchial religion" of that period (ibid: 175). In order to support this view out Lowry said: "Being a Muslim in Trabzon in the 16th century was cheaper than being a Christian; in other words, Christians in the city paid more taxes than Muslims"(ibid: 174). It can be draw the following conclusion from the changes that took place in Trabzon between 1486 and 1583 cadastral record books. Trabzon in 1583, although the Muslim population is mostly a city, it cannot be said that it is a Turkish city in terms of ethnicity. Because, approximately half of the Muslims composed from first or second generation of Greeks and Armenian converts (ibid: 170).

In the period between 1486 and 1583, covered by the four cadastral record books we can see Trabzon's Islamization process to a certain extent. However, the process of Turkification of the city was still in its infancy at the end of this period (ibid: 178). Into the 17th and 18th century there were limited Ottoman registers on Trabzon's population. As an important detail, it is propounded that during 1651–56, Muslims and non-Muslims did not live separately in ghettos, they were neighbouring each other. That is, the local community displayed close interaction between the religious

groups (Tuluveli, 2002). However, harmony between the Muslim and non-Muslim that had prevailed for centuries came to an end in Trabzon. When the 19th century comes, Trabzon witnessed processes of ethnic mass killing and deportation of Armenians in Abdul Hamid period (1876-1908/09). In this period, it was in Trabzon that the horrific Hamidian massacres of 1895-96 began and then spread throughout the Armenian Plateau (Hovannisian, 2009:3). These massacres resulted in a great loss of life, limb, and property, that is, Armenians of Trabzon were cruelly punished collectively. Consequently, numerous Armenians emigrated from the Pontic region to the Caucasus and Russia and USA (Matossian, 2009: 238).

In the table below, it can be seen estimated population changes of Trabzon city between 1840 and 1914. When compared with table 1, population figures for the city of Trabzon in table 2 show a strong Christian minority. This situation that population appears to have risen most in the late 19th century/early 20th century with a strong Christian minority demonstrate Islamization process of Trabzon. The table 2 focuses on the changing demographics of ethnic and religious communities and the impact of those changes in population dynamics. In 1906, around 83% of the population was largely Muslim, 13% Greek and 4% Armenian. The reason of sliding trend of the Armenians of Trebizond or Trabzon can be explained the massacres committed the Armenians between 1894 and 1896 resulted in the death. The figures based on the 1902 and the prior to 1914 show that Armenian population was increased by 10%, but this proportion does not take into consideration the negative demographic effects of the Hamidian massacres (1894-96) in Trabzon city. As McCarthy determines, this data is very problematic, because despite the deteriorating Armenians-Turkish relationship, the Ottoman statistics reflect a rise in the Armenian population. This situation originates supporting the idea that there was no uprising in his time (McCarthy, 1983:60). As a result, when general examining the available statistics that is placed below, it is possible to say that Trabzon did not remain Christian but became largely Muslim.

Table 4.9: Estimated population in various sources in Trabzon 1840 to 1914

Ethnicity	1847 ⁹⁷	1893 ⁹⁸	1902 ⁹⁹	1906 ¹⁰⁰	Prior to 1914 ¹⁰¹
% Muslims	59.55%	67.5%	56%	82.5%	57%
% Greek Orthodox	20%	23.5%	26%	13%	26%
% Armenians	14.65%	8%	15%	4%	14%
% Latin Catholics	6%	% 1	3%	-	3%

The beginning of the 20th century Trabzon was heavily Christians, though mostly Greek Orthodox. After the Greeks in Trabzon, Armenians constituted the third most populous community in the city. The political repression and massacres in the late nineteenth century in Abdul Hamid regime proved qualitatively different from the 20th century Armenian genocide. After the Young Turks and CUP consolidated power, they made great emphasis on Turkism or pan-Turkism. For this aim, the Armenian population, not only in the internal provinces, but even Trabzon was soon marked for elimination as a part of Turkification. The year 1915 began the final chapter in the history of the Armenian communities of the Pontus (Hovannisian, 2009:3). Mass deportations from Trabzon began in July 1915 and were accompanied by many forced conversions to Islam. (Hewsen, 2009: 64). After a very short time from 1915, in the year of 1920s, Turkification politics that included compulsory

⁹⁷ Feruhan Bey, as cited in Lowry, 2010, p.175

⁹⁸ As cited in Britain's Trabzon Consul Andreas Biliotti, Justin McCharty, 1983, *Muslim and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire*, New York University Press: New York

⁹⁹ Trabzon Province Yearbook, 1902,s.338-339, as cited in Lowry, 2010, p.175

¹⁰⁰ Kemal Karpat, 2003, *Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914)*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları: İstanbul

¹⁰¹ Dickerman, as cited in Akarca, 2002

population exchange practiced on the Greek inhabitants. There was exchange of Christian and Muslim populations between Greece and Turkey in the 1920s¹⁰². As a result of these developments in Trabzon, Christian Pontic Greeks had to leave their homeland or convert to Islam in order to remain in Anatolia (Psomiades, 2006). By such a sequence, a process of social assimilation with the Turkic majority would appear to have been the precondition of conversion to Islam (Bryer, 1975).

The wave of population movements in the late 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century have changed the social structure of Trabzon in terms of ethnic and religious. As we have seen in the instance of the old Ottoman province of Trabzon, the ethnic and religious composition of the city consisted heavily of Christian populations with Orthodox Armenian and Greek components. Together with the regime of Abdul Hamid and the Turkish Republic a century ago, the Greeks were expelled and the Armenians were deported or killed. As a result, the population in Trabzon was firstly Islamized and then Turkicized. After these violent and bloody interventions on the population, Trabzon both has nationalist, rightist image and has known with rightist uprisings, murders, and lynching attempts. It can be said that, today, the nationalist instinct is higher in Trabzon than in other regions of Turkey. All of these historical, political, demographic and cultural changes of the city provide a basis for how the craft of gold-silver in Trabzon is affected.

4.3.2 Gold-Silver Smiting in City

In the region of Trabzon, the economic life in the craft-based production and was dominated by Greek and Armenian artisans. As Venetian traveler Marco Polo who made a visit in the late 13th century to Trabzon determined: “ The other two classes are the Armenians and the Greeks, who live mixed with the former (Turkmen) in

¹⁰² By 1924 about 1.4 million of the surviving Anatolian Greeks were forcibly uprooted and settled in Greece as part of the compulsory exchange of Greek [christian] and Turkish [muslim] populations contained in the peace settlement with Turkey at the Conference of Lausanne.

towns and villages, occupying themselves with trades and handicrafts.”¹⁰³ These Greek and Armenian craftspeople in 15th century thrived alongside merchants of various ethnic groups (Terian, 107).

As in other crafts, gold-silver smithing dates back to old times in Trabzon. In the 17th century, in book of travels, Evliya Çelebi praised Trabzon jewelry, especially in the goldsmithing (Oğuz, 2006:458). The Ottoman jewelery workshops were not only in Istanbul but also in Trabzon, Samsun, Sivas, Van, Erzincan, Erzurum, Gümüşhane, Bitlis, Diyarbakir, Mardin, Damascus and Aleppo and the masters trained in these cities were then sent to the Ottoman palace (Köroğlu 2004: 54). Except this relation with palace, it is generally claimed that a Greek goldsmiths of Trebizond taught jewelry making to Sultan Selim I (1512-20), and the other claim is that while Sultan Suleiman I (1520-65) was a prince in Trabzon, he learned jewelry from the Greek goldsmith Constantine.¹⁰⁴ When all these things are considered, it can be propounded that gold and silver smithing have had a very important place in Trabzon’s manufacturing industry. In other words, it can be understood that in the old dates, city of Trebizond or Trabzon had fame in jewelry industry. From past to present three craft of gold-silver smithing have been survived in Trabzon that are matting (hasır örgü), kazaziye and filigree (telkari).

4.3.2.1 To Explore the Craft: Techniques

In Trabzon, goldsmiths and silversmiths have worked separately, and those master in various techniques such as matting (hasır örgü), kazaziye and filigree. These crafts work over objects including such as bracelet, belts and pendant crosses, earrings. In order to make these products many different materials and technical processes were used in these crafts (matting, kazaziye and filigree) of gold and silver.

¹⁰³ As cited in Abraham Terian, in *Armenian Pontus*, ed. R.G. Hovannissian, Mazda Publishers :California, p.106

¹⁰⁴ As cited in Abraham Terian, in *Armenian Pontus*, ed. R.G. Hovannissian, Mazda Publishers :California, p.108

Matting is a craft of Trabzon and it is also known as “ Trabzon work”. Technically, this Trabzon matting is performed by tying knots on 22 carat gold or silver wires with needles. More simply, matting is a metal knitting or metal wirework form that is woven with slim wires of silver and gold. The making of the matting consists of three phases. At the first stage, 22 carat gold or silver is taken as wire with a thickness of 0.32 microns in the workshops. The second stage is the production of matting bracelet, necklace, and belt. The wire is knitted, just as a lace by women at home with "double" that is a tool shaped like tweezers. In the third phase, mistakes of matting that comes from women knitter are cleared and then the key is fixed to matting bracelet or necklace. The technology in making straw is only used in the wire- drawing phase (Durucu, 2015: 142)



Photo 4.6: Wire with a thickness of 0.32 microns and a tool named “double” resembling tweezers.



Photo 4.7: A woman knits the wire just as lace.

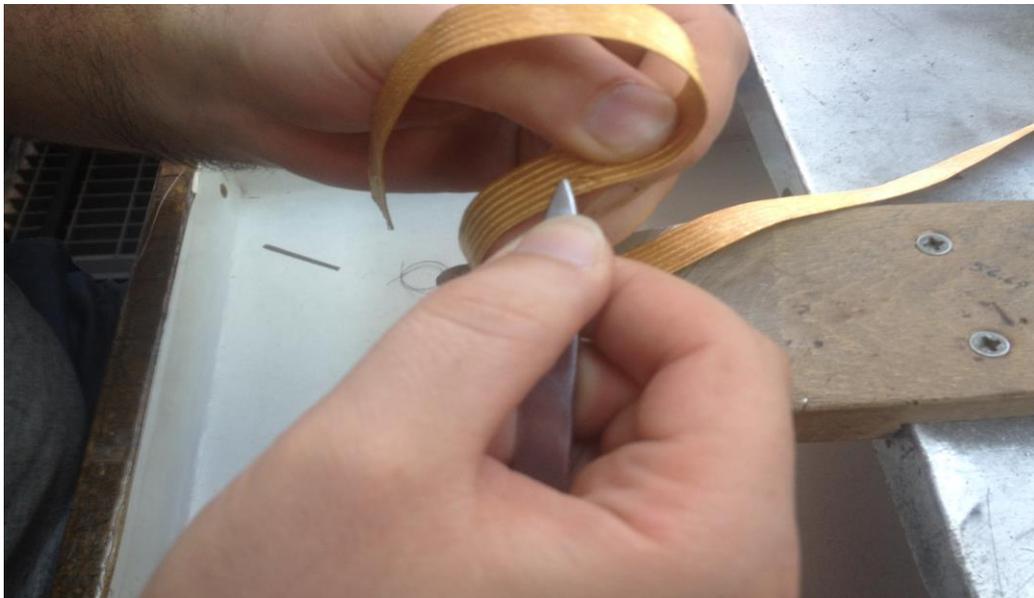


Photo 4.8: Mistakes of matting that comes from woman knitter is cleared by this means.



Photo 4.9: Clap or key is fixed to matting bracelets or necklaces.



Photo 4.10: Matting exposes for sale.

Another type of craft of gold and silver in Trabzon is Kazaziye knitting. In the traditional sense, the kazaziye knitting had been used only as a whip in rosaries, has begun to be produced in various gold-silver designs (Develioğlu 2002: 4-7). This craft is described as togetherness of silk and silver or gold wires. That is, it is a

silver/gold smithing technique made with threads that has slim silver wires twisted on the silk. While kazaz knitter is defined as someone who hand knits, trades, or sells in old raw silk, nowadays it is identified as silver knitting that is made using silver wire (Durucu, 2015 :147)



Photo 4.11: One spool slim silver wire twisted on the silk.



Photo 4.12: The tools used in the making of Kazaziye: crochet needle, silver wire and nylon thread.



Photo 4.13: Kazaziye

Besides matting and kazaziye, filigree (telkari) is also made in Trabzon as gold and silver craft. Technically, all stages of production of filigree craft in Trabzon follow the same processes as filigree of Mardin. However, unlike Mardin filigree, in Trabzon both more intensively silver plated on copper filigree is produced than gold and silver and also bigger items are produced than Mardin. Among the manufactured products, there are various sizes of hosiery, vase, photo frame, napkin, mirror, jewel box, coffee cup, water / tea cup envelopes and pads, tray, candy etc. (Durucu, 2015 : 149).



Photo 4.14: Preparing filigree with copper wires



Photo 4.15: Copper filigrees



Photo 4.16: Big items of silver plated on copper filigree expose for sale.

4.3.2.2 Belonging, Ethnicity and Boundaries in Craft

As propounded in the previous chapters of this research, discussions of belonging and ethnicity are framed by nation-state boundaries. At the same time, these borders include localized practices and experiences of exclusion at the economic, social and political level of nation state. Therefore, macro-micro political goals in general can affect the ways boundaries of ethnic and religious communities in terms of organizations, occupations, crafts, cultures etc. In this connection, it is possible to say that boundaries also constructs in crafts world. In Trabzon, there have been ethnic and religious boundaries of the crafts of gold-silver that are matting, kazaziye and filigree. These boundaries lead to encouraging searching for answers of questions that lead to curiosity and passion for uncovering the unknowns: Have there been ethnic or religious boundaries among gold- silver crafts since earlier times in Trabzon? Which gold- silver craft does belong to one or another ethnic or religious group(s) in Trabzon?

In the researches¹⁰⁵ on the subject of whom the Trabzon matting belongs, there is generally a consensus based on view that the matting was first introduced and disseminated by the Turks who migrated to Trabzon from the Caucasus region in 1900s. Generally this view that places in various written sources is quoted from an interview with someone who is introduced as an old master¹⁰⁶ of gold and silver smithing born in 1917 in Daghistan. According to this interview, during the Russian Revolution, Turkish masters of matting who immigrated to Turkey from the Caucasus had continued and disseminated this craft in Trabzon. In addition to this, it is determined in this interview that “individuals who have knitted matting bracelet in

¹⁰⁵ Durucu, 2015, Yıldırım, 2015, Sümerkan, 2008: 38, and Can, 1987

¹⁰⁶ This information, taken from the words of Harun Emintay, who was born in 1917 Dagestan Kubachi, in a newspaper interview made him the basis of all these sources. Yıldırım, 2015: 33, Sümerkan, 2008: 38 and Can, 1987

the Trabzon region think this craft is left to them from the Greeks.” (Sümerkan, 2008: 38; Yıldırım, 2015: 334). As a result, it is said that the gold and silver matting was brought and spread from the Caucasus in the 1900s and thus, there is no relation with the non-Muslim people who lived in Trabzon. The some of the interviewees share this view through:

This is a workmanship of Caucasian origin. Throughout history, it has migrated from the Caucasus to Anatolia. The origin of these works is always Caucasian origin workmanship. I have a feeling that the main center of this work is Dagestan¹⁰⁷ (Male, 48, mattingmaster).

However, some others do not share this view like these interviewees:

As far as I know this craft is left from the Greeks (also called Rum). At first it was made for the purpose of the armor, then it continued and transformed¹⁰⁸ (Male, 43, matting master).

The matting is left from the Greeks. Much later Turks have learned it. One should not deny that¹⁰⁹ (Male, 78, matting).

Both of these interviews have counter idea about the origin or where the craft of matting comes from. The two craftspeople determined that the matting was not a Turkish craft; it belonged to Greeks in Trabzon. Women in matting craft have had an

¹⁰⁷ Bu Kafkas kökenli bir işçiliktir. Tarih boyunca Kafkaslardan Anadolu'ya göçlerle gelmiştir. Bu işlerin kökeni hep Kafkas kökenli işçiliklerdir. Bu işin asıl merkezinin Dağıstan olduğu konusunda bir kanaatim var.

¹⁰⁸ Benim bildiğim bu zanaat Rumlardan kaldı. İlk önceleri zırh amaçla yapılmış ondan sonra da dönüşerek devam etmiş

¹⁰⁹ Hasır örgüsü Rumlardan kalmadır. Çok sonradan Türkler öğrendi. Bunu inkar etmemek lazım yani

important and big role; because of knitting it that compose the most of this craft. In some written and oral sources, there is a claim that first woman knitter was Melahat in Trabzon (Durucu, 2015: 156). However, in the city, it is generally said that the first woman-matting knitter was Greek and known as the name of “Madam”:

There were no Greeks left here, only Madame was left behind. After there were Melehat, but Madame had made a reputation, she was really famous. Everyone was saying Madame's matting, matting of the madam, she was really famous. Madame was really old in our time¹¹⁰ (Male, 78, matting master)

In parallel with that, another artisan said:

There was Madame Lady, true master of the matting, Greek as far as I know. She was matting for us and for my uncles'. She died around the 80's, but I cannot remember the exact date. She was living right in front of our neighborhood. We were with her for many years and for us she was like a grandmother. Her house was at Kunduracılar street, around Alipaşa İşhamı. We were playing ball in her garden. Madame Lady did not have a child, she adopted one, she lived there alone. She had trained Mrs. Müzeyyen and Mrs. Asiye. They were also matting pretty well. As far as I know Madame has spread this art but maybe she learnt from someone else, from a Greek or from an Armenian. I'm talking about the 70s. It was heard together with Madame in those years¹¹¹ (Male, 57, matting master).

As mentioned above two interviews show that Madam who was known as first woman knitter taught and disseminated the craft of matting knitting to the members of the Turkish community who has practiced the craft until today in Trabzon. But, at

¹¹⁰ Burada Rum kalmadı o zamanlar, sadece Madam kalmıştı geriye. Onun peşinden Melehat diye biri çıktı ama Madam isim yapmıştı, en meşhur oydu. Madam'ın örgüsü madamın örgüsü diyordu herkes, baya ünlüydü. Madam bizim zamanımızda baya da yaşlıydı

¹¹¹ Bu hasırın duayeni Madam hanım vardı, Rum benim bildiğim. O bize örüyordu, amcamlara, 80'li yıllarda öldü ama tam tarihini hatırlayamayacağım. Bizim mahallenin karşısında otururdu. Uzun yıllar onunla beraberdik, babaanne gibi gelirdi bize. Kunduracılar caddesinde Alipaşa işhanının oralardaydı evi, biz onun bahçesinde top oynardık. Madam hanımın çocuğu yoktu, evlatlığı vardı, tek başına orda yaşıyordu. Müzeyyen hanım ve Asiye hanım vardı onun yetiştirdiği. Çok iyi örerlerdi onlar da. Benim bildiğim bu sanatı Madam yaydı ama madam da belki başkasından öğrenmiştir, bir Rumdan yada bir Ermeni'den. Ben 70'li yıllardan bahsediyorum tabi. Madamla beraber duyulmuştur o yıllarda.

the same time, there was confusion with the ethnic identity of Madam in the fieldwork as seen by the following statement:

The name of the Greek woman was Madame, She was a matting artist, learned from here. We come across with each other every day around. The Greeks had nothing to do with this art. Madame became Muslim later. In the old days, men were matting the bracelets. In the past, there have been some events and they have gone away in 1915¹¹² (Male, 79).

This statement mentions the existence of Armenian community in the context of 1915 Genocide in Trabzon. It can be seen that the narrator knowingly and unknowingly reveals belonging of the matting to Armenians. In addition to this, there is given a little detail about the gender of the first matting knitter. However, whether or not women or men possessed this artisanship should be debated both because there is no accurate information and document, and because the majority of the interviewees agree that the master artisan is a woman. Besides this, another interviewee who have attempted to build a short story of woman matting knitter Madam goes on to say that:

I beg your pardon but I have learnt it from an Armenian woman in Faroz, and I beg your pardon she is now in Istanbul, I don't know whether she is alive or dead. My dear, I did not know that woman, I came to Trabzon from Akçaabat when I was 10 years old. When I went to an old man for fixing my çift (a technic in matting), he told me that it was invented by an Armenian woman in that neighborhood and then it had spread. Maybe it did not exist during my childhood. Maybe that old man learnt çift from her too¹¹³ (Female, 67, matting master).

¹¹² Rum kadının adı Madam, örücüydü, burdan öğrendi. Her gün buralarda karşılaştık. Rumların bu sanatla hiçbir ilişkisi yoktu. Madam Müslüman da oldu sonradan. Eskiden hasır bileziği erkekler örermiş. Eskiden bir takım olaylar olmuş kalkmış gitmişler burdan 1915'te .

¹¹³ Çok afedersin bir Ermeni karısından öğrenmişiz Faroz'da, çok afedersin o şimdi İstanbul'da, rahmeti oldu mu bilmiyorum. Yavrucum ben o kadını tanımadım, ben 10 yaşında Akçaabat köyünden geldim Trabzon'a. Yaşlı bir adama çiftimi yaptırmaya gittiğimde o adam söyledi, bunu bu mahallede bir Ermeni karısı icat etti dedi. O yaptı dedi, ondan bu yayıldı dedi. Benim çocukluğumda yoktu belki. Belki yaşlı adam da o kadından öğrendi çiftiyi

In contrast to the most other interviews who explain first matting knitter as ethnically Greek named Madam, this interviewee mentions an Armenian woman. The other thing that is attracted the attention in this narrative is the language used to describe the Armenian woman. The narrator added the word of “forgiveness” before the sentences that had set up before talking about the Armenian woman. The word evokes hate speech used to define Armenian identity as “unwanted”, “dirty” and “enemy”. This expression, at the same time, shows after the mass violence and murderous processes of 1890s and 1915, how images and representations about the Armenian identity have been stigmatized and transmitted to other generations in the city of Trabzon. In other words, it is possible to say that ethnic images involve a sense of endurance over space and time. Therefore, ethnic categories are conceived as ontologically continuous, stretching back in time across generations (Verkuyten, 2005:83). As it is seen in this interview, having Armenian identity was desired to exterminate again with the words and ethnic codes or categories through the “native generations”.

Another claim that craft of matting was belonged to the Caucasus, is based on the list of jewelers in the “*Türkiye Salon ve İlanat Gazetesi*” published in 1927 that is included economic profile of Trabzon. According to table 1 list below, there was first five Turkish gold-silver matting masters or craftspeople in 1927. (Durucu, 2015: 155)

Kuyumcular	
Adı	Adresi
Dağıstanlı Kuyumcu Horuluzade İbrahim	Kuyumcular Çarşısı
Haliloğlu Mehmet Kemal	Kuyumcular Çarşısı
Abdul Halimzade Murat Naci	Kuyumcular Çarşısı
Dağıstanlı Mehmet	Kuyumcular Çarşısı
Kuyumcuzade Osman Kaptan	Kuyumcular Çarşısı

Table 4.10 : List of Goldsmiths/Jewelers in Trabzon in 1927¹¹⁴

At the list, it can be seen that these craftspeople had Turkish-Muslim ethno-religious identity and especially two of them were Caucasian. However, a narrator at the age of 88 in Trabzon, determined that Horolu who is at the top of the list and written as “Caucas Jeweler İbrahim Horuluzade İbrahim” was not Caucasian Turk, he was Armenian artisan:

The people from Horo were Armenian. There were İbrahim the Horo and Kemal the Horo. Kemal was the son of İbrahim, he must be older than my father, and possibly he was born in the beginning of the 1900s. He learnt the jewelry business from his father. At the same time he was a national athlete, and then he went to İstanbul¹¹⁵ (Male,88).

Together with this interview, it can be seen and deduced that the Caucasian identity has used to hide or destruct Armenian existence in craft of matting in Trabzon. For this aim, it is trying to prove that both the matting has “Turkish” and “Islamic” qualities, and also first masters of this craft had had a pure (Caucasian) Turk identity.

¹¹⁴ Durucu, 2015: 155

¹¹⁵ Horolu’lar Ermeniydi. İbrahim ve Kemal Horolu’lar vardı. Kemal İbrahim’in oğluydu, babamdan daha büyük olması lazım, sanırım 1900’lerin başlarında doğmuştur. Kemal babasından öğrenmişti kuyumculuk işini, milli sporcuymdu aynı zamanda, daha sonra İstanbul’a gitti.

However, the existence of gold and silver matting items that had belonged to Armenian masters removes the discourse that it belongs to the Turks and Muslims or especially Caucasian. For example, both the photo 12 that displays the 19th century gold plated silver belt with made in matting (Trabzon) style, and also the photo 13 that shows the stamps of two goldsmiths of this matting, support the idea that the craft of matting belonged to the Armenian masters. It is seen that the stamps of gold plated matting silver belt in photo13 belong to Kokooğlu¹¹⁶ and M.G. As a result, these two craftspeople were Trabzon Armenians (Tokat, 2010:254)



Photo 4.17: 19th century gold plated silver belt, made in matting (Trabzon) style¹¹⁷.

¹¹⁶ The word of Koko is an Armenian word.

¹¹⁷ This photo is taken from History Museum of Armenia, as cited in Osep Tokat, 2010, Ermeni Gümüş Ustaları: Armenian Master Silversmiths, Aras Yayıncılık : İstanbul. p.224

Trabzonlu Ustalar

Masters of Trabzon



KOKOOĞLU
KOKOOGHLU

M.G
M.G

Telkâri gümüş kemer ve toka.
Garo Kürkman arşivi.
Filigree silver belt and buckle.
Garo Kurkman archive.

Photo 4.18: The stamps of two goldsmiths of matting¹¹⁸

Another type of knitting in the craft of gold and silversmith in Trabzon is Kazaziye knitting. As like in craft of matting, in various written sources it is claimed that the Kazaziye craft came to the Trabzon region by the Turks living in the Caucasus (Develioğlu 2002: 4-7). The majority of the interviewees share their general knowledge about the history of Kazaziye, some of them refer to mean of word of “kazaz” or “kazaziye”:

I briefly summarize the story of the Kazaziye to you. Kazaziye was occupied together with the Black Sea region during 1913-17. As you know it was a Russian occupation. Some tribes arrived from the Russian Caucasus during the occupation period, as well as Kazazs. Over the course of 3-4 years, name of Kazazs comes from there. Just like the Lazs in the Black Sea, then there were the Kazazs. The other name of the Kazaz art is the art of Kamçı. When the Russian occupation was over and the Caucasians and the Kazaz people returned, there were 3 families whom learnt the craft from them¹¹⁹(Male, 58, Kazaziye).

¹¹⁸ This photo is taken from History Museum of Armenia, as cited in Osep Tokat, 2010, Ermeni Gümüş Ustaları: Armenian Master Silversmiths, Aras Yayıncılık : İstanbul. p.224

¹¹⁹ Kazaziye'nin öyküsünü kısaca şöyle özetleyeyim size, Kazaziye 1913-17 yılları arasında Karadeniz bölgesi işgal altındaydı, malumunuz Rus işgali. O işgal döneminde Rusya'dan gelen Kafkaslarla birlikte kavim olarak Kazazlar da vardı. O 3-4 yıllık süre içerisinde, o Kazazlar ismi de ordan geliyor. Nasıl Karadeniz'de Lazlar var, o zamanlar da Kazazlar var. Bu kazaz sanatının diğer

This interviewer (aged 58) who is known as famous and rich kazaziye master in Trabzon, in order to verify Kazaziye's origin as Caucasian, he created new community or peoples that is named "Kazaz". This craft is identified and historicized another interviewer as follow:

It is said that the Kazaziye was first made by the Lydians. It has passed from them to Central Asia then to Trabzon. The craftsman of the Kazaziye was called Kazaz, our best Kazaz master in the past was Sultan Süleyman¹²⁰ (Female, 38, Kazaziye).

As the statement shows that the master of Kazaziye based the past of craft a distance history, that is, Lydians and after Central Asia and than Ottoman State. In addition to this, unlike the previous interview, she determined that the word of kazaz means master of kazaziye. But, kazaz is defined as someone who trades, sells, or knits thrown silk in old raw silk (Develioğlu 2002: 4-7). In similar way, dictionary of Turkish Language Society describes the "kazaz" as the person who obtains thrown silk and thread from raw silk. An old master of this craft in Trabzon whom I interviewed in İstanbul, explained what the kazaz is:

The Kazaz comes from the cocoon, the cocoon is silk. The people who are deal with the silk used to be called Kazaz. The silver was wrapped on a silk thread. Since the silk is strong they were wrapping silver on it¹²¹ (Male, 79, kazaziye, İstanbul).

adı da kamçı sanatıdır. Rus işgali bittiğinde, Kafkaslar ve Kazazlar geri döndüğünde, bu zanatı onlardan öğrenen 3 aile vardı Trabzonda.

¹²⁰ Kazaziyenin ilk olarak Lidyalılar tarafından yapıldığı söyleniliyor. Onlardan Orta Asya'ya oradan da Trabzon'a gelmiş. Kazaziye yapan ustaya Kazaz deniliyor, en iyi kazaz ustamız geçmişte, Sultan Süleyman

¹²¹ Kazaz koza'dan geliyor, koza ipektir, ipekle uğraşanlara Kazaz derlermiş. Gümüşü ipek ipliğin üzerine sararlarmış, sağlam ya ipek, ipeğin üzerine sararlarmış o yüzden.

Whereas, another master in Trabzon (aged 56) had no idea about the word meaning of kazaz, but had an idea in relation with which country or community had had this craft:

To be honest no one should play around Kazaz. Kazaz business as an art does not belong to any country. I have researched it also in the museum. In the Ottoman Empire, Kazaz balls were stitched on the skirts. What happened here was, we have transformed them into necklaces. Kazaz does mean braid, braiding. I do not know where the name comes from but it's called the Kazaz work by the Turks ¹²² (Male, 56, kazaziye).

Apart from these interviews, in books of Ottoman history, there were mentioned famous people and family who have “Kazaz” surname or who were Kazaz. One of them is Kazaz Artin¹²³ who is famous artisan and moneychanger worked directly for the sultan in 1820s in Ottoman Empire (Khatcherian, 2015:38). He has known as Kazaz, because he was in the silk trade with his father. The other famous kazaz is the Hovsep Kazazyan who was member of a well-known family from the Armenian Catholic community of Mardin (Kevorkian, 2013:257). In addition to these kazaz people, there was the Kazazians (Kazazyanlar) who were the leading families of Diyarbakir (Kevorkian, 2011: 363). It is known that the silk weaver especially pushee-makers have been Armenian and Assyrian in Diyarbakır (Taşğın and

¹²² Walla kimse bir tarafa çekmeye çalışmasın. Kazaz işi bir ülkeye mal edilecek bir sanat dalı değil. Ben müzede de inceledim. Kazaz topları Osmanlıdaki eteklere yapılan kazaz işidir. Burda yapılan şey, onu dönüştürdük kolye haline getirdik. Kazaz'ın kelime anlamı örgü, örmek. İsminin nerden geldiğini bilmiyorum ama Türklerde kazaz işi diyorlar

¹²³ He is known as Harutyun Amira Bezciyan, Artin Bezjian or Kazaz Artin Amira. He comes from a modest Armenian family in Eastern Anatolia. He was brought to the administration of Darphane-i Amire and became head of the Ottoman Mint in 1819 and was an advisor to Sultan Mahmud II (Pamuk, 2007:176).

Mollica, 2015). So, it is possible that the Kazazians were the silk weaver and trader in the city. As a result, these small historical details about kazaz support that kazaz is a silk weaver craft, and kazaziye is a silk-silver knitting craft. On the other hand, these details can give us a clue about where this craft comes from or who were the first craftspeople of kazaziye in Trabzon. In this context, craftspeople of kazaziye in Trabzon had various and different views in relation with the origin of craft. As in interviews cited above, some of them advocated its origin came from Caucasus, Central Asia and Ottoman Turks. One of these defenders, in order to prove to me the truth of this assertion, he stated that the grave of the first Turkish master who had emigrated from the Caucasus was buried in a mosque courtyard. And then, he even took me away to the mosque that he claimed to have been found the grave. The photo 14 shows this mosque courtyard and the so-called “grave”. This is so-called, because while I maintained the fieldwork, I learned that that there has not been a grave in mosque courtyard, it is a vase of concrete wall. As a result, this was a fictional story that desires to prove both the kazaziye craft originated from Caucasian, and also craftsmen of kazaziye belonged to Turks and Muslims. This situation explained and summarized by a master of this craft as such:

In order to add a little more mystery about where this craft came from, they say it's from the Urartians or from the Lydians.. they are just made up stories...¹²⁴
(Male, 44)

¹²⁴ Bu zanaatın kimden geldiği konusunda bazıları biraz daha gizem katmak için, yok, Urartulardan, Lidyalılardan geldi yok bilmem ne hikaye bunlar...



Photo 4.20: The so-called “grave” in a mosque courtyard in Trabzon

Although these efforts and discourses aimed at Turkicized and Islamized of craft and craftspeople of kazaziye in Trabzon, there was another history that was put by old masters of this craft on the scene. For example, an interviewee whose father has been an old master of kazaziye stated this history in the following view:

After the Ottomans, Armenians are continuing to make kazaziye in Trabzon. This craft was reached from Ottomans to the Armenian masters who lived in Trabzon and at last to my father. Kazaziye certainly has nothing to do with Kazakhstan. My father is an old kazaziye master. My grandfather forced him to this craft from Armenian descended Abdullah Ertan, the last master. Master Abdullah is the only and the last master who made the kazaziye here¹²⁵ (Male, 41, Kazaziye).

Similarly, this interviewee’s father who I interviewed in a craft fair in Ankara told his experience and gave details about his Armenian master in Trabzon:

¹²⁵ Kazaziye Osmanlılardan sonra Trabzon’da kalan Ermeniler devam ediyor. Bu zanaat, Osmanlılardan Trabzon’da yaşayan Ermeni ustalara onlardan da en son babama kadar ulaşmıştır. Kazaziyenin kesinlikle Kazakistan ile bir alakası yok. Babam eski bir kazaziye ustasıdır, dedemin zoruyla bu zanaatı Ermeni asıllı, son usta Abdullah Ertan adlı şahıstan öğreniyor. Burada kazaziye yapan tek ve son usta Abdullah ustadır.

I have learnt the craft of Kazaziye from my father's close friend Abdullah Eltan in 1968. Uncle Abdullah taught us to make the head of rosary beads (tesbih kamçısı). Master Abdullah was not of Turkish descent, he was Armenian descended but he became Turkish. He turned to Turkishness. When I started this profession in 1968, Uncle Abdullah was 70-75 years old. I know very well that he is Armenian descended, because I learned this craft at his home¹²⁶ (Male, 64, kazaziye, Ankara).

As this narrative also expresses, it is possible to say that the craft of kazaziye belongs to Armenian craftspeople. However, it is seen that the Armenian master named Abdullah Eltan continued this tradition of craft until the close history. Another interviewee who is the oldest craftsman agreeing with this narrative expressed that this craft had transmitted from father to son:

Ömer Lütfi Eltan, Abdullah Eltan's father, also taught this profession to his son. Abdullah must be born between 1910 and 15, I do remember him. They lived together with the Armenians¹²⁷ (Male, 88).

But, although the following statement of the interviewee who is the one of the other old master of kazaziye confirmed Abdullah Eltan as first artisan of this craft, he avoided saying the master's Armenian identity:

Besides me, there was only one master in Trabzon, Abdullah Eltan. But his job was not good, it was his fathers' profession. I wanted to learn from him, there was no any other master. He was the only one doing that, he was making rosary fringe (Tesbih püskülü). The jewelry business started after me. I do not know if Abdullah is of Greek origin, but he is not Armenian for sure. In Trabzon, there

¹²⁶ Kazazlık zanatını 1968'de babamın yakın arkadaşı Abdullah Eltan'dan öğrendim. Abdullah amca tesbih kamçısı yapmayı öğretti bize. Abdullah usta, Türk kökenli değildi, Ermeni asıllıydı fakat Türk olmuştu. Türklüğe dönmüştü. Ben 1968'de bu işe başladığımda Abdullah amca 70-75 yaşlarındaydı. Ermeni kökenli olduğunu iyi biliyorum, çünkü evinde bu zanaatı öğrendim.

¹²⁷ Abdullah Eltan'ın babası Ömer Lütfi Eltan bu kazaz işini oğluna da öğretmiştir. Abdullah 1910-15 arası doğmuş olması lazım, hatırlıyorum kendisini. Ermenilerle beraber yaşamışlar.

were some people who used to Greek but now a Turk. Pontus state looks like Greeks...¹²⁸(Male, 79, kazaziye, İstanbul)

Here, it should be mentioned that Greek identity accepted as “harmless” against the “enemy” and “unwanted” stigmatized Armenian identity. That is, it is seen that the location that ethnic identity provides is not only situational but also historical (Verkuyten, 2005: 83). Hence, Abdullah Eltan was introduced as Greek rather than Armenian, in other words tried to be likened to Greek. Lowry propounds that the name Abdullah was commonly chosen by Armenians in Trabzon in the 16th century. For him, this situation is both an indicator of conversion to Islam, and also an evidence of Islamized Armenians (2010:158-9).

After the matting and kazaziye, lastly filigree has taken part in the gold-silver smithing in Trabzon. As in the other two crafts, but less than them interviewees advocated that filigree also traced to the Caucasian times. This assertion exemplified in the following view:

There is a lot of information pollution around. Look, development of these three crafts, matting, filigree and kazaziye, can not be explained by the Greeks or the Armenians. These are Caucasian origin craftsmanship. Throughout history, they had arrived from the Caucasus to Anatolia by migration. The origin of these works is always Caucasian origin craftsmanship. I have a feeling that the main center of the work of filigree is Dagestan. The masters here went to Mardin as well. They also came to Trabzon. The craftsmanship was spread from Middle Asia through the Silk Road. But of course the Assyrians are doing it in Mardin, and they have learned it from the masters of Central Asia¹²⁹ (Male, filigree, 48).

¹²⁸ Benden başka Trabzon’da bir tek usta vardı, Abdullah Eltan vardı. Ama işi güzel değildi, onun babasının mesleği idi, ben ondan öğrenmek istedim başka usta yoktu, sadece o yapıyordu ve tespîh püskülü yapıyordu. Takı benden sonra başladı. Abdullah ustanın aslı Rum olabilir bilmiyorum ama Ermeni değil. Trabzon’da Rumdan dönme insanlar vardı, Pontus devleti. Rumlara benziyordu yani..

¹²⁹ Ortalarda büyük bir bilgi kirliliği var. Bakın bu üç zanaatın, hasır, telkari ve kazaziye gelişimi öyle Rumla, Ermeniyle olacak iş değildir. Bunlar Kafkas kökenli işçiliklerdir. Tarih boyunca Kafkaslardan Anadolu’ya göçlerle gelmiştir. Bu işlerin kökeni hep Kafkas kökenli işçiliklerdir. Telkari işinin asıl merkezinin Dağıstan olduğu konusunda bir kanaatim var. Burdaki ustalar, Mardin’e de gitmişler, Trabzon’a da gelmişler. İpek yolu ile Orta Asya’dan buraya yayılan işçiliktir. Ama tabii bunu Süryaniler yapıyor Mardin’de, onlar da telkariyi Orta Asya’dan gelen ustalardan öğrenmişlerdir.

The interviewee, like most craftspeople in Trabzon, ascribed the origin of craft as Central Asia or Caucasia, and claimed that all of the three crafts (matting, kazaziye and filigree) did not associate with Armenians or Greeks. However, since the other two crafts are visible only in Trabzon and filigree is made also in cities like Sivas and Diyarbakir, especially in Mardin, very few people reported that filigree came from the Caucasus. In this direction, rather than the Armenians it was asserted that this craft had possessed to the Greeks:

I asked my master, where did you learn this craft from? He told me that in Trabzon it was left from the Greeks. As a matter of fact, I voiced this situation on a television program and my friends were angry with me. I tell the truth that I know of, I said to them that I heard that way, I say what I think is right. That means my master learnt from them too¹³⁰ (Male, 59, Filigree).

Another interviewee made the similar point with this claim:

The Greeks, who had abandoned Trabzon after World War I, left a cultural accumulation to Trabzon. Most of the people do not want to admit it, no sir it is a fact. They have their cultural assets, their civilizations. These civilizations left us behind some handicrafts, like filigree, matting, kazaziye. In other words, these are not crafts produced by the Turks¹³¹ (Male, 49).

The interviewees' words are also in the same parallel, like most interviewees, two masters attempted to explain how the Greeks dominated this craft. However, there

¹³⁰ Ustama sordum, dedim usta nerden öğrendin bu zanaatı, bana dedi ki Rumlar'dan kalmadır bu zanaat Trabzon'a. Hatta ben bu durumu bir televizyon programında dile getirdim arkadaşlarım kızdı bana. Ben gerçek bildiğimi söylerim, onlara dedim ki ben öyle duydum, doğru bildiğimi söylerim. Demek ki ustam da onlardan öğrenmiş.

¹³¹ I.Dünya savaşından sonra Trabzon'u terk eden Rumlar Trabzon'a kültürel bir birikim bıraktılar. Çoğu bunu kabul etmek istemez, hayır kardeşim bu bir gerçek. Burada kültürel varlıkları, medeniyetleri vardır. Ki bu medeniyetler bize bir takım el sanatları bıraktı, telkarisiydi, hasır örgüsüydü, kazaziyesiydi. Yani bunlar Türkler tarafından üretilen zanaatlar değil.

could be seen that they ignored the existence of Armenians in Trabzon, because the cultural history of the city and the craft of filigree was fictionalized and transmitted only through existence of the Greeks. As aforementioned before, this situation can be explained with “criminal” and “alien” codes that have attributed to Armenian community. However, the other craftspeople of filigree who left these codes behind declared that this craft was absolutely belonged to Armenians, not Greeks:

The Greeks are not interested in this craft. In the past, the Greeks were here, that’s why they keep saying Greeks. Speaking of which, everyone calls them Greek origin. I have not heard of any Greek master since I entered the profession. There is no Greek master here. There is an Armenian, though. In our times we were receiving some antiques and they were known as Armenian origin. This craft came from the Armenians to this day. Our master were talking of Ohannes (Armenian name) Master among themselves¹³² (Male, 66).

In narrative below, an old master whose father also craftsman of filigree powerfully emphasizes that this craft is Armenian-centered. This interviewee took reference both his father and the places where the filigree has intensively produced:

They send my dad to learn this craft to an Armenian master, and his name was Jirayir, whom he worked with. They did not work directly with the Greek masters, but they were neighbors there. Jewelry business wasn’t present that time, they were poor. My fathers’ have started with filigree that time. I think he learned it from the Armenians. Why? Because there are always Armenians where filigree is made. Such as Sivas, Van, Mardin, Istanbul...¹³³ (Male, 79).

Together with this cited historical past of craft, to support his narrative, the interviewee showed and then gave me the photos of his father. One of these photos

¹³² Rumların bu zanaatla ilgisi yok. Eskiden Rumlar burdaydı o yüzden Rumlar deyip duruyorlar. Laf o laftır gidiyor, Rum demeyen kimse yok burda. Walla ben mesleğe girdiğimden beri duymadım burda Rum usta yok bu işte. Ermeni var ama. Bizim zamanda antika gelirdi Ermenilerden yapma derlerdi. Bu zanaat Ermenilerden günümüze kadar geldi. Ohannes usta filan diye bizim ustalarımız konuşuyorlardı kendi aralarında ustalarını.

¹³³ Babamı sanata vermişler bir Ermeni ustanın yanına, adı da Jirayir usta, onun yanında çalıştı. Rum ustalar ile direk çalışmadı ama orada komşuydular. O zamanlar kuyumculuk yok, fakirler. Babamlar telkari ile başlamışlar o zamanlar. Sanırım Ermenilerden öğrendi. Çünkü neden, gidin bakın telkarinin yapıldığı yerlerde hep Ermeniler var, Sivas, Van, Mardin, İstanbul...

below that dated on 15.08.1932 shows the Armenian artisan and the interviewee's father. In the photo, the Armenian master is sitting on the floor, while the interviewee's father is standing near the door. The note behind the photo is noted as follows: "While I was a journeyman near the master, 15.08.1932".



Photo 4.21: A filigree workshop in Trabzon in 1932¹³⁴.

As the fieldwork reveals so far, interviews shapes with ethnic boundaries among the crafts of gold-silver smith included matting, kazaziye and filigree. Outcomes of the interviews show that all of these crafts belong to Armenian craftspeople, in other words these crafts have become widespread by means of Armenian masters in Trabzon. However, as seen in interviews, there is confusion about whether these crafts belong Armenians or Greeks. This confusion can be removed through two

¹³⁴ The photo taken by Tayfun Sezeroğlu with his permission.

historical interpretations in relation with city of Trabzon. Firstly, it can date back to old times, as Osep Tokat told:

In the 16th and 17th centuries Greek master craftspeople were in a dominant position in Trebizond and Istanbul. Subsequently that position was overtaken by the Armenians. In 1806, for instance, of the 18 most well known goldsmiths and silversmiths in Istanbul 17 were Armenians and one was Greek (2010: 259).

Secondly, it can be traced with processes the deportation and dispossession of Trabzon Armenians and Greeks. As I told before, these processes for Armenians started with 1895-96 and resumed in 1915 ended up with mass violence, ethnic cleansing and deportation. On the other hand, with 1921 and 1923 population exchange, Greeks forcibly uprooted and exile from Trabzon. However, those who stayed in the city faced severe state pressure, and they were deported or assimilated and forced to become Muslims (Özkan, 2012). An interviewee summarized this situation as follows:

In the 1940s many were forced to migrate from here as a result of the population exchange agreement with Greece. They went from here to Greece and from Greece to here. There was the biggest opera house in the world and destroyed it. If they had not been destroyed, would you be able to imagine what kind of place Trabzon would be. After the exchange, the people who were Islamized and lived in Trabzon were taken under protection. This culture had born and grew in these lands. My father is not Greek, nor Armenian, we do not belong here we have to say this¹³⁵ (Male, 49)

Another interviewee verified both mass deportation and destruction of Armenians, compulsory exchange of Greek, and also their conversion to Islam as such:

¹³⁵ 1940'lı yıllarda birçoğu burdan göç etmek zorunda bırakıldı. Yunanistanla yapılan karşılıklı anlaşma neticesiyle. Burdan Yunanistan'a, oradan da buraya geldiler. Burada dünyanın en büyük opera binası vardı ve onu yıktılar. Bunlar yıkılmamış olsaydı Trabzon nasıl bir yer olurdu düşünebilir misiniz. Mübadeleden sonra Trabzon'da kalan Müslümanlaşmış insanlar koruma altına alınmış. Bu kültür, bu topraklarda doğup büyüyen bir kültür. Benim babam Rum değil, Ermeni de değil, biz buraya ait değiliz bunu söylemek lazım (Male, 49).

In Trabzon, the Greeks and the Armenians were mixed. The Greeks remained here, but not the Armenians. They have married here¹³⁶ (Male, 79).

Armenians were represented far out of proportion to their numbers in trade and commerce, as well as in the arts and crafts. Their main competitors were the Greeks in Trabzon (Hovannisian, 2009:3). Together with the mass killing and deportation of Armenians and forcible exile of Greeks, a big part of craftspeople also was wiped away Trabzon. This situation exemplified by Tokat:

Levon Kazancıyan was born in 1881 in Trabzon. He was the only son of a family who was survived after the 1915 events. Levon came to Istanbul in 1920. He learned silversmithing from his dad Khaçığ Mattetsi Simonyan (2010: 270).

Concerning the Greeks, there is no information or written source about being a gold-silver master in Trabzon. However, it is said that they were coppersmith in city. As Lowry said:

In more recent time, when we went to the bazaars of coppersmiths in Trabzon, it was remarkable that the names of all the equipment used among the craftspeople were Greek. Moreover, the last Greeks abandoned the city in 1923 (Lowry, 2010: 172).

It can be said that, before deportation and exile there was an ethnic boundaries between non-Muslims and Muslims. It is the boundary, which is as a set of rules and as a structuring of interactions, that "canalizes social life - it entails a frequently quite complex organization of behaviour and social relations." (Barth 1969: 15). However, after the deportation of Armenian in Trabzon, boundaries between these communities disappeared and Muslim-Turks who have learned gold-silver crafts (matting, kazaziye and filigree) from Armenians have continued them to this day. As

¹³⁶ Tranzon'da Rum Ermeni karışmış birbirine, burda Ermeniler kalmadı ama Rumlar kaldı, burda evlilik yaptılar.

a result, these crafts have changed hands between Armenians and Muslim-Turks. In the fieldwork, interviewees mentioned about these processes:

I am clearly saying that this craft is not a profession for me from my ancestors. I mean, after all, it's a profession left from my father to me, but it didn't come from my grandfather. We can say with open heartedness that we have learned it from the Armenian master. But nowadays there are many people who tell our students that they have learnt it from their ancestors. It's all lies¹³⁷ (Male, 41, kazaziye).

As mentioned above, statements of the interviewees reveal that major policy changes or events analogous to major policy changes force people to move jobs or render untenable accepted channels of mobility (Geoff, 1987). Due to this mobility, gold-silversmithing crafts (matting, kazaziye and filigree) in Trabzon became Turkicized and Islamized. Therefore, outcomes of the fieldwork reveal that it is not possible to mention existence of Armenian gold-silversmiths in the city.

4.3.2.3 Class-based mobility in Craft

In the near history of Trabzon, with the increase in the integration of the industrial capitalism after the 1980s, there have been two crucial breakpoints that affected the production relations of gold-silver crafts (matting, kazaziye and filigree) in the city. These breakpoints left a significant impact on these craft of the city. Many craftspeople refer to these breakpoints while talking about situation of craft on today and accordingly, they have been often mentioned in the interviews. These breakpoints are (1) industrialization and mechanization and the finally (2) the decrease of training of apprentices.

¹³⁷ Bu zanaat benim için dededen babadan kalma bir meslek değil bunu açıkça söylüyorum. Yani tabi sonuçta benim için babadan kalma bir meslek ama, babama dedesinden kalma bir meslek değil. Biz açık yüreklilikle diyebiliyoruz Ermeni ustadan öğrendik diye. Ama günümüzde bizim öğrettiğimiz öğrencileri kendi yanlarına alıp annemden kaldı babamdan kaldı diye anlatan çok insan var. Yalan herşey yalan...

In studies written over the past two or three decades, dispossession has been the story of the artisan/craftsworker /skilled worker during industrialization (Kristofferson, 2007: 3). It is said that the dispossession is derived from the direct and open conflict between industry and craft. By the early 1980s, in Turkey, this industrialization took shape that was flexible, adaptable, and remarkable advanced that had reached the crest of the wave of manufacture. The local context of this industrialism can be observed in the production of gold-silver craft in Trabzon. Therefore, the techniques of gold-silversmithing such as matting, kazaziye and filigree in Mardin, has affected separately from this industrialization processes. If we start with the craft of filigree, firstly, it is possible to state that all of the affects of industrialization and mechanization in Mardin are valid for the Trabzon filigree. The craftsmen of filigree agreed with the things that told by Mardin filigree masters. For instance, one of the old masters (aged, 78) in Trabzon stated:

We were learning the art rather than having an interest in the money. We wanted that they would ask who made it. When you release a merchandise you sell, it would say buy me. They would call us brothers from Tonya. At that time they even came from outside the city just for the sake of our name, saying how good we are. Before we were drawing the wire manually, there were holes we were pulling through them. Now everything is done by the machines¹³⁸ (Male, 78, filigree).

However, besides of this mechanization affect, the majority of masters of filigree complained about that silver filigree turned into copper work. According to them, this turning to copper is the final point of the craft. The interviewee, like most interviewees offered a detailed summary of the situation:

¹³⁸ Biz sanatı öğrenirdik paradan ziyade, desinler ki bunu kim yaptı diye özenirdik. Yaptığın sattığın bir malı piyasaya çıkardığında beni alın desin. Bize Tonyalı kardeşler derlerdi. O zamanlar şehir dışından bile adımıza gelirlerdi, ne kadar güzel iş yapıyorsunuz diye. Daha evvel tel çekmeyi elimizle yapardık, delikler vardı, ordan çekerdik. Şimdi herşey makine olmuş.

I distanced myself from this profession after the introduction of copper to it. There was a place for silver in this profession, but after the copper came out it was disgraced. They have stepped over this profession. They learnt the thievery of it, instead of the profession. They sold the copper as silver fineness nr. 9. Now those people won't leave the mosques. And now they tell me that you have not earned money, I said to them people who know how to do thievery, grew beards and attends to mosques. But they will answer to God, not to me. I am honest ¹³⁹(Male, 66, filigree).

Here, it can be seen that the interviewee was very angry with those who used copper in their craft and he blamed them with swindling. Then he added:

When first the copper came out, I resisted and did not do it. I told to customers that they (products) are silver, they did not believe in me saying, since it is expensive it must be copper. After that I started to make copper. I left it after 2-3 years. I left the profession now. I am going to the village for some cultivation¹⁴⁰ (Male, 66, filigree).

Although the master criticized the others who used copper in filigree, he produced in this way. But, after then he completely gave up the craft. Similarly, another old master criticized production of the copper filigree over the morality and the occupational ethics:

Now the filigree is over. They killed the old craft of filigree, now they are making with copper. We used to sell our clogs for 500 lira, now they are selling it for 20 lira. They started to copper around 90s. Filigree was only done by the silver, matting from the gold. Now there is no morality my daughter, they just cast automatically. In our times it was done by hand¹⁴¹ (Male, 78, filigree).

¹³⁹ Bakır işi çıktıktan sonra soğudum bu işe. Gümüşün bir yeri vardı, Bakır çıktı bu meslek rezil oldu. Bu mesleği ayaklar altına aldılar. İşin hırsızlığını öğrendiler, işi öğrenmediler. Bu piyasada bakır 9 ayar gümüş diye sattılar. Şimdi o insanlar camiden çıkmıyorlar. Şimdi bana diyorlar ki sen para kazanmadın, dedim ki hırsızlığı bilen biliyor, sakal bırakıp camiye gidiler. Ama Allaha hesabını verecekler bana değil. Benim alnım açık.

¹⁴⁰ Bakır işi yeni çıktığında direndim yapmadım, müşteri geldi gümüş dedim inanmadı bırak ya dedi, bu kadar pahalı olur mu, bakır bu dedi, sonra ben de inadı bozдум başladım bakır yapmaya. 2-3 yıl yaptım bıraktım attım buraya. Bu işi de bıraktım köye gidiyorum ekip biçiyorum artık.

¹⁴¹ Şimdi telkari bitti. Eski telkariciliği öldürdüler, şimdi de bakır yapıyorlar. Bizim takunyalar 500 liraydı şimdi 20 tl'ye satıyorlar. 90'lar civarında başlıyorlar bakıra. Telkari sadece gümüş yapıldı,

In the interview above, the master argued that both copper-used and also foundry filigree is amorality and unethical issues in craft. And therefore, to him, both of them paved the way for the end of the craft of filigree. However, the majority of the craftsmen of matting propounded that the foundry technique that is used in filigree cannot be applied to matting. As a matting master stated :

You can foundry in filigree but not in matting. Japanese have tried it but so far no technology can make it. No technology could achieve its flexibility, softness¹⁴²(Male, 46, matting).

This is expressed by another interviewee, as follows:

There is no casting in matting; they wove it by the hands. They have tried really hard to cast it but they could not manage it. Italians have tried it, Japanese have tried it, and they couldn't find it since years. The edge of the machines fail to turn, they could not manage it. That's why we are lucky that we acquire this profession. But they did a thing called lock-cast mat out of the matting, but it looks like a hard handcuff ¹⁴³(Male, 57, matting).

As mentioned above, craftsmen of master generally did not concern about foundry technique, because they thought that this technique has not yet developed to do this knitting. However, although they seem to be not worried, at least they are aware that other countries are making efforts to achieve it. The interviewees who are

altından sadece hasır yapılırdı. Şimdi ahlak kalmadı kızım, döküm yapıyorlar hep, bizim zamanımızda hep elle yapılırdı

¹⁴² Telkaride döküm yapılıyor, ama hasırda olmuyor, Japonlar denedi ama şu ana kadar hiçbir teknoloji yapamaz, esneklik, yumuşaklık bunu hiçbir teknoloji yapamadı. Bazı şeyler makine de olmuyor, sadece toka döküm yapılabilir, yapılıyor da

¹⁴³ Hasır örgüsünde döküm olmaz, bunu elde örüyorlar. Hasır dökümde çok denediler ama yapamadılar Bununla İtalya uğraştı, Japonya uğraştı bulamadılar yıllardır. Makine kenarları dönemiyor, tutturamadılar, o yüzden şanslıyız böyle bir mesleğimiz var elimizde. Ama kilit denen bir şey yaptılar döküm hasırdan, ama o zamanda sert kelepçe gibi duruyor.

craftspeople of Kazaziye shared similar views with the craftspeople of matting about whether the foundry influences these crafts or not. One of these craftspeople said :

There is no casting in filigree, there is a need of welding. Even with it, it gets broken. I am not going abroad, to China. If I go there they will take the profession out of our hands. That's why I am not going over there for a fair or something¹⁴⁴ (Male, 64, kazaziye, Ankara).

Although this interviewee determined that the foundry techniques more precisely couldn't be applied to kazaziye, he did not hide concerns about foundry method that is intensively used in China. By contrast with the others, the Kazaziye master by admitting the superiority of foundry technique, that is, of mechanization, he was very concerned about the future situation of the craft:

The business of filigree is bankrupted. I do not see the end of Kazaziye very well. They cast it like they do with the filigree. The machine already vows the casting. They will do the balls by casting, and that's it. They will also mold the ridge, end of the story¹⁴⁵ (Male, 56, Kazaziye).

It is generally thought that while the introduction of machinery has had a great many advantages, it caused a serious decline in the beauty of such object (Ries, 1968:9). However, the effect this mechanization situation had on both craft production and its cultural relations can be clearly understood from the views of craftspeople.

As aforementioned, the final breakpoint that is influenced the production relations of gold-silver crafts in Trabzon is the decrease of training of apprentices. The majority

¹⁴⁴ Kazaziyenin dökümü yapılmaz, kaynak olması lazım ki olmaz, kırılır. Yurtdışına, Çin'e gitmiyorum, oraya gitsem bu mesleği hemen elimizden alacaklar. Oraya fuara filan gitmiyorum o yüzden.

¹⁴⁵ Telkari işi battı, bu gidişle kazaziyenin de sonunu çok iyi görmüyorum. Telkari gibi bunun da dökümünü yaparlar. Makine zinciri örüyor zaten, topları da döküm yaparlar bitti. Sürgüsünü de kalıp yaparlar olur biter.

of craftspeople in Trabzon determined that this decline of the number of apprentices has brought the crafts to an end. In this context, an interviewee presented a concise summary of the situation:

With every passing day, the craft is reaching to its end, because no one else is coming from behind. After the 4 + 4 + 4 education system, our apprenticeship is completely finished in the profession. The apprentice must come from behind in order to preserve the craft ¹⁴⁶(Male, 59).

Similar views were expressed by a Kazaziye master :

The profession could finish because there are no artisans. We won't able to find and raise artisans. Since they extended the elementary school to 13-14 years, the child goes to the military if he does not go to university after completing the compulsory education. So he does not have time to learn his profession. I was taking 11-12 years old kids to my atelier and I was raising them until they reach 21 years old. I mean, there's no time for the art. Now that apprenticeship is over, we cannot find an apprentice. The handicrafts have come to an end. It will finish in 10-15 years after the current artisans' leave¹⁴⁷ (Male, 56, kazaziye).

Thus, the decline in manual training and its rapid replacement with compulsory education has caused new artisans not to grow up. In other words, because the compulsory education became rigidly enforced, there is no time to train the new apprentices. As a consequence of these processes of the gold-silver crafts in Trabzon, it is possible to say that the mass production, widespread automation and new technologies that are the inevitability of industrial capitalism has controlled, unqualified and therefore caused to dissolution of these crafts. Perhaps the best

¹⁴⁶ Her geçen gün zanaat bitişe doğru gidiyor, çünkü arkadan gelen yok, 4+4+4 olalı bizim meslekte çıraklık tamamen bitmiştir. Zanaat kaybolmasın diye alttan çırak gelmesi gerekir.

¹⁴⁷ Meslek bitebilir çünkü sanatkar yok. Sanatkar bulup yetiştiremeyeceğiz. İlkokul 13-14 yıla çıktı ya uzattıkları için, çocuk okulu zorunlu eğitimi bitirdikten sonra zaten üniversiteye gitmeyecekse askere gidiyor. Yani mesleği öğrenecek bir zamanı kalmıyor. 11-12 yaşında alıyordum elime 21 yaşına kadar öğretiyordum. Yani sanata eğilecek vakit kalmadı. Artık çıraklık dönemi bitti, çırak bulamıyoruz. El sanatları bitme aşamasına geldi. Mevcutlar aradan çekilirse 10-15 sene sonra neticede bitecek bu iş.

statement of the current state of gold silver crafts in Trabzon was the sentences of this interviewee:

In the past, people also had a value, and so do the craft. They would point you with their finger when you said you are an artisan. The market is now filled with thieves and imposters and everything is finished. They have been dealing with the massive bags of good now but there is no art, no craft¹⁴⁸(Male, 66).

4.3.2.4 Gender Relations in Craft

Generally, the women were excluded in physical meaning from the craft world that had been a male dominant. The “physical meaning” refers to both invisibility, and also gender-blind construction of the relations of craft production. This position of women is seen in all of the crafts of gold and silversmithing that are matting, kazaziye and filigree in Trabzon. Within these crafts, women intensively work in matting especially gold matting, because this craft provides women with more so-called money than others. Women in craft of matting known as Trabzon matting, knit bracelets, necklaces, earrings and belt like a lace with one's own hands. Whereas men only join the shaping process after the weaving and to undertake locking and welding work. Together with this division of labor in craft, while men are known as “craftsmen”, women are known only as knitters. An interviewee summarized this gendered division of labor in general terms:

Pure gold comes from Istanbul, rolled into a reel, and then given to women as a package, they are weaving. After 1 week they bring to us, we do other operations like tattooing, polishing. You get paid better when you are better in vowing. Also you get paid depending on the gram, the order and the¹⁴⁹ (Male, 46).

¹⁴⁸ Eskiden insanların da değeri vardı zanaatın da değeri vardı. Sanatkar dediğin zaman parmakla gösterirlerdi. Ne kadar hırsız üçkağıtçı varsa doldu piyasaya herşey bitti. Çuvalla malla uğraşıyorlar şimdi ama zanaat da yok sanat da yok ortada.

¹⁴⁹ Saf altın İstanbuldan geliyor, makara halinde tellere çevriliyor, sonrasında paket halinde kadınlara veriliyor, onlar dokuyor. 1 hafta sonra bize getiriyorlar, tokmakla dövme, cilalama gibi diğer işlemleri

As the statements of this male interviewee reveal the existence of gender boundaries in craft. It is clearly understood that while men are known as masters of this craft on one side of this border, the women who do the knitting work, which makes up a large part of the craft, are seen as being simply knitter. In other words, although until the final stage in matting “male hand” does not touch the craft, the men has admitted as master of this craft. Just as a male interviewer described:

I see myself as a matting master. But the essence of the job belongs to the women, since they made it. I was never curious about the matting; it is a really difficult job. We make the mistakes and the lock system, and then it goes to sale¹⁵⁰(Male, 43).

In a similar vein, another interviewee stated:

Matting is done by the matting artisans; we do the welding and the corrections and making it ready for the sale. Woman matting artisans mostly comes from the villages. In the Yenimahalle and Faroz neighborhoods the women finish the matting of a bracelet-necklace in a week..¹⁵¹(Male, 38).

This division of labor in matting reveals that craft was carefully controlled by male craftspeople guaranteeing the subordinate role of women by separating the work of matting from any knowledge of the other skills of the craft and by maintaining separate work places for women and men. Because, while the male working in workshops, the women knit the matting in their houses or on streets with the other

biz yapıyoruz. Biraz daha iyi dokuyan daha fazla para alır, gramına ve sırasına, genişliğine göre ücreti neyse o verilir.

¹⁵⁰ Ben kendimi hasır ustası olarak görüyorum. Ama bu işin özü bayanlarda örüp getirdikleri için. Örgü işini merak etmedim, çok zor bir iş. Hataları ve kilit sistemini biz yapıyoruz ordan sonra satışa çıkıyor.

¹⁵¹ Örmeyi örücüler yapıyor, biz kaynak, düzeltmeleri yapıyoruz ve satışa hazır hale getiriyoruz. Kadın örücüler köylerden geliyor daha çok. Yenimahalle ve Faroz mahallerine de veriliyor. 1 kolye, bileziği 1 haftada örüyor kadınlar...

women. On the other hand, although women do the most difficult of crafting, men have organized them during all of the process of craft. One of the woman interviewee illustrated this organization of gendered division of labor as follows:

This work is done collectively, those who know gather at the neighborhoods streets, or at the houses to make it. We are making it to our jewelry shops. They give 1 week for this matting, if they hand over the job on Friday, it needs to be done by the next Friday¹⁵²(Female, 51).

This gendered craft organization can be seen in the training processes of the matting. In these processes, while women have learned by teaching this craft to each other, men have trained in apprenticeship system. Therefore, women have been excluded from the workshop based production system that is the basis of the craft world. A female who knitted the matting in front of her house on the street told in what way she learned this knitting as such:

I learnt it at home in Akçaabat. My sisters were doing it and I learnt while observing them. They learned from our aunt-in-law. I have heard that it was really common in Mersin and it had spread from there¹⁵³ (Female, 32).

In parallel with that, another woman interviewee stated:

I learned this from my mother-in-law. I have been doing it since 30 years. I learned this work in Faroz. My wife is from Faroz, when I got married and move there, everyone was already knew it ¹⁵⁴(Female, 51).

¹⁵² Bu iş toplu bir şekilde yapıyor, bilenler mahallelerde, sokaklarda yada evlerde bir araya gelip yapıyorlar. Kuyumcularımız var onlara yapıyoruz. Bu örgü için 1 hafta süre veriyorlar, eğer cuma veriyorsa diğer hafta cuma bitmesi lazım.

¹⁵³ Ben Akçaabat'ta öğrendim evdeyken. Ablamlar yapardı onların eline bakarak öğrendim. Onlar da yengemlerden öğrenmiş. Mersin tarafında da büyük bir çoğunluk olduğunu ve oradan yayıldığını duydum

¹⁵⁴ Bu işi kayınvalidemden öğrendim. 30 yıldan beri yapıyorum. Bu işi Faroz'da öğrendim. Eşim Faroz'lu, evlenip oraya gittiğimde orada biliyordu zaten herkes

It is seen that interviewees learned this craft from the women in their own families. But, at the same time, women were also learning from the women outside of their parents. Another important point of two interviews was that this craft was made mostly by the women either in the rural areas (Akçaabat, Mersin) or the poor neighborhoods (Faroz) of the Trabzon. Therefore, there has been an extensively network form the city to rural areas. It is possible to estimate that this enlargement arises from the need of cheap and unqualified labor, so women in Trabzon have met this need. As a result, this situation refers to reserve army of woman labor that is constituted by workshop owners and jewelers in Trabzon. A male interviewee who is an owner of workshop described this overall structuring of gender inequality in craft as “ smokeless industry of Trabzon”:

It's a really good job for Trabzon. If we were to have 30 workshops, we'd have 70 ladies in each unit, 2100, every lady would get 100 lira every week. Think of it as a factory without a chimney¹⁵⁵... (Male, 43).

Similar views were expressed by jeweler:

The starting point of the matting is the center. But then we, as jewelers, we are transporting that to the villages and neighborhoods. The women there also learn it and benefit from it¹⁵⁶ (Male, 44).

The utilization of women in matting was a solution that met the needs of both artisan and capitalist in the traditional patterns of gender formation. Hence, workshops and jewelers that have become more concentrated in Trabzon have demanded more and more women workers. A female interviewee told with these sentences :

¹⁵⁵ Trabzon için çok güzel bir iş aslında. 30 tane atölye olsak her birimiz 70 tane bayan çalıştırsak 2100, her bayan 100 tl aldığını düşünün her hafta. Bacasız bir fabrika...

¹⁵⁶ Hasır başlangıç yeri merkez, ama sonra biz kuyumcular olarak köylere mahallelere ulaştırıyoruz bunu. Oralardaki kadınlar da öğrenip faydalanıyorlar.

For god's sake we do not get paid for our labor. They do not give it to us, because that's our handicraft. There is a lot of demanding matting artisans, so much in need. We used to do matting a lot and earning a lot before. At that time there were fewer people, there were 2 people in Faroz, and a few in the villages. Now it has spread to their mountains in their villages¹⁵⁷ (Female, 67)

So, women as a reserve army of craft of gold- silver matting naturally are worked with low-paid. As an interviewee expressed by the following statement:

I work 6-7 hours a day and give 4 wristbands a week. I get paid 170-180 lira averages per week. When I first started, I started with 30 liras. A gold bracelet is 9000 lira average¹⁵⁸(Female, 51)

As the statements shows, the workshop owners or jewelers paid to women very low wages. For instance, as the interviewee determined that while the average selling price of a matting bracelet is 9000 TL, she earned only 170-180 liras. In addition to this, when I asked to men who was worked in workshops and known as so-called "craftsmen" how much they earned and how long times or day they working for a bracelet, one of them answered me :

We finish a collar or a bracelet in about 1 hour. We get a monthly salary of 2500 lira¹⁵⁹ (Male, 43).

It can be seen that there is a huge wage difference between female who holds the whole of the production process and male who has the smallest part of the production

¹⁵⁷ Anne kurban olsun emeğin karşılığını alıyor muyuz, almıyoruz. Vermiyorlar çünkü, göz nuru bu. O kadar talep eden örücü var ki, ihtiyaç var ki. Önceden çok örüyorduk çok para alıyorduk. O zaman daha da az sayıda ören vardı, Faroz'da 2 kişi vardık, birkaç tane de köylerde vardı. Şimdi köylere, köylerinde dağlarına kadar yayıldı

¹⁵⁸ Ben Günlük 6-7 saat çalışıp haftada 4 tane veriyorum bileklik. 170-180 lira alıyorum haftada ortalama. İlk başladığımda 30 lira ile başlamıştım. Altın bir bilezik 9000 tl ortalama.

¹⁵⁹ Bir bileziği yada bir kolyeyi yaklaşık 1 saatte hazır hale getiriyoruz. Ayda 2500 lira maaş alıyoruz bu işten.

process of craft of matting. Furthermore, while woman works 6-7 hours a day on average per week, man works in shop 1 hour per day for one bracelet. Woman matting masters faced serious difficulties in organizing resistance to low wages in an expanding system of decentralized production that included rural women in areas distant from silver and gold center in Trabzon. However, they were well aware of this discrimination against them :

I finish 9 bracelets in 4 days. I am matting the gold more beautifully. They pay very less to silver matting, around 30-40 lira. A necklace costs 30 lira 25 lira. Jewelers do not pay you, just look at the money. We do not have a union. If you as a jeweler why you pay very less, they even stop to pay. Because the demand is high, matting artisans are plenty, they say if you don't want to do it just don't¹⁶⁰(Female, 67).

Similarly another woman interviewee stated:

The jeweler examines the matting; if there is a slide in it, he cuts the entire bracelet and throws it away. So the jeweler can retire you whether you want it or not. We do not have any insurance because we are matting at home¹⁶¹ (Female, 54).

While women are working under these conditions, on the other hand they work at home in their kitchens where domestic tasks and childcare continued and the demands of the artisan shop shaped her work :

¹⁶⁰ 9 kolu 4 günde bitiriyorum. Ben altını daha güzel örüyorum. Gümüşü çok ucuza ördürüyorlar, 30-40 lira filan. Bir gerdanlık 30 lira 25 lira. Kuyumcular varya vermiyorlar işte, paraya bakar mısın. Sendikamız yok bir şeyimiz yok, sen kuyumcuya sorsan niye bu kadar az para veriyorsun, vermez sana daa. Çünkü talep çok, örucü çok, yapmazsan yapma der.

¹⁶¹ Kuyumcu bakıyor dokumada kayma filan varsa, bütün ördüğüm bileziği kesebiliyor ve atıyor kenara. Yani sen istemesen de kuyumcu seni emekli edebiliyor. Evde dokuduğumuz için sigortamız da yok.

They give 1 week for this matting. If you have it on Friday, you have to finish it by the next Friday. Sometimes I cannot finish it on time because of my housework¹⁶² (Female, 51).

Another interviewee also emphasized the domestic tasks:

They give 1 week for this matting. If you have it on Friday, you have to finish it by the next Friday. Sometimes I cannot finish it on time because of my housework¹⁶³ (Female, 51)

It can be said that since both of interviewees had to keep ahead of the requirements of all the workers in the workshop with a ready supply of mattings, so they combined both task labor, in the form of domestic chores, and timed labor. In other words, women worked at long hours for little wage, most likely in combination with the completely unpaid domestic labor of housekeeping, childcare, laundry, mending, and cooking. (Adamson, 2013: 215). Therefore, the house was transformed into a workplace where external demands from the workshops and jewelers shaped both time and tasks. The situation of women in the craft of matting remind of the 19th century woman Shoebinder¹⁶⁴, in Essex Country, England (It can be seen in photo 16 and 17).

¹⁶² Bu örgü için 1 hafta süre veriyorlar cuma veriyorsa diğer hafta cuma bitmeis lazım. Bazen ev işlerinden dolayı aksattığım bitiremediğim de oluyor.

¹⁶³ Ben evlenmeden önce 2 tane yetiştirirdim ama şimdi çocuk var 1 tane haftada. Ortalama günde 4-5 saat çalışıyorum, çocuk uyuduktan sonra genelde. 13 kol genişliğindeki bilezik 150 tl alıyorum. Gümüş yaparsam yarı fiyatı alıyoruz.

¹⁶⁴ Demands for increased production in the late eighteenth century drew the female members of shoemaking families into work on shoes, but women workers remained on the periphery of the social and political life of artisans in the ten footers. The introduction of the sexual division of labor into the craft was a response to the needs felt by both-artisan-shoemaker and merchant-capitalist for increased production. (Blewett, 1988: 14)

As the fieldwork reveals, woman interviewees of this study composed the periphery labor in Trabzon. The existence of dual craft production constituted a reserve army of woman labor. As a result, we see the huge dimensions of gender inequality, gender gap and the blurred role of women in the craft of matting in Trabzon.



Photo 4.19: Shoebinder. Drawing by Frank L. Wyman¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ Woman Shoebinder, in Essex Country, England, 19th century, Mary H. Blewett, *Men, Women, and Work : Class, Gender, and Protest in the New England Shoe Industry, 1780-1910*, University of Illinois Press: Urbana, Chicago, 1988, p.16



Photo 4.20 : A matting woman in Trabzon, in 2015

4.4 A Discussion: The Comparison of Mardin and Trabzon

In this chapter, I tried to analyze the effects of state politics, dissolution processes and survivor strategies on the crafts of gold-silver smithing in the two cities of Turkey that are Trabzon and Mardin. In other words, it was tried to be discovered how this craft has been survived in the two cities. There were differences and similarities between in Mardin and Trabzon in terms of dissolution processes and survivor strategies of crafts of gold and silver. I will argue the differences and similarities that include ethnic and religious composition and their historical pasts in these cities, belonging and ethnic boundaries in gold-silver crafts, class-based mobility and gender relations in these crafts.

The differences between the Mardin and the Trabzon regions are not only geographical; they are determined to a large extent by the ethnicity and religious of the regions' peoples. Both of the cities have non-Muslim population composed from

Armenians and Assyrians who have lived in Mardin, and Greek and Armenian who have been in Trabzon. The cities were characterized by considerable ethnic segmentation in craft and shaped by economic competition between the groups. As this chapter reveals, while the filigree belonged to Armenians and Assyrians in Mardin, the matting, kazaziye and filigree belonged to Armenians in Trabzon. As discussed, the demographic collapse of Christian populations that derived from an overlapping set of processes: genocide, mass deportations, massacres, forced migration, compulsory population exchange, destruction of material culture and expropriation, paved the way for destruction of crafts of gold and silver. As a result of these processes, the large number of Armenian gold-silver artisans who worked all over the Ottoman Empire migrated to the rest of the world at the end of the 19th century, especially with the vast majority of the survivors of 1915, their talents, talents and mastery. Those who continue to the labor force in Turkey were very few; most of them also were in Istanbul (Tokat, 2010: 269). Therefore, it can be said that there was no Armenian gold-silver craftspeople both in Mardin and Trabzon. Because these cities had a genocide past in terms of Armenians, but the Assyrians was also subjected to genocidal practices in Mardin. However, after a while they were allowed to return to Mardin, so they have maintained the filigree that is produced intensively as a technique of gold-silver smithing. That is, the presence of Assyrian population that is even if fewer than in the past, keeps this historical memory alive in Mardin. On the other hand, there is almost no human in Trabzon who can be witness of this genocide memory; they only have the craft memory that remains from the Armenians.

In these lands, both in Mardin and Trabzon, different ethnic and religious groups continued with the craft tradition of previous waves of incoming peoples in its development rather than its destruction. In other words, ethnic boundaries that previously existed have been blurred in craft production. The ethnic boundaries that are known as the arrangements of "articulation and separation at the macro-level corresponds to systematic sets of role constraints on the micro-level." (Barth 1969:

15-6), have had different dynamics in the cities of Mardin and Trabzon. The ethnic boundaries in Trabzon were between the Muslims and non-Muslims (Christians). However, these boundaries together with the 1915 genocide and the population exchange (forcibly exile) of Greeks in 1923 completely disappeared. After these bloody processes, Christians who could stay in the city converted to Islam. Therefore, it is possible to say that since nearly 100 years or 1 century, these crafts of gold and silver (matting, kazaziye and filigree) have been handed over to Muslim Turks and the ethnic boundaries have completely destructed. In contrast with Trabzon, the ethnic boundaries between Muslims and non-Muslims have protected its existence in the filigree as a gold-silver smithing. However, whether or not there were the ethnic boundaries between Assyrians and Armenians in terms of belonging of crafts of filigree has not been fully identified. In relation to this, it can be said that the boundaries blurred between the Armenians and Assyrians, due to the ethnic solidariy among them. As a consequence, today the craft of filigree is being maintaining by the Assyrian craftspeople in Mardin.

When it comes to today, especially after the 1980s, all of these crafts of gold-silver smithing started to dissolution with the affect of the industrial capitalism. In other words, matting, kazaziye and filigree in Trabzon and filigree in Mardin have influenced mass production, mechanization, automatism and new technologies. However, in addition to all these developments, different from Trabzon in Mardin mass migration that was originated from the political pressures against Assyrians led to the class-based dissolution process. After these industrial processes, the craftspeople proletarianized and unqualified.

At the very beginning and finally, I must emphasize that this field, similar to the literature, is quite genderblind. Because, women were excluded from participation in the craft production both in Mardin and Trabzon, they have faced with the sexual division of labor in craft. In Trabzon, the existence of dual craft production constitutes a reserve army of woman labor. However, in Mardin, there was no-

woman visible in filigree production. They were completely excluded from filigree craft world.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study was designed to critically analyze the dissolution of gold and silver crafts in Mardin and Trabzon with regard to ethnicity and class. This research reveals that craft has a dissolution process both within itself and also within the historical and social dynamics. Dissolution within itself results from the relation of craft with modernization and industrialization, processes which cause the separation of art and craft. However, during these processes the craft world has developed self-resisting strategies. In this study, I have sought to explore the historical and social breakpoints that have effects on the dissolution processes of craft (Chapter 2,3 and 4), For this aim, first of all, I presented an argument about the dynamics of dissolution of craft within itself that include the separation from art in ontological and cultural terms. This allowed the consideration of whether the place of gold and silver smithing was in craft or not. It is very critical also for the craftspeople because they even have seen themselves traditionally as artists /artisans or “Sanatkâr” (in Turkish). It was revealed that the transformation of craft within itself in the history of the West during the 19th and early 20th centuries reflected on Ottoman and Turkish history in different ways. In this context, it was possible to say that discussions over separation between art and craft that affected different parts of the world did not reflect to the Ottoman or Turkish Republic. It can be concluded that the reason for this situation can be attributed to the fact that the Ottomans and Turkish state were more engaged with the tension and problems within themselves. Following this outcome, some questions arose: What then were artisans in Ottoman/Turkish state, and what social and economic role did they play? Menial laborer, key economic engine, parasite on society, transmitter of sagely knowledge: the Ottoman/Turkish state artisan could be any or all of these things. At the same time, the artisan could

have an ethnic and religious identity. This ethno-religious identity of the artisan started to be seen in the Ottoman history during the guild times. However, the emergence of the ethno-religious identity also led to a corresponding dissolution of guilds. Moreover, there also was a gendered division of labor in Ottoman guild history. This history showed a trend towards the exclusion of women from guilds and revealed the underlying dynamics of a more rigid gendered division of labor in the society. In addition to this, towards the end of the 19th century the Ottoman Empire was integrated into the capitalist world economy. The non-Muslims gained more power in this process, and ethnic conflicts started between the Muslims and non-Muslims.

As discussed in chapter 2, different dynamics influenced the dissolution of crafts during the emergence of the modern Turkish state. These dynamics started with the period of construction of the nation-state. In this period, the Young Turks and the CUP (Committee of Union and Progress) determined the ethnic boundaries between the various ethnic groups such as Turks, Armenians, Assyrians, and Greeks. In other words, together with the Young Turks, ethno nationalist politics were practiced and implemented to construct a nation based society, economy and culture. In this context, Young Turks took important steps towards creating a new institutional and class system. To succued in these steps, they systematically planned a policy of extermination against the state's Christian citizens which took the form of massacres, death marches and forced deportations. As a result, these brutal policies resulted in the death, deportation and displacement of Armenians, Assyrians and Greeks. It should be kept in mind that these processes also entailed expropriation processes. During these violent and bloody stages, craftspeople also were exposed to such policies of extermination. The Kemalist Regime passed and practiced the various laws (detailed in chapter 2) between 1923-1950 to construct a national and homogenized economy. The most important of these laws was the Wealth Tax that resulted destruction of the economic assets of non-Muslims. All of these historical process and events and their effects on the craftspeople of gold –silversmithing are

covered in the fieldwork of this thesis. It should be noted that this research did not include an ordinary craft story which composes the ravages of craft only with the effects of capitalist industrialization. In other words, the dissolution of craft within the historical and social dynamics occurred in Ottoman and Republican Turkey through both mechanisms and apparatus of state power, together with the capitalist modernization and industrialization processes. Effects of both dynamics on the dissolution of craft are observed during the fieldworks in Mardin and Trabzon.

Theoretical and conceptual discussions in Chapter 3 are applied throughout the research and are proven to be very useful in understanding the state politics and strategies, as agents for dissolution of crafts. In this study, I applied various conceptual tools such as state power, middleman minority, ethnic boundaries between communities, stranger position and lastly ethnicization of economy. The conceptual tools of this research are proven to be very useful in understanding the relationship between the dynamics of state power, ethnicity, class and gender in craft-based production present in the cases studied in this thesis. In this context, it is seen that state power had an important effect on the dissolution of craft in Mardin and Trabzon. In addition to this, the craftspeople in the two cities had had middleman minority status and stranger positions with respect to the mobilization of the ethnic and class positions. Apart from these, the female craftspeople had double stranger role in these cities because of the gender-blind structure of craft production.

My argument throughout this thesis is that an economically deterministic conception of the dissolution of craft is inadequate. That is, it must be considered or kept in mind that historical and political processes are the part of this dissolution of craft. Therefore, I discussed this claim in detail in chapter 3. Comparative historical analysis composes an important part of the conceptualization and the arguments presented in this thesis. This analysis includes transformation, reproduction and dissolution processes which make up the main arguments presented in this thesis. With the concept of transformation, a discussion can be presented about the

transformative character of the effects of capitalism and modernism. These processes paved the way for the transformation of the class position of craftspeople. Due to the fact that craft-based manufacture has not yet entirely come to an end, this concept does not refer to the transformation of craft production. This situation is observed in the case studies of the thesis, the gold-silver smithing in Mardin and Trabzon which still continues today. In addition to this, there is a transformation or change in the class position of gold-silver craftspeople. The transformative dynamics have changed the class position of craftspeople with respect to migration and industrial progress (mass production, automation, machinery, new technologies, etc.). As a result of this, craftspeople either became workers (in industry or another sector) or were transformed into mass individual workers doing various jobs in handicraft workshops. In other words, it can be propounded that there has been a process of proletarianization of craftspeople. This process is clearly visible in the interviews conducted with the masters of gold-silver smithing in Mardin and Trabzon. Except from transformation, another conceptual analysis is the reproduction, used in this research as cultural and economic reproduction of rigid gender relations and blurred role of women in craft-based production. That is, the reproduction originates from traditional gender norms of women's labor and sexual division of labor in craft. Throughout production and reproduction processes, women were associated with unqualified and cheap labor, known as a reserve army of female labor. The last and foremost conceptual tool is dissolution that is the critical reason and the result of the decrease of craft-based production. Dissolution occurred in state power, ethnicity, class and gender boundaries of craft of gold-silver smithing in Mardin and Trabzon. In other words, unlike the other two comparative conceptual tools, transformation and reproduction, dissolution includes all of the national and local dynamics that influenced the devastation of craft of gold-silver smithing. As a result, analysis based on a comparative perspective opens the door to understand the dynamics of the dissolution of craft for the case studies presented in this thesis.

In chapter 4, I present a twofold analysis. First, I present a discussion about the process of state formation and nationalist population policies in Turkey and their effects on survival strategies. Then, I discuss the effects of capitalist industrial developments on craftspeople of gold-silversmithing in Mardin and Trabzon. Both these stages showed that history caused discontinuities and structural changes creating disjuncture. In this context, the boundary metaphor was explicitly or implicitly used in the conceptualization for understanding the reasons and dynamics leading to the dissolution of craft. This metaphor both underlies the distinctness and uniqueness of experiences regarding the dissolution process of crafts on a local scale and also describes the experiences in terms of transformation and reproduction processes. In line with this aim, boundaries between state politics, ethnicity, class and gender are examined and compared with experiences of craftspeople in the two cities. The consequences of state politics affected both cities in different ways. In Mardin, the non-Muslim population of the city is composed of Armenians and Assyrians. However, the result of the nationalist population policies the Armenian population and therefore the number of craftspeople of gold and silversmithing has gradually decreased and has almost reached the endpoint in the city. Therefore, the presence of the Assyrian population that is even fewer than in the past, keeps the historical and craft-based memory alive. In Trabzon, there were Armenians and Greeks as non-Muslims but after the 1915 genocide, the Armenians were completely cleared from the city. So, there were no Armenian craftspeople in the aftermath of 1915 and after the population exchange in 1923, Greeks completely disappeared from the city. It is possible to say that due to the fact that there is almost no non-Muslim population in Trabzon since about 100 years (except the crypto ones), in Trabzon there is only the craft memory. The local dynamics of ethnic nationalist policies influenced both cities in terms of craft production. Therefore, it was observed that the craft of gold and silver smithing had ethnic boundaries in Mardin and Trabzon. However, it is not possible to mention these boundaries today. However, it can be seen that these boundaries are generally drawn against Muslims, whereas the existence of such a boundary between the non-Muslims is rather

insignificant. For example, there was ethnic segmentation in craft in Mardin because craftspeople of gold and silversmith were Armenians or Assyrians and the other people (Kurds, Arabs, Turks etc.) in the city did not deal with this craft. Filigree belonged to Armenians and Assyrians. However, Armenian interviewees propounded that all the crafts of gold and silver belonged to them. Therefore, it can be thought that there was an ethnic solidarity between Armenians and Assyrians in the craft. In case of Trabzon, it can also be concluded that there were ethnic boundaries in crafts. The outcomes of interviews and written sources revealed that all of the crafts (filigree, matting and kazaziye) belonged to Armenians. However, there could be ethnic solidarity with the Greeks as non-Muslims. Due to the population exchange in 1923, Greeks completely disappeared in Trabzon. So, it is possible to say that since nearly a century, the crafts of filigree, matting and kazaziye have been handed over to Muslim Turks. Therefore, the ethnic boundaries between Muslims and non-Muslims have completely eroded or destructed.

In general, there has been a view or common sense in Turkey about the ethnic belonging of crafts. According to this common sense, “majority of the craft belongs to the non-Muslims in the whole country and due to the fact that non-Muslims left the country, the crafts came to the point of extinction.” However, this thesis claims that the reason of the foregrounding ethnic belonging of craft of gold-silver smithing lied under the basis of the value and the knowledge attributed to a specific ethnicity. In other words, it can be propounded that there is an ethnic boundary around the knowledge and value of the craft. That is, the knowledge is the secret of the ethnicity. Craft is an issue that will melt away if taken as an economic reason alone, but the ethnic value, knowledge and boundary of craft allows continuity as an ethnic belonging. This situation is seen especially in Mardin since craft has still an ethnic value associated with Assyrians and the craftspeople in the city construct their own ethnic identities through the craft done. There is a sense that ethnicity will disappear when craft is over.

The processes of capitalist industrialization, mechanization and technological innovation affected the filigree production in Mardin. In parallel with Mardin, all of the crafts of gold and silver were influenced by the processes of capitalist industrialization and modernization in Trabzon. Since the non-Muslim population did not exist for a long time, the effects of industrial capitalism and modernization are more visible than in Mardin. Together with capitalist modernization, industrialization and mass migration originating from the political pressures against Assyrians led to the proletarianization and the appearance of unqualified craftspeople in Mardin. Therefore, craftspeople have been forced by circumstances to leave old positions and seek new ones. This situation caused class mobility in Mardin and Trabzon. As discussed in this research, it is possible to determine that both field studies reveal class-dissolution as a result of proletarianization of craftspeople and the mass migration.

The situation had always been so gloomy for women since the organization of artisanal production is overwhelmingly masculine. As discussed in chapters 2, 3 and 4, women in the craft world had been neglected and had been placed in an invisible position. Unlike Mardin, Trabzon has more experience with proletarianization and reserve army of women's labor in craft. Hence, it can be concluded that there has been a process of proletarianization but this situation especially relates to women. As a result of this, women were entirely excluded from participation in craft production of gold and silver in Trabzon and paralleling this situation, the space of craft is described as "male" in Mardin. The cases studied in this thesis especially suggest that gender was at the heart of the craft world, because the relationship between craftsmanship and gender is generally ignored. This situation originates from the long history of neglect of craftswomen and the omission of gender from the reconstruction of the past of craft production. This thesis took a step for filling the gap in this gender-blind literature and tried to construct a gendered perspective on craft, by bringing women's experiences back into craft history. However, making

women more visible in craft history, requires enriching and improving their capacity further.

Consequently, with all these arguments that mentioned above, this thesis aims to contribute to the knowledge of social history and to being an original research in its own field. In this context, the boundary metaphor and a comparative perspective on dissolution of craft were used throughout the thesis to create new realities and perspectives that may function as points of departure and may open doors for future research in the area. Therefore, this thesis both broadens the horizon of craft history and also creates a sharp break from the traditional sense of craft story that is known as “lost crafts”. Consequently, it revealed in this thesis that craft is both an anchor moored in the past and also an effort for thinking in the present.

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APPENDICES

A. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

A) Socio-Demographic Information

1. Can you introduce yourself briefly? That is, can you inform me about your Age, Sex, Place of Birth, Education Level and Marital Status?

B) Craft Information and History

2. What is your craft?
3. How and when did you start this craft? / How many years have you been doing this craft?
4. Is this craft a family tradition? If so, how many generations does this craft tradition continue?
5. If this craft is not a family tradition, who have you learned from and when?
6. How many years has this craft been in the city?
7. Do you have any idea how this craft has reached this city?
8. Does this craft have a religious or ethnic origin?

C) Craft and City

9. Does this craft continue elsewhere than Mardin and Trabzon?
10. Does your family have a migration story or past?
11. How were your relationships with other peoples in the city? What about now?
12. How is the production situation of your craft compared to the past?
13. Is there a decrease or increase in the number of workshops in the city? How many workshops were there in the past, how many now?
14. How many masters have been in this craft before, what is the current situation?

15. If you think together with what has been passed on to you, are there certain historical periods in which the decline of craft in the city is intensified? That is, in which years is the craft most likely to decrease or increase?

16. Are there political periods and events in the important economic zone leading to the decline of the craft?

17. Are women active in this craft? If not why?

18. Do women in your family deal with this craft? If so, what stages of production are involved?

Work, Experience and Production

19. Have you worked in any work other than this one?

20. Are you working an apprentice in your workshop?

21. Do you see work as craft or as art? When you think for this craft, what is the difference between them?

22. Are there any difficulties in this craft? If so, what difficulties have you experienced?

23. Do you think you should do something other than this craft? Have you done? When did you do and what did you do?

24. Is there an increase or decrease in your financial situation compared to the old one? If you think that there was a decline, why?

25. Are you talking about the craft production process? Where does the material come from, how do you work?

26. Is the product of the craft exported /imported? If so, where and when?

27. Are there any producers working abroad? Who produces, migrants from the city?

28. Are there foreign and domestic competitions in the craft production?

Future Expectations About Craft

29. How do you think the future of this craft will be in 10-15 years?

30. What are the risks that are waiting for this craft in the future?

31. Do you think this craft is at risk of ending or “disappearing”?

Life Story Interview Questions

A) Socio-Demographic Information

1. Can you introduce yourself briefly? That is, can you inform me about your Age, Sex, Place of Birth, Education level and Marital Status?

B) Craft Information and History

2. What was your craft?

3. How and when did you start this craft? / How many years did you work in this craft?

4. Did you describe your work as art or craft?

5. Did you enjoy your craft? Did you think you were doing another job?

6. Do you know any craft other than gold-silver smithing?

7. How and when did you start this craft?

8. When did you leave this craft?

9. Was this craft a family tradition? If so, how many generations did this craft tradition continue before you?

10. If this craft is not a family tradition, who did you learned?

11. How and when did this craft come to this city?

12. Does this craft have an origin as an ethnic or religious belonging ?

13. Does your family have a migration story or past?

14. If you think together with your experiences and what has been passed on to you, are there certain historical periods in which the decline of craft in the city is intensified? That is, in which years is the craft most likely to decrease or increase?

16. Do you think there is a significant decline in craftsmanship? If so, what are the reasons and results for it?

17. Does the decline of the craft have economic and political reasons in the context of historical events and processes?

B. SELECTED PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE FIELDWORKS

Filigree Workshops in Mardin



Source: Mehtap Tosun



Source: Mehtap Tosun



Source: Mehtap Tosun



Source: Mehtap Tosun

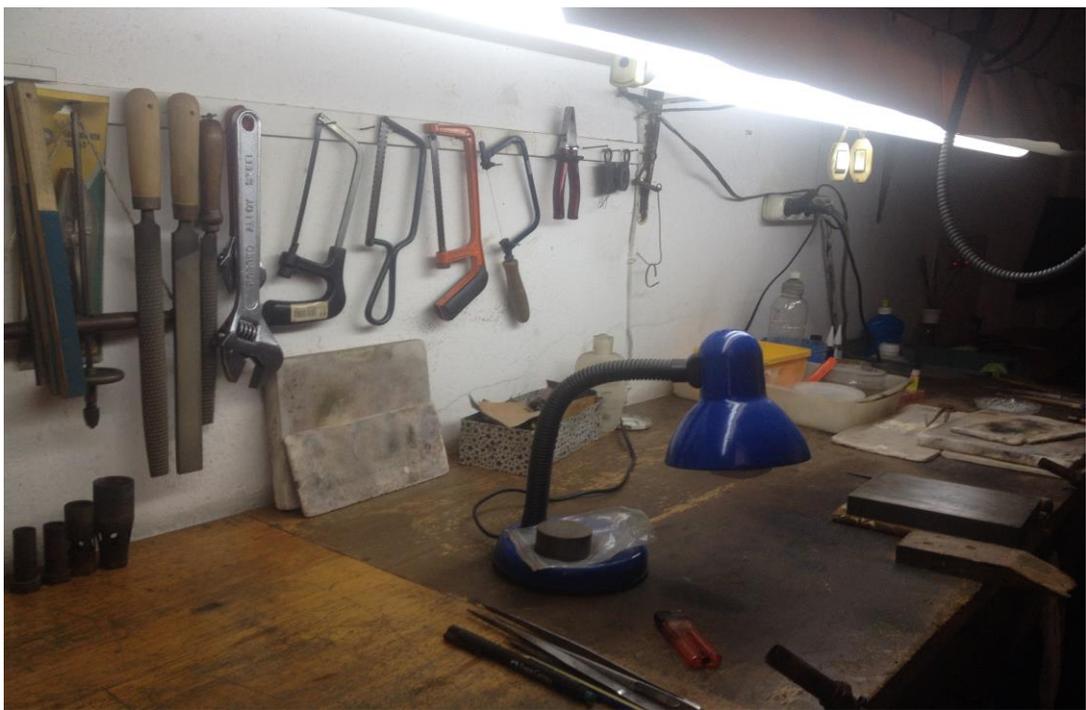


Source: Mehtap Tosun

Filigree, Matting (Hasır Örgü) and Kazaziye in Trabzon

Workshops







Machine of kazaziye
Source :Mehtap Tosun

Woman Matting Craftspeople





Source: Mehtap Tosun



Source: Mehtap Tosun



C. TABLES AND FIGURES

Tables

- 4.1 The list of profiles of the participants in Mardin.
- 4.2 The list of profiles of the participants in Trabzon
- 4.3 According to cadastral record books, percent distribution of population in Mardin according to religions in the 16th century
- 4.4 Comparison of estimated population rates of Christians and Muslims from 16th century to 19th century
- 4.5 1881-1893 According to Ottoman general census, population of Mardin central
- 4.6 1894-1895 According to Diyarbekir yearbook, population of Mardin
- 4.7 1927 populations in Mardin
- 4.8 Comparative population distribution in Trabzon from 1486 to 1583
- 4.9 Estimated population in various sources in Trabzon 1840 to 1914
- 4.10 List of Goldsmiths/Jewelers in Trabzon in 1927

Figures

- 2.1 Artist concerned with expressing ideas and feelings
- 2.2 Craftsman focuses on skill and the way things are made
- 2.3 Artisan/Craftsman concentrates on expressing ideas
- 2.4 Designer concerned with ideas and their interpretation for industry
- 2.5 Silver and gold-smithing
- 2.6 Silver and goldsmithing melting tools in Trabzon
- 2.7 Goldsmith historical artwork
- 2.8 Silver and goldsmithing melting tools in Mardin.
- 2.9 A sixteenth-century (1576) French goldsmith's shops. Notes the capstan and the goldsmith at work.
- 3.1 Silverware factory in 19th century, in Paris, France
- 3.2 Making Newbridge Cutlery-25th July 1958 Ireland
- 3.3 Sixteenth-century weaver¹⁶⁶ and Needle Maker, 1568

¹⁶⁶ Taken from Farr, 2008: 109, It can be seen: <http://deutschland-im-mittelalter.de/Kulturgeschichte/Berufe>

D. CURRICULUM VITAE

Personal Information

Surname, Name: Tosun, Mehtap
Nationality: Turkish (TC)
Date and Place of Birth: 1983, June 3 / Tunceli
Phone: +90 312 210 31 35
email: mehtapt@metu.edu.tr

Education

2011-2018 PhD, Sociology Department, METU.
Thesis title: Dissolution of Craft in the Context of Ethnicity, Gender and Class:
Gold and Silversmithing in Mardin and Trabzon, Turkey

2008-2011 MSc, Sociology Department, METU.
Thesis title: Flexible Labour Policy and The Crisis of Trade Unionism: The Case of
Tekel Workers Resistance in Ankara

2002-2006 BA, Economy Department (Major Program), Econometry Department
(Minor Program), Gazi University.

Work Experience

Year	Place	Enrollment
2012- Present	METU Sociology	Research Assistant
02/2016-09/2016	Leiden University, Turkish Studies	Visiting Fellow
2009-2012	Munzur University, Political Science	Research Assistant

Academic Interests

Modernization and Industrialization, Politics of Ethnic Identity in Turkey, The State and Violence Studies, Gender Studies, Memorial Issues, Gender and Ethnicity in Labor Politics, Work and Organization.

Awards

Article Award of Dicle Koğacıođlu in Sabancı University in 2013, “A Section from Social and Physical Invisibility of Labor: Informal Place of Woman Labor in Dersim”.

KOÇ-KAM (KOÇ University Gender Studies Center) Research Awards, 2015, “Security Secrets in Unsafe Shelters: Women and LGBTI Individuals Surrounded by Threat and Violence”.

Article Award of Dicle Koğacıođlu in Sabancı University in 2017, “Silence Beyond Distances: Security Narratives from Diyarbakır to Çanakkale”.

Publications

- Mehtap Tosun, “The Dominant Actors of Trade Unions’ Representativeness Gridlock: “Identity” Depression” in IJOPEC edited book, 2012.
- Mehtap Tosun and Özgür Bal, “Constructed Identity at the “Road”: Armenians in Dersim”, eds. Zeliha Hepkon, Songül Aydın and Şükrü Aslan, in *Dersim’i Parantezden Çıkarmak*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2013
- Mehtap Tosun, “A Section from Social and Physical Invisibility of Labor: Informal Place of Woman Labor in Dersim in *Emeğin Kitabı*, SAV: İstanbul 2014
- Mehtap Tosun, “Search of Verity and Identity Through Testimony of Memory: Armenians of Dersim”, *Praksis* /September 2015
- Mehtap Tosun, “Hay’s times in a country other than Dersim: Hozat Armenians”, in HOZAT, eds. Şükrü Aslan and Zeliha Hepkon, Ütopya Yayınevi: İstanbul, 2018

- Mehtap Tosun, “Reconstructing the Self and Reclaiming Identity via Collective Memory: Dersim Armenians”, Hrant Dink Foundation, in the printing phase.

- Mehtap Tosun, “History Affixed to End of Skirt: From the Women's Memory Dersim 1915 and 1938”, in the printing phase

Paper Presentations

	Title of Presentations	Name of Organization	Date
Tosun, M. and Ö. Bal	Historical Experience and Sense of Identity of Armenians in Dersim	1.International Tunceli(Dersim) Conference, Tunceli, Turkey	04-06 October 2010
Tosun, M.	The Dominant Actors of Trade Unions’ Representativeness Gridlock: “Identity” Depression	3.International Conference of Political Economy,Kocaeli University, Kocaeli,Turkey	15-17 September 2011
Tosun, M.	Flexible Labour Policy And The Crisis Of Trade Unionism: The Case Of Tekel Workers Resistance In Ankara	12.National Congress of Social Sciences, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey	14-16 December 2011
Tosun, M, E. Uyar and M. Akbaş	Ethnic Identity Patterns in Rural Turkey: Life Histories of Laz and Hemshin Women	Second ISA Forum of Sociology”Social Justice and Democratization”, Buenos Aires, Argentina	1-4 August 2012
Tosun, M.	A Consideration above Deskillling and Devalorization Process of Labor İn Turkey	Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy (ADA) PhD Colloquium, Baku, Azerbaijan	4-5 March 2013
Tosun, M.	Appearing Forms of Informal Positioning of Female Labor in Dersim	Workshop on Research Project in Social Science, Mardin Artuklu University, Mardin,	1-3 November 2013

Tosun, M.	Armenians in Dersim and Hemshins	13.National Congress of Social Sciences, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey	4-6 December 2013
Tosun, M.	A Section from Social and Physical Invisibility of Labor: Informal Place of Woman Labor in Dersim	Dicle Koğacioğlu Article Award Conference, Sabancı University, İstanbul, Turkey	28 December 2013
Tosun, M.	Ethnic Map And Memory of Violence: Dersim Armenians in Turkey	12th ESA (European Sociological Association), Prague, Czech Republic	25-28 August 2015
Tosun, M.	The Ravages of Craftsmanship in Turkey	12th ESA PhD Workshop, Prague, Czech Republic	23-24 August 2015
Tosun, M.	History Affixed to Hem : From the Women's Memory Dersim 1915 and 1938	14.National Congress of Social Sciences, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey	23-25 November 2015
Tosun, M.	Ravages and Dissolution of Craftsmanship in Ottoman and Turkish State	Phd Workshop in Turkish Studies / Leiden University, Netherland	5-6 May 2016
Tosun, M.	Reconstructing the Self and Reclaiming Identity via Collective Memory : Dersim Armenians	Critical Approaches to Armenian Identity in the 21st Century: Vulnerability, Resilience, and Transformation Conference, Hrant Dink Foundation, İstanbul	7-8 October 2016

Tosun, M. and Y. Mutlu	SilenceBeyond Distances: Security Narratives from Diyarbakır to Çanakkale	Dicle Koğacıoğlu Article Award Conference, Sabancı University, İstanbul, Turkey	23 December 2017
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E. TURKISH SUMMARY/ TÜRKÇE ÖZET

ZANAATIN ETNİSİTE, TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET VE SINIF BAĞLAMINDA ÇÖZÜLÜŞÜ: TÜRKİYE, MARDİN VE TRABZON'DA ALTIN GÜMÜŞ İŞLEMECİLİĞİ

Bu araştırma, Mardin ve Trabzon'daki altın ve gümüş işlemeciliği zanaatının etnisite, toplumsal cinsiyet ve sınıf açısından ne şekilde çözüldüğünü eleştirel olarak analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu analiz, zanaatın çözülme sürecinin tek bir açıklaması olmadığından hareketle, makro evrende Türkiye'deki devlet ve ekonomi politikalarını; mikro evrende belirli bir zanaat olarak altın ve gümüş işlemeciliğini öne çıkararak zanaatın çözülüş süreci ile ilgili önemli detayların izini sürmektedir. Dolayısıyla, çalışma ne tür devlet mekanizmalarının zanaatın çözülüşü etkilediğini, capitalist modernleşme, ulus devlet inşasının ve ileri endüstrileşmenin zanaatın çözülüşüne ne ölçüde zemin hazırladığına dönük sorulara cevap aramaya çalışır. Bütün bu süreçlerle beraber zanaatın ne şekilde varlığını sürdürdüğü yada sürdüremediği tartışılarak, etnisite, sınıf ve toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı dinamiklerle nasıl ilişkilendiği anlamlandırılmaktadır. Bu tartışmalar başlangıç noktası olarak belirlenerek, zanaat dayalı üretimin sosyolojik, tarihsel ve teorik olarak izi sürülmüş ve 2 temel argüman üzerinde yoğunlaşmıştır. Birinci olarak, devlet politikaları, kapitalist modernleşme, endüstriyel gelişmeler, hızlı makineleşme ve otomatizm zanaatta çözülmeye açmıştır. İkinci olarak ise, zanaattaki, etnisiteye, toplumsal cinsiyete ve sınıfa dayalı sınırların var olması, zanaatın bu dinamikler üzerinden farklı şekillerde çözüldüğünü ortaya koymaktadır.

Bu araştırmadaki her bir bölüm tarihsel analizleri kavramsal çerçeveye oturarak ve daha sonra oluşturulan bu çerçeveyi güncel tartışma zeminine uygulayarak zanaatın çözülüşündeki çeşitli nedenleri irdelemektedir. Bu bağlamda, Mardin ve Trabzon'da devam eden altın ve gümüş işlemeciliği üzerine gerçekleştirilen saha

çalışmasının bulguları bu tezin diğer bölümlerinin kurgusu için oldukça değerli veriler sunmaktadır. Bu araştırma, her biri kendi içerisinde birbirinden farklı argümanlarla zanaatın çözülüşünü tartışan 5 bölüm üzerinden şekillendirildi.

Birinci bölümde bu çalışmanın amacının ne olduğu, bu alana sunabileceği katkılar ve çalışmayı kendi içerisinde değerli kılan referans noktalarının nasıl belirlendiği ifade edilmiştir. Daha sonra araştırmada kullanılan karşılaştırmalı tarihsel analiz ve niteliksel analizden oluşan metodolojik araçlar üzerinde durulmuştur. Makro ve mikro düzeydeki tarihsel ve sosyolojik olaylar arasındaki geçişliliği sağlamak için karşılaştırmalı tarihsel analize başvurulmuştur. Makro evren zanaatın kendi içerisindeki çözülüş süreçlerini (Zanaatın kendi içerisindeki tarihinin anlamı ve sanat-zanaat ayrımı) ve Osmanlı ve Türkiye tarihi içerisinde zanaatın çözülüş uğraklarını içerirken, mikro evren ise altın-gümüş işleme zanaatından ve Osmanlı ve Türkiye tarihi içerisinde zanaatın çözülüşünün nedenlerinin tarihsel dönemlerinden oluşur. Araştırma da kullanılan diğer bir metodolojik yöntem olan niteliksel analiz, dünyayı, incelenen insanların bakış açısıyla belgelemeye çalışmakta ve insanların deneyimlediği nüfuz edici gizli mekanizmaların etkilerini yorumlamanın bir yolunu sağlamaktadır. Dolayısıyla, bu yöntem aynı zamanda, insanların atıfta bulduklarını deneyimlerinin yorumlarına da katkıda bulunarak araştırmacıların bu deneyimleri daha iyi temsil etmelerine yardımcı olur.

İkinci bölüm, zanaatın çözülüşünün nedenlerini büyük tarihsel ve toplumsal dönüşümler bağlamında tartışmaktadır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda bölüm, birbirini tamamlayıcı iki alt ana başlığa ayrılmıştır. İlk başlık, dönüşümün ve çözülüşün dinamiklerini zanaatın kendi dünyası içerisinde irdelerken, diğer başlık ise bu dinamikleri Türkiye'nin tarihsel dönüm noktalarında aramaya çalışır. Her iki alt başlık da, araştırmacının saha çalışması olan Mardin ve Trabzon'daki altın-gümüş işlemeciliğinin çözülüş süreçlerini anlamak ve aktarmak için önemli noktaları yakalamaya yardımcı olur. Bu ilk alt başlık, zanatın tarih öncesindeki ve

günümüzdeki anlamlarını ve zanaatın toplumla ilişkilerini tanımlamaya yardımcı olabilecek bir dizi soruyu, “zanaatkâr” kelimesi ile ne kastettiğimizi açık bir şekilde belirtmeyi amaçlamıştır. Bu bağlamda cevabı aranacak sorular : Zanaatın toplumdaki rolü nedir? Zanaatın işlevi nedir ? Zanaatın kendi içerisindeki kırılmalar ve süreklilikler nelerdir? Sanat ve El Sanatları arasındaki fark nedir? Sanat ve zanaat herhangi bir şekilde birbirleri ile bağlantılı mı, yoksa birbirinden bağımsız mı? Bu başlığın diğer bir amacı ise sanat ve zanaat ayrılırken neler yaşandığı, sanatçı ya da zanaatkarı neyin tanımladığı, hatta bir sanatçıyı bir zanaatkardan ayıran noktaların neler olduğu, ve aynı zamanda el ve kafa, teknik ve bilim ayrılırken nelerin açığa çıktığını tartışmaya açmıştır. Bu dönemin en temel özelliklerin biri olan sanayi sanatıyla zanaat arasındaki ilişkinin eleştirisi Türkiye üzerinden değerlendirilmiştir. Son amaç olarak, bu araştırmanın ana konusunu teşkil eden altın ve gümüş işlemecilerine odaklanılmış, bu sayede, bu zanaatın kendi içerisinde çözülmesine tanıklık eden Dünyadaki ve Osmanlı'daki gelişmelerin kısa bir tarihi sunulmuştur. Aktarılan bu üç amacın bir sonucu olarak, zanaatın kendi içerisinde kesikliklerin ve sürekliliklerin anlaşılması, günümüzdeki durumunu tartışmanın yolunu açmakta ve modernleşme ve sanayileşme sürecinin karşılaştırılmasına olanak sağlamaktadır. Dolayısıyla, kültürel ve tarihsel bir özne olan zanaat kendi içinde çözülme ve dağılma aşamaları üzerinden incelenmiş ve zanaatın hem sanat hem de endüstri ile olan ilişkisinden doğan kendi içerisinde de çözülme öyküsüne sahip olduğu öne sürülmüştür. Bütün bu süreçler, ontolojik bir kırılmanın veya evrimsel sürekliliği olup olmadığına dayanmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, bu bölümün ilk alt başlığı, altın ve gümüş işlemeciliğinin de dahil olduğu tüm zanaat hikayelerinin, hem sanatla olan ilişkileri yani zanaatın kendi içinde çözülmesi bağlamında, hem de endüstri ile olan gerilimleri üzerinden aynı hikayeye sahip olduğunu ortaya koyar. Bu nedenle, zanaatın bölgesel ve kültürel olarak değişen tarihsel ve ekonomik değişimin öznesi olduğu öne sürülmektedir.

İkinci bölümün diğer kısmında, zanaat tarihinin ötesine geçilmiş, zanaatı toplumsal tarihle birleştirilmesine çalışılmıştır. Diğer bir ifadeyle, bu ikinci ana alt başlık, kendi tarihi içerisinde hem üretim hem de mülkiyet ilişkileri bakımından özel beceri ve koşullara sahip olan zanaat üretiminin çözülüşünü Osmanlı ve Türkiye toplumsal tarihinin bilgisine ve bulgularına başvurarak tartışmaya açmıştır. Cumhuriyet'in kuruluş aşamasından bugüne, zanaat üretimindeki dini ve etnik çatışmanın ve ayrışmanın toplumsal, kültürel ve ekonomik sonuçları makro ölçekte Türkiye'deki geleneksel zanaat endüstrilerinin, mikro ölçekte ise altın-gümüş işleme zanaatının çözülme süreçlerinin nedenlerine dair sosyo-ekonomik tarih okuması yapılmıştır. Diğer bir ifadeyle, çalışma, kendi tarihi içerisinde hem üretim hem de mülkiyet ilişkileri bakımından özel beceri ve koşullara sahip olan zanaat üretiminin çözülüşünü Türkiye toplumsal tarihinin bilgisine ve bulgularına başvurarak tartışmaya açmıştır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, zanaata dayalı üretim ilişkilerinin içinde ve dışında meydana gelen yıkıcı nedenlerin anlaşılmasına yardımcı olmak için Osmanlı ve Türkiye'de el zanaatların çözülme süreçlerinin tarihini ve dinamikleri kronolojik bir sıralamaya tabi tutularak aktarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Mardin ve Trabzon'da altın kuyumcunun dağılma sürecini araştırmayı amaçlayan bu çalışma, iki tarihi aşamaya dayanmaktadır. İlk aşama, 19. yüzyıl ve 20. yüzyıl Osmanlı Dönemi'nin ilk çeyreğini ve ikinci aşama ise Türkiye Cumhuriyeti dönemini kapsamaktadır. Böyle büyük tarihsel makro analize, periyodizme ve yapıya yönelik bu eğilim, geniş zamanlı tarihsel değişimin büyük anlarını kaçırmaya riskine sahip olabilir. Dolayısıyla, bu aşamaların her ikisinde de temel olarak zanaat ve zanaatkarlığın çözülme sürecinin tarihsel sınırlarının, kırılma noktalarının izi sürülmüştür. Yapılan bu dönemselleştirme, zanaat temelli üretimin çözülmesi bağlamında önemli tarihsel olayları yorumlamayı ve yeniden yorumlamayı kolaylaştırmıştır. Bu sayede, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sindeki tarihsel aktörler / olaylar / dönüm noktaları arasında kendisine yer bulan zanaat ilişkilerinin ekonomik ve politik olarak oluşturulmuş boyutlarının önemi vurgulanmıştır. Dolayısıyla,

Türkiye'deki zanaatın ve zanaatkarlığın tarihi ve dinamikleri, çözülme süreçlerinin nedenlerini anlamlandırmak için bu araştırma bağlamıyla ilişkilendirilerek aktarılmıştır.

İlk olarak, Osmanlı devletindeki zanaatkârların özellikle loncalarda ve 19. yüzyılda oynadıkları sosyal ve ekonomik rolün ne olduğu açıklanmıştır. Ayrıca, zanaatı hem dışsal olarak değişime uğratan Avrupa merkezli bir sanayileşme süreci hem de iç pazarda etnik ve dini bir çatışma süreci boyunca nasıl değiştiğine de değinilmektedir. İkinci olarak, mevcut zanaat-temelli üretim ilişkilerinin ve zanaatkârlığın bugünkü konumunun daha iyi anlaşılması için, bu konuyu içerisine alan yakın tarihteki önemli dönemler tartışılmıştır. Bu dönemler Türk ulus-devletinin ortaya çıkışını içeren tarihsel süreçler ve zanaatın çözülüşündeki dönüm noktaları içeren toplumsal, politik ve ekonomik olaylar sonucundaki deneyimler üzerine inşa edilmiştir. Bu bölüm, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sine dair kapsamlı bir zanaat tarihi sunma iddiasında olmamıştır; Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türkiye'nin toplumsal tarihlerinin zanaat tarihi içinde kesişmesinin toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı ve etno-dini özelliklerini dikkate alarak analiz etmiştir. Bu bağlamda, çok kültürlü ve çok etnili-dini toplumsal kompozisyona sahip olan Osmanlı'nın yerel ve bölgesel ekonomik tarihindeki ve Cumhuriyet tarihindeki önemli sosyo-politik dönüşümlerin ve dinamiklerin izi sürülmüştür. Bu dinamiklere ek olarak, zanaatın çözülmesiyle ilgili dönüşüm ve değişimleri anlamak için modernleşme ve sanayileşme süreçleri, incelenmiştir. Bu çözülmenin Tanzimat dönemi ile başladığı ve bu dönemde modernleşme ve sanayileşme çabalarının devam ettiği savunulmuştur. Çözülmenin nedenleri arasında sayılan bu çabaların yanısıra, lonca zamanlarındaki zanaatkarların sahip olduğu etno-dini kimliklerin de bu çözülmeye neden olabilecek etmenler arasında olduğu belirtilmiştir. Dahası, Osmanlı lonca tarihi içerisinde aynı zamanda cinsiyete dayalı işbölümünün olduğu ve bu tarihin hem kadınların loncalardan dışlanma trendini gösterdiği hem de toplumdaki katı cinsiyete dayalı işbölümünün dinamiklerini ortaya

çıkardığı görülmüştür. Buna ek olarak, 19. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun kapitalist dünya ekonomisine entegre edilmesi ve gayrimüslimler bu süreçte daha fazla güç kazanmış olması nedeniyle müslümanlar ve gayrimüslimler arasında etnik çatışmalar başlamıştır. Bu çatışmalar Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinin kuruluş sürecine kadar artan bir şekilde devam etmiş ve sonuçları oldukça ağır bir şekilde yaşanmıştır. Osmanlı Hıristiyanları, sınıfsal olarak kentli burjuvazi, zanaatkâr pozisyonlarına sahip olmuş ve Müslüman tüccarlar onları rakip olarak görmüş, toprak sahipleri ise onları alacaklı olarak görmüştür, dolayısıyla her iki grup da Osmanlı ve Türk devletine onları ihraç etmeleri için baskı yapmıştır.

Modern Türkiye devletinin oluşumu sırasında zanaatlar farklı dinamiklerden ve belirli tarihsel dönemlerden geçerek çözülmüştür. Türkiye'de zanaatların çözülme süreçlerinin tarihsel dönüm noktaları ve dönüşüm aşamaları loncalar ile başlamış ve İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti (İTC) veya Jön Türkler'in ideolojileri ve ekonomik politikaları ile ve gayrimüslim zanaatkârların kitlesel olarak sürgün edilmesini kolaylaştıran uygulamalarla devam etmiştir. Bu dönemde, Genç Türkler ve İTC türk, Ermeni, Süryani ve Rum gibi çeşitli grupların arasındaki etnik sınırları belirlemiştir. Diğer bir ifadeyle, İTC ile beraber, Türklüğe dayalı toplum, ekonomi ve kültür inşaaı için etno milliyetçi politikalar uygulanmış ve yürürlüğe konmuştur. Bu doğrultuda, etnik milliyetçiliğe dayalı yeni kurumsal yapılar ve sınıflar yaratılmıştır. İTC'nin izlemiş olduğu bütün bu türçülüğe dayalı politikalar, devletin Hrsitiyan vatandaşlarını sistematik olarak ortadan kaldırmaya dönük planlar (tehcir, zorunlu göç, sürgün, katliam) birlikte uygulanmıştır. Bu şiddetli politikalar aynı zamanda gayri müslimleri mülksüzleştirme, mülklerine el koyma sürecini de beraberinde getirmiştir. Bu süreç, dönemin zanaatkar nüfusunun çoğunluğunun gayrimüslimlerden oluşmasından dolayı, zanaatkarları ve zanaata dayalı üretimi de önemli ölçüde etkilemiştir. Bu nedenle, Genç Türkler hayal ettikleri modern ve merkezileşmiş türk anavatanı için toplumu ve devleti temel olarak yeniden şekillendirmişlerdir.

Kemalist rejim, Jön Türkler'in uyguladığı politikaları sürdürmüş ve hatta bir öne taşımıştır. Bu politikalar, gayrimüslimlerin ekonomideki rolünü azaltmayı ve devlet kontrolündeki Müslüman burjuvaziyi ve zanaatkârları yaratmayı amaçlamıştır. Dolayısıyla, zulüm ve yıkımı birbirine bağlayan her adım, Müslüman olmayan zanaatkârların kaçma, sığınma ya da direnme olasılıklarını düşünmelerine neden olmuştur. Bu süreçlerin sonunda, çoğu göç etmiş, geri kalanı ise asimile olmuş ya da görünmez hale gelmiştir. Bu yıkıcı koşullar altında, Türkiye'nin sosyal ve ekonomik yapısı içerisinde, zanaatkârların etnik, din ve politik konumlanışlar açısından giderek değişime uğramıştır.

Kemalist Rejim, 1923-1950 yılları arasında ulusal ve homojenleştirilmiş bir ekonomi inşa etmek için çeşitli yasaları geçirmiş ve uygulamıştır. Bu yasaların en önemlisi, gayrimüslimlerin ekonomik varlıklarının tahrip edilmesiyle sonuçlanan Varlık Vergisidir. Sonuç olarak, 1895-1955 dönemi, Osmanlı azınlıklarının ekonomik yaşantısına tam bir tahribat getirmiştir, bu süreç 1895 Abdülhamid katliamından 1915 soykırımına geçmiş, 1942 Varlık Vergisi sırasında hızlandırılmış, 6-7 Eylül 1955 ve 20 Temmuz 1974 Kıbrıs Barış Harekatı ile son bulmuştur. 1950'lerden sonra zanaatkarlar siyasi sahneye farklı bir konumda girmişlerdir. İslamcı hareketler ve dini kardeşliklerin zanaatkarların politik ve ekonomik tercihleri üzerinde güçlü bir etkisi olmuştur. Bu andan itibaren, genellikle Anadolu'da zanaatkarlar en muhafazakâr kanatları, İslami siyasi partileri ve bazen de sağ kanadı desteklemiştir. Bu nedenle zanaatkarlar, bu partilerin siyasetini şekillendirmede rol oynayan bazı önemli çıkar grupları arasında yer almıştır. Başka bir deyişle, geleneksel orta sınıf mülk sahibi insanlar, zanaatkârlar ve esnaf, bu muhafazakâr siyasi partilerin Müslüman çevresi oldular. Sonuç olarak, zanaatkârların, siyasi partilerin muhafazakar-İslam geleneği altında örgütlendiği görülebilir. Bu noktada, etnik-dini homojenizasyon yaratmayı amaçlayan İTC, Kemalist Rejim ve siyasallaştırılmış İslamcı hareket politikalarının zanata dayalı üretim üzerinde başarılı olduğu söylenebilir. Zanaatkarın zaman ve mekânın değişen

bağlamlarını çevreleyen önemli tarihsel olayların miraslarıyla karşılaştıkları açıkça görülmektedir. Kısaca özetlemek gerekirse, bu bölüm, zanaatkârların varlığının, hem zanaatın kendisinde hem de Türkiye’de, hatta Cumhuriyet’in öncesinde uzun bir dağılma tarihine sahip olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

Buraya kadar aktarılan, Osmanlı’daki ve Cumhuriyet Türkiye’sindeki tarihsel süreç ve olayların tümü ve altın-gümüş işlemeciliği ile uğraşan zanaatkârlara etkileri, bu tezin saha çalışmasında ele alınmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, bu araştırmanın, yalnızca kapitalist sanayileşmenin etkileriyle zanaatın yıkıma uğradığını aktaran sıradan bir zanaat hikayesini içermediğine dikkat edilmelidir. Başka bir ifadeyle, Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Türkiye’sinde zanaatın tarihsel ve toplumsal dinamikler içinde çözülmesi, hem devlet gücünün mekanizmaları ve aygıtları aracılığıyla, hem de kapitalist modernleşme ve sanayileşme süreçleriyle birlikte gerçekleşmiştir. Mardin ve Trabzon’daki saha çalışmaları sırasında her iki dinamiğin de zanaatın çözülüşü üzerindeki etkileri gözlenmiştir.

3. Bölüm, araştırmanın teorik tartışmaları üzerinde yoğunlaşmakta ve kavramsal araçlar kullanılarak zanaatın çözülüşünün nedenlerine ve sonuçlarına odaklanmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, devlet gücü, aracı azınlık (middleman minority), topluluklar arasındaki etnik sınırlar, yabancı (stranger) konum ve son olarak ekonominin etnikleşmesi gibi çeşitli kavramsal araçlar kullanılmıştır. Bu kavramsal araçlar, saha çalışmalarında (Mardin ve Trabzon) mevcut olan zanaat temelli üretimdeki devlet gücü, etnik köken, sınıf ve cinsiyet dinamikleri arasındaki ilişkinin anlaşılmasında çok yararlı olduğu kanıtlanmıştır. Bu bağlamda, devlet gücünün Mardin ve Trabzon’daki zanaatın dağılması üzerinde önemli bir etkisi olduğu görülmüş ve iki kentteki zanaatkârların etnik ve sınıfsal konumların harekete geçirilmesi açısından “aracı azınlık” statüsüne ve “yabancı” pozisyonlara sahip olmuştur. Bunların dışında kadın zanaatkarlar, zanaat üretiminin toplumsal cinsiyet körü yapısından dolayı bu şehirlerde iki kat daha fazla yabancı/stranger pozisyonda kalmışlardır.

Bu bölümün kuramsal anlayışının genel çerçevesi, dönüşüm ve değişimin sosyal ve tarihsel süreçlerini kavramak için biraz daha farklılaştırılmış bir dizi kavramsal araç geliştirmemiz gerektiğini içerir. Bu süreçler, yalnızca toplumsal ilişkilerin ekonomik dinamiklerini açıklamaz, aynı zamanda etnisite, sınıf ve cinsiyet kimlikleri arasındaki tarihsel kesiklikleri ve süreklilikleri vurgular. Araştırmanın kuramsal mantığına ışık tutan bu bölüm Türkiye'deki zanaat ve zanaatkarlığın çözülme süreci ile ilgili önemli sosyoekonomik dönüşümlerin (modernleşme, sanayileşme, devrim) ya da siyasi kopuşların (ulus-devlet inşası, çatışma, milliyetçilik) olası açıklamalarını ortaya koymakta ve tartışmaktadır. Başka bir deyişle, önemli kopuşlar göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, bu bölüm devlet iktidarının, ulus oluşturma stratejilerinin ve sanayileşmenin rolünün, çözülme nedenleri üzerine ne şekilde etkili olduğunu araştırmaktadır.

Bu tez boyunca vurgulanan argüman, zanaatın çözülmesinin ekonomik olarak belirleyici bir kavrama dayandırılmasının yetersiz olmasıdır. Yani, tarihsel ve politik süreçlerin bu zanaatın çözülmesinin bir parçası olduğu göz önünde bulundurulmalı ya da akılda tutulmalıdır. Bu iddia Bölüm 3'te ayrıntılı olarak tartışılmıştır. Karşılaştırmalı tarihsel analiz, bu tezde sunulan kavramsallaştırmanın ve argümanların önemli bir bölümünü oluşturmaktadır. Bu analiz, bu tezdeki ana argümanları oluşturan; dönüşüm, yeniden üretim ve çözülme süreçlerini içermektedir. Dönüşüm kavramıyla kapitalizmin ve modernizmin etkilerinin dönüştürücü niteliği hakkında bir tartışma sunulmuştur. Bu süreçler zanaatkarların sınıf pozisyonunun dönüşümüne zemin hazırlamıştır. Zanaat temelli üretim henüz tamamen sona ermediğinden dolayı, bu dönüşüm kavramı zanaatın dönüşümüne atıfta bulunmamaktadır. Bu durum bu tezin saha çalışmalarında da gözlenmiş olup, Trabzon ve Mardin'de altın-gümüş işlemeciliği azalan oranda da olsa hala devam etmektedir. Buna ek olarak, altın-gümüş ustalarının sınıfsal konumlarında göçlerin ve endüstriyel ilerlemelerin sonucunda bir dönüşümün ve değişimin olduğu söylenebilir. Bunun sonucunda,

zanaatkarlar ya endüstride yada başka bir sektörde işçi haline geliyorlar, yada atölyedelerde çeşitli işleri yapan bireysel işçilere dönüşüyorlar. Diğer bir ifadeyle zanaatlar da proleterleşme süreçlerinin bir parçası haline geliyorlar. Dönüşüm dışındaki diğer kavramsal analiz yeniden üretimdir, bu kavram araştırma içerisinde zanaattaki katı cinsiyet ilişkilerinin ve kadınların görünmeyen rollerinin kültürel ve ekonomik olarak yeniden üretilmesine dayandırılmıştır. Yani, yeniden üretim, kadın emeğinin geleneksel cinsiyet normlarının ve cinsiyete dayalı işbölümünün zanaatta yeniden üretilmesi olarak okunabilir. Son ve en önemli kavramsal araç ise zanaata dayalı üretimin azalışının nedeni ve sonucu olan çözülmedir. Çözülme, Mardin ve Trabzon'daki altın-gümüş işlemeciliği zanaatının devlet gücü, etnisite, sınıf ve toplumsal cinsiyet sınırları dolayısıyla meydana gelmiştir. Diğer bir ifadeyle, diğer iki karşılaştırmalı kavramsal araçların (dönüşüm ve yeniden üretim) aksine, çözülme bu zanaatın tahribatına yol açan yerel, ulusal, kültürel ve yapısal bütün dinamikleri içermektedir. Sonuç olarak, karşılaştırmalı perspektife dayanan bu analiz, bu saha çalışmasının temel argümanını olan zanaatın çözülüşüne neden olan dinamikleri anlamak için kapı açmıştır.

3. bölüm, sosyolojik ve tarihsel teoride devlet iktidarı, etnik köken, azınlık hakları, sınıf, cinsiyet ve bu dinamiklerin birbirleriyle ilişkileri ve kesişmelerine dair perspektif ve tartışmaları bir araya getirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu bağlamda, kullanılan sınır metaforu, zanaat ve zanaatkarlığın çözülme süreçlerini anlamaya yardımcı olabilecek birbiriyle ilişkili bir dizi kuramsal önermeleri formüle edilmesine ve tartışılmasına yardımcı olmuştur. Bu sınırlar, sınıflandırmayı kimin yaptığı veya kimin sınır içinde, kimin dışında kaldığı ve sınırların nedenleri ve sonuçları hakkında soruları beraberinde getirir. Bu yüzden, bu kategorilerin (etnisite, toplumsal cinsiyet, sınıf) sınırları, zanaat üretiminin çözülmesinin dönüm noktalarını ve dönüşüm evrelerini tanımlamaya da yardımcı olur. Bu nedenle, bu bölüm, sırasıyla, çözülmenin sebebi olan devlet gücü, etnik köken, sınıf ve cinsiyet sınırları üzerinde yoğunlaşmaktadır.

Piyasa toplumunun inşa sürecini içeren ve kapitalist üretim ilişkileriyle sarmalanan kapitalist endüstrileşme ve modernleşme, bireylerin ve toplumların özgürleşebilmeleri ve genişleyen piyasa ilişkileri içerisine girebilmeleri için kimi geleneksel çalışma /üretim/ bölüşüm ilişkilerinden kurtulabilmelerini gerektirmiştir. Bu kurtuluş, aynı zamanda belirli tarihsel çalışma biçimleri ve sosyal ilişkiler bağlamında bir evrime tekabül etmektedir. Ancak Türkiye kapitalist modernleşme koşulları içerisinde, zanaatın ve zanaatkârlığın çözülüş ve dönüşüm sürecinin özgür bireyler ve toplumlar tahayyülüne denk düşmediğini gözlemlemek mümkündür. Türkiye’de kapitalist endüstrileşmenin getirdiği ileri teknoloji trendleri ve kapitalist üretim ilişkilerinin kalıtsal karakteri olan otomatizmin bütün zanaatlarda olduğu gibi altın-gümüş işleme zanaatında da yarattığı tahribat çok büyük ölçektedir. Zanaatkârlığın çözülüş süreci ve durumu gözden geçirildiğinde, şu söylenebilir ki endüstriyel kapitalizmin ileri boyutlarının sürdürüldüğü koşullarda zanaat artık zanaatkârlığı koruyamamaktadır. Bunun yanısıra, günümüzün küresel piyasasında, aynı becerilere sahip olan ancak daha düşük ücretlerle çalışan Hintli yada Çinli benzerleri karşısında işlerini kaybetme riski altındalar.

Endüstrinin adını verdiğimiz daha güçlü ve etkili üretim biçimleri karşısında zanaatın sürekli güç kaybetmesi aynı zamanda proleterleşme sürecine de işaret ediyor. Bu nedenle, bu süreç, kapitalist sanayileşmenin öngörülemeyen ilerlemesiyle atölye zanaatkârlarına atıfta bulunmaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle, niteliksizleştirme, yabancılaşma, proleterleşme ve makineleşme süreci, hem zanaat karşısında hem de sanayi kapitalizmi karşısında zanaatın çözülmesinin nedenlerinden biri olan endüstriyel kapitalizmin zaferi olmuştur.

Bu bölümde teorik ve kavramsal araçlar oluşturmak için kullanılan son sınır toplumsal cinsiyet üzerinedir. Toplumsal cinsiyetin sınır noktaları, zanaat ekonomisinde kadın rolünü ve hane halkı ile zanaat ekonomisi arasındaki

bulanık ayrımı görmemize yardımcı olmaktadır. Zanaat dünyasında toplumsal cinsiyet sınırlarının varlığı, hem toplumsal cinsiyet özelliklerinin hem de onun içerisinde yer alan cinsiyete dayalı işbölümünü keşfetmeye yardımcı olur. Bu nedenle, “cinsiyetlendirilmiş” zanaat kavramı, cinsiyete dayalı olmayan zanaat üretimi hakkında bir düşünce biçimi olarak önerilmiştir. Çünkü zanaatların mekânı ya “erkek egemen” ya da “erkeksi” meslek alanı olarak tanımlanmaktadır.

Sınırlar ve sınırlar oluşturmak, ait olanlar ile olmayanları birbirinden ayırmak anlamına gelir. Dolayısıyla 3.bölümdeki sınırlar sadece her biri arasındaki sınır farkına değil, aynı zamanda bir ile bir diğeri arasındaki sınırlara da ilişkindir. Başka bir deyişle, bir etnik köken ile diğeri ya da bir sınıf diğeri arasındaki sınırlar, buna ek olarak, toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı sınırlar örneklerle açıklanmıştır. Bu teorik gözlemler, Türkiye'deki toplumsal ve tarihsel dönüm noktalarında ve gelişmelerde destek bulmaktadır. Bu gelişmelere günümüzün bakış açısından baktığımızda, Mardin ve Trabzon'un altın ve gümüş işlemeciliği zanaatları, çözülmenin nedenlerini anlamaya ve yorumlamaya yardımcı olmuştur.

Türkiye'nin iki kentinde altın ve gümüş işleme zanaatının çözülmesini inceleyen bu araştırmanın tezlerini sınamaya ve bulgularını analiz etmeye çalışırken, Mardin'deki telkari zanaatına ve Trabzon'daki hasır örgü, telkari ve kazaziye zanaatlarına ilişkin hem yazılı ve görsel arşivlerden hem de kentte bu zanaatı sürdüren, zanaatkârlarla yapılacak derinlemesine görüşmelerden faydalanılmıştır. Yapılan görüşmeler, ustaların hayat hikayelerinin ve yok olma tehdidi karşısında geliştirdikleri direnme stratejilerinin ortaya konulması ve analiz edilmesine de ön ayak olmuştur. Araştırmayı görsel olarak desteklenmesi açısından, telkari atölyeleri ve eski zamanlardan bugüne kadar üretilen telkari ürünleri fotoğraflanmış ve video ile kayıt altına alınmıştır. Bu araştırma için her iki kentte de, gözlem, etnografik araştırma, derinlemesine görüşmeler ve yaşam

öyküsü analizleri yapılmış ve bu görüşmelerden elde edilen veriler tezin birincil kaynağını oluşturmuştur. Bu araştırma çerçevesindeki gözlem ve mülakatlarda yanıtlanması gereken sorular; Mardin ve Trabzon'da altın-gümüş işleme zanaatının çözülüp çözülmediği, hangi dinamikler nedeniyle nasıl çözüldüğü ve zanaat ve zanaatkarların mevcut durumunun nasıl olduğu üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır. Bu doğrultuda saha çalışması sırasında görüşmecilere sorular sorulmuş ve daha sonra yukarıdaki soruların cevapları için veriler hazırlanmıştır. 2015 (Mayıs, Eylül, Ekim) ve 2016 (Mayıs, Ekim) arasında Mardin, Trabzon ve İstanbul'da saha ziyaretleri gerçekleştirilmiştir. Toplam 80 altın-gümüş işlemeciliği yapan zanaatkarla görüşmeler yaptım: Mardin'de 28, Trabzon'da 50, İstanbul'da 1, Ankara'da 1. Mardin'de görüşülen bütün görüşmeciler erkek, Trabzon'da ise 24'ü kadın, 26'sı erkektir. Bu çalışmada, görüşmelerle birlikte kişisel deneyimlerim ve gözlemlerim analiz için çok önemli olmuştur. En önemlisi de, altın ve gümüş zanaatkârların günlük yaşamlarını ve üretim kalıplarını ve bu zanaatların tarihsel bağları ile olan ilişkilerini anlamama yardımcı olmuşlardır.

Araştırmanın 4. Bölümü, bu araştırmanın argümanlarını sahada gözlemlenmesi ve bu argümanlar çerçevesinde toplanan verilerin analiz edilmesini içermektedir. Bu çalışmada incelenen altın-gümüş işleme zanaatları, ulus devlet inşası, kapitalist modernleşme ve endüstrileşme süresince geçirdiği çözülmenin nedenlerinin anlaşılmasına kaynaklık etmektedir. Mardin'de Telkari, Trabzon'da Hasır Örgü, Kazaziye ve Telkari, bu süreçleri içerisindeki deneyimleri göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinin ulus-devlet inşa sürecinde gayrimüslimlere yönelik politikalarının ve bu bağlamda ekonominin ve toplumun Türkleştirilmesi ve homojenleştirilmesinin gerçekleşmesi için araçsallaştırdığı ideolojik ve politik uygulamalarının bir sonucu olarak kendini gösterdiğini söylemek mümkündür. Öte taraftan bu zanaatın/ zanaatkârlığının çözülüşü aynı zamanda küresel ve endüstriyel kapitalizmin beraberinde getirdiği esnek üretim, vasıfsızlaşmış emek, güvencesizlik, ucuz işgücü var olan üretim

biçiminin, kültürün ve kurumların aşındırılması gibi tahribatları daha görünür kılmaktadır.

Bu bölümde, devlet politikalarının, çözülme süreçlerinin ve ayakta kalma stratejilerinin Mardin ve Trabzon kentlerindeki altın-gümüş işlemeciğinin üretim süreci üzerine etkileri analiz edilmeye çalışıldı. Diğer bir ifadeyle, bu zanaatın her iki şehirde de nasıl ayakta kalabildiği ve varlığını sürdürebildiği keşfedilmeye çalışıldı. Bu hususta Mardin ve Trabzon arasında altın ve gümüş zanaatlarının ayakta kalma stratejileri ve çözülme süreçleri arasında benzerliklerin ve farklılıkların olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Bu benzer ve farklı durumlar kentlerin etnik ve dini kompozisyonuna, tarihsel geçmişlerine, altın-gümüş işlemeciğinin ait olduğu toplumsal gruplara ve etnik sınırlara, sınıfa dayalı mobilitelere ve zanaattaki toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkilerine göre şekillenmiştir.

Zanaatın tarihsel ve toplumsal dinamikler içinde çözülmesi, hem devlet gücü ve mekanizmaları, hem de kapitalist modernleşme ve sanayileşme süreçleri aracılığıyla Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinde meydana gelmiştir. Mardin ve Trabzon'daki saha çalışmalarında, her iki dinamiğin de zanatın çözülmesine olan etkisi açıkça görülmektedir. Bunun dışında, araştırma, zanaatın kendi içinde ve tarihsel ve toplumsal dinamikler içinde çözülme sürecine sahip olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Kendi içinde çözülme, zanaatın sanat ve zanaatın ayrılmasına neden olan modernleşme ve sanayileşmeyle ilişkisini oluşturmuştur. Sonuç olarak, bu süreçler sırasında zanaat direnme ile tanımlanabilecek stratejiler geliştirmiştir.

Bu araştırmanın kavramsal araçlarının, yukarıda bahsedilen dinamikler arasındaki ilişkiyi anlamak için çok yararlı ve etkili olduğu kanıtlanmıştır. Bu bağlamda, devlet gücünün Mardin ve Trabzon'daki el sanatlarının erimesi üzerinde önemli bir etkisi olduğu görülmektedir. Mardin ve Trabzon'da altın ve gümüş demir ustası

zanaatinin etnik sınırlarının olduğu açıktır. Ancak, bugün bu sınırlardan bahsetmek mümkün değildir. Bu sınırların genellikle Müslümanlara karşı çizildiği görülmektedir. Gayrimüslimler arasında böyle bir sınırın varlığı oldukça önemsiz kalmıştır. Buna ek olarak, iki şehirdeki zanaatkârların “aracı azınlık”(middleman minority) statüsü ve “yabancı” (stranger) pozisyonlarına sahip oldukları görülmüştür. Ancak, kadın zanaatkârlar, bu şehirlerde, zanaat üretiminin toplumsal cinsiyeti dışlayan yapısından dolayı iki kat daha fazla yabancı (stranger) rollerine sahip olmuşlardır. Zanaat üretiminin örgütlenmesi ezici derecede maskülen yapıda olduğu için, durum kadınlar için oldukça eşitsiz bir düzeyde kalmıştır.

Günümüze gelindiğinde, özellikle 1980'lerden sonra, tüm bu altın-gümüş işleme zanaatları digger zanaatlarda olduğu gibi sanayi kapitalizminin etkisi ile dağılmaya başlamıştır.. Diğer bir ifadeyle Trabzon'da hasır örgü, kazaziye ve telkari ile Mardin'deki telkari, seri üretim, mekanizasyon, otomatizm ve yeni teknolojilerin gelişiminden etkilemiştir. Bu noktada kayda değer bir diğer saptama da, bu emek/zanaatın tahribat sürecinin Mardin ve Trabzon'da benzer şekillerde tecrübe edilmiş olduğudur. Ancak Trabzon'da endüstrileşme sürecine daha erken girildiği için, bu kentteki gelişme Mardin'e göre daha hat safhada gerçekleşmiştir. Bu araştırmada ele alındığı gibi, her iki alanda da, zanaatçıların proleterleşmesi ve onların kitlesel göçünün bir sonucu olarak sınıfsal çözülmenin ortaya çıktığını belirlemek mümkündür. Ancak tüm bu gelişmelere ek olarak, Süryanilere karşı politik baskılardan kaynaklanan kitlesel göçten dolayı Mardin, Trabzon'dan farklı olarak sınıf temelli çözülme sürecine tanıklık etmiştir. Bu endüstriyel süreçlerin sonucunda, her iki kentte de zanaatkarlar proleterleşmiş ve niteliksizleştirilmiştir. Mardin'den farklı olarak Trabzon, proleterleşme ve zanaattaki kadın emeğinin “yedek ordu” olma süreciyle ilgili daha fazla deneyime sahiptir. Dolayısıyla, bir proleterleşme süreci olduğu ancak bu durumun özellikle kadınlarda görüldüğü sonucuna varılabilir. Bu durumun bir sonucu olarak, kadınlar Trabzon'da altın ve gümüşün zanaat üretimine katılım

sürecinden tamamen dışlanmıştı. Bu duruma paralel olarak, Mardin'de de zanaat alanı tamamen “erkek” olarak tanımlanmış, ancak Trabzonun aksine kadınlar zanaatın bütün alanlarında görünmez kılınmış ve dışlanmışlardır.

Genel olarak, Türkiye'de zanaatların etnik aidiyeti hakkında bir görüş ya da anlayış vardır. Bu görüşe göre, “zanaatın çoğunluğu bu ülkede gayrimüslimlere aittir ve gayrimüslimlerin ülkeden gitmesinden sonra zanaatlar yok olma noktasına gelmiştir.” Ancak bu tez, altın-gümüş zanaatında etnik aidiyetin ön plana çıkmasının nedeninin, zanaattaki belirli bir etnik kökene atfedilen değer ve bilgi olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Başka bir deyişle, zanaatın bilgisi ve değeri etrafında etnik bir sınırın var olduğu söylenebilir. Yani, bilgi, etnisitenin sırrıdır. Zanaat, tek başına ekonomik bir neden olarak ele alındığında zaten erimesi gereken bir meseledir, ancak etnik değer, bilgi ve zanaatın etnik sınırı, bir etnik aidiyet olarak sürekliliğine izin verir. Bu durum özellikle Mardin'de görülmektedir çünkü zanaat hala Süryanilerle ilişkili bir etnik değere sahiptir ve kentteki zanaatkârlar, kendi zanaatlarıyla kendi etnik kimliklerini inşa etmektedirler. Dolayısıyla bu zanaat bittiğinde etnikliğin ortadan kalkacağı duygusu hakimdir.

Bu araştırma, zanaatın kendi içinde ve tarihsel ve toplumsal dinamikler içinde çözülme sürecine sahip olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Yukarıda aktarılan tüm bu argümanlar ile bu tez, toplumsal tarih bilgisine ve kendi alanında özgün bir araştırma olmaya katkı sunmayı amaçlamamıştır. Bu nedenle, bu tez hem zanaat tarihinin ufkunu genişletmekte hem de “kaybolan zanaatlar” olarak bilinen geleneksel zanaat öyküsünden keskin bir kopuş yaratmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, bu tezde, zanaatın hem geçmişe demirlemiş bir çapa olduğu hem de günümüz gelişmelerini düşünmek için bir çaba olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır.

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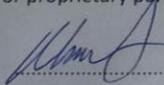
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Adı / Name : MEHTAP
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