

**SPATIAL ORGANIZATION AT BOSPORUS:
THE PIERS AND GRANARIES (1750-1815)**

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Spatial Organization at Bosphorus: The Piers and Granaries (1750-1815)

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- 4) Odessa
- 5) Liman Kentleri

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- 1) Piers
- 2) Granaries
- 3) İstanbul
- 4) Odessa
- 5) Port Towns

Spatial Organization at Bosphorus: The Piers and Granaries (1750-1815)

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Abbreviations

Lunar Months

- M. Muharrem
S. Safer
Ra. Rebiulevvel
R. Rebiulâhir
Ca. Cemâziyelevvel
C. Cemâziyelâhir
B. Receb
Ş. Şaban
N. Ramazan
L. Şevval
Za. Zilkâ'de
Z. Zilhicce

Archival sources

- A.DVN Divân-1 Hümâyun Beylikçi Kalemi
A.DVN.d Divân-1 Hümâyun Beylikçi Kalemi Defterleri
A.DVN.MHM.d Divân-1 Hümâyun Mühimme Defterleri
A.DVNSTZEId Divân-1 Hümâyun Beylikçi Kalemi Tevziât Defterleri
A.DVNSAHK.OZSI.d Divan-1 Hümayun Beylikçi Kalemi Özi ve Silistre Ahkam Def.
AE.SMHD I Ali Emiri Sultan Mahmud I
AE.SMST.III Ali Emiri Sultan Mustafa III
A.AMD. Divan-1 Hümayun Amedi Kalemi
C.AS Cevdet Askeriye
C.BH. Cevdet Bahriye
C.BLD. Cevdet Belediye
C.DH Cevdet Dahiliye
C.HR Cevdet Hariciye
C.İKTS. Cevdet İktisat
C.ML. Cevdet Maliye
C.NF Cevdet Nâfia'
C.SM Cevdet Saray
D.BŞM. Başmuhasebe Kalemi

D.BŖM.BNE	BaŖmuhasebe Kalemî Bina Eminliđi
D.BŖM.MHF	BaŖmuhasebe Kalemî Muhallefat Halifelîđi
D.EV	BaŖmuhasebe Kalemî Kùçùk Evkaf Muhasebesi
D.MKF	Bâb-I Defteri Mevkufat Kalemî
HAT	Hatt-1 Hümâyun
HRT	Haritalar
MAD	Maliyeden Müdevver Defteri
TS.MA	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi ArŖivi

Summary

Ottoman Empire experienced a structural transformation in the period between 1750-1815. One of the most important aspects of the period is that the empire lost its political and economic monopoly over the Black Sea. The thesis in the hand argues that fiscal and political transformation correlated with a high level of urbanization both in the imperial capital and in its supply regions of west and north-western coastlines of Black Sea. It tests the rhythm of rise and stagnation of port towns depending on the economic stability. Moreover, it enables to look deeper into the actors of interregional grain trade who participated into the town building processes. As long as it becomes possible, the thesis attempts to figure out the relationship between the local and central bureaucracy.

The piers and granaries on the coastline of Blacks Sea were the architectural means of subordinating the region for the requirements of imperial capital. Therefore it is necessitated to look deeper into the rise of exemplary port towns on the coasts of Black Sea to figure out the social and spatial organization at the local level. The cases of rise of Karaharman, Acıdere and Odessa ports represent the regional adjustment of supply regions on western coastlines of Black Sea. The chapters on the state granaries in Imperial Dockyard and Üsküdar Öküz Limanı enables to see the problems of storing grain and the processes of constructing such life-sustaining buildings for the sake of inhabitants of Istanbul. In our case, it refers to how the space of imperial capital was organized for an effective provisioning.

Keywords: piers, granaries, Istanbul, Odessa, port towns

Özet

1750-1815 arası dönemde, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu yapısal bir dönüşüm tecrübe etmiştir. İmparatorluğun, Karadeniz'deki siyasal ve ekonomik tekeli kaybetmesi bu dönemin en önemli özelliğidir. Elinizde olan bu tez, , mali ve siyasal dönüşümün hem imparatorluk başkentinde hem de batı ve kuzey batı Karadeniz'de kentleşmeye olan etkisini tartışır. Bu, ekonomik istikrara bağlı olarak liman kentlerinin büyüyen ve durağanlaşan ritmini test eder. Ayrıca, kasaba inşa etme sürecinde bölgeler arası hububat ticareti aktörlerine daha ayrıntılı bakmamıza olanak sağlar. Bu tez, söz sırası geldikçe mahalli ve merkezi bürokrasinin arasındaki ilişkiyi anlamaya çalışır.

Karadeniz sahil şeridindeki iskele ve zahire anbarları, imparatorluk başkentinin bu bölgeyi hakimiyeti altına almak için kullandığı mimari araçlardandı. Bu nedenle, mahalli düzeydeki toplumsal ve mekansal örgütlenmeyi anlama adına Karadeniz sahil şeridindeki örnek

niteliğinde olan sahil kasabalarının ortaya çıkış süreçlerine daha yakından bakmak gerekli oldu. Karaharman, Acidere ve Odessa limanlarının ortaya çıkış örnekleri batı Karadeniz sahil şeridinde olan tedarik merkezlerinin bölgesel olarak örgütlenmesini temsil eder. Tersâne-i Âmire ve Üsküdar Öküz Limanı'nda olan zâhire anbarları ile ilgili olan bölümler ise bir taraftan hububatın depolanması sorunlarını derc ederken bir taraftanda İstanbul ahâlisinin refahı uğruna inşa edilen binaların inşa edilmiş süreçlerini görmemize olanak sağlar. Örneklerimizde bu daha çok başkent mekanının etkili bir tedarik sistemi için nasıl örgütlendiği ile ilgilidir.

Anahtar kelimeler: iskeleler, zahire anbarları, İstanbul, Odessa, liman kentleri

Introduction

Students of the urban history of Istanbul have long been aware that available secondary documentation on the interregional grain trade and spatial organization of the capital city has little to say about landing places and state granaries constructed in both Istanbul harbor and service ports of Black Sea basin. Such a comprehensive study, it is hoped, would redefine the characteristic of spatial organization on Bosphorus, the mechanism of an agrarian economy and the limitations of central state to nourish a huge city like Istanbul.

The period in case covers second half of the eighteenth century - a period before the introduction of steam power, railway network and grain elevators or in other words a period dominated by muscle power and winds for both agricultural production and transportation on sea. It refers to the concept of Cronon – first and second nature. Although he wrote his book on Chicago, it provides conceptual instruments to investigate such an agrarian empire and emergence of towns. Cronon uses the conception of first and second nature in the sense that while first nature connotes to the non-human world or maybe wilderness, the second nature refers to the artificial one produced by human like cities. It shares some similarities with Henri Lefevbre's the conception of production of space. He delineates firstly the act 'to create' from 'to produce'. He then conceptualize how for example a spider create a web without knowing it is creating a web, and how human beings produces for example a space, be it a network of cities. Including these literature, David Harvey shows how social organizations be it economic behaviours were reflected into the space. The inquiry in point required an undertaking to the question of how to set a conceptual framework to understand the distribution of state granaries both within the city and around producing landscape surrounding the imperial capital, and to the question of what to be understood with the terms city and country, and with the mental maps which differentiate the borders between centre and periphery.

The period in case coincides with the economic stability, expansion and later devastation of economic structure. Virginia Aksan states that the period between 1740-1768 is longest peacetime in the history of Ottoman Empire on the western front. Because of the politics of some decent high bureaucrats like Koca Ragıp Paşa, Ottoman Empire could able to stabilize and recover the economy. To avoid from a big war on the continent made it possible to transform the organization of both society and bureaucracy. According to Virginia Aksan it had been achieved through decentralization of levying agrarian taxes. One of the first steps for it was the granting of tax farms. Local gentries who managed to possess the profitable tax

farms economically and politically prospered more under this structure.¹ In this sense, I propose that this period experienced also high level of urbanization and urban expansion both in imperial capital and locality on the western shores of Black Sea. The topics such as İncir Köyü, Acidere Landing and Odesa enable to test the mechanism of economic factors and the patterns to inhabit a neighbourhood or a vacant wilderness. Especially the case of Odesa has a potential to figure out the emerging and devastation of the economy depending on the rhythm of the wars. The case of Genç Ali, I hope, will provide an insight into both symbiotic relationships of bureaucracy and local notables around this stabile peacetime. It also enables to figure out interregional grain trade and its actors. The file of Genç Ali is the embodiment of rising merchant classes or local gentries mentioned by Aksan.

The spaces in case are the western shores of the Black Sea and Istanbul itself. One of the best and easier ways to describe western shores of Black Sea littoral is to focus on both piers and granaries. The usage of the word *iskele* in Ottoman Turkish is inexcusable. It comes from the equivalent European word for port (*escala* in Spanish, *echelle* in French, etc.). Port seems to be the most appropriate way to translate the word.² In the Ottoman archival sources it is used always in reference to a landing place or a port if it is not the case of repairing or building a pier.

The principle of their functions are basic actually. The taxes in kind and trade goods collected from the producers were stored in granaries if the winds were not appropriate for sailing and if there were no sufficient ships to carry the loads to the urban centres. Both piers and granaries served as the sites of market relations where the traders exchanged the surplus. As it will be indicated below in the Ottoman context, the piers were the administrative units where the local prices of merchandise produces were determined by the actors of production, transportation and consumers. As administrative units, these determined the direction of flow of goods. Therefore these reflected a regional adjustment around it. Furthermore, these functioned as the nodal points where the inland regions were connected to the urban. So the piers and granaries were the architectural means of urban centres to subordinate the regions to the requirements of it.

In many cases, the piers and granaries constitute an integral entity. One does not function properly without other. Therefore it is necessitated to inquire both of them in the same context. The piers and granaries in many cases were nucleus of town centres. The

¹ Aksan, Virginia. *Kuşatılmış Bir İmparatorluk: Osmanlı Harpleri 1700-1870*, trans. by Gül Çağası Güven. İş Bankası Yay.2011. pp.133-134.

² I appreciate Abraham Marcus for illuminating this point.

network of piers and granaries are also a simulation of network of towns. This point is verifiable for the towns of western Black Sea at the second half of the eighteenth century.

The period in case experienced traumatized wars that caused Ottomans to lose its centuries-old undisrupted sovereign status over Black Sea. No any European nation had a right of passing the gates of Black Sea until Russians obtained a right of free navigation of Black Sea in 1774. For the Black Sea of that period there are few published books. However, early ones had been motivated by commercial interests of westerners. Written in 1819, Henry Dearborn's *A Memoir on the Commerce and Navigation of the Black Sea and the Trade and Maritime Geography* is one of the first and comprehensive book on the shores of Black Sea. At the very beginning of his book, he describes Ottomans as a commercial nation and his insight focus on the trade of Black Sea. The book is a compilation of what was known at the beginning of nineteenth century about Levant and Black Sea, and motivated by the interest in search of commercial relations with Ottoman Empire. What makes this book worth of mention it has a character of a guide book for both merchants and captains. Therefore he tries to give every possible detail for the traders and captains. In his II volumes book, he tries to narrate the historical, geographical, topological and commercial attributes of all the prominent port towns and cities of Ottoman Empire. The first volume is more about the commerce of Black Sea and history of Ottomans and Russians, while the second volume deals mainly with the issues of *coastal* navigation in Black Sea. Moreover, the book is valuable for the study of metrology in the Ottoman cities to measure weight and length. In many instance, he inserts technical datas about the wideness and deepness of the ports for the interests of captains who desires to navigate without big hardships. Moreover, he gives the maritime distance between several ports, and favourite winds and weather for vessels. The book has plenty of instructions for the captains, for example, on the fish types on the coasts or on how they should manage and anchor their vessels to the ports of Rumelia when the wind is strong from the north east and east.³ Such instructions were vital for sailing along coastlines. And it is not coincidence that he is talking about the navigation alongside the coasts.

Istanbul had an indisputable sovereignty over the Black Sea. The need to supply its populous city motivated Ottomans to control the passing of both warships and trade vessels. Fertile lands alongside of Black Sea and the nearby provinces of Danube functioned as a granary for the imperial capital. Ottoman control over the domestic trade brought about an organization of trade and market networks. However, these depended on the efficiency of

³ Dearborn, Henry A.S., *A Memoir of Commerce and Navigation of Black Sea, and the Trade and Maritime Geography of Turkey and Egypt*, Boston, Vol II. Wells & Lilly, 1819, pp.20.

marine transportation. Merchant ships of that period were not sufficiently resistant to strong winds and waves of Black Sea. Moreover it was highly probable that they disappear in the fog. In the hands of an inexperienced captain unfamiliar to the coast, a vessel could easily lose its route. Therefore, navigation occurred only along coastlines. The ships incapable to sail on open sea had to move from one station to another, from one bay region to another, from one port to another until it found a safe shelter for overnight or for waiting a fair wind.⁴ The lighthouses and ports towns alongside the coastlines of Black Sea promised safe coastline navigation. On the part of the state, in order to bring out functioning domestic trade it had to compose *an* integrity of coastlines and inner regions.

By doing so, a city manages the traffic of merchandise goods and provisions itself. The cities like Istanbul are dependent upon the surplus of countryside, and therefore dependent on the sea. It's the basic fact that transportation on the sea is cheap, and promises a wide range of production. As for eighteenth century Istanbul, its successes lay in its monitoring over fertile coastlines of Black Sea and its organization of marine transportation. İlhan Tekeli states that a kind of spatial organization which depends on transportation technology and institutional structure comes to being from the integrity of coastlines and productions zones.⁵ The change in transportation technology brings about a change in both political and social organization. For example, he states that after the introduction of galleys to carry the merchandise loads, a social change followed that itinerant dealers were replaced by settled dealers.⁶ The existence of itinerant dealers was due to the non-existence of a specialized category of transportation service. They moved with their loads on small vessels, stayed overnight at the ports, exchanged and able to determine the destination of the ship. After the introduction of galleys, scheduled services and expansive circulation of the money, the dealers were settled down at the cities.⁷ Ultimately he clearly indicates that such changes in technology require a new organization on the coastal arrangements and social stratification.

Although an expansionist and arrogant language is embarked on his discourse, Jepson Oddy's *European Commerce; Shewing New and Secure Channels of Trade with the Continent of Europe* had been motivated by the mercantile and colonial interests of British Empire in the continental Europe, and the possibility of channels of commerce to supply continental Europe

⁴ Braudel, Fernand, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Ages of Philip II*, tran. by Siân Reynolds, vol.I, Harper and Row Publishers, New York, 1972, pp.103-115.

⁵ Tekeli, İlhan, *Anadolu'da Yerleşme Sistemleri ve Yerleşme Tarihleri*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010, pp.32-33.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.108-109.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.29.

with British manufactures and colonial produces.⁸ What is common with Dearborn's study is that they represent their nation's policy to reach the markets on the coast of Black Sea. What's unique in this study is that an outline of commercial capitalism and mercantile interests on the advantage of maritime western states are revealed in the historical context of 1807s. Some interesting details are given on Ottoman-Russian conflicts, historical geography and prosperous port towns in Black Sea basin. Like Dearborn's book, it has a special interest on the newly conquered Russian footholds at the coasts of Black Sea and shipbuilding in the Russians ports. In contrast to Dearborn, who depicts the coastal areas of both Mediterranean and Black Sea, Oddy focus on both inland and port cities. He inserted many tables figuring out article of manufactures continental cities traded, which enables to compare the volumes of trade in the Black Sea.

The topography and historical geography of Black Sea costlines were specified also in İnciciyan's *Osmanlı Rumelisi Tarih ve Coğrafyası*. Born in the empire and educated in Venice, he was motivated by scholarly interests unlike his western contemporaries. For example, at the very beginning he inserts bureaucratic organization of European lands of the empire. Then he needs to update centuries-old knowledge on partitioning of geography of Rumeli.⁹ Most valuable aspect of his book, he specifies the geographic positioning of districts and ports. Unlike his contemporaries he is aware of Ottoman literature, for example *Cihannümâ*. What is unique in his book is that not only ports and coastlines of Black Sea but also whole inland towns and cities of Rumeli were depicted in detail.

Minas Bijişkyan's *Karadeniz Kıyıları Tarih ve Coğrafyası* has a significant part in the topography and historical geography of Black Sea basin. He was educated in Venice as a clergy. Unlike Dearborn and Oddy, he born within empire and had a chance to scroll around coasts of it. The voyage took two years (1817-1819). At the very beginning, he inserts the topography including currents, rivers, gulfs, ports, winds etc with their historical evolution. In many aspects, it is more specified than contemporaries. For example, he mentions often religious institutions and populations of the stations he arrives on his way. Unlike his contemporaries like Dearborn and Oddy, he was not motivated by the business or other interests rather his scholarly interests which motivated him.

⁸ Oddy, Joshua Jepson, *European Commerce, Shewing New and Secure Channels of Trade with the Continent of Europe: Detailing the Produce, Manufacturers, and Commerce, of Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark and Germany*, Vol.I, Philadelphia, 1807, pp. 18

⁹ İnciciyan, P.L., H.D. Andreasyan, 'Osmanlı Rumelisi'nin Tarih ve Coğrafyası', *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2-3 (1973-74), pp.15.

The inquiry in point necessitated an overview of some selected travel books and archival sources to the extent that the characteristic of the granaries in Istanbul would be grasped. As for the primary sources, second half of the eighteenth century provides a wide range of both documents and registers on Rumelia and Istanbul. As for series of documents, *Cevdet* and *Hâtt-ı Hümayun* classification supplement the registers on finance e.i. *Maliyeden Müdevver*, *Mevkufat* and *Başmuhasebe Kalemi*. Although it is very difficult to acquire file-type classification of Prime Minister Archive of Istanbul, files of *Başmuhasebe* and *Beylikçi Kalemi* provides a treasure for both urban and economic historians.

As for the published literature on the organization of grain trade in the second half of the eighteenth century, *Istanbul Değirmenleri ve Fırınları* is outstanding. There Salih Aynural studies the principles of domestic grain trade, relating craftsmen and their workspaces. He formulates the main procedures dealing with the functioning of the bureaucracy. Although it ignored both the historical and spatial processes, the book enables someone to talk ultimately. He divides the book into four part which deals with the procurement, merchants and the state, bakeries and flour mills, and lastly the prices and wages. He documents the nature of settled grain merchants- namely *unkapanı tüccarı* who were the one of the most important actor in grain trade. Aynural observes that grain merchants had the monopoly over the grain trade of Black Sea coasts¹⁰, and were the representatives of private sector. The state wanted to monitor them and the trade itself by prescribing a certificate to trade on Black Sea. The name of merchant, the kind and amount of produces he desired were recorded on those certificates. Then the representatives of merchants had to submit the paper of permission to the officer in charge of grain deliveries in the ports.¹¹ As being capital owners, they settled in Istanbul, and were represented by *yazıcıs* and sometimes captains in the production zones. On this point, both Aynural and Tekeli have a common ground that capital owners of this period were the settled merchants and managed the trade on their behalf in their cities. For the role of the state Aynural states that it functions as supplementary to the private sector, which provided 91.4 percent of grain provisioning of imperial capital.¹² At this point Aynural refers to Güçer, who states explicitly that the stated amount of grain inserted in the table does not embrace the exact numbers.¹³

¹⁰ Aynural, Salih, *Istanbul Değirmenleri ve Fırınları: Zahire Ticareti (1740-1840)*, İstanbul,2001,pp.57.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp.53-54.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp.58-59.

¹³ Güçer, Lütfi., “XVIII. Yüzyıl Ortalarında İstanbul’un İlaşesi için Lüzumlu Hububatın Temini Meselesi”, *İFM*, vol.XI, op.,cilt 1-4.pp.410.

In his article on the provisioning of eighteenth century Istanbul, Lütfi Güçer observes two kinds of capital invested in grain trade; the state and the private sector. The importance of the article is that it studies an agreement between 56 grain merchants and the state. It holds that grain merchants contracted that they was to procure grain on the ports stretching alongside the coasts of Black Sea- namely the ports between Bergos and Ochakov. They guaranteed to provide 120 vessels having the capacity of 7 000 *kile* grain. Beyond these 56 grain traders, if any other capital owners desired to trade, it would be permitted after an investigation. This point had been interpreted by Güçer as the “open gate principle”.¹⁴ So he rejects any kind of monopoly by grain merchants. Without any kind of example, he states that the Ottoman Empire organized a bureaucratic mechanism over the production zones. Lastly, in time of requirements, the state presented a flexible open gate policy towards the private sector.¹⁵ The article presents a misinterpretation of documents because the state did not grant such permission to non-muslims, which will be mentioned below.

For the period before eighteenth century, Lütfi Güçer formulates how an agrarian empire at all organized financially and socially to supply the cities and armies. While reading the book of him, someone is suddenly struck with the taste and smell of dust, mud and sweat coming from muscle power of both human and animals. He formulates very complicated agrarian tax structures from which military campaigns and cities were supplied. The question of to what extend the climate, topography and soil quality affected the production of grain in the sixteenth and seventeenth century Anatolia are well documented in his book. The responsibilities of villagers such as constructing granary in the farm and transporting the taxes levied in kind to the nearby market, and the daily rules of transportation on land and sea are the concerns of the book. As for the transportation on the sea, he authenticate that it is cheaper than the transportation the land. For example, he clearly indicates that 3 *akçe* was paid for the grain vessels navigated 13-day-destination- from Alexandria to Istanbul. However, 3 *akça* were paid by the state for the load animals which carried loads on the 15-day-destination- from Diyarbakır to Van.¹⁶ Here appears a category which specialized in maritime transportation already indicated by Tekeli. Güçer and Tekeli have a common ground that mostly galleons (sailing and rowing ships) were in usage for the maritime transportation.¹⁷

¹⁴ Ibid., pp.399-400.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp.411.

¹⁶ Güçer, Lütfi, XVI-XVII. *Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hububat Meselesi ve Hububattan*. Alınan *Vergiler*, İstanbul, 1964, pp. 33.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp.35

For the economic bases of the second half of the eighteenth century, Yavuz Cezar gives a sequence of political and economic transformation of the empire. Being as a main reference book, he instructs how economic structure and how the rhythm of wars described by Aksan transformed military, fiscal and political structure of the empire.

I tried to firstly to educate myself with conceptions of urban history. Secondly my contention was that from the beginning the buildings like piers and granaries were an important factor for a town to emerge and expand. Piers and granaries on Black Sea region functioned to subordinate the productive zones to the requirements of Istanbul and served as a part of the market space for both retail and wholesale trade. Social organization went hand-in-hand with that of spatial organization both in urban and rural adjustments. And the first was reflected and embodied in space.

Although what its subtitle might seem to suggest, the thesis in your hand is not a comprehensive history of granaries and piers in Istanbul. It is rather an attempt to investigate the patterns that as a centre of the empire Istanbul set up an interrelationship with its immediate surrounding areas and in turn shaped the landscape. As case studies I attempted to present on the one hand the rise of three port towns- namely Karaharman, Acıdere and Odesa; and on the other the construction and repairing processes of granaries of Imperial Dockyard and Öküzlimanı. With the first three cases, I am hoping to educate myself on some problems of investigating the center-periphery controversies and provisioning of Istanbul. It will provide me an access to the actors and character of grain trade. Therefore the case of Genç Ali is extremely important to figure out the local actors of agricultural production and nature of relationship they set up with urban oligarchies in Istanbul. Furthermore the case provides to test the secondary literature on internal grain trade and the question of local power hood. The case also enables the question of buildings of service ports on the shore of Black Sea. Moreover, since social organization has been projected in spatial organization in Lefebvrian understanding, the case of Genç Ali provides also to investigate social organization of grain trade and economic structure behind it.

The case of Acıdere Landing interestingly enables to look deeper into the various dimensions of both town buildings and the actors of grain trade on western Black Sea. The investigation of the spatial process in Acıdere ultimately gives an opportunity to concentrate on the models of approaches on centre and periphery dilemma. Moreover it provides an access into some basic concepts of geography ‘as a science of space’.

The case of Odesa provides an insight on the most fertile region of empire and the problem of inhabitation. Although it could not succeed to survive under Ottoman rule, it

presents a laboratory where all the actors of interregional grain trade, grain policy of the empire and contemporary conflicts remarked a trace on space. The fate of Odesa proves the discourse on the stability, expansion and devastation of the both rural and urban economy of Ottoman Empire between 1740-1792 narrated by both Aksan and Cezar. Because its rise and fall correlate with the economic progress of the period.

The chapters dealing with the granaries in Imperial Dockyard and Üsküdar attempt to bring out an outline to locate the granaries in Istanbul setting. With this framework, I am hoping to present sites of logistics within the city. I tried to understand how the state planned the city and what patterns they instituted for supplying the city.

Chapter I

Inter-regional Grain Trade and Social Organization in Western Landscape of Black Sea

This chapter will show how an uninhabited land on the western coasts of the Black Sea became the object of both urban and rural authorities around 1760s. The document that I will use to discuss these events will be used in order to understand both the political actors and economic factors that shaped the geographical landscape of the port town of Karaharman. It will enable us to see the general characteristics of both the spatial and the social organization in this town. The text makes it possible to consider the actors of internal grain trade, the limits of the ability of imperial capital to intervene into the production areas, and the nature of dialectical relationship established by both rural and urban authorities and in turn projected its existence in both rural and urban space. The last point is the ultimate object of this chapter.

The events I will discuss coincide with the economic recovery and expansion of the empire after 1740s. It also correlates to the framework of bureaucratic and fiscal transformations which favored local notables. Located on the most fertile lands of the empire, Genç Ali of Mangalia exemplifies how the changes in economic and bureaucratic structure contributed for a local notable to prosper and function in town building projects and become an entrepreneur. Since the construction project of Karaharman pier was also a policy of subordination and adjustment of this fertile region, it will enable us to look into one of the actors in grain trade- *zâhire mübâşiri*. In this part of the thesis, I propose that local notables of 1760s in Ottoman Empire were in symbiotic relationships with Ottoman bureaucracy and profited from being involved with the bureaucracy and merchants.

The text¹⁸ is a report of *kadı* of Babadağı. It deals with the permission to construct several buildings in the port of Karaharman - a port town on the northwestern shore of the Black Sea. The content of the text may be divided in three parts- dealing with namely topography, production of space and lastly projection of social organization in the space. The importance of the text stems from its description of topographic aspects of the area as well as from the detailed plans on buildings that should be constructed in order to subordinate the region of Karaharman and manage the commercial traffic between this region and Istanbul.

The first part of the document relates to the physical attributes of the shore, on which a sequence of buildings was assumed to construct. From the beginning it has been stated that

¹⁸ C.BH 819, Hicri 25.B.1173 / 13 March 1760.

the scribes (*yazıcı*) of grain ships, who collect and transport the grain to Istanbul, previously informed the imperial council that the location of the construction area is one hour distance from the town-center of Karaharman. There was no trace of buildings on this 50-*dönüm* plot of land stretching alongside the shore and it was an uninhabited territory. The document details that the grain produced and purchased within the immediate regional landscape, and transported on wagons had been put on open surface alongside the pier. It points to the advantage of physical texture of that territory in the sense that the construction zone had a special position as the wind was blowing from high above, and in turn providing a natural shelter for the grain ships to avoid any damage caused by snow, rain and cirrus clouds (*neşâme*).

a. *Yazıcı*s

In this first part of the text, to understand an important actor in grain trade the role of scribes of grain ships must be illuminated. The text attributes explicitly their position as the officials who engaged to collect and transport the grain to Istanbul. In his illuminating book, Salih Aynural states that the grain merchants rarely executed the whole process of provisioning. The entire organization on the part of the private sector in the producing areas had been executed through scribes, and in the absence of them it was the captain of the ships who engaged in transaction. It means that they acted as the representatives of ‘private’ sector in the rural areas. The purchase of grain, loading the commodities on the ships and transporting the shipload to Istanbul were among some of their duties.¹⁹ In a document from a later period, it has been stated that Receb Haseki as *mübâşir* had been requested to visit town of Balçık. He was ordered to convene governors, officers, those who involved in grain trade, rural notables and lastly scribes (*yazıcı*s) in the piers for price regulation of new year’s crop.²⁰ In this case, the *yazıcı*s served as one of the bargaining party to set up prices. Aynural adds that they acted under the control of *mübâşirs*-another actor that I will scrutinize later. When their money was not sufficient to purchase grain, they were reported to Istanbul by *mübâşirs*.²¹ At the first sight a balance of power within such commissions draws our attention. However, we are away from understanding the circumstances for suppliers and customers to reach a compromise.

On the other hand, it is implicitly understood from the first part of the text that scribes were one of the transmitters of knowledge of rural areas to urban authorities in Istanbul-

¹⁹ Aynural, Salih, *İstanbul Değirmenleri ve Fırınları: Zahire Ticareti (1740-1840)*, İstanbul,2001. p.60.

²⁰ “... bilcümle hükkâm ve zâbitân ve eshâb-ı zehâir ve a’yânı ve iskelelerde olan yazıcıları celb ve cem’ birle...” C.İKTS 237, 18.M.1215 / 11 June 1800

²¹ Aynural, Salih, *İstanbul Değirmenleri...* p.32

another situation that makes this text a subject of the study. Assuredly, the detailed report of the physical texture of the pier and its locality gives some clues about the degree of professionalization within the grain trade and their limitation to intervene into the rural formation of the land.

The second part of the text is concerned with the production of the space or of a nodal point within the whole network of internal-grain trade. Beyond the physical landscape, we learn in the second part of the report of *kadı* that the *yazıcıs* demanded a licensee to build on the extension of the pier *only* twenty grain cellar, a segment *han* with fifteen-room for the residence of the *yazıcıs*, a custom office, a barber's shop, and a bakery. It is strictly pointed out that no other buildings had been allowed. In turn, the state responded that the official in charge of grain deliveries (*zâhire mübâşiri*), Genç Ali, was permitted to construct the port at his own expense.

The license had been granted in order to supply the dwellers in Istanbul. At the first sight the central state needed effectively to utilize the production from the region which supplied the market with primary products such as cereals, wool, leather, etc. Therefore they decided to transform the field into a service port for interconnecting the regional landscape to urban market. Building a custom house, a *han* and cellars is the signs which shows the intent of not state rather private sector or localities themselves to transform the field into a trade center for wholesaling. It is not the state because here it has a role of regulating the agenda, not a direct actor and investor of the building project. The entire mission had been done through transferring the responsibility to the official in charge of grain deliveries (*zâhire mübâşiri*).

b. Mübâşirs

It is important to undertone again that the state did not accept any direct fiscal liabilities for this construction project. Therefore, to figure out how whole process was performed, the roles and activities of *mübaşirs* should be investigated with scrutiny. In a report dated from 1794, Ebubekir Ratıb Efendi discusses the responsibilities and status of the official in charge of grain deliveries (*zâhire mübâşiri*). He states that a *mübaşir* had been appointed each year to organize the transportation of new crop from the *kazas* of region named marine ports of Alçaklar. Continuously, it has been stated that after the success of Koca Ragıp Paşa, Mirahor Mustafa Paşa, Arapgiri İbrahim Paşa, Mustafa Paşa and Dağıstâni Ali Paşa as *mübaşir*, the office had been held by *kapıcıbaşıs* beginning with the reign of Mustafa III (1757-1774). Ratıb Efendi portrays continuously the profile of assumed officer as loyal, influential, reputable, able and interestingly profit-seeking or hardworking (*kargüzâr*).

However, he indicates that high-ranking bureaucrats despised the post because they did not find any grace and exultation in this service anymore. Therefore there appeared a situation that in case the high-ranking bureaucrats were appointed to the office, they tended to despise and rarify the task.²² With regard to this report, there are too many unknown details about the activities of *mübaşirs* in local areas. As mentioned above, *mübaşirs* were one of the bargaining parties in the commission to set up new prices.²³ Regarding the report of Ratıb Efendi, at the first sight it may seem that *mübaşirs* represented directly the interests of urban oligarchy in Istanbul as being sent directly from the center. However, the career of some *mübaşirs* in the lands along lower-Danube seems multidimensional and needs to be investigated more deeply to figure out an important aspect of internal-grain trade.

Another report issued in 1794 from an unknown official indicates that there are 36 kazas around port-towns of Alçaklar and being the *mübâşir* of regions stretching along the coasts of Black Sea, Mehmet Tahir Ağa had some difficulties to stroll around (*geşt ü güzâr*) these kazas. Moreover these kazas had been scatted around a vast area- a situation that located Tahir Ağa between the hammer and the anvil. Therefore Sırıklızâde Seyyid Mehmed Ağa -the local notable (*ayan*) of Hacıoğlu Pazarı (today's Dobrich, northeastern Bulgaria) and Hacıoğlu Ömer Ağa –the *ayan* of Hazergrad- had been appointed under the service of Mehmet Tahir Ağa as *mübâşirs*. In the report it had been highlighted that while Sırıklızâde had been controlling Hacıoğlu Pazarı Balçık, Kavarna, Mangalya, Kuzluca, Dobruca and Topçular, kazas of Hazergrad, Osman Pazarı, Cumâ'-ı 'Atik, Çardak, Şumnu and not only *vakf* villages of Piri Paşa and Şaro but also the villages in Deli Orman were under the control of Hacıoğlu Ömer Ağa. As having an unpredictable power in this vast territory, these '*mübaşirs*' were charged basically with hunting out and inquiring the grain of producers.* From the report, we learn that Istanbul had been informed previously that not only peasants but also *voyvodas* and *mültezims* still held even the former year's crop in secret buildings and distant areas. After the late Autumn, for the purpose of profiteering they were selling the grains to hoarders (*muhtekir*) coming from the inner areas of Rumeli with the carts, camels, packhorses etc. In accordance with the social background of hoarders, there is an interesting detail in the report that they were only coming from the peasant and merchants but also state

²² HAT 227/12654-B, Z.29.1208 / 28 July 1794.

²³ Aynural, Salih. "18. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul Kapan Tüccarları", *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Dergisi* no. 80 (1992): 209.

* See the maps of west of Black Sea in HRT.h.40 on page 20.

officials. With regard to this situation, different type of punishments had been arranged and these *mübâşirs* had been held responsible to inform the Sultan's Council about engrosses.²⁴

A year later Hacı Ömer Ağa appears again as *mübâşir* in the port towns of Alçaklar and this time he is referred as *kapıcıbaşı*. He was obliged to appoint his servants to the kazas and held responsible to invite laborers (*rençberân*) and those who involved in every process of farming (*eshâb-ı zehâir*) for fixing the price of new year's crop. As in such documents, *mübâşir* had been advised to observe negotiation (*müzâkere*) and balance (*bi't-terâzi*) between the producers and customers. These commissions are important in the sense that all of the actors who involved in production, transportation and consuming came together to decide for a price. At the end, the commission executed a series of arrangements, and the price of wheat was decided as having the value of 80 *para* for a *kile* of Bergos and 160 *para* for a *kile* of Varna. It is possible also to see tariffs on different types of wheat. For example, an Ibrail *kile* of wheat named as *Tuna Arnabudu* and *Tuna Kızılcası* had been decided to sell for 480 and 320 *para*. Moreover, the wheat named *Alçaklar Kızılcası* was 110 *para* for a *kile* of Varna.²⁵ The point is that *kile of Bergos* was constant value and the prices of other types of products had been determined in accordance with this value. As for the capacity of *kiles*, *kile of Bergos* is bigger than *İstanbuli* and smaller than *Tekirdağ*. However in many cases the price of wheat in *Tekfurdağı* had been equated to the price in *Bergos*. Because the wheat produced around marine port of *Bergos* was more qualified and durable than the wheat produced around 26 kazas in *Tekirdağ*. However a year before to protect the producers from the famine the fixed price was decided to be the value of 90 *para* in *Tekirdağ*.²⁶

A summary of report (*kâime*) sent by Genç Ali in 1759 is instructive in the sense that there is mention of neither *Bergos* nor *Varna* but *kile of Köstence* around this period. Continually we learn from the report that such commissions were set up in the court buildings. The document details that commanders, *ayans*, *kadis* of *Mangalya*, *Köstence*, *Babadağı*, former *naib* in *Balçık* and some captain of grain ships were among the bargaining parties including Genç Ali as *mübâşir*. However, it says nothing about laborers (*rençberan* or *iş erleri*).²⁷ The document and some other archival sources are indicative that both the *mübâşirs* and *kadis* had been expected to represent the interests of *Istanbul* in these

²⁴ C.BLD 753 23.S.1209 / 19 September 1794.

²⁵ A.DVN 2235/33, 25.M.1210 / 11 August 1795.

²⁶ C.BLD 189, 04.S.1209 / 31 August 1794.

²⁷ C.BLD. 289, 23.M.1173 / 16 September 1759.



The map depicting the north-west and western coast of Black Sea.
HRT.h.40

committees. In sixteenth and seventeenth century, it was the *kadı* of the districts and palace's sergeants (*saray çavuşları*) in charge of grain deliveries.²⁸

The position of *mübâşirs* as appointed to represent the interest of urbanites is being complicated in the case of Hacı Ömer Ağa. Because the nature of relationship he set up between production areas and consuming city seems to be an outcome of city's dependence on the persons who had a vested interest in production. Hacı Ömer had been reprehended few times. Because of his illness, he could not stroll around *kazas* and in turn failed to send the grain to Istanbul regularly and prevent smuggling. It had been reported by anonymous people (probably by *yazıcıs*) that in Begos and Varna there were 70-80 grain ships waiting to be loaded. With regard to this situation, Istanbul felt to intervene before the winds were strong from the south (*lodoslama*). Ultimately Hacı Ömer Ağa was replaced by Mehmed Emin Ağa- former *bostancıbaşı* of Edirne.²⁹ Emin Ağa was residing in Misivri- a town on the north of Edirne- at the time of his appointment to the service. The fact behind his appointment is that Istanbul had no time to find any other appropriate person residing around Bergos.³⁰ In the documents, there is no any mention of people under the service of Emin Ağa. This point is important because strolling around the *kazas* and preventing smuggling in a few months are beyond the scope of single man. Therefore the state needed to call on an *ayan* to watch over the whole organization- Sırıklıoğlu Seyyid Mehmed/ *ayan* of Hacıoğlu Pazarı and *mübaşir* from the previous year.

At the time of his recalling to the service under a *mübâşir* in September 1795, Ottoman armies were at war against Osman Pazvantoğlu- *ayan* of Vidin. Around 1794, Pazvantoğlu was able to incorporate *dağlı eşkiyas* into his army and begin to raid into the lands of Şehirköy, Belgrade and Plevne. As a response to this invitation, Ottoman armies besieged for the first time Vidin under the control of Pazvantoğlu in 1795 and withdrew its troops in 1796.³¹ Fikret Adanır states that during wartimes or internal crisis to protect life stock against the raids of bandits, country men participated in police missions as henchmen of *ayans* and in return *ayans* obtained a legitimate ground both officially and socially.³²

²⁸ Faroqhi, Suraiya. "İstanbul'un İlaşesi ve Tekirdağ- Rodosçuk Limanı (16.-17. yüzyıllar)" *ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi*, 1979-80 Özel Sayısı., pp.145.

²⁹ A.DVN. 2236/71, 28.S.1210 / 13 September 1795.

³⁰ A.DVNSTZEId. 19 p.135/1, Fî evâil Ra sene 1210 / 15? September 1795.

³¹ Gradeva, Rossitsa, *War and Peace in Rumeli: 15th to Beginning of 19th century*, 1st ed. Istanbul: Isis Pres, 2008, p.18-19.

³² Adanır, Fikret, 'Semi-autonomous Provincial Forces in the Balkans and Anatolia' in *The Cambridge history of Turkey. Vol. 3 : the later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839* / edited by Suraiya N. Faroqhi: Cambridge University Press, 2006.pp.173.

Sırıklioğlu Seyyid Mehmed and his henchmen involved in this siege under the service of Osman Paşa. During the siege, Kiraslızâde Mir Yahya- a *mübâşir* in the marine ports of Alçaklar- demanded Sırıklioğlu under his service in order to protect the grain from the bandits coming from Deli Orman region. Ultimately, Sultan’s Council ordered Sırıklioğlu that in cooperation with both Mir Yahya and recently appointed Mehmed Emin, he was obliged to watch over the transportation of grain from the kazas to the marine ports. His mission was also to get a batch of money from the *mübâşir*-Mir Yahya. This point has been understood in the way that he also was expected to purchase grain from producers. There is a confusing detail that he was also ordered to find a counterpart commander to send his henchmen to Osman Paşa. It is confusing because it is not clear how many of them needed to be spared for the siege of Vidin. However, there is another detail that Istanbul clearly made a choice between the siege and provisioning the city. It has been expressed in the way that “although it is obvious that aforementioned commander of Vidin-Osman Paşa- needed many soldiers under his command, sending of grain to Istanbul is more urgent and necessary...”³³

c. The case of Genç Ali

This storyline indicates clearly the dependence of ‘state’ on the local notables in both army and civic service. However, the questions of to what extent we can call the state as state and perception of *ayans* as the indication of decentralization process in a time of war and chronic crisis in Rumeli should be formulated in a variety of ways. However, it is beyond this study. Indeed, with regard to the tension between urban and rural, the *mübâşirs* with local notable origin was an important actor in both purchasing and transportation of commercial produces between urban and rural must be go hand-in-hand with their involvement in production process.

Fortunately however, as being both *de facto* and *de jure* power of Istanbul in the rural areas of Rumeli, *mübâşir* & *ayan* combination should not be understood in the way that they were the direct hands of state to punish those who disobeyed. They were expected rather to inform the names of –for instance- hoarders and those who blended the wheat with fodder, barley and rye. In accordance with an order to *mübâşir* Genç Ali in 1760, it has been stated that the *yazıcıs* in Köstence and Karaharman had complaint about the blended goods and priority of Istanbul was to obtain unadulterated wheat. He was ordered to advice those who were involved in transaction process and inform the names of trickiers.³⁴ A few months earlier, not only Hacı Süleyman and his fellow Abdülhamid from Karaharman but also Habib

³³ A.DVNSTZELd. 19 p.141/1, fi evâhir Ra 1210/ the first days of October 1795.

³⁴ AE.SMST.III. 16767, Fî evâsıt-ı S 1174 / the end of September 1760.

and Hacı İsmail from Kavarna complained because of their attempts to sell off some of their produce, however, adulterated. At the end of May 1760, Genç Ali and the commanders in Mangalya, Hacıoğlu Pazarı and Varna were ordered to confine these four people in the fortress of Varna. However, according to the report of Genç Ali, 9 days ago this order had arrived, together with some henchmen Habib were executed in Kavarna during a struggle against the commander of Balçık. Continuously, after they got the order, other three people were confined in the fortress of Varna. From the report we learn that *vali* of Özi, community and *kadı* of Babadağı demanded these prisoners to be released because of their good conduct during imprisonment. Ultimately, Istanbul met the demand on the condition of noniterativeness of this action.³⁵

It is strange enough that Genç Ali was already a marked man because of his attempts for stocking up grain and committing some other criminal acts. In February 1756, as being the *ayan* of Mangalya Genç Ali had been warned sternly by Sultan's Council to stop hoarding. The case was that around February before the fixing the price of the new year's crop, Genç Ali delayed delivering of grain from Mangalya to Istanbul. In spite of his 'abominable deed' (*mel'ânet*), the punishment of Genç Ali was delayed on the condition that he would transfer the grain immediately to the marine port of Mangalya and then watch over shipping process.³⁶

An assignment certificate of Genç Ali (October 1758) gives some more clues about his social background. He was referred this time as *turnacıbaşı* and commander of Mangalya. The title of *turnacıbaşı* is a rank within the Janissary corps- a situation which strictly indicates his military origin. The certificate is about the bestowment of title of *kapıcıbaşılık* upon him and his appointment as the *mübâşir* in the marine ports of Kavarna, Balçık, Mangalya, Köstence and Karaharman. His profile had been described as a person of well-esteemed (*nafizü'l kelim*) and profit seeking / hardworking person (*kargüzâr*). Ultimately, he was suggested by Mirâhor Mustafa Ağa on the condition that the state would not pay any wage (*yevmiyesi*) to him.³⁷

The case in point proves the report of Ebubekir Ratıp Efendi in a variety of ways. First of all, appointment of *mübâşirs* from *kapıcıbaşı* divisions and the name of Mirâhor Mustafa Ağa make sense. Genç Ali was probably among the first *mübâşir* with the rank of *kapıcıbaşı* during the reign of Mustafa III. Moreover, the quality of being a *profit-seeker* for *mübâşirs* needs to be clarified. In the document it has been already pointed out that Genç Ali was

³⁵ AE.SMST.III. 3678, 11.M.1174 / 23 August 1760

³⁶ C.BLD. 10444, Fî evâhir-i R 1169 / the beginning of February 1756.

³⁷ C.SM. 5556, 28.M.1172 / 1 October 1758.

expected to provide his living himself. Salih Aynural adds that their expenditures had been met by grain merchants on the condition that every 1 *guruş* paid by grain merchants returned to *mübâşirs* as 1 *akçe*.³⁸ It means that the more they were involved in transaction processes the more they earned money. The commissions received from such transactions may seem to the readers as a gold rush of *mübâşirs*. However, the order of things does not work in that way. Because it does not explain how *mübâşirs* met the expenditures of their retinue and the duty to control the *kazas* and fight against hoarders and smugglers. In the case of Mehmet Tahir Ağa, we already saw that even 40 years later a single *mübâşir* had difficulties to control the area and two additional *ayan* –Hacı Ömer and Sırıklızâde were appointed under his service.

In a document issued in October 1759, three stewards (*çuhadar*) were appointed under the service of Genç Ali and Hasan Ağa- *mübâşir* of Bergos. For their travelling expenses they needed 300 *guruş* and that was paid by the state itself.³⁹ However, the mission of stewards was to report the grain issues in the production zones and registering the kind and amounts of grain dispatched from the ports like Bergos to Istanbul.⁴⁰ This mission shows that the state needed to document the trade. And there is no any indication dealing with the expenditures of servants of *mübâşirs*. Therefore it's necessary to clarify why this post seemed attractive to the local notables.

First of all, the rank provided a series of opportunities to intervene in the process of establishing the price of cereals. Secondly, the official title enabled local notables like Genç Ali to get ride of the competitor *ayans* and *mütesellims*. On May 1759, as being the *vali* of Özi, Ali Paşa was ordered to investigate the case of Genç Ali. Previously, imperial center had been informed that 60 henchmen of Genç Ali pillaged the residence of Seyid Hacı Mustafa- the *voyvoda* of tax-farms in Kavarna. They murdered 2 servants and confined the *voyvoda* in the fortress of Varna.⁴¹ The result of the investigation by *vali* of Özi is unclear. However, what is obvious is that Genç Ali continued to serve as *mübâşir*. At the first sight, it may be understood that it was impossible to continue the work without the protection from the imperial capital. It is known that Mirahor Mustafa Ağa suggested his name. However, there is no any other clue to associate him or any other dignitary to Genç Ali.

In addition to this, the term *voyvoda* is outstanding. The term refers to the tax-collection agents in the *kazas* and piers. The *voiovodas* refers to the person who was directly

³⁸ Aynural, Salih, *İstanbul Değirmenleri...* p.31.

³⁹ C.BLD. 5505, 15.S.1173 / 8 October 1759.

⁴⁰ Aynural, Salih, *İstanbul Değirmenleri...* p.30.

⁴¹ C.DH 876. 29.N.1172 / 26 May 1759.

the fiscal agent of Sultans and dignitaries. They were charged with levying the taxes from the villages possessed by the treasury of either Sultan or dignitaries.⁴² Linda Darling states that office-holders around the court were aware of the profit coming from tax-farms (*mukataa*) and in provinces revenues and taxes were collected by the agents of them known *mütesellim* or *voyvodas*. Being directly related to the dignitaries at first this mission began to be performed by local notables because of their cohesion to countrymen.⁴³ On the same line, Fikret Adanır adds that subcontractors managed the tax-farms in the names of the absentee contractors.⁴⁴ On this reasoning, it could be said that Seyid Hacı Mustafa was associated with a dignitary in Istanbul. However, as being a former *ayan* and recent *mübâşir*, Genç Ali seems to challenge a powerful-household located in Istanbul and become a newly-born entrepreneur around the ports of Alçaklar.

Another important advantage of the rank of *mübâşirlik* was that it provided on the part of local notables a free range of action and intervention into the economic arrangements in the provinces. At the beginning of October 1760, together with the states officials including *kadıs* and commanders, Genç Ali was held responsible to demolish the unauthorized candle production facilities in the areas where he was responsible. The problem had been described in details in the imperial edict. Previously only one single candle production facility in any district had been officially permitted. However, because of the opening of new and unauthorized candle work shops in the ports, animal fat coming from inner regions of Danube on the wagons and allocated for the consumption of Istanbul had been manufactured. Therefore, Istanbul was getting animal fat less than it needed.⁴⁵

The carrier of Genç Ali Ağa as a *mübâşir* with local notable background ended around 1763. I could not find any clue about the reason of his death. Beginning with August 1763, he was referred as murdered (*maktul*) and the archival documents began to deal with his estates accountings. Although there are no any tracks about his properties before he had access to the office, these accountings have importance to determine the accumulation of capital he did during his tenure. Confiscation process had been executed by İsmail Ağa and Hüseyin Ağa. During this process, they generated a series of property accounts and it makes it difficult to figure out whole properties of Genç Ali within a single list. Nonetheless, after the confiscation

⁴² Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı, *Meşhur Rumeli Ayanlarından Tirsinikli İsmail, Yılıkoğlu Süleyman Ağalar ve Alemdar Mustafa Paşa*. İstanbul; Türk Tarh Kurumu, 1942, pp.6

⁴³ Darling. Linda T., "Public Finances: the Role of the Ottoman Center" in *The Cambridge history of Turkey. Vol. 3 : the Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839* / edited by Suraiya N. Faroqhi: Cambridge University Press, 2006.pp.124.

⁴⁴ Adanır, Fikret, 'Semi-autonomous Provincial Forces... pp.169.

⁴⁵ AE.SMST.III 16761, Fî Evâhir S.1174 / Beginning of October 1760.

of his estates by the imperial capital, the process of conduction auctions enable to observe the transfer of estates and share of them among the power-holders both in economic and political terms. The estate accounts also make possible for some generalizations on the types of share-cropping and ownership of property around the ports of Alçaklar in 1763-64.

One of the most detailed estate accounts was prepared by his scribe Gedik Mustafa in August 1763 to figure out his assets and liabilities in Istanbul. Among the entries, the first remarkable detail is the three ships he owned himself and a ship he was one of the shareholder.⁴⁶ All four ships did lay up in Galata Quay. A month later, the ships were sold by auctions under the supervision of custom controller, the officer in charge of the public weigh scales (*kapan nâibi*), experienced masters and warden of ship captains (*reisler kethüdâsı*). During the auction, it became clear that Genç Ali had owned 2 ships without shareholder and was joint owner of 2 ships. Unfortunately as for the new owners only the names have been indicated after the auction. However, a merchant named Saraçbaşı Ali is important in order to understand the engagements of new owners.⁴⁷ Another ship in the marine port of Kalas was sold by auction to a grain merchant named Turşanoğlu Ömer Ağa and a *yazıcı* named Osman.⁴⁸ The documents in point are clearly indicative that as a *mübâşir* Genç Ali involved also into the freight forwarding of grain to Istanbul as ship owner. Continually, as for the detail relating the new owners of the ship sailing around the port of Kalas, it must be underlined that *yazıcı*s as agents of grain merchants in local areas had vested interest in internal grain trade.

Alongside being involved in the transportation of grain to Istanbul as a ship owner, Genç Ali had vested interest also in merchandised production. Great bulk of the details deal with his holdings -the *çiftlik*s and *malikâne mukâtaas* (a term refers to the life-time revenue tax farm). The data in point enable to figure out how the political groups in center involved in property relations in local areas and had set up a network on the revenue sources in country. Unfortunately, in the estate account prepared by Gedik Mustafa, there is no detail about the *çiftlik*s of Genç Ali. Nonetheless, there are some details on the *malikâne-mukataas* of Mangalia and Prevadi districts, and the villages of Aşçılar, Akbaş, Gelincik, Asatr, Karlıköy Habib Bey and Terli. The first entry deals with the life-time revenue tax farm in Mangalya. It is clear that in 1762 he paid 7 616,5 *gurush* to İbrahim Hanzâde.⁴⁹ The name İbrahim Hanzâde is actually a legal entity and refers to the name of a pious foundation as intendants

⁴⁶ C.ML. 29311, 23.M.1177 / 3 August 1763.

⁴⁷ C.ML. 5505, 29.S.1177 / 8 September 1763.

⁴⁸ C.ML. 18166, 29.R.1177 / 6 November 1763.

⁴⁹ C.ML. 29311, 23.M.1177 / 3 August 1763.

and in the documents it is usually known as *vakf* of İsmihan Sultan- daughter of Selim II. As a descendant of İsmihan Sultan, the family managed many properties of pious foundation in both Istanbul and local areas especially in Mangalia. Feridun Emecen states that the family was considered as an alternative to Ottoman dynasty around 1703 during the events of Edirne.⁵⁰

Another important entry indicating how power holders in Istanbul had involved in production is that Genç Ali paid 2 990 *gurush* to *Yeniçeri Ağası* (commander in chief of the Janissaries) for the *iltizam* in Astar Village. Unfortunately, there is no indication dealing with other 7 people who received payment from Genç Ali.⁵¹ Up to now, on the relation between Genç Ali and İstanbul-based elites, it cannot be established with certainty that this was a direct relationship because the documents still do not prove that Genç Ali acted as a direct agent of house-holds within complex relationships. Rather, he seems to be a share-cropper of the villages.

Another important property census of Genç Ali had been generated by İsmail Ağa and Hacı Hüseyin at the end of August 1763. The data in the inventory gives a spectacular treasure for both urban historians and historians of Ottoman socio-economic structure. The details cover the lists of domestic appliances, equipments confiscated from his scribe Gedik Mustafa, the ships, the animals in his estates and *çiftlik*s, the buildings he possessed and the *çiftlik*s and *mukataas* he held. Nonetheless, which details interest this study is the data which had a direct relevancy to the internal-grain trade in this locality. From the census, it has been stated that he lived in neighborhood of Câmii' Atik in Mangalia and possessed a 41-room *han* hired by the scribes of grain ships. In Mangalia, he was also the owner of 9 cellars built on a 200-*zirâ*-square estate where 2 017 *kile* of grain had been stored.⁵²

The inventory lists 5 farms in Mangalya possessed by Genç Ali namely Akbaş, Sarıgöl, Kızılca, Azablar and Komazova, and lastly another farm in Babadağı named Taş Ağıl.⁵³ In an imperial edict sent to the *kadı* of Mangalya, the farm in the village of Akbaş was possessed by the pious foundation of Hadice Sultan. Genç Ali held the farm as a tenant and *kadı* had been required to confiscate the animals and cereal seed.⁵⁴ By detailing the data on two *çiftlik*s – Azablar and Taş Ağıl, it has been required to figure out the mechanism of the *çiftlik*s. In the farm of Azablar were 2 stables, 4 heavy plows, 8 carts and a wind mill. In 3

⁵⁰ Emecen, Feridun, “Osmanlı Hanedanına Alternatif Arayışlar Üzerine Bazı Örnekler ve Mülâhazalar” *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Sayı 6, 2001. pp.74-76

⁵¹ C.ML. 29311, 23.M.1177 / 3 August 1763.

⁵² D.BŞM.MHF. 12696. 16.S.1177 / 26 August 1763, pp.7.

⁵³ D.BŞM.MHF. 12696. 16.S.1177 / 26 August 1763, pp.4-5.

⁵⁴ A.DVNSAHK.OZSI.d 14, Fî Evâil S 1177 / middle of August 1763, pp. 317-1

granaries stored 755 Köstence *kile* of wheat, 150 Kösence *kile* of barley and 50 Köstence *kile* of oaten. And lastly, as the expense of farm, 169 *gurush* had been recorded for 13 servants and 220 *gurush* for 22 harvesters.⁵⁵ The farms had been run by 5 *kethüdas* as agents of the tenant of the farms – Genç Ali.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, there appeared any detail about them and their salaries.

As for the farm of Taş Ağıl, together with a person holding a military fief in the village of Taş Ağıl, Genç Ali had a share.⁵⁷ Among the animals, the existence of 23 bactrian (*buhûri deve*) is important because in other farms there were no any. The Bactrian camels had been used as pack-animals, and in other *çiftlik*s it was the wagons as means of transportation on the land (e.g. four wagons in Akbaş). Although there is no any specific entry on granaries in the farm, it has been stated that 593 Köstence *kile* of grain had been stored there. Moreover, 18 servants and 28 harvesters worked in the farm. In the district of Babadağı, Genç Ali also owned 5 mills.⁵⁸ These mills had been purchased by İbrahim Ağa, *mütevelli* in Babadağı (the intendant of a pious foundation) in exchange for 4 000 *gurush*.⁵⁹ An unfortunate aspect of the census in point is the lacks of any entry on the cultivated areas in these farms.

The result of the census of the animals in 6 <i>çiftlik</i> s of Genç Ali at the end of the August 1763.*						
	Akbaş	Sarıgöl**	Kasımca	Azablar	Komazova	Taş Ağıl
Sheep and cattle (koyun ve keçi)	356	689	401	773	2 511	
Ox (öküz)	46		30	34	44+2	77
Cow (inek)	52		17	31	44	26
Calf (buzağı)	35		15	20	25	25
Calf (dana/düve)	23		10	14+3	20	5+14
Bull (boğa/tosun)	3			12		13
... (camuş öküzü)	6				8+1	
... (camuş ineği)	14				10	

⁵⁵ D.BŞM.MHF. 12696. 16.S.1177 / 26 August 1763, pp.4.

⁵⁶ D.BŞM.MHF. 49/18, 12.Ş.1177 / 15 February 1764. Ali Kethüda was in charge of the *çiftlik*s of Akbaş and Sarıgöl, Alemdar Ali for Komazova, Osman for Azablar and Mehmed for Kasımca. D.MKF 30095, 25.R.1177 / 3 October 1763, pp.2-15

⁵⁷ D.BŞM. 4875/33, 24..Z.1178 / 14 June 1765. See also C.ML 1246, 11.M.1178 / 11 July 1764. In property registers and the reports İsmail Ağa sent there is no any mention of him- Mehmed Emin Ağa.

⁵⁸ D.BŞM.MHF. 12696. 16.S.1177 / 26 August 1763, pp.5.

⁵⁹ D.BŞM. 4875/33, 24..Z.1178 / 14 June 1765.

* Ibid., pp.4-5. Look at also D.MKF 30095, 25.R.1177 / 3 October 1763. pp. 2-15

Young bufalo calf (malak)	6				4	
Horse (kısarak ve beygir)	109		77	94	51	123
Foal (tay)	18		11	19		
Bactrian(buhûri deve)	---	---	---	---	---	17+6

It may be a result of the fact that these farms were founded for animal breeding. Hüttheroth states that animal breeding offers more profit than grain agriculture because as for the second an entrepreneur needs more labor.⁶⁰ 81 servants had been employed in the *çiftlik*s of Genç Ali. And as for the harvesters, the number of seasonal workers was 108.⁶¹ Unfortunately the division of labor referring the category of servants in these *çiftlik*s is not specified. Therefore it is being hardly difficult to make a reasonable generalization about the herdsmen. Nevertheless, it is obvious that like many other *çiftlik*s in lands along Danube the *çiftlik*s of Genç Ali was founded for animal breeding.

The *çiftlik*s were located in the lands which had an access to the market centers. It was transportation facilities that enabled a convenience for the foundation of *çiftlik*s near to large towns like Mangalia and Babadağı. Hüttheroth states that the distribution and consumption centers of agricultural products became the nucleus of towns. Moreover these *çiftlik*s had another effect for the distribution of settlements and agrarian landscape in the lands along Danube. The *çiftlik*s founded for animal breeding affected the pattern of distribution of settlements. Since animal breeding was more profitable than agricultural production, mountainous areas were more populated than the plains.⁶² As for the fertile plains in the lands along Danube, the security of the products against booty-seekers was one of the vital issues for the producers. At the end of the process, such lands were owned by mainly absentee class of land holders.⁶³ However, it was not only absentee class of landholders but also local notables who offered the protection for the commercial production of crops and transportation of it to Istanbul from the nodal points like Karaharman and Bergos.⁶⁴ Moreover, it is usefully

** Except the sheep and goats, the animals in the *çiftlik* of Sarıgöl had been transferred to the *çiftlik* of Akbaş. Ibid., pp. 3.

⁶⁰ Hüttheroth, Wolf-Dieter, "Ecology of the Ottoman Lands", *The Cambridge history of Turkey. Vol. 3 : the later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839* / edited by Suraiya N. Faroqi: Cambridge University Press, 2006.pp.30.

⁶¹ D.BŞM.MHF. 12696. 16.S.1177 / 26 August 1763, pp.4-5.

⁶² Hüttheroth, Wolf-Dieter, "Ecology of the Ottoman Lands"... pp.29-31

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 34.

⁶⁴ The arguments on the genesis of the *çiftlik*s are beyond this thesis. The existence of pious foundations of İsmihan and Hadice Sultans in Mangalia is already been stated. However, to add the position of Veinstein, who sees an evolution from *umar*-holding to "large freehold properties or quasi properties in the hands of a newly emerging stratum of private individuals", it was not only private individuals but also legal entities which held

to repeat that the farms possessed by Genç Ali were laid on the region adjacent to Black Sea coasts, which specialized in supply of grain to Istanbul market. Moreover, as an entrepreneur (and being non-peasant) Genç Ali invested money for labor and production which may indicate the existence of capitalist production. However, since the state had intervened directly into the process of accumulation of capital, it may be defined as an Ottoman type of early modern capitalism. On the other hand, deepness and diversity of his investment portfolio deserves to be investigated more profoundly.

We see already that his investments should be evaluated within the context of the current economy politics of middle of the eighteenth century Ottoman. The period in case experienced also a tendency to collect the taxes in lump sums. Ali Yaycıoğlu interprets that the limits of central power to impose a vertical hierarchy of bureaucratic apparatus in ‘remote’ regions brought about a milieu in which some local power holders emerged as the categories within the strata of the community that were able to impose a range of free action on their behalf. Thus local notables presided district level-collection of taxes; in return they acquired a commission.⁶⁵ However, the period in point was on the way to monetarise the economy. As Ebubekir Ratıb Efendi demonstrated later since local notables had overseen the delivering of grain more efficiently it became a tradition on the part of the state to appoint *mübâşirs* from among local notables. In this sense, lump-sums policy targeted also to collect the taxes more efficiently in a period of pseudo-monetary economy.

In 1764, Genç Ali paid 8 *yük* 6 *guruş* to Osman Ağa for the short-term tax-farms of eight villages of Palas. In return he collected the taxes in kind from the villages (672 Köstence *kile* of wheat and 410 Köstence *kile* of barley).⁶⁶ It demonstrates that the taxes collected in kind then transmuted into cash. During this process Genç Ali played an intermediate role since the financial base required a man of strong economic background. Therefore the emergence of strong money lenders and bankers in the second half of the eighteenth century is not coincidence.

Therefore it is not coincidence that among his investment portfolio, the money-lending seems a significant source of sustenance of Genç Ali. During the confiscation process Kara İsmail obtained his bill book (*zimet defteri*). 37 ‘clients’ borrowed at interest by bill. Social

such estates. Veinstein, Gilles, ‘On the Çiftlik Debate’, *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East*, ed. by Keyder and Tabak, 1991, pp.37. In an income and expenditure account of 1763, just after the death of Genç Ali, Abdullah Efendi as *deruhdeci* (fiscal protector of a village) in Mangalia paid 3 750 *guruş* to the *vakf* of İsmihan Sultan. D.EV.d. 22410, 01.M.1177 / 12 July 1763.pp.2.

⁶⁵ Yaycıoğlu, Ali, “Provincial Power-Holders and the Empire in the Late Ottoman World”, *The Ottoman World*, Woodhead, Christine (ed.), London: Routledge, December 2011, pp.445.

⁶⁶ D.BŞM.MHF 49/32, 1177 / 1764.

backgrounds of borrowers were generally middle-ranged military and financial bureaucrats such as commander of Prevadi and former notable of Hırsova. Moreover many borrowers were indicated as village community. In terms of geographical background, all borrowers were residents of port towns of Alçaklar and the districts bonded this core region. In other words his realm of entrepreneurial activities and of political power overlapped the economic landscape of region. Among the entries one of the most interesting details is that Genç Ali Ağa also was the intendant (*mütevelli*) of a *medrese*.⁶⁷ The *medrese* in Mangalia was under the control of again *vakf* of İsmihan Sultan. So far there appeared no any agreement between the intendant and descendents of İbrahim Hanzâde. Therefore we are far away to define the nature of relationship between these two business partners.

As for the granaries of the ports of Alçaklar, little is known. However, the documents on the estates of Genç Ali give some clues about them. In the marine port of Köstence, Genç Ali possessed 6 rooms of cellars under the ground floor (*tahtâni mahzen*) and a big *han* for the residence of the scribes of grain merchants.⁶⁸ 8 scribes of grain merchants hired the rooms of *han* and paid 25 *guruş*. In the 6 cellars stored 597 Köstence *kile* of barley.⁶⁹ Unfortunately there are no details about other warehouses of the marine port and the question of probable builders is difficult to answer.

The property registers of him indicates some different data on the buildings in marine port of Karaharman. A 14-room-*han*, a coffee shop, 8 grocery store, a barber's shop, a furrier's shop, two bake houses of bread and bagel, 2 small cellars built of wooden and 18 big granary where 700 Köstence *kile* of wheat was stored.⁷⁰ Every scribe of grain traders (seven people) hired for themselves a cellar, a room, a kitchen and a coal-hole in the *han*. Including barber's shop, custom house, two furrier's and fur cap' shops, all buildings in the port had gross revenue of 771 *guruş*.⁷¹ In the documents, there is no any other mention of immovable estates (*'akârat*) constructed by either Genç Ali or another contractor. It is well known that before March 1760 there had been only a pier where the grain was loaded onto the grain ships. It is again not obvious the dates of construction, periods of repairing and the status of all the piers in these port towns. So far only register came up from an imperial order dealt with the repairing the pier in the marine port of Mangalia. The document highlights that the pier was possessed by pious foundation of İsmihan Sultan and hold by Mehmet Haseki as a

⁶⁷ 'Medrese-i şerifin mütevelli'si Genc Ali Ağa olmağın mâl-i vakıfdan altıyüz kuruşunu karye-i mezkûr re'âyâlarına **bâ-temessük istirbâh** idüb ...' D.BŞM.MHF.48/50, 17.S.1177 / 27 August 1763.

⁶⁸ D.BŞM.MHF. 12696. 16.S.1177 / 26 August 1763, pp.5.

⁶⁹ D.BŞM.MHF. 49/1, 27.S.1177 / 6 September 1763.

⁷⁰ D.BŞM.MHF. 12696. 16.S.1177 / 26 August 1763, pp.5.

⁷¹ D.BŞM.MHF. 49/4, 25.R.1177 / 3 October 1763.

short-term tax farm (*iltizâm*). Although the contractor was charged to repair the pier every year, it had been understood that Mehmet Haseki hindered the repairing. The imperial order dictates Genç Ali and *kadı* of Mangalia to supervise the repairing process.⁷² With regard to this document it's possible to generalize that some piers were owned by pious foundations. Since they kept their registers for themselves we can not able to find properly arranged state registers of construction and repairing. Likewise it is obvious that the immovable buildings in the marine ports were granted as tax-farm and it was neither state nor pious foundations but rather the contractors who were charged with the functioning of the ports of north-western shores of Black Sea.

After his death just like his farms and tax-farms, the state confiscated also his immovable properties in Karaharman, which he had erected in 1760. In a *mülknâme*, it has been indicated that together with a partner he held the main buildings and outbuildings in the port town of Karaharman as *malikâne-mukâtaa*.⁷³ There is no direct information on his partner, Ali. However, he was most probably the custom controller of the port who had share on tax-farm and acted as an agent of Genç Ali. During the confiscation process, his share purchased by the state and his parcel of land where the custom office was built left to state in exchange of a room in the *han*.⁷⁴ So far we have encountered such partnerships in the case of grain ship of Genç Ali purchased after his down by a grain merchant and his scribe. As the *mübâşir* of port towns of Alçaklar and local notable of Mangalia, we saw that he needed also five wardens as his agents to administrate the farms. Such sample cases are indicative of the nature of institutional structure of entrepreneurship at that period.

d. Mukâtaa

As a local notable, his social category described in his record of *ru'us* as well-esteemed (*nafizü'l kelim*) located him as an entrepreneur at the center of this network. Well-esteemed, notable (*itibar sahibi*), influential (*sahib-i nüfûz*)... the attributes described in the official documents for being an appropriate candidate for the status of *mübâşirlik* are also the descriptive expressions for notable social status. The question of how we can interpret the status (both *mübâşir* and local notable) in accordance with the arguments on the fiscal and social structures of empire, center-periphery dilemma etc. is still quasi-untouched. Therefore, there is an urgent need to concentrate on fiscal structure of the period.

⁷² A.DVNSAHK.OZSI.d 14, Fî Evâsıt M 1176 / begining of August 1762, pp. 116-3.

⁷³ MAD 9994, 16.Za.1178 / 7 May 1763, pp.182-2.

⁷⁴ D.BŞM.MHF. 49/4, 25.R.1177 / 3 October 1763.

Mukâtaa is a term which refers to the farming out of tax revenues. Yavuz Cezar states that if the collection of any tax resource was farmed out to a contractor (*mültezim*) for a set of period of years, it was called as *iltizam*. And the term *eminlik* refers to the direct administration of tax revenue by the state's officials. From about 1695 onwards the trend on the part of both state and pious foundations was the collection of taxes by the contractors. Fisca-social structure of the empire tasted a new trend in 1695 when the *mukâtaas* were farmed out to the contractors on life-lease basis (*malikâne*).⁷⁵ It was claimed that previous type of tax-farming had reduced long term productivity and with new type the contractors were expected to increase the productivity of parcel of lands.⁷⁶ It had another advantage to monetarise the tax collection and maximize the income.⁷⁷ This tendency is termed as 'privatization' by Salzman, and described as 'internal borrowing through the sale of parcelized, dispersed holdings rather than concentrating financing in centralized institutions.'⁷⁸ One of the most important aspects of *malikâne* type of tax collection was the bestowment of immunities from the intervention of local authorities. Ultimately, whole policy provided an access on the parts of power-holders both in Istanbul and provinces to the taxable units, and ultimately wealth. With the expansion of the realm of *malikâne*-lands into the immediate provinces from about the first quarter of eighteenth century onwards, the local-power holders intensified their direct power by becoming shareholders or active partners of *malikânes*. In his outstanding article, Ariel Salzman states that proximity to the producing lands and technological means of transportation provided a milieu for the local notables free from direct intervention of urban oligarchy. Meantime it had another advantage that they did not need mediators to control the tax-farms, thus a situation that minimized other costs of tax-farming.⁷⁹ It has already been stated that the *mübâşirs* had been expected to stroll around the kazas for negotiating with producers and procuring grain. In this sense as being also entrepreneurs, the local notables were in a position to perform direct control over assets. With regard to the relations between 'center and periphery', the dominant discourse tends to perceive local notables as the agents of Istanbul-based households in provinces.⁸⁰ Or in another words, the nature of relationship between Ottoman dignitaries and local notables

⁷⁵ Cezar, Yavuz, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi*, İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık, 1986, pp.21-22

⁷⁶ Genç, Mehmet, 'Osmanlı Maliyesi'nde Malikâne Sistemi', *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Semineri*, ed. By Osman Okyar and Ünal Nalbantoğlu (Ankara, 1975), pp.286-7.

⁷⁷ Adanır, Fikret, 'Semi-autonomous Provincial Forces... pp.165.

⁷⁸ Salzman, Ariel, "An Ancien Régime Revisited: 'Privatisation' and Political Economy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire", *Politics and Society*, 1993,21 (4), pp.400.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp.410.

⁸⁰ Adanır, Fikret, 'Semi-autonomous Provincial Forces... pp.169.

needs more cases to be investigated to figure out the relations between urban oligarchy and local notables, and its effects on regional formations.

Furthermore, the case of Genç Ali like any other *mübaşirs* (i.e Azaklızâde İbiş Ağa) with local notable origin does not conform to the interpretation which exaggerates and many times misrepresents the roles of intermediary position of such categories of society. Salzmann observes that *mâlikanization* was an instrument of state-power to intensify its authority within the provinces.⁸¹ The case of Genç Ali exactly proves this proposition. Because his promotion to the hierarchy of bureaucracy is one of the pure types of what Salzmann states ‘partial externalization of the Ottoman state’s socio-organizational capacity’.⁸² Appointing such local notables as *mübâşirs* was a significant instrument of constructing an alternative chain of command and ultimately disciplining local notables within the bureaucracy. Nothing all it must be emphasized that with their wardens, business partners and henchmen the whole organization was an accepted type of local bureaucracy which co-existed with the centrally appointed judicial and military officers. As in the case of Genç Ali, the rise and down of such local notables of regions stretching from service port town of Bergos to the river of Dniester was directly associated with internal grain trade to Istanbul.

As for the case, his position within the political hierarchy enabled him to diversify his investment portfolio which ranged from real estate, commercial production of agriculture, freight forwarding and money lending. Therefore as an entrepreneur he was at the center of not only production but also transportation and financing. Being at the center of grain delivery in the lower-Danube provided him also to create new types of investment as in the case of construction of a pier in Karaharman, thus a situation that directly associated with the formation of service ports and direct intervention by local notables into the regional landscape.

Not only in the marine port of Karaharman but also in Köstence (Constanta), Genç Ali possessed a series of buildings. The areas in point were the most important grain distribution centers stretching alongside north-western Black Sea coast. Before the time of Genç Ali, there were four important great ports on the north-western shore of Black Sea-namely Bergos, Varna, Mangalya and Köstence.⁸³ Together with Babadağı, Kavarna, Balçık etc. these port towns were the nodal points of one of the most important fertile soils– e.i. Dobruca- from where the great bulk of grain was distributed to Istanbul. Therefore as being the gates of a

⁸¹ Salzmann, Ariel, ‘An Ancien Regimé Revisited...’ pp.405.

⁸² Ibid., pp.395.

⁸³ İnciciyan, P.L., H.D. Andreasyan, ‘Osmanlı Rumelisi’nin ... pp.116-119.

‘core region’ these piers became the nucleus of later period’s ports cities. In the Ottoman documents, these port towns between Varna and Karaharman were named as *Alçaklar İskeleleri*.⁸⁴ It is probably referring to all the marine ports (from north to south- Karaharman, Pravadi, Köstence, Mangalya, Kavarna, Balçık and Varna) between the Sulina strait and Varna Port. On the southern shore of Varna Port stretched marine ports of Bergos and Ahyolu. Minas Bijişkyan states that there are five estuary of Danube where it disembogued into Black Sea. On the southward of these five there located Kurta strait on the north of Karaharman Landing.⁸⁵ Ottomans probably named the port towns founded on ‘lower’ Kurta (Danube) as marina ports of *Alçaklar*.

In accordance with a distribution register prepared to figure out the cereal supply from the aforementioned ports to Istanbul, it has been stated that 958 232 Istanbul *kile* of grain were distributed from these towns. Furthermore 123 grain ships were charged with transportation.⁸⁶ It is worth to state that the data covers only the period from harvest time to the beginning of southwester in 1769. The register is important in the sense that we can deduce a gradation among the service port towns. In this line of thought one of the most outstanding point is that the biggest distribution center on the west-northern shore of Black Sea is the port town of Bergos, the nearest town to Istanbul. The newly founded port of Karaharman, farthestmost port town to Istanbul, seems the smallest distribution nodal point among these 7 ports. It can be interpreted in the sense that proximity to Istanbul effected the gradation of the towns. Probably it is true. Indeed it must be stated that in 1768, Ottomans waged a devastating war against Russians and the great bulk of grain allocated for the military located for overwintering in Babadağı, one-day-distance to the port of Karaharman.

In aforementioned document, there is no detail about the stored grain in Varna and Bergos. It is known that there was single state granary built of timber in the port of Bergos before 1788. In a *Keşif Defteri* prepared by İsmail Ağa- ‘a master builder’ (*mimar halifesi*) sent directly from İstanbul to construct one more granary in the port, it has been stated that new granary would be built of again timber on an area of 258 *arşın* square (*hesab-ı terbi*) and only its foundation would be constructed using stone. The expected construction cost was 6 880 *guruş* and granary was presumed having the capacity of 40-50 000 *kile*. During the construction period both *mübâşir* Hacı Mustafa Ağa and kadı of Bergos informed the Sultan’s

⁸⁴ C.BLD 229, 15.R.1216 / 26 July 1801.

⁸⁵ Bijişkyan, P. Minas, *Karadeniz Kıyıları Tarih ve Coğrafyası 1817- 1819*, trans. by Hrand D. Andreasyan İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fak. Yayınları No 1411, İstanbul, 1969, pp.105.

⁸⁶ TS.MA 7516, 02.B.1183 / 1 November 1769.

Council about the logistic assistance on the parts of them.⁸⁷ As for the Varna, there had been built a granary at Akkule having the capacity of 300 000 *kile* outside the walls in 1774. The state paid 500 *guruş* for the expenses of the building.⁸⁸ It had the length of 175 *zirâ*' (131,25 m), width of 1 *zirâ*' (0,75 m), height of 4 *zirâ*' (3 m).⁸⁹

	Karaharman	Köstence	Mangayla	Balçık and Kavarna	Varna	Bergos
wheat transported to İstanbul	58 200	88 000	148 755	227 084	102 414	166 000
stored in the port	5 980	25 570	54 400	70 130		
grain ships charged	7	11	22	37	23	23

Like these port towns, Tekirdağ-Rodosçuk Port was also a service port organized as a gate for the freight forwarding of cereal procured from inner regions of such as Adrianople and Felibe. Faroqhi indicates that in the sixteenth century there were 50 cellars constructed for storing grain in Rodosçuk. Beyond the transportation on river, the road haulage was often the most effective mode of transport which linked the productive zones of northern part of Marmara Sea. The wagons were the main vehicle of transportation on land, and in Lüleburgaz, there was even a wagon market.⁹⁰ In a distribution register prepared to figure out the grain transported to İstanbul before the harvest season of 1766, it has been indicated that 40 400 İstanbulî *kile* of wheat had been delivered to the granaries in Imperial Dockyard of İstanbul. To transport it on sea, 34 *kayıks* had been hired, which had the capacity ranged from 800 to 1 500 *kile* of wheat. In such types of transportation, the captains of boats were not held responsible for the any waste wheat.⁹¹

Another distribution register prepared to inform the center about the amount of wheat transferred to first Rodosçuk then İstanbul from Edirne and Felibe and other 25 districts indicates that in 1769, the state had ordered 127 336 İstanbulî *kile* of wheat to procure from around the districts geographically bonded to the port town of Rodosçuk. İstanbul had decided to hold responsible the districts to send the same amount of wheat in 1770. Edirne and Filibe were among two cities which had a big share in the decided grain (totally 29 000 *kile*).⁹² With regards to the gradation of port towns, the document is important in the sense that while the

⁸⁷ D.BŞM 7100/49, 18.C.1203 / 18 November 1788.

⁸⁸ C.AS 46180, 17.S.1188 / 29 April 1774.

⁸⁹ C.AS 54645, 15.S:1188 / 27 April 1774.

⁹⁰ Faroqhi, Suraiya. "İstanbul'un İaşesi ve Tekirdağ- Rodosçuk Limanı...", pp.141.

⁹¹ D.MKF. 30227, 12.R.1180 / 18 August 1766, pp.2-3.

⁹² D.MKF. 30436, 11.Za.1183 / 8 Mart 1170.

‘core region’ of Tekirdağ was bigger than –for instance Varna, it had a smaller range of hinterland than Bergos or Mangalia. The document is also a perfect example of the politics of *mukayese system* of supplying. Aynural clarifies that in 1748 the state began to assign the ports and districts to transfer a pre-determined amount of grain to Istanbul. And at the beginning of spring season, all the districts and ports were aware of their responsibilities. Including the port towns on the southern shore of Marmara Sea and Danube, the core regions in point were the areas *mukâyese* system were applied.⁹³ As for the positioning of districts, in Güçer’s perspective, these were organized as closed production units because of the transportation costs. On administrative terms, it was the practical needs that the cereal was transported to the nearest port town.⁹⁴ Together with other units, whole producing areas constituted a conglomeration from where the agricultural commodities had been delivered to Istanbul. Therefore inner-towns like Felibe became the centers of market of the districts scattered around. In turn, this consolidated the link of the villages and districts to towns. Faroqhi clearly highlights that it undertones only the economic factors for the formation of a town, thus the center and periphery model of von Thünen.⁹⁵ It also simplifies the understating of city and country as separate units, again one of the properties of von Thünen’s concept of crop production.

⁹³ Aynural, Salih, *İstanbul Değirmenleri ve Fırınları...*, pp. 6-34.

⁹⁴ Güçer, Lütfi, “On Altıncı Yüzyıl Sonlarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Dahilinde Hububat Ticaretinin Tabi olduğu Kayıtlar”, *IFM*, C.XIII, No, 1-4 (1951-1952). pp. 83.

⁹⁵ Faroqhi, Suraiya, “Coping with the Central State, Coping with Local Power: Ottoman Regions and Notables from the Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century”, *The Ottomans and the Balkans. A Discussion of Historiography*, ed. by Suraiya Faroqhi & Fikret Adanır, Leiden et al.: Brill. 2002, pp. 364-365.

Chapter II

In Searching of a Model

The question of rise and falls of markets and towns concerned many urban historians, eager to understand the patterns, actors and economic factors which played a significant part in building a market and adjusting a region for the requirements of consuming cities. In this section, by attempting to study the rise of Acidere, I scrutinize the models for explaining both agricultural production and a pattern of growth of a market. The case of Acidere is strange because it was established beyond the knowledge and power of the central state. When Acidere Landing was disturbed the revenues of neighboring districts, it became the subject of the inquiry on the side of both state its local apparatus. The case, I hope, will provide an insight to the mechanism of regional adjustment and potential of both grain merchants and smugglers on their behalf.

The interest in explaining the emergence and expansion of markets, formation of regional landscape, transportation between producing lands and city centers, shape and pattern of town location, the structure of networks have led many historians of both urban and economy to ponder on the spatial and social processes. The expression and formulation of the processes have been related to geometrical terminology such as points, nodal points, circle or center. David Harvey states that the nature of geography as a science is subject to the progression of a conceptual framework for dealing with the distribution of objects and events in space. It calls the usage of co-ordinate system and an appropriate spatial language to define spatial distributions and the law behind it, and to investigate the processes in a spatial context. Ultimately, it constitutes a spatial language. It has an advantage that any social scientist can theorize schematically social and spatial processes, and the distributions of objects in a spatial context by using the terminology of geometry, defined by Harvey as ‘the language of spatial forms.’⁹⁶ As for the terminology of geometry, two traditions for discussing geographic problems are outstanding, namely Euclidean and non-Euclidian. History of geometry is beyond the content of this study. However, it is important to state that both of these traditions derived from the practical necessities to solve the problems for land surveying. In this sense, Greeks were able to handle some problems when they produced a new concept of space and add new measurement instruments in metric system. Harvey states that ‘in the Euclidean system a strait line was defined as the path of shortest distance between two points. Such paths are termed *geodesics*.’⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Harvey, David, *Explanations in Geography*, Edward Arnold, London, UK, 1969, pp.191.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 201.

Moreover, this tradition perceives the space as ‘flat’. This point is significant because *Isolated State* written by Johann Heinrich Von Thünen in 1826 is a space on a flat plane surface where different points (or districts) within the same zone have equal distance to the center. Second tradition comprehends the space as ‘curved’ and related to the works of Gauss, who were asked to administrate the land surveying of Hannover. At the end he published the results of his investigations in 1827, where he discusses the properties of geodesics.⁹⁸ Both of these traditions are related to the evaluation of geography ‘as a science of space’ and somewhat related to the measurement of distance through metric system. The views which evaluate the geography as a ‘discipline in distance’ rather hold the measurements of distance in the way of i.e. cost, time, and social interaction.

The main reason for adapting such concepts of geometry for the usage of geography is to enable an abstract language for discussing spatial process, which ‘are not temporal and therefore not strictly processes at all- they are, rather, sets of spatial relationships.’⁹⁹ In Leibnizian view, which perceives the space as a set of spatial relationships and forms, it undertones the conception of *organization of space*. The relationship between the constituting parts ultimately brings about the space itself. Therefore it is different from the view which observes an *organization in space*. The organization of space goes hand-in-hand with social organization. Or in other words, social organization is actualized and shaped within the spatial organization and vice versa. Neither is possible without other.¹⁰⁰ In this sense, we are away from fully grasping, for instance, how as an both entrepreneur and a local notable- Genç Ali- became a part of interregional grain trade and port town building projects without focusing on his positioning within the web of both spatial and social organization.

Early in 1970s Henri Lefebvre formulated actually this point in a variety of ways, described, for instance, as ‘space is social morphology’.¹⁰¹ As for the production of space, he defines in the sense that social well-being is ‘projected’ in the space in the form of relational networks such as markets and of ‘hierarchically organized centers (towns).’¹⁰² The feedstock of produced space originates from ‘the nature itself, nature transformed into a product, rudely manipulated, now threatened in its very existence, probably ruined and certainly- and most

⁹⁸ Jammer, Max, *Concepts of Space: The History of Theories of Space in Physics* (3.edition), Dover Publications, Newyork, 1999. pp. 152.

⁹⁹ Harvey, David, *Explanations in Geography ...*, pp.126.

¹⁰⁰ Tekeli, İlhan, *Mekansal ve Toplumsal Olanın Bilgibilimi Yazıları*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010, pp. 20-24.

¹⁰¹ Lefebvre, Henri, *The Production of Space*, tran.by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Basil Blackweell, Oxford, 1991. p. 194.

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 120.

paradoxically- *localized*.¹⁰³ Therefore it directly refers to Cronon's conceptualization of first and second nature mentioned in the introduction part. Furthermore it undertones that society produces a space of its own, and is produced by it. While producing a space, a social existence produces also a spatial existence. As for the concepts borrowed from geometry, Lefebvre highlights that the straight line, the curved line or concentric zones are the concepts which indicates what to do with forms and structures. And social space is the subject of formal, structural and functional analysis. It is the texture, described and analyzed by the theory of space.¹⁰⁴ It must be underlined that Lefebvre continuously insists on the view that production of space refers to the active involvement of political power and serves for the political economy of the power-holders. In this sense, theory of space presents a frame of reference or a form so that any enthusiastic can read modes of production, means of production, dialectical relationships among the constituting parts of a network both in terms of social and spatial, productive forces and evolution patterns.¹⁰⁵

Lefebvre disagree with the postulates of absolute space, which preach the existence of a void, or in other words a content (form) filled by container (material). He rather holds that the definition of space as a set of relationships and forms refers a new elucidations for the space as available and occupied 'upon which social organization is founded.'¹⁰⁶

As for the cities, they are the centers where labor, capital, goods, cultural and political power and people accumulated. They are arenas where every dimension of social organization finds a fresh air for existence. Lefebvre simply discusses that there is a symbiotic relationship between city, town and country. Well-being of cities and towns depends on the labor, raw materials, produced goods etc. And country demands simply, for instance, protection. However, the symbiotic relationship is actually based on unequal terms since cities live off surrounding countryside. And the power and very existence of urban space depends to the extent that it reflects its peculiarities (images) in the rural space. Therefore both the rural and urban space constitutes a *texture*.¹⁰⁷ The more rural space partakes of urban space, the more it incorporates into the social relations and organization of it, a point which also is the subject of this chapter.

David Harvey insists on two principal approaches to the models of agricultural activity. These are economic and behavioral aspects. In accordance with the framework of the

¹⁰³ Ibid., pp. 123.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 132.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 152.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 229.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 234-235.

models, he subdivides these as normative (refers to what should be under certain postulates) and descriptive (refers to what is literally existing).¹⁰⁸ In this sense, economic concepts provide a basis for normative framework and also for geographic theory. Driving motto is that economic factors shape the formation of towns. This line of reasoning ultimately calls central-place theory as one of the most sophisticated branch of economic geography.¹⁰⁹ Before detailing this theory, Von Thünen's approach to the formation of cities must be illuminated.

a. The Theory of Von Thünen

Von Thünen, a professional farmer in Mecklenburg, is the author of *Isolated State* published in 1826. There he develops a schema of zones of primary produces. The concentric zones had been assumed to be determined by the distance to the center- an important variable effecting transportation costs.¹¹⁰ He locates the town at the center surrounded by four rings which specialized in agricultural produces chosen in accordance with its rot resistance. Economic space of town had been situated on a smooth plain of land, however, uniform fertility- a situation that transportation costs had been determined only by distance between the town and country. On such a smooth plain, there is no place for neither land nor river connection to any other plains (towns). The theory underlines that the center will begin to supply the surrounding zones with manufactured goods, while it exacts raw materials from the countryside in the long process.¹¹¹ He then indicates how the differences in transport costs will bring about concentric zones or belts where regular pattern of agricultural activity occurs. While the location of concentric zones around the center is determined by the distance to the center, the specialization of the agricultural activity in these concentric rings depends on the transportation costs.¹¹²

Perishable products, which must be consumed soon, are being produced in the immediate zone. Therefore, dairy, orchards and vegetable gardens will be located in the first ring. While the sizes of grazing fields have a limited extent, the value and rent of lands on this belt is higher than others. With growing distance from the center the value and rent of lands will progressively decreases. Farther out, it follows the lands which supply towns with timber and firewood.¹¹³ Further on, land owners endeavors for grain production. And here transport

¹⁰⁸ Harvey, David W., 'Theoretical Concepts and the Analysis of Agricultural Land-Use Patterns in Geography', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (Jun., 1966), pp. 363.

¹⁰⁹ Harvey, David, *Explanations in Geography* ..., pp.118-119

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.355-356.

¹¹¹ Von Thünen, Johann Heinrich, *Von Thünen's Isolated State (1826, 1842)*, trans. Carla M. Waltenberg, ed. Peter Hall, 1962, pp. 7.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp.8.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp.155.

cost and the size of the cultivated lands are higher than the immediate area.¹¹⁴ Then it follows the fields of meadow and pastures for animal grazing since animals can walk easily to slaughterhouses. On the outskirts of these zones transport costs are very high and difficult that no any agricultural activity offers profit. Therefore wilderness stretches beyond the epicycle of the last ring in the absence of river navigation and differences on smooth fertile plain.

At the very beginning of his hypothesis, Von Thünen admits that the state he depicts is an abstract thought broken with the reality. Although there were many who adapted his line of reasoning in terms of approaching the town and the country as separated units, and of underpinning the central place theories, he can not escape strict criticism. In reality, there is no such a city. All the towns and cities are clustered around by a set of towns and villages, which affected the realm of hinterland. Therefore it brings about a competition for possessing larger estates around them. The conflict is not only among the towns but also people and markets which disposes to broaden their realm. Neither cities nor people have options to choose the location of mines and fertile lands in the landscape they exist, which complicated the abstract zones.

Cronon adds that von Thünen simplified formal geometry just like that of modern central place theorists, who share a lot on the premises of static and ahistorical agricultural zones. Like the model of von Thünen, central place theorists are in pursuit of a simple explanation of 'how market hierarchies evolve.' In an idealized, homogeneous and smooth surface, they try to explain how the pyramid of marked exchange would bring about cities from local markets to a metropolis.¹¹⁵ David Harvey underlines that the model of von Thünen ignored the change over time- thus spatial and social processes. He sees the things in a state of inertia free from change or evolution in technology, demand, transportation and population.¹¹⁶ Actual frame of reference of his theory is Euclidean geometry in its origin. The terms used to construct the theory (just like that of central-place theories) are the terms which served as the instruments to permit Euclidean handling of the problem.¹¹⁷

Furthermore in reality towns and cities dominantly become apparent along rivers, clusters of lakes or shorefronts which had reduced the transport costs severely.¹¹⁸ It is observable in the urban network of Anatolia depicted by Sureiya Faroqhi. She highlights that medium sized towns concentrated on three regions between Gediz Çayı and Büyük Menderes

¹¹⁴ Ibid., pp.9-11.

¹¹⁵ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: ...*, pp.282.

¹¹⁶ Harvey, David W., 'Theoretical Concepts and the Analysis ...' pp. 364.

¹¹⁷ Harvey, David, *Explanations in Geography...*, pp.225.

¹¹⁸ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1991), 48-50.

river on Aegean coasts, the lower littoral of Kızılırmak and Yeşilirmak at the hearth of Anatolia and lastly in the lands along Tigris and Euphrates.¹¹⁹ Continually the towns in the inner regions of Anatolia appeared at some distance from the sea. Moreover the biggest cities of Anatolia such as Trabzon and Sinob came to existence on the shores of seas.¹²⁰ Therefore on larger scale, cities' dependence on waterways makes Von Thünen model nonutilizable.

On the other hand, in another study she admits that Von Thünen model has some common features which conform to Istanbul on a limited scale. Including adjacent town of Galata, Eyüb and Üsküdar *intra muros* Istanbul were circumvented by clusters of gardens and vineyards which provided a rich sources for non-grain provisioning of Istanbul.¹²¹

These gardens and vineyards also became a nucleus of villages on which clusters of industrial sites had been established. For example, the village named İncir at the Anatolian side of Bosphorus was founded on famous *Paşabağçesi*- a place where a group of gardens had been stretched on the shores of township of Beykoz. In a petition of 1761, the villagers of Hisarlar, Kanlıcak, Kuruçeşme, Arnavudköy, Beybağçesi, Yeniköy, Beykoz and İncir Köyü requested Imperial Counsel to permit for opening of periodic market in an appropriate place in one of these villages. They claimed that they had big difficulties to have an access within the markets of Üsküdar and *intra muros* Istanbul. Imperial Council found a suitable open area to allow a weekly market in *Paşabağçe* where the villagers of both Anatolian and Rumelian side of Bosphorus could easily transport the produces on boats. Ultimately the *nâib* of Yoros had been charged with supervising the establishment of the market.¹²² The importance of document stems from the behavior of urban governors that aforementioned villages constituted a small-ranged core region encompassing 8 villages along the opposite shores of Bosphorus. Likewise a closer look into the economic landscape of second half of the eighteenth century Istanbul will offer several more clusters of core regions outside the city which attached traffic of people and produces into the markets. Moreover formation of periodic market serving eight villages on the banks of Bosphorus is a perfect example of production of space in Lefebvrian sense.

Furthermore a year later, Imperial Council made a decision which demonstrates how eighteenth century Istanbul expanded along the shores of Bosphorus. They allowed villagers of

¹¹⁹ Faroqhi, Suraiya, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia, Trade, Crafts, and Food Production in an Urban Setting 1520-1650*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (1984), pp. 12-13.

¹²⁰ Ibid., pp.75.

¹²¹ Faroqhi, Suraiya, "Supplying Seventeenth – and Eighteenth Century Istanbul with Fresh Produce", *Nourrir les Cités de Méditerranée: Antiquité- Temps Modernes*, (eds.) Brigitte Marin and Catherine Virlouvet, Paris: NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003, pp. 273.

¹²² A.AMD. 14/41, 1175 / 1762.

Incir to establish villager houses, shore villas (*sâhilhâne*), a bread bakery and two flour mills on the gardens in the vicinity of the pier. At the end *kaplan nâibi* was ordered to allocate a share of wheat for the mills in the villages.¹²³ *Kapan naibi* is ‘official in charge of public weighing scales’ resided in *Unkapani*. They were charged with distribution of grain to the bakeries in and along *intra muros* Istanbul.¹²⁴ The officer was appointed by the *kadı* of Istanbul and expected to play an intermediary role between guildsmen and grain merchants in fiscal matters.¹²⁵ Allocation of grain by *kaplan nâibi* to the villagers in Incir was the first step for broadening the city’s extent inwards Bosphorus.

At the very first step we have already indicated non-existence of waterways is the weakness of Von Thünen model. Faroqhi underlines that Istanbul is founded on Bosphorus; Golden Horn joins to the spatial arrangement. Furthermore, Golden Horn serves as safe harbor which brings about irregularities in Von Thünen’s schema.¹²⁶ On the other hand there appeared gardens and vineyards in *extra muros* Istanbul, too, which directly supplied Istanbul with fresh produces. An Istanbul *Kefâlet Defteri* (sureties register) of 1792 lists 49 gardens and vineyards in the neighborhood of Yedikule. An interesting detail dealing with entries is that all of the gardens and vineyards were possessed by Muslims, and hired by non-Muslims. Unfortunately there is no detail of product range grown in these vineyards and gardens.¹²⁷ *Kefâlet Defteri* of township of Üsküdar prepared around the same period indicates 70 vineyards and gardens. Contrary to the registers of Yedikule, the owners of vineyards and gardens are not indicated.¹²⁸

b. Central-place Theory

Economic concepts have provided a foundation for central-place theory. The theory has functioned to handle with the *describing* ‘spacing and distribution of settlements of various sizes and have ... provided a full geometric interpretation of the theory.’¹²⁹ This theory holds that cities and towns provide ‘gravitational fields’ for people and market

¹²³ C.BLD 277, 06.M.1176 / 28 July 1762.

¹²⁴ Aynural ,Salih, “The Millers and Bakers of Istanbul (1750-1840)”, *Crafts and Craftsmen of the Middle East : Fashioning the Individual in the Muslim Mediterranean*. Ed. by Suraiya Faroqhi and Randi Deguilhem. London; New York : I.B. Tauris Strasbourg, France : In association with the European Science Foundation ; New York :2005.pp.157.

¹²⁵ Yıldırım, Onur, “Bread and Empire: the Workings of Grain Provisioning in Istanbul during the Eighteenth Century” ” *Nourrir les Cités de Méditerranée: Antiquité- Temps Modernes*, (eds.) Brigitte Marin and Catherine Virlovet, Paris: NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003, pp. 254.

¹²⁶ Faroqhi, Suraiya, “Supplying Seventeenth – and Eighteenth Century Istanbul... pp. 274-75.

¹²⁷ A.DVN.d. 831, 25.S.1207 / 12 October 1792. pp.44-45.

¹²⁸ A.DVN.d. 899, 1207 / 1792. pp. 58-60. For more details on social interactions in the gardens and vineyards of 18th century Istanbul, see also: Artan, Tülay, "Forms and forums of expression: Istanbul and beyond, 1600-1800", *The Ottoman World*, Woodhead, Christine (ed.), London: Routledge, December 2011, 378-405.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 138.

activities. This approach locates the metropolis at center of symmetrical network of medium-sized cities and smaller towns at the first circle and smaller villages at the second circle. Or in other words, the metropolis appears as the regional capital at the tip of urban pyramid, then follows smaller cities and towns. On a rough graph- design, cities are just like stars around which towns and villages clustered and behaved like orbits. As long as the countryside develops and specializes in population and production, its central city grows up mutually.¹³⁰ The position of the towns and cities in the system constituted a hierarchy among them and existence of the hierarchy in turn brings about a rank of regional markets. The central city is the place that the most sophisticated commodities were exchanged. Like the theory of Thünen, it provides an abstract mathematical formulation of how market hierarchies come to existence and the most important agenda of the theory undertones that how the towns *naturally* come to existence without the intervention of other factors.

Sureiyya Faroqhi observes in a number of studies that the cases of Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo had been perceived as the regional capitals and possessed a fair range of autonomy on the Ottoman Middle East. Then she tests the limitation of Von Thünen's and central places theories by discussing the case of Crete. Before the annexation of Crete from Venetians at the second half of the seventeenth century, it had been specialized in wine production. However, after the annexation the wine production was replaced with oil for the demand of Istanbul- a cultural behavior which directly effected the positioning of the island on the network. Moreover, although island's geographical proximity to Egypt, not the economic factors but the exigencies of Istanbul enabled on the part of Crete to develop more intensive economic ties to Istanbul than to Cairo. She ends the discussion on the basis that economic factors were significant, however by no means dominant in the determination of urban sizes and regional formations.¹³¹

c. Gateway Cities: *Acidere* Landing

Far from being a gradual and evolutionary bottom-up process, Istanbul as the pioneer of 'command economy' intervened into the expansion of town markets, organization of towns and adjustment of both the structure and strata of rural and urban economy. By the end of the middle of the sixteenth century, Black Sea coastal was incorporated into the realm of Ottomans, and cut the connection of Italian-city states, Hungary, Poland, Safavids off Black Sea littoral and adjacent regions. However my contention is that it was second half of the eighteenth century that western side of Black Sea littoral came under the terms of 'command

¹³⁰ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: ...*, pp.38-39.

¹³¹ Faroqhi, Suraiya, "Coping with the Central State, Coping with Local Power:... pp.361-364.

economy'. Building new port towns and organizing an alternative bureaucratic apparatus in the locality were an important step for this economic expansion. In this sense, it is only within this context that we can read the case of Genç Ali and rise of Karaharman.

This pattern can be also observed in the case of Acidere, a village founded on the left bank of the Dniester. The tributary area of village encompassed the lands from Sarısu to Prezen Strait. The taxes such as tithe had been collected by the custom controller (*emin*) of Akkirman. The Castle of Akkirman (Cetatea Alba) was established on the right bank of Dniester. One of the most productive and strategic region on the western side of the Black Sea cover the shores between *Kili* (Chilia) and Castle of Akkirman. This part of the Black Sea littoral had been conquered in 1484. Both of these fort towns, by the navigation of the river, are the nodal points which enabled Ottomans to have an access to the raw materials and markets of Moldavia, Hungary, Danube, Poland and Tatar steppes.¹³² In the middle of seventeenth century Evliya Çelebi states that fortress trench line between Meyyit Landing (or door) and Tophane on the north bank of Golden Horn in Istanbul was unique in his time in terms of its strength and size. Only the trench line of *Akkirman* was in all likelihood equal to it.¹³³ The castle was founded on a huge crag. It administrated the access and outlets of commodities and ships into the natural port of Dniester. Like Evliya Çelebi, Eyüb Özveren indicates that even in Byzantine times, economic landscape of northwestern coastline of Black Sea ports including Akkirman were colonized by Genovese merchants, who were ultimately monopolized grain trade of the area.¹³⁴ Tributary landscape of the region has been described by İnciciyan as extremely fertile for cereal production and grazing animals.¹³⁵ *Kili* had been on the mount of Danube and 96,5 km away from *Akkirman*. Just like *Akkirman*, the port of *Kili* provided an appropriate estuarine port for the ships. Furthermore this fort town is the first place on the northward where Danube disembogued into Black Sea. The coast line between *Kili* and *Akkirman* was called as Bessarabia.¹³⁶

By the end of August 1755, the authorities of the area informed Istanbul that they could not able to collect the taxes properly from the cargos of merchants because of the

¹³² Kortepeter, Carl M., "Ottoman Imperial Policy and the Economy of the Black Sea Region in the Sixteenth Century", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Vol. 86, No. 2 (Apr., 1966), pp.92.

¹³³ Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zilli (2006). *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 304 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu-Dizini, Vol.I, ed by Robert Dankoff, Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları). p.211

¹³⁴ Özveren, Eyüb, "Black Sea and the Grain Provisioning of İstanbul in the Long Durée" *Nourrir les Cités de Méditerranée: Antiquité- Temps Modernes*, (eds.) Brigitte Marin and Catherine Virlouvet, Paris: NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003, pp. 239

¹³⁵ İnciciyan, P.L., H.D. Andreasyan, 'Osmanlı Rumelisi'nin Tarih ve ...', pp.123-24.

¹³⁶ Bıjışkyan, P. Minas, *Karadeniz Kıyıları Tarih ve Coğrafyası 1817- 1819...*, pp. 104.

situation that merchants preferred interchange in the village of *Acidere*. They insisted that without any permission of central state, the merchants not only stored the produces in the granaries but also built grocery shops hired by the villagers. It resulted a fall in the revenue of the short-term tax farming and the custom revenues collected by *Kili Nezâreti*. An interesting detail is about the tariff regulation. While Muslim merchants paid 3 % tariff, non-Muslims paid % 4.¹³⁷

We learn from the report that not only religious and military authorities but inhabitants settled around Castle of Akkirman complained the situation. Because the villagers around *Acidere* constructed many buildings built of reed (*sazdan bina*) and settled periodic markets and fairs for retailing. Furthermore they even opened many market stalls where vegetables and fruits had been purchased by the customers. On the whole, the area attracted merchants who did not pay customary taxes when they traded in *Acidere*. With regard to the complaints, Istanbul ordered the governors to demolish the buildings and prohibited to open periodic markets in the villages of *Acidere*. It was legitimated on the ground that the central authority did not take a risk to disturb the tax-farms in Akkirman and *Kili*.¹³⁸

The result is unknown. Because the state paid 750 *guruş* for travelling expenses to three stewards appointed to supervise the grain trade in the lands along *Acidere*, *Akkirman* and *Kili* Landings in 1760.¹³⁹ It meant that officially the state began to impose a bureaucratic apparatus on the village and pier. However it was unsuccessful. Just after the constructing of Odessa Port on the northern side of the peninsula in 1768, it appeared that the landscape was still inhabited by merchants, villagers and smugglers. Selim Giray, Khan of Crimea, reports that commercial produces such as grain, animal fat and leather transported by *Yedisans*, one of Tatar tribe, from the inner areas of 20-30 hour-distance to *Acidere* Landing had been purchased by smugglers. Selim Giray complains that by preventing free movements of both villagers and merchants, they disturbed trade activities in the lands along Dniester River. In the details of the report, Selim Giray highlights the existence of 174 cellars on *Acidere* Landing where both licensed grain merchants and smugglers stored grain. After the investigation of these cellars, it appeared that 60 cellars were possessed by smugglers. Interestingly enough other 114 cellars where 118 300 Akkirman *kile* of wheat had been stored and possessed by licensed grain merchants. These cellars of grain merchants had been administrated by 34 henchmen of them- probably by their *yazıcıs*. Central administration

¹³⁷ MAD 775 pp.52-1, Fî evasıt Za 1168 / 23 August 1755.

¹³⁸ Ibid., pp.55-1, Fî Evâhir Ş. 1168 / 6 June 1755.

¹³⁹ D.BŞM 4453/33, 26.C.1173 / 15 January 1760.

responded this report harshly by ordering the governors of province, official in charge of grain administration and custom controller of Istanbul to transport the stored grain to Odessa Port, where they could be able to levy tariff.¹⁴⁰ In the report unfortunately there is no any detail about the fate of the granaries on Acidere Landing. After the treaty of 1792, the area of northern Dniester including Acidere and Hocabey was left to Russians. And in 1794 Russians constructed a fort across the Akkirman.¹⁴¹

How can we interpret the storyline in accordance with Von Thünen and central-place theories? We know that on the graph-map of Von Thünen, there is only a town center free from other towns and no places for the interactions between the concentric zones of other *Isolated States*. Therefore, to any extent the theory does not explain nature of relationship between primacy of central state and encumbered growth of regional landscape of Acidere. Moreover, it does not conform to the competition between tributary areas of Akkirman and Acidere. After the construction of Odessa Port, this tension shifted from Akkirman to Odessa.

Contrary to what central-place theories might suggest the case of Acidere appears as a competing village to the neighboring villages. Moreover, central place theories are in search of *natural* emergence and expansion of markets. Shortly, economic factors are the driving force for the growth of markets. Contrary to this understanding, the expansion of a regional market, Acidere, had been encumbered by the central authority, which blocked *natural* expansion of this market, since it appeared as a rival to other markets. Ultimately, in the short run it could not find a place in the official web of regional markets. The case resembles more likely to the gateway cities which functions as chief intermediary between local markets and much bigger consuming markets.

First of all, the town served as a meeting place of both official and unofficial merchants. Behind the subtext a collaboration and co-existence of both grain merchants and smugglers were hidden. Such collaboration and co-existence projected on the economic landscape of the village when they built and stored their grains in 174 cellars. They behaved not only as entrepreneurs but also active town builders on the northern port towns of Alçaklar. At the moment we are away from to determine the existence of other buildings such as hardware dealers and *hans* for the scribes of grain merchants. However, from the cases of Genç Ali and his possessing in Karaharman and Köstence, it is inductive to say that Acidere Landing was able to become a complete and comprehensive gateway to store 118 300 Akkirman *kile* of wheat in 117 cellars. In accordance with the grain dispatched from the port

¹⁴⁰ C.BLD 1865, 21.S.1179 / 9 August 1769.

¹⁴¹ See the map in HAT 1387/55149, 29.Z.1208 / 28 July 1794.

towns of Alçaklar shown in the table, approximate size of Acidere as a gateway stood between Varna and Mangalia.

Another important detail in Giray's report is that Acidere Landing served as an exit of commercial commodities from the prominent inner region of 20-30 hour-distance. Acidere had a locational advantage of a large livestock and wheat-rising hinterland far to its north-west. Although the town's unofficial gateway status was short-term, it was able to become an attractive market for both licensed-grain merchants and smugglers who also colonized the north-western landscape of Dniester. As a gateway and regional market, it linked its hinterland with the markets of much wealthier city- Istanbul. From the existence of periodic markets and large number of cellars, we understand that the town was first and foremost a center of both retailing and wholesale trade, and a center of exchange where both labor and goods were transmuted into cash.

Cronon observes that gateway cities are more suitable for long distance transportation and wholesaling. Moreover, the gateway status depends on the forces of market expansion, environmental conditions and self-motivated competition within urban network.¹⁴² Contrary to the central place theory, where the central city stood at the center, the gateway cities had been occupied a place at the end of the epicycle. Since access into a vast productive tributary landscape is the fundamental aspect of such city, then it has to be on a place which provides the most suitable advantage for easy transportation.¹⁴³

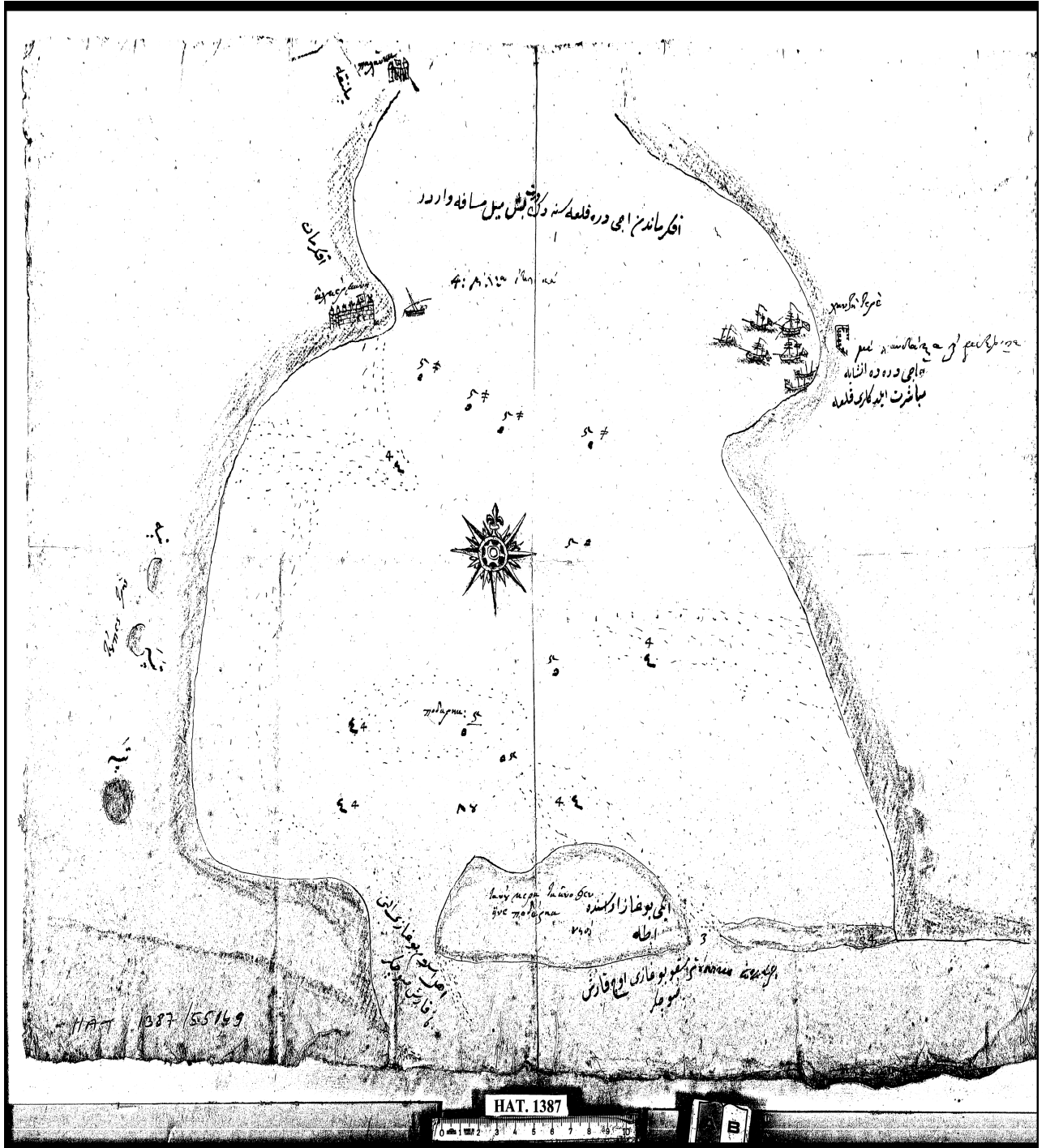
Not only the port towns like Köstence, Mangalia and Karaharman on Rumelian side of Black Sea but also the port towns such as İznik and Samsun on Anatolian shores of Black Sea functioned as an important nodal point which linked the economic resources of inland cities such as Sivas, Amasya and Çorum to Istanbul. It was again grain supply as the commodity variable which located the city within the urban network. The wheat floured in Sivas was transported on the wagons first to Samsun then to Istanbul. In accordance with a distribution register of 1778, 334 wagons transported 81 305 Istanbulî *kile* of flour under the supervision of Cabbarzâde Mustafa Bey.¹⁴⁴ Another document indicates that 70 000 *kile* of grain had been transported from Amasya, Çorum and Bozok to Samsun Landing until November. However, they complaints that they could not find another appropriate buildings such as cellars and *bazestâns* to store the grain. Therefore, they had been ordered to evacuate a building in the

¹⁴² William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: ...*, pp.376.

¹⁴³ Burghardt, A. F., 'A Hypothesis about Gateway Cities', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 61, No. 2 (Jun., 1971), pp. 270.

¹⁴⁴ D.MKF 30740 pp. 2-3, 19.Ş.1192 / 12 September 1778.

The sketch prepared in July 1794 depicting the both the borders of Ottomans and Russians. In opposite shore of Dniester, it had been situated the forts of Akkirman and Acidere. The second one was probably constructed by Russians after 1792.
 HAT 1387/55149, 29.Z.1208 / 28 July 1794.



dockyard of Samsun having the capacity to store 15 000 *kile* of grain.¹⁴⁵ The problem lasted until 1820, when the central state built a new granary in the old dockyard.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ C.ML 25148, 2.R.1206 / 19 November 1791.

¹⁴⁶ C.BH 7099, 19.Z.1235 / 27 September 1820.

Chapter III

Departing from Hocabey to Odesa

a. The construction of the port of Hocabey

In contrast to several harbors on Black Sea, Hocabey (Odessa after 1796) possessed outstanding characteristics for providing harbor to vessels. The complete port appeared in the last decade of eighteenth century when Ottomans had to hand it over to the Russians. Its roadstead was never frozen and blocked by the ices and it could provide grain ships as well as even warships to safely arrive and leave in the winter.¹⁴⁷ As the port is positioned on the southern side of the bay of Odesa, the vessels were able to sail from north-east into safe waters of the port. Furthermore, deep waters and its bottom having of appropriate sand and gravel provided the ships to anchor easily. As having an advantageous position, the area was naturally gifted for transito trade for both retail and wholesale.¹⁴⁸ Its shores stretching from Prezen to Danube are very flat and ¹⁴⁹low; only reeds and masts became visible on river of Dniester. The well-being of both port and city of Odesa described just after the beginning of nineteenth century owes its very existence first Ottomans then Tsarist Catherine. In this chapter, I try to describe how Hocabey became Odessa.

Landscape

In the middle of 1764, urban oligarchy in Istanbul initiated a construction project in the port of Hocabey. The borders of the area named Hocabey stretched on the peninsula between the castle of Akkirman and Ochakov - between Dniester River and The Isle of Berezen. It has thirty miles distance from Dniester. The northern border had been extended towards the fort named Yanık Palanka. During the construction projects, Ottoman authorities in Istanbul had investigated that in the vicinity of the pier there were only two parcels of lands allocated for market place and wagons carrying grain. Apart from these parcels, in *defter-i hâkâni*, there were not records of land registers and land title related to the area. Therefore, the entire peninsula had been recorded as the lands of the state (*hâvâss-ı hümmâyün*). Moreover, no any living souls existed there. It was the land and the wandering Tatar tribes named Yedisian. Earlier, this tribe was taxed by Khanate of Crimea. As it has been seen in the case of rise of Acıdere, the custom office of Akkirman and ministry of Kili (Kili Nezâreti) had supervised the peninsula. Due to an unknown reason the area had been abandoned for eighty

¹⁴⁷ Dearborn, Henry A.S., *A Memoir of Commerce...* Vol I. Wells & Lilly, 1819, pp. 237.

¹⁴⁸ Oddy, Joshua Jepson, *European Commerce*, pp. 161.

¹⁴⁹ Dearborn, Henry A.S., *A Memoir of Commerce...* Vol II.p.9.

years and no agricultural production had existed on the soil.¹⁵⁰ Because of its warm climate and fine temperatures, variety of plants and agricultural activities were adaptable on its untouched soils.¹⁵¹

As for the symbol of second nature only there existed the remnants of an old fort named Karagirman.¹⁵² The oldest document about the fort in the area of Hocabey dates from the year of 1584. Imperial Capital had been informed previously that the fort had been on the point of falling apart. *Kadis* of Özi and Akkirman were ordered to prepare a detailed report about whether the fort in Hocabey needed to be repaired or not.¹⁵³ The result is unknown. Later, however, as the new port was to be built after 1764, there required a construction of new fort.

Like in the case of rise of the port of Karaharman, the grain merchants demanded to build several buildings in order to facilitate the flow of grain into Istanbul. The project aimed not only to build a complete port but also to change the morphology of the land stretching beyond the port. The project has importance in a variety of ways revolving around the mechanism of Ottoman interregional grain trade. It was a pattern according to which the state and private sectors involved in a construction project outside Istanbul. I hope I will explain how an uninhabited peninsula was incorporated into the network of grain trade and show the creation of a new spatial organization that affected economy and trade.

Administrative Organization

The date associated with making a decision to build a port in Hocabey is unknown. However, in the middle of July 1764 the central bureaucracy had already laid the groundwork to organize both the building supplies and laborers. As implied above, the need to build a pier and outhouses were requested to Istanbul by the grain merchants. The grain coming on the wagons had to be stored in cells and warehouses if it arrived to the port after November. However the winds enabled to sail to the south- Istanbul- during summer season and the grain was expected to be loaded into the ships of grain merchants in order to transport swiftly. At the first step, the state planned to build a *câmiî*’, granaries, piers, custom house, *hans*, the rooms for janissary soldiers, flourmills and bake houses for sailors before the winter.

¹⁵⁰ C.ML 30648, 5.Ş.1178 / 28 March 1765

¹⁵¹ Dearborn, Henry A.S., *A Memoir of Commerce and Navigation* ... pp.238.

¹⁵² C.ML 30648, 5.Ş.1178 / 28 March 1765.

¹⁵³ A.DVN.MHM.d 53, p. 116, 27.B. 992 / 4 August 1584. I appreciate Emel Soyer for informing me about this edict.

Administratively a *binâ emini* (the top officer in charge of construction), two officials for accounting the income and expenses, a master's builder (*mimar halifesi*) and a sergeant were appointed there to finish the buildings before the winter. Hafiz Mehmed Efendi as a *binâ emini* was held responsible for all organization. This rank actually refers to responsibilities of construction field managers.¹⁵⁴

Around the same time, the custom house of Istanbul charged a custom controller (*gümrük emini / iskele emini*) to levy weighing fee and tariffs. The custom controller was obliged to prevent the loading of cargos on the ships of unlicensed merchants. The *kadı*s around the ports and Janissary commanders were obliged to reinforce the custom officer for checking the license of the merchants.¹⁵⁵ The revenue of custom house of Odesa had been 1 044 *guruş* for the period of sixteen months (from August 1764 to November 1765) while the annual cost of the custom house had been calculated as 744 *guruş*. The annual expenses of the newly established *camii* had been covered by the custom house of Odesa. It was also the expenses of horses and the post riders in the new halting place (*menzilhâne*) compensated by the custom office (500 *guruş* for a year).¹⁵⁶

A year's later accounting register of custom house of Odesa gives more details on the revenues and expense of the custom house. The former *reisler kethüdâsi** - Emin Hasan- held the custom house as short-term tax farm. 4 253 *guruş* 53 *akçe* was recorded as the annual income out of ground rent and granaries. He spent 923 *guruş* 14 *akçe* for the expenses such as for kitchen, lighthouse keepers, olive oil and fuses for the light house, a *şinik* and a big steelyard.¹⁵⁷

Logistics

Hafiz Mehmed Efendi demanded 141 laborers from among the craftsmen of Istanbul to employ in Hocabey. Including 5 foremen, 59 stonemasons, 6 stonecutters, 11 carpenters, 6 workers for coals, 3 sawyers, 6 smiths, 20 sappers and 30 stone crushers were employed. The livelihood and travelling expenses of whole employees amounted 5 360 *guruş* were defrayed by the central treasury.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, building supplies such as pickaxes (20), shovels (300)

¹⁵⁴ C.İKTS 856 vrk no. 2, 16.M.1178 / 16 July 1764.

¹⁵⁵ C.İKTS 856 vrk no. 1, 16.M.1178 / 16 July 1764.

¹⁵⁶ C.ML 26869, 21.N.1179 / 3 March 1766.

* It may be best to describe his position as the chief captain of mariners or the chief captain in charge of administration of captain of licensed grain merchants.

¹⁵⁷ AE.SMST.III. 1303, 5.L.1181 / 24 February 1768.

¹⁵⁸ C.İKTS 856 folio 7, 14.M.1178 / 14 July 1764.

and sledhammers (20) were delivered from Istanbul.¹⁵⁹ For the laborers, bivouacs were pitched and the tents were sent from Istanbul.¹⁶⁰

Moreover, a division of tasks among surrounding districts and Moldavian vassalage were adapted to reduce the transportation costs and provide building supplies. For example Alexander Ligori - Voivode of Moldavia- was ordered to deliver 300 Christian workmen (*cerâhor*), 2 pitmen for quarry and 40 ox carts to the top officer in charge of construction.¹⁶¹ The Voivode was also ordered to provide coal, wood and timbers on fixed-prices.¹⁶² In February 1765, 4 354,4 *guruş* were handled to him for the costs of coal (2 855 *vukiyye*) and 2 564 pieces of timbers .¹⁶³

In a series of imperial edicts, *kadıs* and commanders of Akkirman, Özi, Bender and Babadağı were required to deliver craftsmen and building materials to the port. For example, *kadı* and commander of Akkirman were supposed to undertake the transportation of whatever remained such as timbers, nails from the repairing of Castle of Akkirman.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, the head of arsenal in Akkirman was ordered to supply gunpowder whenever Hafız Mehmed Efendi demanded for using in quarry.¹⁶⁵

Buildings

When Hafız Mehmed Efendi delivered the building supplies to the arsenal of Akkirman and returned to Istanbul in November, the first stage of building project was finished.¹⁶⁶ It is not known exactly to what extent they completed the premeditated projects during that summer. However it is certain that five big granaries in the immediate vicinity of port had been built and four of them were hired by two grain merchants-Revâni Güzel Hacı Mehmed and Hamâmizâde Hacı İbrahim. Including these two merchants, the name of a captain and a *yazıcı* are mentioned in the accounting records. They were probably the representatives of Istanbul-based grain merchants. The annual rental value for every single granary was determined as 30 *guruş* by custom controller of Istanbul and the chief captain of mariners on the condition that the rent would be increased in the case of demand growth.¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁹ C.İKTS 856 folio 14, 14.M.1178 / 14 July 1764.

¹⁶⁰ C.İKTS 856 folio 15, 14.M.1178 / 14 July 1764.

¹⁶¹ C.İKTS 856 folio 6, 15.M.1178 / 15 July 1764.

¹⁶² C.İKTS 856 folio 16, 14.M.1178 / 14 July 1764.

¹⁶³ C.BH 6564, 26.Ş.1178 / 18 February 1765

¹⁶⁴ C.İKTS 856 folio 12, 15.M.1178 / 15 July 1764.

¹⁶⁵ C.İKTS 856 folio 13, 15.M.1178 / 15 July 1764.

¹⁶⁶ C.AS 14273, 24.C.1178 / 6 November 1764.

¹⁶⁷ C.BLD 4494, 29.Ş.1178 / 21 February 1765.

For the provisioning both sailors and inhabitants, Hafız Mehmed Efendi suggested the building of two bake houses and two flour mill.¹⁶⁸ However, only a bakery and flour mill were built. Although some other investors intended to build bake houses in the port, the permit was not issued because it would have lowered the revenues of the existing one. It had been granted as a short term tax farm (*iltizam*) to Hafız Mustafa for an annual rent of 400 *guruş*. At the end of the year, Ahmed Efendi- construction field manager- reported that a bake houses was sufficient to meet the demand.¹⁶⁹

Hafız Mehmed Efendi also requested to build a candle production facility (*şemhâne*) for trade with Istanbul.¹⁷⁰ The permit was probably not issued as well because there is no record of the existence of a production facility for candles in the following years. A *şemhâne* existed in Akkirman, which may have tried to safeguard the monopoly and prevented the opening of a new one.

In the spring of 1765 a new bureaucratic organization was put in place which facilitated the erection of new buildings such as the fort and the lighthouse. In April 1765, the new commander in charge of the construction named Ahmed Efendi and another master builder named Yani Kalfa were appointed to build the fort of Karagirman and the lighthouse in the vicinity of the pier. The fort had the function of providing security for the merchants. The second building was to assist the ships to sail safely at night. The top officer for the construction and Yani Kalfa were assigned to prepare a detailed plan and report about the construction of these buildings. Around that time the state began to consider using the empty lands on the shore and in the vicinity of the port for renting. The commander that oversaw the construction prepared a report on the empty lands.¹⁷¹

The name Yani Kalfa has importance for our case because he was one of Christian who had a parcel of land when the empty lands of Hocabey were splintered among grain merchants. Moreover he was the only person who did not have a merchant background. Before he was ordered to build a fort and lighthouse in Hocabey, he had been already charged to repair the Castle of Bender. 200 *guruş* for the travelling expenses and 1 *guruş* for the daily wage had been paid to him.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ D.BŞM 4821/1, 29.Ra.1178 / 26 October 1764.

¹⁶⁹ C.İKTS 2112, 16.N.1179 / 26 February 1766.

¹⁷⁰ D.BŞM 4821/2, 29.Ra.1178 / 26 October 1764.

¹⁷¹ C.NF 88, 27.L.1178 / 19 April 1765.

¹⁷² C.AS 45944, 16.Za.1178 / 14 April 1765.

Moreover custom controller of Istanbul and the chief captain of mariners hired a ship for 140 *guruş* for the transportation of laborers from Istanbul to Hocabey and Bender.¹⁷³ The question of how many laborers had been delivered from both Istanbul and *kazas* surrounding Hocabey is unclear for the year 1765. A year later the *kadıs* of Akkirman, Özi, Kili and Bender were ordered to deliver 5 carpenters, 40 stonemasons, 15 stonecutters, 2 lime burners and 24 porters (*sırık hammalı*) to finish the construction.¹⁷⁴ Custom controller of Hocabey worried that since the winter comes earlier in that area, it was probable that they could not finish the construction. He demanded 6 000 *guruş* to finish the fort within 40-50 days.¹⁷⁵ They finished it before winter arrived and for a long time there was no issue related to the construction of the fort.

Nonetheless, the lighthouse had been finished before February 1766. It had been constructed in the vicinity of the port on a cliff named Kızılyar- Red Cliff. Custom controller of Istanbul had appointed Seyid Mehmed Hüseyin as the lighthouse keeper. Daily wage for him was determined by the controller and had the value of 8 *akçe*. Custom house of Istanbul was again responsible for other expenses of the lighthouse such as fuses and olive oil.¹⁷⁶ Dearborn states that around 1819s the lighthouse and the fort were still there.¹⁷⁷

A year later, the custom controller of Hocabey requested to build a public bath (*hamam*) with a doom of 7 *arşın* / 4,019 m². It had been predicted that it would have been the annual revenue of 200-250 *guruş*. They were permitted to build on the condition that the expenses had to be under 3 000 *guruş*.¹⁷⁸ The custom controller- Hasan Bey- was ordered to provide the gunpowder and other building supplies from the arsenal of Akkirman. They finished building the public bath in the summer of 1768.¹⁷⁹

b. Nucleus of Inhabitation within the Vacant Landscape and Grain Merchants

As indicated above, before the construction project the port and surrounding area had the character of an uninhabited landscape. The state took responsibility to erect buildings such as granaries, piers, lighthouses, bake house and the list goes on. In a parallel extent ‘non-state sectors’ had involved into the process of inhabiting the area. It was one of the last stages in the subordination of the surface of the landscape to the priorities of provisioning Istanbul.

¹⁷³ C.AS 46446, 6.Z.1178 / 27 May 1765.

¹⁷⁴ C.AS 3438, 2.M.1180 / 10 June 1766.

¹⁷⁵ C.AS 33499, 22.R.1180 / 28 August 1766.

¹⁷⁶ MAD 9996 p.45 hkm no.1, 14.Ra.1180 / 19 September 1766.

¹⁷⁷ Dearborn, Henry A.S., *A Memoir of Commerce...* Vol II .p.5

¹⁷⁸ C.BLD 6504, 28.Ra.1181 / 23 September 1767.

¹⁷⁹ C.AS 16281, M.29.1182 / 15 June 1768.

Commercialization of the soil was the target at the very beginning of project. How did it take place? The answer, I hope, can be found in the question of actors and patterns.

The chief captain of mariners and 23 grain merchants demanded from the state to allot the vacant lands so that the grain merchants would be able to possess 500 *zira* square lands for monthly rental value of 30 *akçe*. They guaranteed that they intent to construct buildings such as granaries and shops. One of the terms of agreement was that the buildings erected by the merchants would have been under the possession of traders while the plots of lands were owned still by the state. And the traders would have been under the protection of the state against the third parties in case of interventions. With regard to this demand, Mehmed Emin- custom controller of Istanbul- was ordered to prepare a report on these vacant lands in August 1765. In accordance with the report, it became clear that the plots of lands had the size of 47 632 *zirâ*’ square. The whole terrain was divided into 150 parcels. Until May 1768, 13 649 *zirâ*’ square of lands had been hired by grain merchants. After that month, the state ordered *kadı* of Akkirman and Emin Hasan - custom controller of Hocabey- to grant the title deeds (*temessük*) of the parcels to the demanders (23 grain merchants).¹⁸⁰

The table below indicates 21 grain merchants who hired 9 142 *zirâ*’ square of plots of lands in Hocabey.¹⁸¹ In the first and last columns of the table there are the names of beneficiaries. It has been already indicated that the demanders were from among the merchant groups specified in the first column. Yani Kalfa is the only exception of being non-merchant status. As for the second column, it gives the amount of monthly rental value of the parcels. The third column points out the size of plot of parcels hired by the merchant of first column. And the last column details the adjoining neighbors. In that column there appears the second Christian name - Abacı Zimmi. As for the names specified in the first and fourth columns, the pseudonym ‘*Beşe*’ must be underlined. It refers to a person with a Janissary background but involved in guild membership and business activities. Although it is argumentative and confused with the title *paşa*, it originated from the term *baş ağa* – the commander of a division of Janissary corps. In contrast to traditional Janissary order, they had the permission of marriage.

Name of the beneficiaries	Monthly rent (<i>akçe</i>)	Size of the parcels (<i>zirâ</i> ’ square)	Encircled by
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¹⁸⁰ C.ML 30392, 29.Z.1181 / 17 May 1768.

¹⁸¹ The datas graved in the table are extracted from MAD 9996 and D.BŞM file type of classification: MAD 9996 p.241-249, 277, 280 and D.BŞM 5033/39-42, 5033/53, 5033/63-64, 5033/78, 5033/90-93, 5033/95, 5034/25-26, 5034/39.

Ramazan Beşe ibn Mehmed	5,5	91	Benderli Hüseyin Beşe/Kazazoğlu Mehmed/vacant land/public road
Kırımlı Ebu Bekir and Ali Beşe	42	700	Molla Osman/vacant land/public road (2)
Kalyoncu Ali ibn Hüseyin	11	190	Kara Kullukçu Halil Beşe/.../public road
Sarı Mustafa	21	352	Vidinli Mehmed Beşe/Halil Beşe/valley/public road
Tatar Mehmed	9	150	Vidinli Seyyid Beşe/Ayanlı Mehmed/vacant land/public road
Vidinli Mehmed Beşe	8	144	Kara Ali Beşe/public road/vacant land (2)
Azaklı Seyid Mehmed bin Abdullah	38	632	Ekmekçi Emir Ahmed/valley/.../public road
Erzurumlu Saka Mustafa	8,5	143	Kahveci Emir Osman/... Hasan Mustafa/vacant land/public road
Yani Kalfa	60	100	Hacı Mehmed Ağa (grain merchant)/cliff/... Yağcı Hacı Hasan/shore
Kasab pehlivan	12,5	208	Daldaloğlu Emir İbrahim/Abacı Zimmi/vacant land/public road
Seid Kul Hacı	20	360	Osmancıklı Mehmed/vacant land/public road (2)
Cenberci Hacı Halil	60	1000	İmam Seyid Mehmed Efendi(grain merchant) /İşçi Hasan/public road (2)
Veli Hasan	33,5	555	Çatalzeytinli Molla Mehmed/vacant land/public road (2)
Bozacı Hacı Halil	7	117	Emir Hasan/Kara Mustafa and his partner Molla Ahmed/vacant land/public road
Uzun Mehmed Beşe	6	100	Cenberci Molla Mehmed/vacant land/public road (2)
...oğlu Molla Ahmed	9	150	İbrahim Odabaşı/vacant land/public road (2)
Hasan ibn Ahmed	72	1200	Molla İsmail/Kilili Şişman Ali/public road (2)
Süleyman ibn Salih	12	200	Vacant land (2) / public road (2)
Hasan Beşe	9	150	Veli oğlu Ahmed Beşe / ...Halil/ public road (2)
Çatırcı? Hacı Halil	156	2 600	Hasan Beşe/İmam Seyid Mehmed/public road (2)

The names in the table are instructive because it gives a profile of grain merchants. In the official documents they were called both as wealthy holders (*sermaye sahipleri*) or

licensed grain merchants (*tezkireli kapan tüccarı*). A monopoly had been granted them, which refers the privileges for internal grain trade. All of them in the list are Muslims. They were generally understood as the representatives of the private sector of grain trade without drawing the frame of what they mean with private sector.¹⁸² Since it calls forth a competition with state, this discourse is contestable. To what extent we can draw a line between the private sector and state? On which point their interests were in a state of conflict?

It was through either *ayans* or grain merchants interwoven with the apparatus of state, that they were able to undertake a significant role in the building of the new town. The well-being of both the *ayans* and grain traders were dependent on their symbiotic relations with urban oligarchy in Istanbul. On the whole, the motivation behind the project was to arrange a market space under state control which would be interwoven with the group of merchants.

The term land is described by Polanyi as ‘an element of nature inextricably interwoven with man’s institutions.’¹⁸³ He observes that the isolation of land from nature and arranging a market space out of it is the act of human being. When we begin to talk about land, we are on the stage to describe an important part of the unity between the social organization, classes and institutions binded together as a whole. The market economy is the site of subordination of social institutions to the priorities of the market mechanisms which lead to the commercialization of the soil and the transfer of the surplus to a populous city. Polanyi describes ‘commercialization of soil’ as the dissolution of feudalism. He states that the new system went hand in hand for centuries with the old one. Just before the industrialization of the soil, the principles of commercialization of soil correlated with the mechanism of protectionism on the continent¹⁸⁴

This view has in common with Acidere and Odesa cases. The local markets on the north-western shores of Black Sea were under the ‘protection’ of state to the extent that the apparatus of the state was able to reach into the mechanism of both production and transportation of produces. It had achieved this with the help of *ayans* and grain merchants. Outside the circle there existed the unsubordinated markets whose fate depended on the mechanism of locality like in the case of Acidere Landing. The instruments of intervention on the part of state and other neighborhoods left little space for Acidere- a situation that disfigures the principles of self-regulating market. The problem of control over the custom duties, and the rise of Odesa ceased Acidere to become prosperous. The principle of

¹⁸² Aynural, Salih, *Istanbul Değirmenleri...* pp.16-17.

¹⁸³ Polanyi, Karl. *The Great Transformation*. New York, Toronto, Farrar & Rinehart, Inc.1944. p.178.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p.179-187.

protectionism imprinted its character on both land and social stratification. The Odesa case is the laboratory of such protectionism.

Unfortunately however, Odesa under Ottoman rule could not be a prosperous gateway like its fellow ports on the western shore of the Black Sea. Just after the plots of lands over the terrain were divided among grain traders, Ottomans declared war against Russians in 1768. Odesa had its share from the deleterious effects of this war. When it finally ended in 1774, newly appointed commander of Ochakov- Şerif Hasan Paşa- prepared a report dealing with both the fort and marina port of Odesa and the area surrounding it. Şerif Hasan Paşa had been also local notable of Rusçuk for a short period before the devastating wars of 1768. His report has importance because it depicts the condition of the peninsula after the agreement between Russians and Ottomans in 1774. It declares that even a decade later the fort and the port did not offer sufficient security to both inhabitants and merchants. The commander admits that the peninsula had a great potential to be inhabited because of its productive soils and nearness to the shore. However his complaint was that the area between Özi and Akkirman which had a distance of 24 hours was void of living humans. The commander saw the problem in security issues and offered to propel two divisions (381 soldiers) from the Castles of Özi and Kılburun in order to guarantee the security of merchants on the highways.¹⁸⁵

However the wars with Russia devastated the region so much that on the eve of its ceding to the Russians in January 1788 there lived nobody except for the 21 Janissaries in the *palanka*. Mazlum Ağa – a volunteer Janissary- demanded 1 500 *guruş* from the commander of Province of İsmail to build a bake house and flour mill to feed the soldiers in the fort. It was because he claimed that they had been transporting the bread from the Castle of Akkirman on the wagons and the costs of the breads rose threefold. Mazlum Ağa himself guaranteed to provide wheat and in return he got the permission to construct these.¹⁸⁶

In the year 1792, the frontiers of Russia were extended to the Dniester and Odesa became a part of Russian Empire. The fertile region around city and fine port attracted the attention of Catherine II when she visited newly conquered ports on the Black Sea coast in 1794. At that time, still there was no business activities, however, was a few miserable huts, light house and a fort. In 1796, the name Hocabey was changed for Odessa by Catherine II.¹⁸⁷ After 1797, Odesa was so rapidly expanded that it possessed 4 873 inhabitants. And there had

¹⁸⁵ C.AS 40372, 4.R.1189 / 5 May 1775.

¹⁸⁶ C.AS 42637, 16.Ra.1202 / 25 January 1788.

¹⁸⁷ Dearborn, Henry A.S., *A Memoir of Commerce...* Vol II.p.233.

been built such as 36 warehouses and 506 houses made of stones in 1799. 502 vessels, of which 52 were Ottoman, arrived to the port while in 1803, while there were only 35 in 1795.¹⁸⁸ After the Duke de Richlieu- a French exile- was authorized by the tsar himself for rising a commercial establishment, it became third biggest city of Russian Empire in 1815. An ukase had been issued in 1804 to transform this port as an entrepôt. Here is the first two sections of the ukase:

‘Sect. 1. That from the date hereof, there shall be established in the town of Odessa, an entrepôt for five years.

Sect. 2. The goods warehoused in the entrepôt, may remain in the warehouse or magazine, one year and a half from the date they were warehoused.’¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ Oddy, Joshua Jepson, *European Commerce*...pp.160-161.

¹⁸⁹ Oddy, Joshua Jepson, *European Commerce*...pp.162

Chapter IV

Granaries in Imperial Dockyard

a. *Kule-i Zemin* Tax-farm and Aynalıkavak

One of the earliest data on the state granaries in Istanbul can be found in the words of Michel Baudier, a French historian and traveler who visited the city around 1620s and published his book entitled “Histoire Générale des Sérails et de la Cour du Grand Turc”. Baudier describes the “Garner” in *Unkaparı* (official weighing and distribution center) as having very strong walls and an iron gate. He states that the storehouse was built in the corner of the city towards Pera, and contained great quantity of grain sufficient for 3-year consumption¹⁹⁰. The quotation from the *The History of the Serrail* of Baudier is of great importance because it seems that before Evliya Çelebi he is the earliest visitor who makes a special point of a vast panorama of the Bosphorus.

In the *Seyahatname* of Evliya Çelebi Book One: Istanbul, the most detailed data dealing with state granaries of 17th century Istanbul can be found. Evliya Çelebi states that a big granary (*anbâr-ı azîm*) was located outside *Bağçekapusu* on the shore. Another granary was *Kurşunlu Mahzen* in Galata. Coarse-grains (*deve dişi buğday*) dispatched from Kassandria, Koloz, Beştepe and Dobruca had been stored in this granary. Evliya says that it was built by Ömer ibn Abdül ‘aziz. However, Evliya probably was talking about today’s *Kurşunlu Mahzen Cami’i* which remained from Byzantine times and functioned as a mosque after the year 1725. The building mentioned earlier by Baudier was probably the storehouse constructed by Sultan Bâyezîd in immediate vicinity of *Tekirdağ İskelesi*. Another storehouse Evliya states was outside *Cübbealî Kapusu*, and located in close vicinity of city’s wall. These last two granaries were under the supervision of an *kilâr emîni* and controlled by foundations¹⁹¹.

Available archival sources dealing with the state granaries in Istanbul of 17th century is very limited. However, second part of the 18th century abounds with the documents which make a sense of how both granaries and cellars were located on Bosphorus for the need of city. This chapter deals with state granaries in *intra muros* Istanbul because there are very limited sources on the privately owned warehouses. However we are in a position to determine that while the state granaries were located in Imperial Dockyard, grain merchants and *vakfs*

¹⁹⁰ Baudier, Michel. *The History of the Serrail, and of the Court of the Grand Seigneur, Emperour of the Turkes* (1635). translated out of French by Edward Grimeston. London: Printed by William Stansby. p.17

¹⁹¹ Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zilli (2006). *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, ..., pp.295

constructed some buildings functioned to store grain in several neighborhoods such as Galata and Unkapakani.

The city walls and adjacent fields of *intra muros* Istanbul had been assigned to be the property of the state (*miri arâzi*). It was the responsibility of the state to repair and build whatever the necessities caused it to do. However, there is no any period in the history of Istanbul that townships and neighborhoods were not alienated from the Istanbul city walls and towers. Basically people built semidetached houses, shops, cells, warehouses etc sharing one of the walls with city wall. Or in many case people constructed buildings which occupied state estates near to the either city walls or towers. Sometimes people cleaned the historic sewer galleries or cells under the city walls and used them as warehouses. In such cases, the state claimed rights and compensation from the people who made use of the tower or wall estates (*sur arâzisi*) if the building had been constructed 4 *zirâ* ' (3 meters) away from the wall or tower.* In many cases, such buildings were hired by auctions.¹⁹² The state many times prohibited the construction of such buildings. For example, in a document of 1718 we learn that the buildings near and beneath the walls and towers of Istanbul had been granted as tax-farms and the official in charge with the maintenance and repair of state buildings (Istanbul *şehremini*) administrated it. It is called as *Kûle-i Zemin Mukâtaası*.¹⁹³

The documents dealing with the tax-farm of *Kûle-i Zemin* generously gives some important details about the buildings. For example, in 1698, 209 building controlled by *şehremini* had been registered. Among them, 19 buildings had been in Unkapakani.¹⁹⁴ Another tax-farm register of *Kûle-i Zemin* prepared in 1737, 443 cells, shops and houses recorded as the property of the tax farm in a close vicinity of 22 doors of the city walls. Among 443 buildings, Unkapakani had an important share again- 19 buildings.¹⁹⁵ An entry demonstrates *Kurşunlu Mahzen* as the property of the tax-farm, which Evliya Çelebi narrates the story.¹⁹⁶ These two registers demonstrate that the buildings adjoining to the towers and walls doubled while the number of building in Unkapakani remained same. On the other hand, it is obvious that the city again expanded towards Yedikule during these 39 years. Because there had been only a building of *Kûle-i Zemin* in 1698 around the neighborhood. In 1737, there were nine buildings.¹⁹⁷

* 1 *zirâ* ' is accepted to be equal to 0,75 meter.

¹⁹² AE.SMHD I 8669, 29.Z.1153 / 17 March 1741.

¹⁹³ C.BLD 4592, 14.Ca.1130 / 15 May 1718.

¹⁹⁴ MAD 2025, 23.Z.1109 / 2 July 1698, pp. 3-4.

¹⁹⁵ D.BŞM 1819, 10.S.1150 / 9 June 1737, pp. 7-8.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 33.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 18.

The archival sources dealing with the buildings of the tax-farm provides a wide range of cases, for example, on women. In 1785 it has been reported that before her death, Zeliha Hatun- a resident of Zindankapı at the street of Bağdadi- had been paying 50 *akçe* annually for a cell with an iron door and a room above it. The *emin* who administrate the tax-farm was ordered to hold an auction for the room and cell.¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, the buildings of *Kûle-i Zemin* sometimes became the subject of some strange matters. In 1804, the chief architect and *kadı* of Istanbul had been ordered to investigate the cell of a Rum named İplikçi in Langa Yenikapı. An anonymous person had previously complained that the form of cell resembled to a Church.¹⁹⁹

The importance of such documents for our purpose is that although it is very difficult to formulate them within a proper context, there is some piece of information dealing with the cells in Unkapanı. For example, an entry of 1760 indicates that a certain Ali had a share on a cell owned by *Kûle-i Zemin* tax-farm in Unkapanı.²⁰⁰ Another document demonstrates that in some cases the buildings had been privatized. The case is that before his death Hacı Şaban had hired a cellar for annual payment of 30 *akçe*, in which there had been rooms for the residence of porters (*hammals*). Following his death, cellar had been decided to sell to Ömer for 520 *guruş*.²⁰¹

Istanbul *Kefâlet Defteri* (sureties register) of 1792 gives more profound details on the formation of Unkapanı. For the purpose of the study I listed only the entries in some way relevant for the grain trade and delivery within the city.

Kefâlet registers of 1762.²⁰²

Arka Hammaları Porters carrying loads on back	131
Sırık Hammaları Porters carrying loads on poles	13
At Hammaları Porters carrying loads on horses	28 usta + 28 sürücü
Kayıkçı boatmen	30
Arpacı Dükkanları Sellers of barley	44
Yemişçi Dükkanları	76

¹⁹⁸ C.ML 19219, 29 B.1199 / 7 June 1785.

¹⁹⁹ HAT 177/7805, 29.Z.1218 / 10 April 1804.

²⁰⁰ MAD 9999, 9.Ca.1173 / 28 January 1760. pp.235.

²⁰¹ MAD 9996, 16.Za.1180 / 15 April 1767. pp. 261.

²⁰² A.DVN.d. 831, 25.S.1207 / 12 October 1792. pp.25-31. Also see A.DVN.d. 834, 13.R.1207 / 28 November 1792. pp.28-37.

Fruit sellers	
Değirmen mills	2
Çörekçi Sweetened bread	2
Manav Dükkanı ve sebzeçi Greengrocer	10
Zahire mahzeni Grain Cellar	10
Ahi Çelebi Camii ittisalinde mahzenler The grain cellars in vicinity of Ahi Çelebi Camii	21
Ekmekçi dükkanı Bread shops	3
Kileciler Those who measures the loads	42

In absence of sufficient paved ways porters functioned an important role in transporting produces in Istanbul. Furthermore, in many cases the grain ships could not berth to the piers. In such cases porters unloaded the produces onto the boats. Likewise in regular times porters discharged the produces on barges and then carried into the granaries. However it must be specified that the porters in Unkapanı and custom houses should be perceived as longshoremen.²⁰³

The importance of cells in the Unkapanı was that as being grain distribution center and a place of gathering the grain merchants, the cells in that neighborhood served as one of the most important bases of the civic grain distribution center. Alongside such places, the state itself also arranged some areas to store grain. For example, the *han* in close vicinity of Üsküdar Büyük İskele functioned sometimes as a warehouse for grain. However, before the construction of granaries in Öküz Limanı of Üsküdar at Anatolian side, the granaries in Imperial Dockyard performed as a center of grain storing center. It had been designated as supplying generally the palaces, imperial army, naval army etc. In times of hardships when the representatives of “private sector” could not supply the miller and bakers of Istanbul, state held itself responsible to back up the inhabitants of Istanbul. It was not only the Imperial Dockyard that stored grain. In times of necessities, some palaces- for example- like Aynalıkavak served as warehouses. In May 1791, Kamil İsmail Efendi *anbar emini* (the official in charge with the state granaries) was ordered to prepare a suitable area in *has ahur* of Aynalıkavak Palace. The situation was that only in Taş Anbar there were place for 20 000 *kile* (512 tons) of grain. Other granaries were full of grain, and 12 grain ships were waiting to

²⁰³ Ertuğ, Nejdet, *Osmanlı Döneminde İstanbul Hammalları*, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008, pp.50.

move off the load at the harbor. Then it came out that 60 *kile* of grain could have been moved off into the *Has Ahur*. The *anbar emini* was ordered to sell remaining 40 000 *kile* of grain to the *kapan nâ'ibi*.²⁰⁴ Then it was decided that to open space for the grain loads waiting within the ships, the *peksimeds* stored in two warehouses to be send off to Naval Force.²⁰⁵ In 1798, it became clear that there stored 21 000 *kile* of grain again Has Ahur of Aynalıkavak. It necessitated to move off the grain into another section of the palace – *has oda and seferli oda*. A detail of the document indicates that the porters who carry the loads were earning 18 *para* for every 100 *kile*.²⁰⁶

b. Imperial Dockyard

One of the earliest archival documents on the state granaries located in Istanbul dates to December, 1730²⁰⁷. The document states that a granary in the Imperial Dockyard (**Tersane-i Amire**) had been constructed previously to store the wheat dispatched from Black Sea basin. Protection of people (namely *ibâdullah*- servants of God) from hardship had an important issue, and the wheat sent by Voyvoda Ahmet Ağa of Köstence was very wet and could not be able to be stored in that storehouse. Therefore, the wheat of Köstence must be distributed to bakers of Istanbul immediately by the *kadi* of Istanbul. Although the document does not give any clue about the date of construction and the capacity of that storehouse, before 1730s the existence of a storehouse in the Imperial Dockyard becomes evident²⁰⁸.

The archival documents which cover later periods give detailed data about the procedure, their settings, sizes/capacity and the materials used to build or repair the storehouses. These documents are scattered in different collections, and for the purpose of this study the registers and documents prepared the estimated cost of buildings (*Keşif Defterleri*, *İnşaat Defterleri* and *Tâmirat Defterleri*) have primary importance.

The earliest *Keşif Defteri* dates to 1762. The register states that five storehouses in Imperial Dockyard need to be repaired. Although the names of the storehouses are not mentioned in the document, it was stated that previously base slab was located very near to the ground which had been preventing the air circulation- a situation that moistens the wheat. To preserve produces safely in the building they planned to repair stone gutters on the roofs

²⁰⁴ C.BH 1483, 13.N.1205 / 16 May 1791.

²⁰⁵ HAT 211/11428 1205 / 1791.

²⁰⁶ C.ML 23242 29.L.1212 / 16 April 1798.

²⁰⁷ C.BLD. 5362 (16.C.1142/ 6 January 1730.

²⁰⁸ However, İdris Bostan states that towards the end of 16th century, there was a *mahzen* (cellar) between Meyyit İskelesi and Eski Divânîhâne. Although it is not indicated which items had been stored in that cellar, it has been evident from the succeeding documents that the described zone had been used to store grain. Bostan, İdris (2007), *Beylikten İmparatorluğa Osmanlı Denizciliği* (İstanbul; Kitabevi Yayınları), p. 148-149.

and open new doors. The document also indicates that there were four piers in front of these storehouses and the stakes of them had been broken. The estimated cost was 17,383 gurus²⁰⁹.

In 1774, the piers in front of the storehouses of Imperial Dockyard and the storehouses themselves required again to be repaired under the supervision of El-Hac Mehmet Ağa. Estimated cost of the timber and nail was 200 gurus²¹⁰. Also in 1790, the wheat in the storehouse named *Sulu Anbar* was damaged because of moisture and it was ordered that big wooden bed seats (*kerevet*) must be located on the ground to preserve the wheat. The estimated cost of this huge undertaking was 664.019 akçe²¹¹.

In the spring of 1793, the head of storehouses (*Anbar Emini*) sent a proposal claiming that the granaries in Imperial Dockyard need a complete repairing. He claims that a special attention must be given to the roof tiles, cladding sheets and the piers in all of the storehouses. In this sense, the roof tiles of the storehouse named *Sıdkı Efendi*, again the roof tiles and the wooden boxes and the cladding sheets of the storehouse named *Sulu Anbar*, all parts of the roof of storehouse named *Taş Anbar*, the roofs, catwalks, wooden boxes, cladding sheets of all other storehouses stretching from *Taş Anbar* to *Meyyit İskelesi* must be controlled and repaired. Also the windows and the phanars must be checked. Although the date of construction is not stated, another document demonstrates one more storehouse named *Anbar-ı Cedid*. There were twenty eight rooms in these granaries having the capacity of 1,000,000 *kile* of wheat (25 600 tons). The document also states that there were eight piers which required to be repaired. The cost of all of the repairing was estimated 135.600 gurus²¹². The importance of this *Keşif Defteri* is that it gives a complete detail of storehouses and how the repairing process was in progress.

Because of the will of the Sublime Porte to construct a dry dock in Imperial Dockyard around 1795s, the space covering from dockyards including Divanhane to *Meyyit Kapusu* was reorganized by demolishing the buildings and walls²¹³. Swedish engineers prepared a report and according to it, the water had been dribbling down into the Dry Dock through soft soil under the building of *Anbar Emini* and some other old building. Therefore these buildings were suggested to be demolished and the soil under them was projected to tightened so that to prevent the water dribbling down into the Dry dock. Continually, it was planned that since there was no any other building for the use of *Anbar Emini*, until a new one would be

²⁰⁹ C.ML 7459 (11.S.1176/ 1 September 1762)

²¹⁰ C.BH 11963 (16.B.1188/ 22 September 1774)

²¹¹ C.BH 2116 (13.R.1205/ 20 December 1790)

²¹² C.BH 4069 (15.N.1207/26 April 1793)

²¹³ Müler-Wiener, Wolfgang (1998), *İstanbul Limanı* (İstanbul; Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları) p.82-84

constructed in *Paşa Limanı*, the *Emin* should have use the building located around *Meyyit İskelesi* and had been used previously by the ambassadors of Venice²¹⁴.

Especially this period faced a big building activity. To meet the need of demolished five store house and the building of *Anbar Emini*, a new area was prepared in *Paşa Limanı* of Üsküdar-a situation that will be mentioned later.

²¹⁴ C.BH 888 (08.B.1212/27 December 1797)

Chapter V

Granaries in Öküz Limanı of Üsküdar

At that period they decided to replace the granary by building a new one at Öküz Limanı in Üsküdar. The headland in adjoining to the center of Üsküdar was called in ancient times as *Damalis* or Cow Headland.²¹⁵ The area extended from around main square of the Üsküdar following the coastline until the village of Kuzguncuk. It was possessed by the *vakf* of Silahdar Ağa Abdurrahman Ağa.- the *silahdar* (sword-bearer) of Mustafa III. Before his death he built a camii named by his name and a school on a garden at Öküz Limanı. Then in July 1767 the camii acquired the status of *vakf* and recorded in *Küçük Evkaf Muhasebesi*. The revenues coming from the given area including many revenue items in Üsküdar, Kartal, Yedikule, Galata had been granted for the *vakf*'s expenses. For our purpose, we only insist on the gardens and buildings on the shoreline between Üsküdar and Kuzguncuk.

After the death of Silahdar Abdurrahman Ağa, his successors claimed rights from the properties and estates *vakf* owned. Finally around March 1794, they brought the case before the court. At the end, the court justified for the claims of administrator of the *vakf* -Hasan Bey. The importance of the case is that they prepared a title-deed (*hüccet*) and a report (*tezkiye*) which specified the morphological aspects of the area in point.²¹⁶

The documents demonstrate that Abdurrahman Ağa Camii had been constructed in a close vicinity to Bülbül Deresi. The area are surrounded by six vineyards and existed on 36 480 *zirâ*' square.* It scattered from Kuzguncuk on the shore to Balmumcu and Selamsız. The document indicates that the acreage between Kuzguncuk and Camii was 613 *zirâ*' square (351.9 m²) on which an *attar*-shop, barber-shop, nine rooms, two toilet, a kitchen with a room and two cells and a shore villa had been founded.²¹⁷ The vineyard on which the shore villa had been constructed was owned by Hasan Efendi. There was also a *hamam* and too many fruit trees on that vineyard.²¹⁸

There was only a pier between the camii and Kuzguncuk before 1794. The villagers of Kuzguncuk complained in 1762 that since they were charged to repair the pier every year, the second pier would be an extra duty for them. In return, the state decided to stop the construction of second pier at the village.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ Konyalı, İsmail Hakkı, *Âbideleri ve Kitâbeleriyle Üsküdar Tarihi*, Ahmet Sait Matbaası, cilt II, İstanbul, 1977, pp.526-527.

²¹⁶ TS.MA. 7366. 16.N.1212 / 4 March 1798.

* 36 480 is equal to 20945.7 m²

²¹⁷ TS.MA 3886, 21.B.1208 / 22 February 1794. pp.1-7

²¹⁸ D.BŞM 7450/67, 17.B.1207 / 25 February 1793.

²¹⁹ C.BLD 633, 10.S.1176 / 31 August 1762.

The archival sources indicate that the area before 1790s was densely populated. The villagers of both Öküz Limanı and Kuzguncuk demanded a license to convert one of the shops in the area into a lumber mill. The grievance was that they had difficulties to carry wood boards they used for coffins and construction of their houses.²²⁰

When the state decided to build a set of granaries to replace those in Imperial Dockyard, the given garden stretching alongside the shore between the Abdurrahman Ağa Camii and the village of Kuzguncuk was the first place the state intended. First of all, the chief architecture, chief captain in the Istanbul Harbour, the warden of captains and Nikoli Kalfa- an architect in Imperial Dockyard was asked to prepare a report on the garden and shoreline if it was possible to construct a granary. They approved that the given place was suitable for functioning of storing grain. The layout of the garden was equal to approximately 150 *zirâ*’ long and 50 *zirâ*’ width (4 306.2 m²). Therefore it would be possible to construct 8 granaries having total capacity of 12 *yük* (1 200 000 *kile*). They informed 8-10 ships may berth to the pier if they could construct a quay overall built of stone. Finally they underlined that the sea in front of the pier would provide an appropriate reach inward the sea since it had length of 15 *kulaç* (24.4 m).²²¹

The chief architect was ordered to draw the plan of forthcoming granaries in Öküz Limanı. The state expected total value of expenses as 800 *kise akçe*. At the beginning, the state decided to finish construction processes step by step. Therefore they decided to construct three granaries with tile roofs at the first step. The project was to be finished when layout was surrounded with walls.²²²

Another factor to build the granary in Öküz Limanı is the fact that the climate was very benign and pleasant- a situation that enables the grain to be more resistant to decaying. In a series of document there is an interesting detail that the chief architecture was ordered to imitate the plan of granary constructed in Ruse- a famous Danubean port town. What attracted the government was that the granary with three floors was enabling to discharge grain off the building. The procedure was that a porter carries the pack to the third stairs. When it comes to discharge the grain, the grain of the upstairs had been moved off from a big hole above. Then by using the holes at the ground, the grain fluids again into the downstairs- a procedure which

²²⁰ C.BLD 4687, 15.Ca.1181 / 8 November 1767.

²²¹ C.BLD 649, 21.M.1211 / 27 July 1796.

²²² C.BLD 656, 17.S.1211 / 22 August 1796.

ventilates for high indoor quality.²²³ Soon after preparing a plan and an expense register (*Keşif Defteri*), the architect was ordered also to prepare a wooden-model of the granary.²²⁴

As for the granary in Ruse taken as a model, the report of Mihail- Wallachian Voyvoda is very instructive about the priorities of the period to construct such logistical buildings. The time was the rise of new types of granaries erected in Danubian towns of Ruse and Silistre.

In Silistre, it was erected in front of a door of the fortress named Çayur Kapsu. It was reported by Mihail Voyvoda that previously there had been an old-fashioned warehouse built of timber within the borders of the moat of the fortress. Before it was to be demolished, they needed to construct a new one and they constructed there again in front of the Çayur Kapsu. At the end they were ordered to build at the given area having the capacity of 300 000 *kile* of grain.

As for the granary in Rusçuk, it was constructed at the area outside of the trench lines of the fortress named Saray. It was replaced with the outdated warehouse built of adobe brick (*kerpiçten*). Ultimately they were allowed to construct eight granaries with length of 75 m and width of 75 m on the given area. They predicted that every single granary would have contained 200 000 *kile* of grain. They previously considered to construct the buildings having the capacity of 400 000 *kile* of grain. However, an anonymous French engineer employed by Mihail involved into process by claiming that it would have prevented the grain to be ventilated and such a big building would have been difficult to administrate because the grain continuously needs to be turned upside-down. Moreover he warned the probability of losing whole grain in cases of a fire. The French engineer informed that he had been not only constructed some granaries in his hometown in that type but also overseen many granaries in many foreign countries. Finally they decided exterior wall built of stone, storey, roofs and stairs built of wooden. The woods had been provided from the remaining timbers of previously constructed frigate and from Yergöğü. The voyvoda had been responsible to organize the transportation of them both into Silistre and Ruse. However, the *kadis*, commanders and local notables of Silistre and Rusçuk were ordered to back up the voyvoda for providing materials.²²⁵ When the construction process had been finished the local notables were held responsible to protect the granaries.²²⁶

²²³ HAT 197/9905, 29.Z.1211 / 25 June 1797.

²²⁴ C.BLD 2201, 05.S.1212 / 30 July 1797.

²²⁵ C.HR 1564, 09.Ca.1207 / 12 January 1793, pp.1. The document is summary of reports of responsible persons.

²²⁶ C.HR 1607, 13.Ca. 1208 / 16 January 1794.

As for the construction process of granaries in Öküz Limanı, continuous government correspondence was dealing generally with how the expense budget could be lowered down. For example they could not decide for a long time whether they would build tile roof or lead roofing. To decrease the expenses, for example, they gave up partition walls within the buildings, and replaced the architect with that of master-builder (*kalfa*).²²⁷ Decision that the piers, enclosure walls and buildings would build of stone remained unchanged and the stone they needed was provided from the stone mine in Nakkaştepe, a neighborhood of Kuzguncuk.²²⁸

Just before the beginning of the construction, a problem arose revolving around what should have been done about the a few buildings and fruit trees on the garden. Hasan Bey, administrator of the *vakf*, demanded to uproot the fruit trees and plant them in a suitable place. The Ministry of Grain charged the warden of guilds of gardeners (*bağçevanlar kethüdâsı*) to supervise the situation and finally reached the conclusion that the season had passed to plant the trees and they had to cut down them before autumn since they had to finish the buildings until November. At the end, Grain Treasury accepted to pay the value of the fruit trees, vegetables and buildings including the pool.²²⁹

The first expense register was prepared by chief architect Mehmed Arif Efendi. Together with Ebu Bekir Efendi he was the most important architect of the period who built e.g. Kavakhisarı Fortress and Yuşa Bastion in Bosphorus. The register demonstrates that there would be no partition walls within three buildings. If they used lead for roofs and gave up partition wall, they would have saved 9 000 *guruş*. The expected costs of whole buildings including enclosure walls, *som* pier, three granaries with three floors having the capacity of 450 000 *kile* grain was 189 225 *guruş*. The whole three buildings was planned to have 6 walls. The façade walls was planned to have the length (*devren*) of 130 *zirâ* (97,5 m), width (*arzen*) of 1 *zirâ*' (0,75 m) and height (*kadden*) of 3,5 *zirâ*' (2,62 m). The enclosure walls were measured as having the length of 240 *zirâ*' (180 m) and width of 2 *zirâ*' (1,5 m). In three buildings, they preferred to open 27 windows (height 1,5 m and width 0,75 m), and a door (length 2,6 m and width 1,5 m). In front of the building, the stone pier was planned to have length 4,5 m and width 1,5 m. The quay would be the length of 45 m and width of 2, 25 m.²³⁰ Later on they decided to erect another building for the residence of *anbar emini* (the official

²²⁷ HAT 187/8872, 05.S.1212 / 30 July 1797. See also HAT 219/12113 and HAT 219/12050.

²²⁸ C.BLD 6127, 29.S.1212 / 23 August 1797.

²²⁹ C.ML 23244, 25.S.1212 / 19 August 1797.

²³⁰ C.BH 3424, 29.Z.1212 / 14 June 1798.

in charge of granaries) in close vicinity of the granaries. It was planned to build of wood with tile roof.²³¹

During the construction process many expense registers had been prepared by both the chief architect and the official in charge of building (*binâ emini*). The last comprehensive expense register was prepared by Abdülhayy Efendi- the official in charge of buildings.²³² It will be useful to note some leading entries.

The expense register indicates that the buildings were constructed by Abdülhayy Efendi and Todori Kalfa, and finished before June 1802. The buildings had with gable wall (*kalkan duvar*) and 29 windows.* There were two party walls of three buildings. All the buildings were connected with two doors. Planking did lay out on ground.²³³ At the beginning it had beend decided not to use partitioned walls within the buildings. Instead of them, indoor buildings were divided by wooden rooms (*sanduks*) which enables the kind of grains remain to be unadulterated. There opened 6 gates within the indoors. In front of the building, there had been erected a room for the *anbar emini* on close vicinity to shore. They had leveled out the ground before the buildings and dig sewer canal to protect the buildings from floods (length 22,5 and width 1,875 m). Three buildings were predicted to contain 300 000 *kile* of grain (7 680 tons). It was built by Ministry of Grain Administration and the expenses were paid by Grain Treasury. The expenses were equal to 190 560,5 *akçe*. The amount of money from the rubbish of demolished grain in Imperial Dockyar was 6 321 *guruş*.²³⁴

On the outside of second building, there is an quatrain of Şeyh Galib, inscripted on the door:²³⁵

“Dâri’n ni’am-ı Hazret-i Sultan Selim Hân
Yaptı yeniden böyle çok asar kılıb cûd
Sîr etti nevâl-ı kereme halk-ı cihânı
Bi’l cümle tenûk mayeleri eyledi hoşnud
Tebrik edin itmâmını Gâlib dedi tâirh
Kenz-ı berekât oldu bu anbâr-ı felek-sûd”

On the main building named as Granary of Selim III, there is another quatrain of Suriri, inscripted on the door.

²³¹ D.MKF 31157, 5.Za.1216 / 9 March 1802. pp.3.

²³² Câbi Ömer Efendi, *Câbi Târihi, Târih-i Sultan Selim-i Sâlis ve Mahmud-ı Sâni*, ed., Mehmed Ali Beyhan, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 2003, pp.40.

* At the begining it was planned to have 27 windows.

²³³ D.BŞM.BNE 16094 3.S.1217 / 5 June 1802. pp.3

²³⁴ Ibid., pp.3-14.

²³⁵ Yücel, Erdem, “Paşa Limanı”, *Turing*, sayı 52/331 Mart-Nisan 1976, pp.4

“Kût-bahşende-ı âlem kıla dilsîr-ı merâm
Han Selim ki odur hüsrev-ı ferhunde-Isıfât
Sâhil-i yemde yine eyledi anbar bina
Geh ola cümle-i evkatda mevcud akvât
Tâk-ı âlîsine sebt ile Sürûri târih
Hak bu anbâr-ı bülend ede kenzü'l-berekât.”²³⁶

²³⁶ Kolağası Mehmed Ra'if, *Mir'ât-ı İstanbul*, ed. by Günay Kut and Hatice Aynur, Çelik Gülersoy Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1996. pp.211.

Conclusion

At the very beginning of his *layihâ* Mehmed Raif Efendi indicates that not only in the reign of Selim III but also in previous periods the state had great difficulties to supply both the imperial armies and the cities. He undertones that the insufficiency of warehouses in the towns of Danube and on the coasts of Black Sea caused defeats and famine in Istanbul. This point is important because there is no any mention of other regions of the empire- for example Anatolia or Syria. In his mental map, when it comes to defeat and famine, the situation reminds him of disorganization around Danube and Black Sea. The reason was not that only the towns of Danube were disorganized. It was because the disorganization in the lands along Danube is not compensable. Mehmet Râif continues that reign of Selim III experienced a renovation and campaign to build granaries not only in Danube but also in Istanbul. He glorifies Selim III in the sense that the second organized well the grain affairs by establishing a ministry and a treasury. The rank of Grain Ministry was reinforced by assigning a decent cadre of bureaucrats. To underline how the minister was glorified, Mehmed Râif describes the residence of him in *Bâb-ı Hümayûn*- a space with height doom built of stone.²³⁷

Mehmed Râif Efendi was right on his own behalf that reign of Selim III was a period of renovation and (re-)construction of empire. It was also a period of reconstruction of the distorted map of western Black Sea, financial and administrative organization which followed spatial organization as in the case of intervention into the natural space between Üsküdar and Kuzguncuk. As in the case of Ruse, “ignored” towns along Danube became more important at this period after the ceding Crimean lands and north western Bessarabia to Russians in 1792. The growing port towns like Karaharman or emerging port towns like Acidere and Hocabey in the reign of Mustafa III are instructive to show non-state actors in building the towns in the western shoreline of Black Sea. It was economic landscape of the region that enabled it to become the most important productive zones of the empire. It was also the types of the production that enabled such a ‘remote’ area came to terms of ‘command economy’. Moreover, as being the subject of the thesis, it was also social and administrative organization which projected into the spatial organization and vice versa in Lefebvrian sense. It found its sounds in Polanyi’s view that the land is a part of nature interwoven with the institutions people created. According to him the land shares a unity with social organization and classes. Furthermore, he insisted that market itself subordinates social institutions for the requirements

²³⁷ Mehmed Râif Efendi, *Mehmed Râif Efendi ve Nizâm-ı Cedîd’e Dâir Eseri*. Ed. By Kemal Beydilli and İlhan Şahin. Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 2001, pp.45.

of a populous city. It had done through commercialization and industrialization of soil. He holds that commercialization liquidates the feudal forms.

In the period, Ottoman Empire flourished economically especially after 1750s. Avoidance from the war created a milieu for both state and private sectors to grow in size and volumes. On the one hand, there stood the expansion of port towns and imperial capital itself, while on the other there experienced an intensive controlling of tax farms through local gentries. The cases embraced here are examples of how Ottoman cities on the western Black Sea grew around 1760s. They represent the appearing markets for retailing and wholesaling. On my behalf, I attempted to follow the paths to understand the inner mechanism of economic expansion of that period and the actors who build not only piers and granaries but also towns, ports and sites of exchanges. Having a military background, Genç Ali represented the symbiotic relationships of local power holders with the bureaucracy. It also exemplifies one of the patterns to build a port. Acidere Landing represents probability of a town to continue existing without collaborating to both neighbouring districts and state, which favoured the neighbours- Kili and Akkirman. Another neighbour Odesa was the laboratory of state to administrate building a port. However, the wars with Russians encumbered such a potential to skyrocket under Ottoman rule.

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