"Brought under the law of the land" : the history, demography and geography of crossculturalism in early modern Izmir, and the Köprülü Project of 1678

Olnon, M.

> *In the half century before Timur despoiled the town in 1402, Izmir's Turkish population had confined itself to Kadifekale, the castle on the hill, and its immediate surroundings because of the Christian menace ensconced in Aşağıkale, the castle guarding the divided settlement's inner harbor. As the site became repopulated during the pax ottomanica following Timur's decisive victory, the Turks gradually drifted down the hill from the quarter (mahalle) of Faikpaşa, to Mescid-i Selâtinzade, Han Bey (Pazar), and Liman-i Izmir until by 1528-29 a solid band of Muslim settlement extended from castle to castle and obliterated the ancient partition between Crusader and Turk … While these four quarters formed the heart of the renascent town, this downward movement did not develop its other two quarters, Boynuzseküsü and Cemaat-i Gebran. The first was a largely autonomous village near Izmir and linked only administratively to it. The second, a 'community of Christians' (cemaat-i gebran), constituted a Greek Orthodox enclave adjoining the harbor. Its twenty-nine households, whose members rebuilt their quarter in the decade after Timur's onslaught, comprised approximately 14 percent of the town's inhabitants.*
>
> Daniel Goffman (1990)[5]

History

At first glance, the paradigm of the Islamic city seems particularly well suited to Izmir. Although its formation and development was by no means typical for the Islamic or the Ottoman world; it would be difficult to find a city with a history better suited to the typification of Islamic cities as "agglomerates of densely inhabited components".[6] In fact, the Izmir of 1678 was the result of the gradual fusion of what originally had been two opposing frontier towns, one Muslim and one Christian. Nevertheless, the city's history had already commenced millennia before the advent of Islam.[7]

---

[5] Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World*, 11-12.

[6] Richard van Leeuwen, *Waqfs and Urban Structures: The Case of Ottoman Damascus* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 15.

[7] See generally Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *XV ve XVI. asırlarda İzmir kazasının sosyal ve iktisâdî yapısı* (Izmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayını, 2000); Necmi Ülker, *The Rise of Izmir, 1688-1740* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1975); Besim Darkot, "İzmir", *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988-…), 1239-51; Constantin Iconomos, *Étude sur Smyrne* (Izmir: Tatikian, 1868); Kate Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State: The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571*, vol. 1: *The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1976); Cl. Cahen, "Alp Arslan", *EI2* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), i: 420a-21b; C. E. Bosworth, "Saldjūkids, III.5: The Saldjūks of Rūm", *EI2*, iix: 948a-50a; G. Leiser, "Sulaymān b. Kutulmısh", *EI2*, ix: 825b-26a; S. Soucek, "Milāha, 2: In the Later Mediaeval and Early Modern Periods", *EI2*, vii: 46a-50b; I. Mélikoff, "Aydın-oghlu", *EI2*, i: 783a-b; Beatrice F. Manz, "Tīmūr Lang", *EI2*, x: 510b-12b; Halil İnalcik, "Bāyezīd I", *EI2*, i: 1117b-19a; I. Mélikoff, "Djunayd", *EI2*, ii: 598b-600a; Halil İnalcik, "Mehemmed I", *EI2*, vi: 973b-8a; J. H. Kramers, "Murād II", *EI2*, vii: 594a-5b; L. de Blois, and R. J. van der

Greek and Roman Izmir

The part of the city which will be considered Ottoman was largely constructed on top of – and with materials from – Ancient Izmir, or, as it was originally called, Smyrna. Archaeological evidence indicates settlement dating back to the third millennium BC, with signs of Greek habitation from about 1000 BC. According to Herodotus, the city was originally founded by the Aeolians, but later conquered by the Ionians. The, by that time, stately city on the site of what is now Bayraklı, boasting extensive fortifications and blocks of two-storied houses, was captured and demolished by the Lydian king Alyattes in 575 BC, its surviving inhabitants fleeing the site for the area between modern Naldöken and Buca. In 541 BC, what remained of Smyrna went over into Persian hands and remained there until Alexander the Great extended the theatre of his war against the Persians to Ephesus in 344 BC. In the course of the war, Alexander is reported to have entrenched himself on Mount Pagus and, realizing the suitability of the location, to have designated it as a site for future habitation. The project of refounding Smyrna on this new site was subsequently taken on by Alexander's successors Antigonus I Monophthalmus (d. 301 BC) and his enemy and successor Lysimachus (d. 281 BC), when it re-emerged as one of the chief cities of Asia Minor. By now, the acropolis on Mount Pagus was proving too small to accommodate the urban sprawl, and the city started descending the hillside to the coast.

In the first quarter of the third century BC, Seleucus I Nicator (d. 281 BC) took Smyrna from Lysimachus and added it to the dominions of the Seleucid kingdom. Practically until the city's addition to the Roman Middle Republic (from 264 to 133 BC), it remained in possession of the Seleucids. During this period, it was respectively governed by Seleucus I's son Antiochus I Soter (d. 262/261 BC), his son Antiochus II Theos (d. 246 BC) – when it was used as a base in the war with Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (d. 246 BC) – and his son Seleucus II Callinicus (d. 225 BC), who lost it to Attalus II Philadelphus of Pergamum (d. 138 BC). Antiochus III (d. 187 BC) afterwards attempted to regain Smyrna through diplomacy, but failed when the Smyrniotes called Rome to its defense. In 190 BC, a Roman fleet under admiral Gaius Livius ushered in Smyrna's Roman age.

Spek, Een kennismaking met de oude wereld (Bussum: Coutinho, 2001); 95-142; and Encyclopaedia Brittanica, deluxe CD edition (Chicago: 2003; 2004), s.v. "Izmir", "Ionia", "Ionian", "Aeolis", "Antigonus I Monophthalmus", "Lysimachus", "Alyattes", "Seleucid kingdom", "Seleucus I Nicator", "Antiochus I Soter", "Antiochus II Theos", "Seleucus II Callinicus", "Pergamum", "Attalus II Philadelphus", "Antiochus III", "Hadrian", "Marcus Aurelius", "Theme", "Nicephorus II Phocas", "Byzantine Empire", "Manzikert, Battle of", "Alp-Arslan", "Anatolia", "Alexius I Comnenus", "Crusade", "Baldwin I", "John III Ducas Vatatzes", "Michael VIII Palaeologus", "Andronicus II Palaeologus", "Zaccaria, Benedetto", "Aydin Dynasty", "Clement VI", "Knights of Malta", "Timur", "Bayezid I" and "Mehmed II".

As a Roman city, Smyrna, by now extending from the fortified district on Mount Pagus (see Map 1) down to the seashore, gained prominence as the center of a civil diocese in the province of Asia. It was on equal footing with Ephesus and Pergamum and became celebrated for its riches, beauty and learning. However, Caesar's death (44 BC) and the succeeding struggle for power spelled ruin for the city. It languished away in war and commercial decline until Hadrian (r. 117-138) actively sought to restore it to its former power. He constructed a temple, a gymnasium and a market in the area between Mount Pagus and the seashore, and exempted the city from imperial taxation. Shortly after its restoration, in the year 178, a severe earthquake hit the city, killing many inhabitants, destroying its temple and filling its inner harbor with debris. It was quickly rebuilt under Marcus Aurelius (r. 161-180).

Byzantine and Seljukid Izmir

As part of the Eastern Roman, or Byzantine, empire, Smyrna's fortune again proved fickle. Although it withstood an Arab siege in 627, the city went into decline under Nicephorus II Phocas (r. 963-969); perhaps its commerce suffered from that emperor's relentless campaigns against the Arabs. If so, its becoming capital of the maritime province (*theme*) of Samos was a bad omen indeed. The *theme*-system was not designed to promote commerce but to help marshal Byzantine resources to withstand the mounting threat of Turkish invasions and this no doubt forced the city to turn its back on the profitable sea and brace itself for the onslaught from the Anatolian interior. Turkish settlers had already been trickling in before that time, prompting many Greeks to leave for the islands or the still securely Byzantine Balkans. Following the Byzantine defeat at the hand of the Muslim Seljuks under Alp Arslan (d. 1073) at the Battle of Manzikert (modern Malazgirt, 1071), their numbers increased dramatically.

In 1081, lower Smyrna was seized by Süleyman bin Kutulmış (d. 1086), founder of the Anatolian branch of the Seljuks (the Seljuk sultanate of Rum). After his death, the lower city (by now also known by its Turkish name; Izmir) was governed by Seljuk prince Çaka Bey, who used its inner harbor as a base for the naval expeditions that added Lesbos, Chios, Samos and Rhodes to his territories along the coast from Çanakkale (on the Asian side of the Dardanelles) to Kuşadası (Levantine: Scalanuova). After Çaka's death as a result of the pact concluded against this increasingly powerful rival by Seljuk sultan Kılıç Arslan (d. 1107) and Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus (r. 1081-1118), Yalvaç Bey ruled there until 1096. The first Crusade (1096-1099) and the consequent Seljuk retreat from Iznik (Byzantine Nicaea) to Konya (Iconium) in 1097 resulted in the city being re-conquered by the Byzantines.

What happened to the city until 1261 is not entirely clear, but it appears to have largely remained under Byzantine suzerainty, notwithstanding continuing Muslim habitation. Constantinople's falling to the Venetian-dominated Fourth Crusade in 1203 brought about a period of prolonged

chaos. On 16 May 1204, the crusaders proclaimed the Latin empire of Constantinople. They were to be challenged by three Byzantine provincial centers, Trebizond (Trabzon), Árta and Nicaea (Iznik) – all aspiring to the Byzantine crown. Eventually, the latter was to gain the advantage and its ruler Theodore I Lascaris (d. 1222) was crowned the new (Nicaean) Byzantine emperor in 1208. The turmoil of the Nicaean period blurred the boundaries of authority in the Aegean and along its coast considerably. The vacuum left by the Byzantine retreat was mainly filled by the Genoese. As Venice's greatest rival to commercial empire, Genoa proved an invaluable ally to the Nicaean emperors and became a crucial factor in the resurgence of Byzantine power.

Latin and Aydınoğlu Izmir

When Constantinople was restored to the Byzantine empire in 1261, Michael VIII Palaeologus (r. 1259-1282) was faced with a continuing Venetian and Genoese presence in the Aegean. Lacking the power to oust them, he awarded the battling Venetians and Genoese extensive commercial privileges (capitulations), which at least maintained his nominal suzerainty. Thus, it happened that a number of Venetian and Genoese families seized the commercial and military initiative in the region. In the opening years of the 14th century, the Genoese Zaccaria-family, operating from its alum-rich fief at Phocaea (Foça, just north of Izmir), expanded its control to Chios. In 1304, Andronicus II Palaeologus (r. 1282-1328) extended the Genoese privilege to trade through Izmir and expressly permitted them to settle there as well.[8] Shortly after, the Zaccarias, who were already in command of the harbor castle built by John III Ducas Vatatzes (r. 1222-1254) and, through it, of the lower city, also managed to gain control of the castle that same emperor had constructed on Mount Pagus.

---

[8] "1304 März – Privilegium aurea bulla munitum (text): nach verhandlungen mit dem genuesischen gesandten Guido Embriaco und Acursio Ferrari erhalten die Genuesen folgende privilegien: 1. ein quartier in Galata, von einem graben und einer gebäudefreien zone von 60 ellen breite umgeben und von der mauer der befestigung von Galata längs deren mauer durch eine gebäudefreie zone getrennt; eine befestigungsmauer für ihre quartier sollen sie indessen nicht aufführen dürfen, dagegen wohnungen und alle beliebigen befestigungsbauten innerhalb ihres gebietes; 2. dort erhalten sie einen fleischmarkt, einen getreidemarkt, eine loggia, ein bad, kirchen, lateinische priester, waage und genuesische wägebeamte (doch muß bei den wägungen ein schreiber und ein anderer abgesandter des kaiserlichen zollamtes anwesend sein); für die wägung ihrer eigenen waren haben sie nichts zu entrichten, aber für die übrigen waren ist das vorgeschriebene wäregeld an das kaiserliche zollamt zu bezahlen; 3. die drei griechischen kirchen des gebietes bleiben dem ptr. von Kpl. Unterstellt; 4. jeder Genuese, oder wer rechtens dafür gilt, verbleibt unter der kontrolle der genuesischer verwaltung, auch wenn er sich zu einer andere nation überführen läßt, und nimmt nicht an den privilegien der Genuesen teil; 5. die Genuesen erhalten ein quartier in Smyrna mit loggia, bad, bäckerei, kirche und anderem wie in Galata", Franz Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*, vol. 4: *Regesten von 1282-1341* (München: Oldenbourg, 1960), 41-42.

However, the Venetians and the Genoese were not the only ones taking an interest in the Byzantine possessions; in the wake of their struggle, several Turkish emirates – among them the Ottomans – also started extending their influence at the emperors' cost. In 1317, Aydınoğlu Mehmed Bey, founder of the emirate of Aydın (in existence from 1308 to 1425), pried the upper castle, now called Kadifekale, from the Zaccarias' control. Upon Mehmed Bey's death in 1334, his son and successor Umur Bey (r. 1334-1348) immediately started a campaign to oust the Genoese from the castle protecting Izmir's harbor. After a siege of two-and-a-half years the defenders fell back on Chios and the Aydınoğlus became the sole masters of the city. Again, Izmir's harbor was used as a launching pad for Muslim expeditions to the Archipelago and this time – unlike under Çaka Bey – also to the Greek mainland and the Black Sea coast. In time, the depredations of the Turkish emirates, and particularly those of the Ottomans and the Aydınoğlus, became such a threat to Byzantines, Venetians, Genoese and crusader kingdoms alike, that Pope Clement VI successfully preached a crusade to halt their advance.

And so it happened, that a combined fleet of the Republics of Venice and Genoa, the Kingdom of Cyprus, the Knights Hospitallers (based on Rhodes since 1308) and the Duchy of Naxos destroyed Umur Bey's fleet and took the lower castle in October 1344. It was subsequently handed over to the care of the Knights Hospitallers, who added fortifications and renamed it the castle of Saint Peter. Through this advance position the knights were able to dominate the lower city while the emirate clung on to Kadifekale. Despite several attempts by both sides to gain complete control of the city, it was to host a very active frontier between Crusader and Turk, Christianity and Islam, for a good half century.

Aydınoğlu and Early Ottoman Izmir

By the end of the 14th century, the Ottomans had supplanted most of the Western Anatolian emirates. Under Bayezid I Yıldırım (r. 1389-1403) they wrested Kadifekale from the Aydınoğlus, but failed to oust the knights from the castle of Saint Peter; that task was left to Mongol conqueror Tamerlane (Timur Lenk, r. 1370-1405). After defeating and capturing Bayezid in the Battle of Ankara on 20 July 1402, he marched on to the Aegean and in December captured Izmir in its entirety after a siege of less than two weeks. Apparently having sufficiently punished the Ottomans for encroaching upon Anatolian territories that were still nominally his, Timur restored the remains of the emirates and returned to Samarkand in 1403. Izmir became the territory of Cüneyd Bey (r. 1405-1425), grandson of Mehmed Bey and nephew of Umur Bey, and the center of a vigorously renascent emirate of Aydın.

Meanwhile, the reshuffling of power that had been the result of Timur's campaign had far from ended the rivalry between the emirates. After a long series of intrigues, implicating Cüneyd on various sides in the desperate struggle for the Ottoman succession raging between Bayezid's three sons,

the victorious new Ottoman sultan Mehmed I (b. 1386/87, r. 1413-1421) laid siege to Cüneyd's Izmir in 1415. He captured it after ten days and left his former adversary in control of the region on the condition that he would recognize Ottoman suzerainty. Within a year, however, Mehmed had appointed Cüneyd governor of Nicopolis (Nikópolis) and entrusted the province of Aydın to his Bulgarian vassals. After yet another adventure against Mehmed and several years in Byzantine captivity, Cüneyd managed to return to Izmir in 1422 and started to reconquer his former territories from there.

Mehmed I's successor Murad II (r. 1421-1444, 1446-1451) initially merely attempted to contain Cüneyd. He appointed a new governor of Aydın, one Halil Yakışı, to keep him in check. In the end, the Aydınoğlu prince proved so intransigent, even kidnapping and killing Yakışı's sister, that the sultan was left with no other option than to try and dispel him from Izmir completely. In 1424, the Ottoman governor-general of Anatolia, Oruç, definitively added the city to the Ottoman lands. From his refuge in the fortress of Ipsili (on the coast opposite Samos), Cüneyd desperately and repeatedly tried to obtain assistance from Venice and the emir of Karaman, but to no avail. In 1425, Oruç's successor Hamza defeated an army commanded by Cüneyd's son in the plain of Akhisar, while Ipsili was attacked from the sea with Genoese assistance. Cüneyd surrendered on the promise that his and his relatives' lives would be spared, but could not escape Yakışı's revenge; the victor had all that was left of the Aydınoğlu line put to death.

The City as a Frontier

The most striking feature of Izmir's history up to this point is the city's seemingly perpetual oscillation between East and West, between Asia Minor and the Aegean, even to the point of literally being torn apart. It would be an exaggeration to claim that the Aeolian, Macedonian, middle Roman, middle and late Byzantine, Latin and late Aydınoğlu polities represented "the West" or the Aegean; and that the Ionian, Lydian, Persian, Seleucid, Attalid, early Byzantine, Seljukid, early Aydınoğlu, Timurid and Ottoman polities represented "the East" or Asia Minor. If such a polarity existed it was never that absolute. Nevertheless, if the geography and orientations of these polities are considered, a pattern can certainly be discerned.

Izmir's repeated switching of overlords not only changed its political configuration time and again, it also altered the composition and distribution of its population. As new rulers imposed themselves on the city, they brought in kinsmen and loyal followers to help administer their new territory. These would in turn depend on ethnically or culturally related sections of the population, bringing certain sections of it to prominence at the cost of others. They did so not just politically, but also in terms of geographical location and social status as they moved into the city's central areas and appropriated its

military, commercial, legal, religious, administrative and political infrastructures, reconfiguring them in the process.[9]

It would be a mistake, however, to think of these processes of appropriation and reconfiguration as tidal waves washing over the entire city. In the course of Izmir's history, the frontier was not only repeatedly carried over the city and back again by the ebb and flow of the city's consecutive masters; it repeatedly ran aground halfway. At several moments in the city's history it ran East of Kadifekale, directly beneath its western walls, along the foot of the western slope of Mount Pagus, straight through the middle of the city from southwest to northeast, along the landward side of the ramparts of the castle of St. Peter, along its seaward side and the city's beach, through the Gulf of Izmir and beyond it. What's more, it did not just move back and forth between East and West, it also rotated. For instance, the 11th century

---

[9] See Sjoberg, *Preindustrial City*. Sjoberg formulated his theory of the pre-industrial city as a critique of the then-dominant concentric zonal, or Chicago School of urban sociology, model of Ernest W. Burgess (which describes a "positive correlation between the socioeconomic status of residential areas and their distance from the central business district: the most affluent urban residents live in the outer suburbs, a finding which Burgess's followers generalized from Chicago to all American cities (see Schnore, 1965). Growth within the city was propelled from the centre through the process of invasion and succession whereby new immigrants occupied the lowest quality homes in the zone in transition and pressed longer-established groups to migrate outwards towards the suburbs", "Zonal Model" (2009), *Geodz: The Earth Encyclopedia*, http://www.geodz.com/eng/d/zonal-model/zonal-model.htm (accessed 4 July 2011). Sjoberg's model, which still goes largely unchallenged and serves as a widely used alternative to Chicago School-variations indeed seems more pertinent to pre-industrial Izmir. There (as will become apparent throughout the remainder of this text), economic and ethnic zones were seemingly randomly clustered around a center occupied by a non-commercial ruling class, with commercial zones located near the centre (but not in it) and non-Muslim populations (especially Greeks and Europeans, but also to a lesser degree Jews and Armenians) around it. Sjoberg asserts that "power is consolidated by the ruling class through its residential location in the city centre, the most protected and most accessible district. Here, residents forge a social solidarity based on their literacy, access to the surplus (which is stored in the central area of the city), and shared upper-class culture that includes distinctive manners and patterns of speech. Elite clustering in the city centre is reinforced by the lack of rapid transportation. The privileged central district is surrounded by haphazardly arranged neighborhoods housing the lower class. Households in these areas are sorted by occupation/income (merchants near the centre, followed by minor bureaucrats, artisans and, finally, the unskilled), ethnic origin and extended family networks. Merchants are generally not accorded elite status, since power is achieved through religious and military control while trade is viewed with suspicion. The model is less clear on the residential placement of outcaste groups (typically slaves and other conquered peoples): some of these perform service roles and are intermingled with the rest of the urban population, while others live at the extreme periphery of the city and frequently beyond its walls", "Sjoberg Model" (2009), *Geodz: The Earth Encyclopedia*, http://www.geodz.com/eng/d/sjoberg-model/sjoberg-model.htm (accessed 4 July 2011); and Ernest W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project", in *The City Reader*, eds. Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout (New York: Routledge, 2009), 150-57. See also Mike Savage, Alan Warde and Kevin Warde, *Urban Sociology, Capitalism and Modernity* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 70-74.

saw a Turkified lower Izmir and a Byzantine upper city, while the 14th witnessed a fully reversed situation.

Such a volatile frontier must have had a profound impact on both the physical city and on the interaction between its inhabitants on either side – with, one suspects, consequences for the physical and social heritage the Ottomans would work to incorporate later on. What should interest us particularly in investigating the degree of autonomy and incorporation of Izmir and its several communities is the question how deep and hard the division between Izmir's parts actually was during the pre-Ottoman period: were they constantly at odds or only incidentally, were they so across all social strata or only among particular ones, and did this (temporality and modality) change over time?

A dearth of sources shedding light on the demography and topography of pre-Ottoman Izmir precludes firm answers to these questions. But a number of contemporary narratives as well as modern studies do shed light on the strategic situation of Izmir and on the general attitudes and objectives of the parties involved in the struggle for the town and the region. These can yield some tentative answers.

The most obvious source to study for added context on pre-Ottoman Izmir as a frontier is without a doubt *The Alexiad*.[10] Written around the year 1148, Anna Komnene's chronicle of the reign of her father, emperor Alexius I, details the vicissitudes of their Komnenian dynasty and the struggling empire it headed as, between the years 1081 and 1118, it attempted to remain afloat amidst a veritable deluge of imperial contenders, Normans, Scythians, Manicheans, crusaders, and Cumanid and Seljukid Turks. Izmir, by then at the southeastern edge of what remained of the unbroken Byzantine possessions in Anatolia, figures prominently in *The Alexiad* as the last Byzantine bulwark stopping Seljuk emir Çaka Bey and his newly constructed fleet from strangling what remained of Byzantine Anatolia from the sea.

If Anna Komnene's description of the several campaigns, truces, negotiations, alliances and concessions over Izmir make one thing abundantly clear, it is that when faced with such protracted periods of military-strategic unrest and repeated reversals as befell all parties engaged in Izmir, none of them (be they Byzantines, Turks, or Latins) stood to gain much from a rapid and forced full incorporation of the town's estates and population. The degree of violence and disruption such repeated appropriation under truce or peace would add to the damages already inflicted by armed conflict must have been generally understood to be detrimental to all parties' future interests in the town and the region – notwithstanding the complaint in *The Alexiad* that

[10] Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad* (London: Penguin, 2009).

petty Muslim rulers who had installed themselves on the Aegean coast and islands treated the Christian inhabitants *like* slaves and ravaged the region.[11]

Although western Anatolia was surely no exception to the general rule that war enslaves and ravages, we should bear in mind that in our context such statements tend to reflect fiscal and territorial concerns more than purely ethical or moral ones (if the distinction will have made much sense to contemporaries to begin with). In fact, even the evolution of both the actual Byzantine and Islamic institutions of slavery (significantly different from ancient and modern variants) shows that they developed and adjusted in response to fiscal problems primarily, with moral considerations figuring as but one dimension of divinely sanctioned fiscal rule.[12]

Similarly, we should consider that indignant Byzantine references to the virtual enslavement and overall devastation wreaked by Turkish competitors could in reality very well be little more than morally dressed allusions to the not quite so bloody Islamic fiscal practice of levying a poll-tax from non-Muslim subjects (as a mark of subordination) and of permanently lowering the overall tax burden immediately after a takeover. If there was much devastation to the region it will have been in the fiscal sense first and foremost; through a lax regime that preemptively undermined any future Byzantine attempts at regaining its lost territories since no amount of tried and tested Byzantine propaganda would suffice to regain the sympathy and support of populations now used to the much lighter hand of Islamic governance.[13]

Nevertheless, both *The Alexiad* and many other chronicles and letters do testify to occasional heavy disruptions of life and trade. Anna Komnene repeatedly refers to the ravaging of Western Anatolia's rural districts in the seemingly perpetual to and fro between Byzantines and Turks, to the razing of one city (Adramyttium, modern Edremit, opposite the island of Lesbos) by Çaka's first Turkish navy, as well as to the gruesome treatment twice meted out to defeated Turkish troops in Phrygia and Philadelphia (modern Alaşehir).[14]

Still, if the destruction of Adramyttium and the brutal elimination of Turkish units in Izmir's deeper hinterlands merit such specific mention while the city itself (a hundred miles and more to the south, west and southwest of those battle sites) lies at the heart of so much of *The Alexiad*'s action, we may safely assume that that city and its general population were spared such gruesome fates – a noteworthy conclusion considering that the unceasing strife

---

[11] *Ibid.*, 309 (emphasis added).

[12] See generally Youval Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

[13] Cf. Edward N. Luttwak, The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 201-5 ("The Muslim Conquest and Tax Reduction").

[14] See Komnene, *Alexiad*, 397-400 and throughout.

between Alexios' and Çaka (and his successor Yalvaç) centered on Izmir and was in fact the first acute manifestation of a long-lasting Greco-Turkish demographical competition in the Byzantine core territories. Apparently, that competition and the military confrontations that arose from it, did not affect the town's general population to the degree of destroying or dispersing it. In any case, not in the one-and-a-quarter century leading up to the Byzantines' regaining full control of Izmir after the Seljuks had been beaten back to Konya by the First Crusade, nor in the remaining years leading up to the Venetian proclamation of the Latin empire of Constantinople.

Surprisingly perhaps, even the years of Byzantine breakdown, reconstruction and rehabilitation (from 1204 to 1222 to 1261) were not all that troublesome for Izmir. Lightly governed by the struggling (Nicaean) Byzantine empire with Genoese backing, its ethnically diverse Greek, Latin and Turkish population appears to have survived without much disruption.[15] The recapture of the upper castle by the Turks in 1317, this time under the banner of Aydınoğlu Umur Bey, will have heightened tensions between upper and lower Izmir. Yet, there is no evidence to suggest that depopulation and destruction was the result.

The first major disruption of crosscultural contact that did occur in Izmir was not of Levantine making. Whereas Byzantines and Turks had stood with and against each other in a strength-sapping yet strangely sustaining embrace, either unwilling or incapable to force a victory that sacrificed the main prize to matters of principle, it was the "Smyrniote crusade" (1344-1346) that chose a fight to the death over a draw. The alliance of Venice, Cyprus and Knights Hospitallers that descended on Izmir in 1344 under the papal banner to salvage Venetian interests in the name of Christianity managed to take the lower city, but never dislodged the Turks from the upper city.

Whatever communication and cohabitation had existed between the city's parts under Byzantine rule was apparently ruined by the crusaders' winner-takes-all attitude. What remained was a "labyrinth of deserted houses … between the Turks on the height and the Christians below", a veritable "no-man's-land between the harbor fortress and the Turkish-held acropolis", with a fledgling "Venetian suburb" below hugging the walls of the harbor castle in which "the crusaders lived in an atmosphere of almost daily crises" because of continuous mangonel bombardments by the Turks.[16] After some years of failures and successes (resulting in the deaths of both sides' commanders) the unsustainable policy of radical animosity was abandoned, giv-

[15] See the privilege reproduced by Dölger, *Regesten* 4, 41-42.
[16] See Setton, *Papacy and the Levant* 1, 192.

ing way to negotiations for a sustainable cohabitation between the papacy and the Aydınoğlus in 1348.[17]

In the course of the following three quarters of a century that would pass until Izmir was brought securely under Ottoman rule in 1424, the more or less peaceful cohabitation between the city's populations that had endured for much of the preceding centuries would be tested once more, this time by Timur's indiscriminatingly devastating invasion of 1402. The ensuing *pax Ottomanica* (which ended with the Allied Greek occupation of 1919 and the destruction of the city in 1922) was heavily disrupted on only one occasion, in 1472, when much of the town was purposefully burnt by a withdrawing Venetian naval raiding party.[18]

The admittedly somewhat indirect evidence for relatively peaceful coexistence between general populations of different ethnic backgrounds and religious persuasions across most of Izmir's history seems to be confirmed by a number of excellent recent studies on the Byzantine empire. Youval Rotman's *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World*, John F. Haldon in Ian Moriss and Walter Scheidel's *The Dynamics of Ancient Empires: State Power from Assyria to Byzantium*, and Edward N. Luttwak's *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire*, while not specifically concerned with Izmir and while studying Byzantine polity and society from widely diverging angles (resp. social-fiscally, structural-politically, military-strategically), all track the evolution of a Byzantine system that became optimally geared to maintaining a guarded Christian-Muslim coexistence, preferably within the confines of the Byzantine state, but also between it and the outside world.[19] That image corresponds with that from our evidence on Izmir.

These studies also testify to the incomprehension and disgust Byzantine policies of flexibility and peripheral softness elicited from Western contemporaries and moderns alike. In Haldon's words:

> *In 1869, the historian William Lecky wrote: «Of that Byzantine empire, the universal verdict of history is that it constitutes, without a single exception, the most thoroughly base and despicable form that civilisation has yet assumed. There has been no other enduring civilisation so absolutely destitute of all forms and elements of greatness, and none to which the epithet mean may be so emphatically applied … The history of the empire is a monotonous story of the intrigues of priests, eunuchs, and women, of poisonings, of conspiracies, of uniform ingratitude.» This image, which nicely reflects the morality and prejudices of the mid-*

[17] See *ibid.*, 195-223.

[18] See Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571*, vol. 2: *The Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia: Independence Square, 1978), 317.

[19] Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*; Luttwak, *Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire*; and John F. Haldon, "The Byzantine Empire", in *The Dynamics of Ancient Empires: State Power from Assyria to Byzantium*, eds. Ian Moriss and Walter Scheidel (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 205-54.

Victorian world, has been remarkably resilient. Indeed, it lives on in some popular ideas about the Byzantine world, a combination of Victorian moralizing and Crusaders' prejudices, and in the use of the adjective "Byzantine" in a pejorative sense. And there are some modern writers – for the most part, not professional historians – who have, consciously or not, transferred these prejudices to the world of contemporary scholarship, if not with respect to the "corrupt" Byzantine court, then in terms of a romantic, "Orientalist" image of Byzantium that merely contributes to the continued obfuscation of the nature of Byzantine society and civilization. In the light of the evidence in the written sources, the Byzantine court was certainly no more venal, corrupt, or conspiracy ridden than any other medieval court in West or East. But it has taken a long time to deconstruct these attitudes. Historians working within the western European tradition in particular have been victims, in this respect, of the nationalist and Eurocentric propaganda that arose in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and afterward and in the context of the evolving nationalist and rationalist attitudes of the age, by which northern and western European culture was credited with an integrity, sense of honor, and straightforwardness that the corrupt "orientalized" medieval Byzantine world (and also the Islamic world, consigned to the same fate) had lost.[20]

In view of that analysis it is hardly surprising that all major disruptions of Izmir's delicate equilibrium of guarded cohabitation had one thing in common; they invariably came from beyond the Levant, from the Franks to the West and the Mongols to the East.

So, although Byzantine-Turkish antagonism was certainly no fiction in the military and political arenas, it was certainly never continuous and radical in the social and economic spheres.[21] To understand why this was so, it might think help to think of the city as a complex organism, recognized as such by its major beneficiaries: if it is to continue to fulfill its internal and external functions, a rigid fission is simply out of the question. For Izmir to continue to function in any socially, economically and strategically viable way for its inhabitants, its region, and its imperial stakeholders, it was crucial that the arterial roads between the seaport at its heart, the wider body of the city itself and the milieu of its hinterland remained intact (see Map 1).[22]

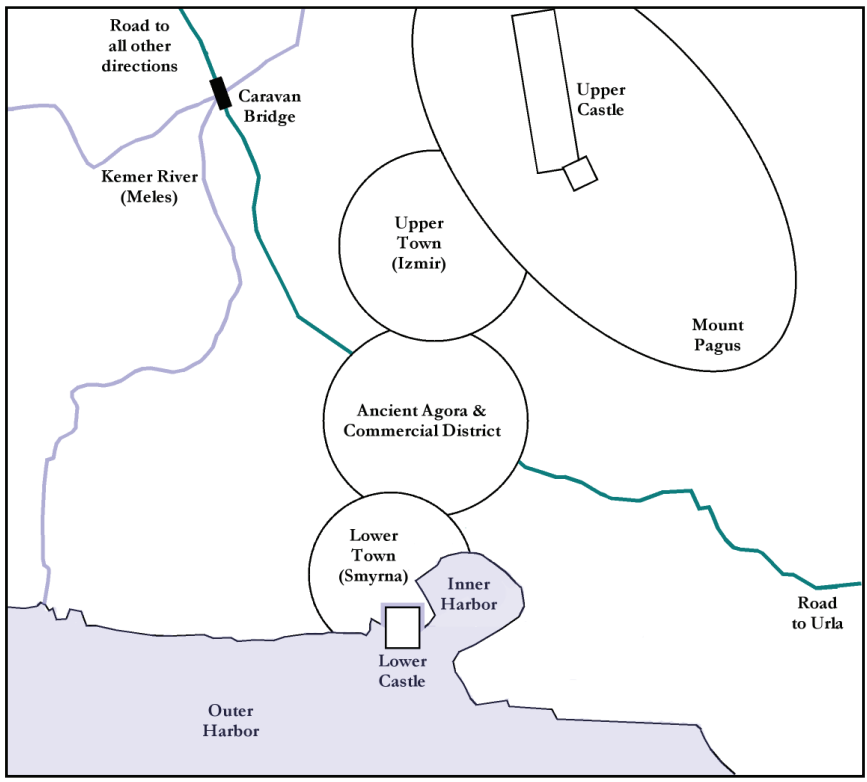
---

[20] *Ibid.*, 210-11.

[21] See generally Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); and Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade*.

[22] Organic metaphors are now regarded as suspect because of the risks involved in using them as analytical tools (they invite naturalistic interpretations and over-functionalism, and have a history of being abused for nefarious purposes). Nevertheless, there is no denying they are useful in stimulating one to imagine how geography and commercial and social processes meet and interact within a defined and specialized area such as a city (if only one remembers that a metaphor in itself holds no causal value). It is no coincidence that the authors of an excellent and recent work on *Divided Cities*, in trying to distil a generic "divided city" from their five cases (Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, and Nicosia), use an inverted variant of our organic metaphor: "Rarely a senseless and spontaneous convulsion, urban partitioning may be like a fever: the unhappy but strategic response of an organism to a threat encountered within

MAP 1: GENERAL TOPOGRAPHY OF IZMIR AND ENVIRONS, PRE-16TH CENTURY



Based on Thomas Graves, "The City of Ismir or Smyrna" [map] (London: Hydrographic Office, 1844); with additional detail taken from Richard Copeland, "Smyrna Harbour" [map] (London: Hydrographic Office, 1844).

Logically, the prerequisite of a smooth flow of commerce across military or cultural barriers became more imperative as the city grew and the volume of trade going through it increased. The general scarcity and shortness of absolute antagonism, and the importance attached to the flow of commerce in countless ceasefire agreements and peace treaties, establish beyond a doubt that from at least the eleventh century onwards Izmir's inhabitants and overlords were very attentive to this imperative and the advantage they would

---

its own body. Still, a fever is not productively sustained for long; our systematic exploration of five divided cities suggests that partition is not an effective long-term reply to discrimination and violence", Jon Calame and Esther Charlesworth, *Divided Cities: Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, and Nicosia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), xi.

stand to gain by continuing to heed it. Dealings between Izmir's rival powers and populations were above all pragmatic.[23]

A diverse urban population that managed to live and work together under such conditions without too much upheaval must have reached a quite sophisticated and stable *modus vivendi*. The question, then, is how this *modus vivendi* was organized socially and spatially: did this particular urban society resemble the compartmentalized, dissociated and uncivic type described by Von Grunebaum, or could it have been more akin to Frederick Jackson Turner's nuclearized, self-sufficient and freedom-loving *frontier society*, later transposed to the Ottoman case by McNeill, and afterwards applied most effectively to the early Ottoman state by Cemal Kafadar:

> *Indeed, if anything characterized medieval Anatolian frontiers, and possibly all frontiers, it was mobility and fluidity. The Ottoman success was due to the fact that they harnessed that mobility to their own ends while shaping and taming it to conform to their stability-seeking, centralizing vision. Of course there were limits on both set by natural and social parameters, but still one could move from place to place, allegiance to allegiance, and identity with an ease and acceptability hard to even imagine in more-settled societies. People not only crossed from one side of the frontier to the other but also moved from one faith to another and from one ethnic identity (which usually also meant from one name) to another with frequency. … The sociopolitical order created by these frontier conditions developed a general reluctance to recognize an aristocracy, a freezing of inheritable distinction in specific lineages, even after settling down.*[24]

In the first case, the response to the circumstances described above would have been increasing segregation as different segments of the population tried to keep their belligerents at bay by walling themselves in even further in

---

[23] Cf. Halil İnalcik, "Imtiyāzāt, ii: The Ottoman Empire", *EI2*, iii: 1179a-89b. *E.g.*, Dölger, *Regesten* 4; Hans Theunissen, *Ottoman-Venetian Diplomatics: The 'Ahd-names: The Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political-Commercial Instruments Together with an Annotated Edition of a Corpus of Relevant Documents* (Utrecht: Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, 1991); and various other collections of treaties. For the Ottoman-Genoese case specifically, see Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade*, 4-12 and 156-74.

[24] Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 140-41. See Von Grunebaum, "Structure of the Muslim Town", 141-42; and Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (Mineola: Dover Publications, 1996), throughout, and esp. 30: "But the most important effect of the frontier has been in the promotion of democracy here and in Europe. As has been indicated, the frontier is productive of idealism. Complex society is precipitated by the wilderness into a kind of primitive organization based on the family. The tendency is anti-social. It produces antipathy to control, and particularly to any direct control. The tax-gatherer is viewed as a representative of oppression". See generally William Hardy McNeill, *Europe's Steppe Frontier, 1500-1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

their ethno-religiously homogenous quarters.[25] In the second, the frontier would have evolved into a society of its own – a precarious balancing act that must eventually end with the forces of state centralization and incorporation pressing heavier than any local dynamic towards crosscultural exchange and cohabitation.[26] Ideally, the distinguishing trait of such a *frontier society* would – in the words of Cemal Kafadar – be that "the two sides of the frontier … over the centuries molded overlapping planes of social and cultural interaction and lived, in certain respects, in more proximity to one another than to certain elements within their 'own' societies."[27] Less ideally, and at the very least, it would mean that antagonisms between political centers were not automatically replicated in all spheres of contact on the local level, i.e. in daily life.

That Izmir's overall growth continued irrespective of formal divisions, and that this growth was at least partly facilitated by rulers who were at the same time competing for total control of the city, certainly seems to point towards a society of the frontier type. If the following chapters indeed confirm it to have been such, it would suggest that the city and its society developed in response to their own historical experience, geographical position and social, economic and political needs – instead of according to some preordained and typical civilizational scheme (as in the paradigm of the Islamic city/society). This would in turn make it very difficult to deny Izmir any and all autonomously developed overarching civic spirit, even if it existed in a guise barely recognizable to western commentators. It would also mean that the mode and pace in which that city was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire was determined not only by persons and policies in the Ottoman capital, but just as much by local power-brokers and institutions that worked together to protect local interests against those of the center.

---

[25] The circumstances and process through which this might happen are meticulously documented in Calame and Charlesworth, *Divided Cities*. The authors emphatically (and, to my mind, rightly) argue that these processes and their outcome of division are historically and geographically universal.

[26] As in the case of Almohad, Nasrid and Castilian Granada in its frontier phase, before the closing of the Granada frontier and the city's full incorporation into the new Castilian order towards 1600, see generally David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003). Coleman makes it very clear that Granada's history of cohabitation was a rather rough ride, yet, if anything, this demonstrates perfectly the enduring social, economic and spatial instinct towards urban integration can be.

[27] Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 84. Here, Kafadar also warns us that "Accommodation and symbiosis were possible and occurred much more often than historians have so far recognized; identities changed, inclusivism was common, and heterogeneity was not frowned upon. Still, hostilities and exclusions were, or could be, part of the same environment, and one should be careful not to romanticize, whatever the weight of inclusivism in frontier realities or narratives." The societal impact of fluid frontiers and intensive mobility across them is discussed throughout the work, but particularly on pages 140-41.

Explicitly considering Izmir's incorporation into the *pax Ottomanica* a two-way street forces the realization that there was an interplay at work there in which the interests of central and local factions sometimes overlapped to the detriment of other central and local factions, but in which there was much more occasion for central interests to be diametrically opposed to local ones. The question then becomes what kind of marks this multifaceted tug between autonomy and conformity, relative independence and full incorporation, left on 17th-century Ottoman Izmir. Or, for that matter, on the Ottoman policies of that age.

With these considerations on Izmir's social configuration in mind, let us now turn to the practicalities of that city's integration into the *pax ottomanica*.

Izmir as an Ottoman Port

After the Ottomans had definitively brought the town under their rule in 1424, upper and lower Izmir were literally and figuratively glued together by continuous growth, and specifically, throughout the 17th century, by a series of influxes of Armenian[28] and Jewish[29] migrants (also see Map 10). In the

[28] "In the early seventeenth century, when Shah 'Abbas succeeded in regaining the town of Nakhčhewan from the Ottomans, he had it destroyed because in his perspective, the resident elite had traitorously supported his major enemy. Furthermore, in order to prevent the rapid reconstruction of Nakhčhewan, he also deported the local traders' commercial partners, namely the Armenians of Djulfa, to a far-away site in the vicinity of Isfahan. There the latter constructed the famous merchant diaspora which handled Iranian silk exports throughout the seventeenth century, as well as English and Indian goods. Armenian merchants formed part of a major commercial diaspora, which on the one hand linked the residents of New Djulfa near Isfahan to India and even Tibet, and on the other hand, to Izmir, Aleppo, Amsterdam and, at least temporarily, Marseilles. … All this activity must have resulted in more or less extended residences of Armenians based in New Djulfa in the major Ottoman centres of commerce. Moreover, some of their counterparts domiciled in Amsterdam also traded with the Empire and thus visited Ottoman ports, especially Izmir. Most of the principal merchants of the Armenian diaspora lived permanently in Iran and merely sent their junior partners, often younger relatives, on commercial trips. But there existed colonies of resident Armenian merchants in Ottoman cities as well. Thus from the eighteenth century onwards Roman Catholic Armenian immigrants from Iran were established in Izmir where some of the wealthier members of the group soon came to intermarry with French merchants", Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (Tauris: London, 2006), 139.

[29] Very recently, David B. Ruderman patterned "Jewish migration to Italy and the Ottoman Empire" as follows: "Jewish migrations long preceded the end of the fifteenth century in both western and eastern Europe. From as early as 1348, large numbers of Jews moved eastward to Poland and Lithuania and southward to Italy. They arrived in Italy and primarily settled in the regions of Piedmont and the Veneto. They were followed by Jewish immigrants from Southern France at the end of the fourteenth century, by Italian Jews moving into central and northern Italian cities from the South, and eventually by the exiles from Spain and Portugal, from the papal territories in 1569 and from the duchy of Milan in 1597. … Jewish settlement in the Ottoman Empire came in surges. The first Jewish immigrants came from Romaniot and Karaite communities who settled in pre-Ottoman communities in Anatolia and the Balkans. They were followed by Ashkenazic Jews travelling from central Europe. With the

course of that same century, the distinctly Ottoman cocktail of Greeks, Turks, Latins, Armenians and Jews was topped off with a sizeable Western European component as French, English and Dutch merchants flocked to the city in search of trade. So, instead of becoming more ethnically uniform under continued Ottoman suzerainty, the city's diversity increased even further. This was not the only continuity between the pre-Ottoman and Ottoman periods; although the city would remain Ottoman until 1923, the oscillating movement continued even in the interim, albeit in different guises.

In correlation with these migratory patterns, changes occurred in Izmir's economy. When the Ottomans took the city, it had been a Genoese commercial center for more than a century. Its institutions and economy had been geared to generate profit from the supply and demand of the horizontal axis of Mediterranean trade (which carried luxury goods from the East to the West). Its orientation, therefore, was westward. Afterwards, as the city's economy was increasingly integrated into the economy of the expanding Ottoman state, this orientation changed. In 1453 Mehmed II the Conqueror (r. 1444-1446, 1451-1481) annihilated the Byzantine empire by seizing the dwindling city of Constantinople and establishing it as the new Ottoman capital, Istanbul. To support the ensuing policy of repopulation of the new political center – which within a mere fifty years would develop into the largest city in Europe – and the imperial ambitions directed from it, the Ottoman economic system had to undergo fundamental restructuring. From that moment onwards, the prime objective of the Ottoman economic enterprise would be to guarantee the feeding of the capital. In the *provisioning economy* that was the result, Izmir's function was – like that of Ottoman Alexandria – that of a staging point for the collection of surplus regional produce and its redirection to the imperial center (along the vertical axis of Mediterranean trade).[30] Competing for the acquisition and marketing of that surplus,

---

conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Sultan Mehmet II turned his new capital Istanbul into a newly rebuilt and repopulated city, among them Jews from Greece, Macedonia, Albania and Bulgaria, as well as other regions in Turkey. Sephardic Jews and later conversos came to Istanbul, Salonika, Aleppo, Safed, and Jerusalem beginning in the mid-fifteenth century, but larger waves of immigrants followed after the expulsions of 1492 and 1497. Some came through North Africa, others through Italy and Sicily. Later flows arrived from Portugal after 1506 and again after 1536. … The one Ottoman Jewish community whose trajectory of development was different from the rest was Izmir. Jews migrated to the city in the early seventeenth century not as a refuge from persecution and expulsion but because of its economic vitality", David B. Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry: A New Cultural History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 26-27 and 29.

30 In his 2008 doctorate thesis İsmail Hakki Kadı provides an excellent summary of the Ottoman economic mindset (which comprised three leading principles: provisionism, traditionalism and fiscalism). Kadı also offers a welcome reinterpretation of that mindset in light of Ottoman-Dutch commercial relations as they played out in Izmir, Ankara and Amsterdam in the 17th and 18th century: İsmail Hakkı Kadı, "Natives and Interlopers: Competition Between

however, were a number of increasingly powerful Ottoman and European merchant communities that in the course of centuries managed to reorient the region's economy to the west, in the end solidly integrating it into the western world economy.

Except for in economic orientation, the oscillating movement between Asia Minor and the Aegean also continued in another area: that of administration. Following its annexation by the Ottomans, Izmir was attached to the province (*eyalet*) of Anatolia as a *kaza* (the jurisdiction of a *kadı*, or judge) in the provincial district (*sancak*) of Aydın-Saruhan.[31] However, during a tax survey (*tahrir*) of the district in the year 1573, Izmir and three other jurisdictions were reassigned to the neighboring province Cezayir-i Bahr-ı Sefid (the Islands of the White Sea; the "white sea" meaning the Mediterranean and "the islands" those of the Aegean Sea).[32] Like in Byzantine times, when it had been capital of the *theme* of Samos, Izmir again became part of a maritime province. In this new division the *kaza* came under the *sancak* of Sığla, which had its capital in Urla. Sığla was governed by a *derya beyi* (a governor of a maritime *sancak*), who was required to contribute two fully outfitted galleys a year to the fleet of his governor-general (*beylerbeyi*) the Lord high admiral (*kapudan paşa*), instead of the previous *sancak beyi*'s requirement to contribute a certain number of cavalry (*sipahi*) to the Ottoman army.[33] Around 1678, the pendulum swung back once more as the *kaza* was reattached to the district of Aydın and thereby to the great province of Anatolia.[34]

Ottoman and Dutch Merchants in the 18th Century" (PhD diss., Universiteit Leiden, 2008), 12-14 and throughout.

[31] See Katib Çelebi, *Kitab-ı Cihannüma* (Kostantıniye [Istanbul]: Darultibaat-ul Amire, 1065; 1145 [1654; 1732]), 669-70.

[32] See Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *XV. ve XVI. asırlarda İzmir kazasının sosyal ve iktisâdî yapısı* (Izmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayını, 2000), 57.

[33] See Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 9: *Anadolu, Suriye, Hicaz (1671-1672)*, ed. Ahmet Cevdet (Istanbul: İkdam Matbaası, 1935), 88-100; and İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınevi, 1948), 427-28.

[34] When Evliya visited Izmir in 1671, Izmir still resorted under the *kapudan*'s *eyalet* (Evliya, *Seyahatname* 9, 89). In the absence of definitive documentary proof, scholarship has agreed that the transfer to Anatolia took place somewhere in the closing decades of the 17th or the opening decades of the 18th century. Although I have also not been able to locate any Ottoman archival evidence roundly declaring the transfer of Izmir and/or environs to the province of Anatolia, it in fact must have coincided with (or directly followed) the comprehensive censuses (*tahrir*s) of Cezayir-i Bahr-ı Sefid of AH 1087 (AD 1676/77) and Anatolia of AH 1099 (AD 1678/78); see *infra*, also for more context on the following. This estimation is based on the following facts and circumstances: (1) the administrative reassignment of districts of Izmir's importance in the 17th century (especially with the *timar* system still in use and not yet fully succeeded by an alternative fiscal structure) still required an amount of fiscal/administrative planning that required some sort of complete central administrative accounting of its fiscal and military assets; (2) from the mid-16th century onwards – when *tahrir*s were no longer

In conjunction with military-administrative responsibility for the *kaza* of Izmir moving back and forth between Anatolia and the Aegean, a similar movement can be discerned with regard to the allocation of its tax revenues. Almost as soon as the Ottomans were in full control of the city and its countryside, these were excluded from the feudal tax base of the military (the *sipahi*s, *sancak beyi*s and *beylerbeyi*s). In recognition of the region's high agricultural and commercial yield and of its importance to Istanbul's food supply, it was converted to crown land (*hass-ı hümayun*); a status reserved for the most productive and profitable Ottoman lands.[35] When Izmir was appended to Sığla, its income was also reappointed. It remained crown land, but the revenue it generated now accrued to the second Lord of the Admiralty (*tersane-i amire kethüdası*), the grand admiral's second-in-command.[36] A good century later, when Izmir was reattached to Aydın, its revenue reverted to the sultan, who subsequently awarded it to the sultan-mother (*valide sultan*) as an apanage (*arpalık*). She governed it through a substitute governor (*mütesellim*) based in the provincial capital of Manissa, leaving the local *kadi* in charge of local administration.[37]

In the three-tiered *Annales*-approach to historical change that distinguishes between *histoire structurelle* (or, the *longue durée*), *histoire conjoncturelle* and *histoire événementielle*, the cyclical trend described above would be registered on the clock of medium, "conjunctural", time; that of the "slow but perceptible

---

conducted after fixed intervals – they were organized in response to specific administrative/political problems and needs of major importance; it is surely no coincidence that the two major *tahrir*s carried out in the second half of the 17th century pertained to the two provinces involved in the transfer; (3) the *tahrir*s (and the relating transfer of Izmir from Cezayir to Anatolia) followed the Ottoman victory in the maritime Cretan War (1669) and Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa's taking over the reins of executive power from his brother (1676), and coincided with the new grand vizier's redirection of all available Ottoman forces towards the land wars on the empire's northern fronts (against Russia, 1676-1681, and against the Habsburgs, 1683-1698); that the reassignment of Izmir's capital, manpower and military resources from maritime towards land-based warfare in fact took place just before or in the course of 1678 (when the new grand vizier, coincidentally, was also heavily invested in the city's commercial infrastructure and operations) appears to be confirmed by orders going out to the *kadi*s of the (Anatolian) districts of Manisa, Izmir, Tire, Kuşadası, Sakız (Chios), Rodoscuk (Tekridağ), Kilitbahir, Çortak, Sultaniye and Kocaeli to have prayers recited for the outgoing troops. Istanbul, BBA A.DVN.MHM 96 (AH 1089-90 / AD 1678-79), command 292.

[35] See Cengiz Orhonlu, "Khāss", *EI2*, iv: 1094b.

[36] See Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin … teşkilâtı*, 420-21 and 427-28.

[37] See my "Towards Classifying Avanias: A Study of Two Cases Involving the English and Dutch Nations in Seventeenth-Century Izmir", in: *Friends and Rivals in the East: Studies in Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Levant from the Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Century,* eds. Alastair Hamilton, Alexander Hendrik de Groot, Maurits H. van den Boogert (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 166. Cf. Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century (1700-1820)* (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992), 37; and Yuzo Nagata, *Tarihte âyânlar: Karaosmanoğulları üzerinde bir inceleme* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1997), 23.

rhythms" of "economic systems, states, societies and civilizations".[38] On this clock, and relatively close to "structural" time, Izmir's history was above all else that of a frontier between two regions that more often than not represented two worlds. Its challenge; to continue to successfully bridge the chasm between them.

Demography

Most observations on Ottoman cities – from contemporary travelers' accounts and histories to more recent attempts to apply the paradigm of the Islamic city to the Ottoman case – have their origin in a number of strong assumptions about the status of non-Muslims in Islamic societies. Since the history and historiography of that status derived from a specific set of Islamic legal rules and principles to which we will regularly refer throughout the remainder of the text, it is important that we are first clear on what these entailed exactly.

The Status of the Non-Muslim Communities

Central to Islam's relations with non-Muslim peoples and states was the legal distinction between *dar ül-Islam* and *dar ül-harb*, "the land of Islam" and "the land of war" respectively. The former may be defined as "the whole territory in which the law of Islam prevails", the latter as that territory where it does not. Non-Muslim inhabitants of the land of war, and the states to which they belonged, were in principle branded as *harbi*s, enemies. That is, unless they had become tributaries to the land of Islam and qualified as subjects of *dar ül-ahd*, "the land of the covenant" (essentially an extension of *dar ül-Islam*).[39]

Of course, no community or state can function normally if it considers every outsider not just a potential enemy, but also a real one. For one, there was always the necessity of diplomatic and commercial contact with the outside world, which called for an alternative to *harbi*-status, or at least for the possibility of suspending it temporarily (we will return to this *müstemin*-status later on). More importantly, however, allowance had to be made for the non-Muslim inhabitants of territories that came under Islam, particularly because the rapid expansion of Islamic lands meant that Muslims were almost without exception numerically inferior to the Jews, Christians and Persians whose lands they had conquered. The Islamic legal institution through which the

---

[38] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (London: Collins, 1972), 20-21. *Histoire structurelle* encompasses "the time of 'geohistory' the relation between humans and their environment, 'a history whose passage is almost imperceptible … a history of constant repetition, ever-recurring cycles'"; *histoire événementielle* encompasses "the fast-moving time of events and individuals, the subject of traditional narrative history", Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 151-53.

[39] See Halil İnalcik, "Dār al-'Ahd", *EI2*, ii: 116a-b. Also see A. Abel, "Dār al-Islām", *EI2*, ii: 127b-8a; and A. Abel, "Dār al-Harb", *EI2*, ii: 126a-b.

members of the other revealed, or monotheistic, religions were accorded hospitality and protection in the lands of Islam on condition of their submission, was called *dhimma*, or – in Turkish – *zimmet*.[40] Persons to whom *zimmet* applied, were *zimmi*s.

In the Ottoman context, the legal institution of *zimmet* is best known through its evolution into the Ottoman administrative institution commonly known as the *millet*-system.[41] The term *millet* had several interrelated meanings in Ottoman Turkish. It indicated "religion", "confession" or "rite", "religious community" and "part of a people" or "(sovereign) nation". However, when speaking about the fully developed *millet*-system of the 19th century, it should be understood as a semi-autonomous and semi-extraterritorial ethno-religious community.[42] The original and most important *millet*s of the Ottoman Empire were the Greek Orthodox, the Armenian and the Jewish, representing the largest non-Muslim communities of the early Ottoman state

Although there existed considerable differences between their internal organizations, the *millet*s had similar functions within Ottoman administration. Representing their coreligionists at the Sublime Porte (the Ottoman government) were their religious leaders (the Greek and Armenian patriarchs and the Jewish chief rabbi), nominated by a council of their peers and confirmed by the sultan. Their obvious religious and representational functions aside, these leaders also headed the communities' legal and administrative affairs; prerogatives that were also delegated to religious subordinates on the local level. This partial autonomy notwithstanding, they remained accountable to the sultan in all affairs, in effect functioning as non-territorial Ottoman delegates. Their most crucial responsibility was that of guaranteeing the payment of tribute to the Ottomans as a sign of their *zimmi*-communities' submission to the ruler of Islam, the sultan. Known as *cizye* in Islamic law, Ottoman administration commonly also referred to this yearly poll-tax as *haraç* – the name of a land tax eventually completely converted into *cizye* by the Ottomans and, crucially, the general term for "tribute".[43]

The accelerating power and extent of the *millet*s would eventually become an important factor in the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire by its European allies and adversaries, but the system's 19th-century manifestation should not be confused with that of earlier periods. Certainly, the foundations of the Ottoman *millet*-system were laid in the decade after the conquest

---

[40] See Cl. Cahen, "Dhimma", *EI2*, ii: 227a-31a.

[41] See M. O. H. Ursinus, "Millet", *EI2*, vii: 61b-4a.

[42] Cf. Kemal H. Karpat, "Millets and Nationality: the Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era", in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1: *The Central Lands*, eds. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982), 142.

[43] See *id.*, 150; and Halil İnalcık, "Djizya, ii: Ottoman", *EI2*, ii: 562b.

of Constantinople, when Mehmed II the Conqueror embedded the three religious leaders in the Ottoman central administration by recognizing them as *millet başı*s (ethnarchs); heads and representatives of their communities.[44] Nevertheless, at that time, and certainly still in the 17th century, the rigid compartmentalization and partial extraterritorialziation of society normally associated with the *millet*-system, was still a good century and a half off.

At the time of its inception in the 1450s, the *millet*-system was above all a theoretical legal construct, the actual administrative application of which centered on Istanbul and was not empire-wide. The system provided the framework for a coherent organization and administration of the repopulated capital, but the authority the *millet başı*s' exerted over their communities in the rest of the empire was often symbolical. Empire-wide *millet*-uniformity was only approached in internal affairs concerning religion (the *millet başı* as the ecclesiastical head of his religious sect) and internal justice (the *millet başı*'s function of chief justice of his *millet*), and even there not attained. As long as it did not go contrary to the fundamental precepts of *zimmet* and Ottoman law, the actual functioning of local *zimmi*-communities, internally as well as in relation to Ottoman authorities, would be left to local circumstances, peculiarities and wishes.[45]

The process through which the *millet*-system developed from a theoretical legal construct into a more uniform and all-pervasive societal reality – "milletization", if you like – is complicated and still hotly debated. It involves all aspects of life (religious, social, economic, political and so on) of a number of communities within a vast and changing territorial expanse (the Ottoman Empire) over several centuries – from the taking of Constantinople in 1453 up until its legal dismantlement with the proclamation of the Ottoman Law on Nationality of January 19, 1869) and the abolishment of its last remnants with the Treaty of Lausanne.[46] In addition, the process also captured the empire's foreign relations and destiny to the degree of becoming its major driver, which makes it all the more complicated to attempt the kind of detached history the subject begs.[47] One can easily see how difficult it would be to adequately position the 17th century on this scale, let alone to pinpoint the situation in Izmir in 1678.

---

[44] See *ibid.*, 238a-42a.

[45] Cf. Benjamin Braude, "Foundation Myths of the Millet System", in *Christians and Jews* 1.

[46] See Sections II (Nationality) and III (Protection of Minorities) of Turkey, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Roumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, "Treaty of Peace with Turkey Signed at Lausanne", 24 July 1923. *E.g.*, Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 262-63; and Karpat, "Millets and Nationality", 162-67, on the Ottoman Law on Nationality and Naturalization.

[47] See generally Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews*; and, *e.g.*, Davison, *Reform*, 114-35, 262-64 and throughout on the structure and functioning of the *millet*s as conduits of foreign intervention.

Still, the wording of Ottoman official documents in referring to *millet*s or their constituent communities can be used as a rough indicator of where the process of milletization stood in the 17th century. Most striking in this respect is that…

> *the term millet, in the meaning of 'non-Muslim religious community (in the Ottoman Empire)', was by no means used exclusively or at all consistently before the 19th century. This turns out to be true even in documents where the notion occurs more or less regularly. So far, this regular use can only be demonstrated in some central organisations in the Ottoman Empire, but not in provincial or local administrations, ta'ife, for example, being a frequently used alternative in the latter. Occasionally, millet and ta'ife are found in the same document next to one another with the same meaning, or also in combination … It rather looks as if the individual religious communities, which, on the local level, had to live under conditions which were varying according to place and time, in the perspective of the central government were seen as parts of religious and juridical communities which, under the leadership of their (ecclesiastical) heads, ideally had an empire-wide dimension.*[48]

The prevalence of the term *taife* (meaning "a group, party, company of men") in pre-19th-century Ottoman official documents (including all those from the 17th century reviewed for this study) instead of *millet* is instructive. *Taife* was not only used to designate what would later be referred to as *millet*s, but also a whole range of other groupings, such as religious denominations and sects, ethnic and professional groups, military units and so on. It was, in fact, remarkably similar to the contemporary, now obsolete, European use of "nation".[49]

I propose that the slight but significant semantic difference between the two terms and their use over time reflects underlying administrative attitudes. The reflection, to be witnessed in folder upon folder of Ottoman and Euro-

---

[48] Ursinus, "Millet", 63b.

[49] See, *e.g.*, Istanbul, BBA A.DVN.DVE 22/1 (AH 1091-1278 / AD 1680-1862), command 23: *Berat* (patent) appointing Christoffel Capoen Dutch vice-consul in Kuşadası (Scalanuova), 1-10 Şevval AH [10]91 (between 25 October and 3 November 1680). In this command of modest length we can discern various slightly differing uses of the word: *Nederlanda ve ana tabi olan bazergan taifesi* (the Dutch and other merchant communities thereunto belonging; a national and professional group), *Felemenk gemileri bayrağı altında yürüyen tüccar taifesi* (the merchants shipping merchandise under the Dutch flag; a certain segment of a professional group), *ümena taifesi* (all Ottoman tax-collectors and superintendents; all professional groups engaged in a certain field), and *Nederlanda taifesi* (the Dutch nation; a nationality). See also the contemporary dragoman's dictionary of Franciscus à Mesgnien Meniński, *Thesaurus linguarum Orientalium Turcicae-Arabicae-Persicae: Lexicon Turcico-Arabico-Persicum* (Istanbul: Simurg, 2000), ii: 3080-81 and iii: 4883, where, resp.: "*taifet*, *taife*, vulg. *taifa*, … Pars *rei*, *pec.* noctis, & turba hominum, populous, quidam. *Gol.* Gens, comitarus. Ein Haussen /Volck / Leut. *Truppa*, *gente*, *natione*, *popolo*, *brigata*, *compagnia*, *seguito*, *famiglia*, *seruitù*. Trouppe, gens, people, nation, compagnie, suite …" and "*millet*, … Lex quam quis sequitur, religio, *etiam usit.* populus, gens, natio. Glaub / Religion / und Volck / Geschlecht / Nation. Religione,, & gente, popolo, nazione. Religion, & people, nation …".

pean official correspondence and records, shows the substitution of *taife* by *millet* (as the preferred designation for Ottoman non-Muslim community in Ottoman and European parlance) to have gone hand-in-hand with those communities' organizational consolidation and politicization under European "protection". Those later beholding the process of milletization in its advanced stages or near-completion most often proved either unable or unwilling to look back to before the 19th century and describe the non-Muslim communities of earlier times as anything other than *millet*s, perhaps slumbering; waiting to be kissed awake by Europe. This is not to say that the process of milletization, the shift from inclusion to exclusion, had not also begun to take place earlier on; it just did not materialize as early and suddenly as they maintained.[50]

That being said, the second half of the 17th century did witness the first major European project to acquire the mass-protection of Ottoman Christians – as France's "most Christian Majesty" Louis XIV labored to gain both the loyalty of the empire's Catholics and Ottoman recognition of his partial suzerainty over them.[51] While this attempt to extraterritorialize entire *millet*s failed dramatically, the attempt was a sign of things to come, and other attempts would meet with more success in the centuries that followed.[52]

What contemporary documents in fact show is that Ottoman administration for the time still preferred the use of the imprecise catch-all category *taife* to any other single term that might serve to set the collective in question firmly apart from the larger fiscal or social whole. Although ethno-religious adjectives (Armenian, Jewish, and so on) would precede the term to qualify it further, the implication nevertheless is that to early modern Ottoman admin-

---

[50] For further clues as to the timing of "milletization" in Izmir, also see Frangakis-Syrett, *Commerce of Smyrna*, 34-37 and throughout).

[51] As his instructions to his ambassadors to the Ottoman court illustrate, Louis XIV's project – particularly after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 – also involved attempts to bring back to the fold of the Roman Catholic Church, and under French suzerainty, those who had fallen from the Catholic faith (Protestants in particular) or had otherwise broken with Rome (the Eastern churches). In other words, French protection was to be extended to all Ottoman Christians. As French ambassador Denis de La Haye-Vantelet's 1665 instructions read: "le premier soing donc que ledit sieur ambassadeur doit avoir sera de protégér et assister la chrestienté et les catholiques de Levant" and "Après l'article des religieux de Hiérusalem il faut mettre: que tous réligieux de quelque ordre ou nation qu'ils soient, allans et venans en Hiérusalem, Betheléems et autres lieux dans les Estats du Grand Signeur, seront sous la protection et jurisdiction particulière de l'ambassadeur de France, qui poura leur refuser l'entrée et mesme les renvoyer et les faire sortir des Estats de Grand Signeur toutes les fois que bon luy sembla." Pierre Duparc, *Recueil des instructions données aux ambassadeurs et ministres de France depuis les traités de Westphalie jusqu'à la Révolution française*, vol. 29: *Turquie* (Paris: CNRS, 1969), 14 and 38.

[52] On the project in general and its failure in particular, see *infra*; Albert Vandal, *L'odyssée d'un ambassadeur: les voyages du Marquis de Nointel, 1670-1680* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1900); and Duparc, *Recueil des instructions* 29.

istrators the empire's minorities were not *hors catégorie* or even of another category than the other kinds of *taife*s under their jurisdiction, at least for purposes of everyday administration.

Of course there existed Ottoman towns and villages where non-Muslims were ostracized economically, socially, legally and politically, but there certainly also existed many places where their otherness was primarily and perhaps even uniquely determined by their nominal liability to *haraç*, i.e. by their fiscal relationship with the state, and even that liability was often suspended if governance so required.[53] As Kemal Karpat has argued:

> *Consequently, it is extremely difficult to claim that the mere fact of being non-Muslim conferred automatically a dhimmi status upon an individual. It is probably more accurate to claim that it was rather the administrative role of the individual which determined his tax status which, in turn, determined his social status both in Ottoman society and his own millet. … The implications of this basic principle is vital to understanding the evolution of the millets. It meant that since service to the state, and not religion, was basic in determining the payment of taxes and certain social ranking, changes in the functions of the primates were bound to affect their relations with the government and their status and function in their respective community regardless of religion.*[54]

So, more often than not formal and informal inequalities proved subject to a given individual's value to the state, to his resulting status, and to his ability to leverage those to win more fiscal, economic, social, legal or political concessions and advantages.

If the *millet*s of the 17th century were still abstract collections of coreligionist communities that left ample room for individuals and local groups to (re)negotiate their own boundaries with their particular Ottoman contexts, it follows that the conditions in which the members of these communities lived and worked must have varied considerably from place to place. One of the ways in which people's social conditions manifested themselves most clearly to the administration and to foreign observers was through sumptuary spending and behavior, i.e. through choices of consumption, attire, conduct

---

[53] On *haraç*-exemption in general, see Karpat, "Millets and Nationality", 148-52; accord *e.g.* Ronald C. Jennings, "Zimmis (non-Muslims) in early 17th-century Ottoman judicial records: the sharia court records of Anatolian Kayseri", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 21/3 (1978), 232-40 for Kayseri; Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 41-42 for Aleppo; Antoine Galland, *Le voyage à Smyrne: un manuscrit d'Antoine Galland (1678)* (Paris: Chandeigne, 2000), 123, 136, 140 and 173 for various forms of exemption and mitigation in Izmir (through community and individual lump sum payments and waivers because of special administrative statuses or services rendered); and also *infra* for Izmir.

[54] Karpat, "Millets and Nationality", 150.

and choices regarding company and venues. Such choices were by no means free in the Ottoman Empire.

Laws restricting consumption and its social and physical settings to people having a particular status, occupation, religion or sex were a regular fixture of pre-modern and early modern societies, and became increasingly prominent throughout the 17th and 18th centuries as state elites attempted to protect social order and the markers of their social status from the encroachments of conspicuously consuming upwardly mobile subject classes, of their own and even of other religions. This desire to demarcate sections of society through restricting consumption was not limited to the ruling classes of the sovereign community however. Minority leaders also often promulgated, enforced and upheld the very same sumptuary or even stricter distinctions to stimulate cohesion and social order within the minority group. Individuals often freely submitted to them because (appearing) to do so afforded them a measure of legal, social and even commercial security and protection. But many at times did not.

Over the course of the 17th and 18th century Ottoman sumptuary laws were endlessly reaffirmed, and with increasing frequency, not merely as a tool for age-old social conservatism but as a focal point of the severe reactionary backlash that gripped the empire in the wake of accelerating territorial losses and economic hardship.[55] The sheer frequency of their reaffirmation confirms that they were not able to stem the tide of people choosing their own social destinies: court records and travelers' accounts time after time bear witness to sumptuary behavior that was clearly transgressive, as they do to local administrative and public acceptance thereof.

The most remarkable accepted transgressions against sumptuary laws occurred in Ottoman centers of international commerce. There, ethno-religiously diverse populations engaged in economic pursuits in which they were highly dependent on one another for success, and where such success made available the capital required for conspicuous consumption, while in the process also holding up sumptuary examples from other communities to emulate. Thus, Muslims *and* non-Muslims were officiously permitted to ride horses (in Kayseri, Aleppo and Izmir); to dress as Turks, share the same public baths and city quarters, and own, lease and let the same commercial and private real estate (in Aleppo and Izmir); and even to wear arms, drink alcohol and mingle with other sexes and faiths in taverns and theatres (Izmir).

---

[55] See also Dror Ze'evi, *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 87 and throughout for the impact of religious reaction on sexual discourse and the resulting readjustment of acceptable norms of sumptuary behavior.

Such flexibility was probably common in many other Ottoman jurisdictions and administrative spheres (although certainly not in all) and was not limited to sumptuary practice. In Izmir and Kayseri, for example, the testimony of non-Muslims was regularly accepted in cases against Muslims.[56] Similar cases of local consensus flying in the face of the Ottoman socio-legal order abound. As a matter of fact – and this is something to ponder when considering the separation of communities that is supposed to have been of structural importance to early modern and modern Ottoman social order – there existed no Ottoman law against the regular joining of people of varying ethnicities or faiths in the workplace and in the all-important associations governing it.[57]

---

[56] Jennings, "Zimmis (non-Muslims)", 250-76 on Kayseri; *infra* on Izmir – I will not go into more detail here since the justice and injustice to which Ottoman non-Muslims were submitted figure prominently in all contemporary and modern descriptions and analyses of Ottoman state and society, and the discussion is therefore too unwieldy to treat in detail on these pages (although my position will become very clear *infra*). Even among modern scholars views on the topic still vary widely depending on the beholder's religious, ethnic, national, political and ideological background and his or her preferred sources. Compare, for instance, the revisionist positive (or, I would suggest, fact-based) arguments with regard to the institution of *dhimma/zimmet* put forward in Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews*, to the classically alarmist (ideologically motivated) reinterpretation of Karl Binswanger, *Untersuchungen zum Status der Nichtmuslime im Osmanischen Reich des 16. Jahrhunderts: mit einer Neudefinition des Begriffes "Dimma"* (München: R. Trofenik, 1977), whose convictions and analyses appear to have made a comeback since the rise of Balkan nationalisms, Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations* and 9/11.

[57] See, *e.g.*, Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), throughout, on sumptuary law in general. See Shirine Hamadeh, "Public spaces and the garden culture of Istanbul in the eighteenth century", in *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, eds. Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 277-312; Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 9; and Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (London: Tauris, 2006), 157 on sumptuary law in the Ottoman Empire. See Jacob R. Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World: A Source Book, 315-1791*(Cincinnati: The Sinai Press, 1938), 219-23 on sumptuary law in Jewish communities throughout Europe. See Cornelis de Bruyn, *Reizen door de vermaardste delen van Klein Asia* … (Delft: Hendrik van Kroonevelt, 1698), 34-36, 131-33, 140-41 and 153-55 on prevailing manners of dress in Izmir, on the generally benign treatment of Izmir's non-Muslims, and on the (correspondingly lax) enforcement of transgressions against dress codes. And see Marcus, *Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 41-42 and 98-99; Maurits H. van den Boogert, *The capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System: Qadis, Consuls, and Beraths in the 18th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 141-42; Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Alan Masters, *The Ottoman City Between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 58-59 on somewhat more combative Aleppan attitudes. On mixed quarters, the use and ownership of property, and mixed professions and guilds, see, *e.g.*, Jennings, "Zimmis (non-Muslims)", 276-86 for Kayseri; Marcus, *Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 157-62 and 315-22 for Aleppo; Robert Mantran, "Foreign Merchants and the Minorities in Istanbul during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", in *Christians and Jews* 1, throughout; and Goffman, *Ottoman Empire*, 90-91 for Istanbul; and *infra* on Izmir.

Looking at what has been handed down to us about concrete sumptuary behaviors – or, in other words, about the public behavior of specific members of specific *taife*s in specific places at specific times – it seems safe to conclude that there existed an Ottoman scale of permissibility in which centers of international commerce left the rest of the empire far behind. Considering the apparent and logical correlation between successful ethno-religious economic interdependence and social tolerance, we might conclude that Ottoman laws concerning non-Muslims and their *millet*s constituted an ideal that was never meant to be attained. Ottoman economic and social success in fact depended on it. To return to Karpat:

> *Thus, while the basic millet was universal and anational, the small community had distinctive local, ethnic and linguistic peculiarities. The millet system therefore produced, simultaneously, religious universality and local parochialism. The balance between religious universalism and ethnic-cultural localism could be maintained as long as the economic and social organization remained intact, social mobility was low and the central government remained strong enough to maintain the status quo.*[58]

The observation that uniform legal and administrative principles, when confronted with reality on the ground, generated (and, indeed, might have been meant to generate) widely divergent outcomes clearly has profound implications for the paradigm of the Islamic city. As the following will show, the history of our booming port city of Izmir defies and undermines such categorizations. Considering the city's long history as a frontier crossing point and most successful international trade center, it is far more likely that the city's Muslims and non-Muslims consistently shared more than they divided. If Izmir's long pre-Ottoman history tells us anything it is that strict separations between populations were highly impractical in this specific geographic-economic setting and could never be sustained for long. The city's history as a frontier, combined with the history of its meteoric rise in early modern times, seems to preclude the contract between Muslim, non-Muslim and the state being non-negotiable.

But before discussing 17th-century Izmir's Ottoman and European communities and their interaction any further to test this hypothesis, a last word should be said here about the composition of these two categories and about the spatial relation between them. The part of the city that will here be called "Ottoman" comprised all communities that were internal to the Ottoman legal system, that is; Turks, Arabs, Persians, Greeks, Jews and Armenians. They cannot properly be called subject-communities (*reaya*) since in Ottoman terminology that would exclude the tax-free soldiery and clergy, but they

---

[58] Karpat, "Millets and Nationality", 147.

were *reaya*-communities insofar as the majority of their members had *reaya*-status.

On the other hand, the part of the city we will call "European" comprises the communities that the Ottoman legal system considered foreign, notwithstanding the fact that many members of these communities spent their entire lives in the Ottoman Empire. Naturally, this includes the French, English and Dutch, but also – less obviously – the Venetians and Genoese. Although the history of these communities went back at least as far as that of the city's Turkish element, they never ceased being considered subjects of their city-states and remained protected foreigners.[59]

It is of course misleading to speak about a European Izmir; after the city was definitively conquered by the Ottomans there remained only an Ottoman city. Nevertheless, Izmir's European quarter might be regarded as a prolonged and condensed version of the Byzantine-Genoese city that had once retreated to the protection of the guns of the Genoese and Knights Hospitallers' harbor castle. The designation "European Izmir", then, refers to historical character, not to actual status.

Family Multipliers

Accurate demographical data are not available for the bulk of Ottoman territories prior to the first modern Ottoman censuses of the 19th century. This has posed considerable problems for socio-economic historiography, but these have been partially overcome by the creative use of Ottoman tax registers (*tahrir defter*s). Unfortunately, the inventory of the *tapu tahrir*-series (abbreviated as TT) in the Ottoman archives lists few such registers for the 17th century. Izmir, for example, has only one, from AH 1105 (AD 1693/94), the other three dating from AH 929, 935 and 983 (AD 1522/23, 1528/29 and 1575/76 respectively).[60]

The near-absence of post-16th-century material in the series has led many to conclude that the Ottoman administrative practice of regularly surveying a certain area (at least every thirty to forty years, but more often depending on the intensity of that area's demographical change) was abandoned at the close of the 16th century.[61] In addition, it has been suggested that the majori-

---

[59] This "foreign" status was confirmed in the capitulations granted to these communities by the Ottoman sultans, which, in this respect as in many others, continued Byzantine law and practice (see, *e.g.*, the fragment of the Genoese capitulation of 1304 in Dölger, *Regesten* 4, 41-42).

[60] Istanbul, BBA TT 842 (AH 1105 / AD 1693/94); Istanbul, BBA TT 166 (AH 929 / AD 1522/53); Istanbul, BBA TT 148 (AD 935 / AH 1528/59); and Istanbul, BBA TT 537 (AH 983 / AD 1575/76).

[61] "Our study, however, does not deal with the sixteenth but with the seventeenth century, during which the situation was entirely different. Periodic, detailed population surveys were no longer compiled, and the surviving sources are scanty and of inferior quality", Haim Gerber, *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City: Bursa, 1600-1700* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew

ty of the few registers that were compiled, were lost for posterity because Ottoman bureaucrats "had forgotten how to file".[62] It is undeniably true that the regularity and frequency with which *tahrir*s were conducted diminished overall and that the resulting registers are for the most part not to be found in the most appropriate archival series (the TT). Nonetheless, other, less likely, archival series reveal traces of a number of quite extensive surveys not listed in the TT-inventory.[63]

One wonders, could our archival predicament be only partially due to Ottoman institutional failure or upheavals, such as the loss of considerable archives before Vienna in 1683, or the abrupt reorganizations and policy shifts that would typically follow other such dynastic or executive reversals?

University, 1988), 5. Accord. "It is of interest to provide some discussion of the types of sources available for the study of Ottoman demography in the seventeenth century. The period is considered a dark age. The preceding century was characterized by a great profusion of tax and population surveys conducted by the Ottoman empire in its provinces. … In any event, the great tax and population surveys come abruptly to an end at the end of the sixteenth century, for a reason that still eludes us", *id.*, "Anthropology and Family History: The Ottoman and Turkish Families", *Journal of Family History*, 14/4 (1989), 410.

[62] J.C. Hurewitz, "Ottoman Diplomacy and the European State System", *Middle East Journal*, 15/2 (1961), 148: "The correspondence reaching the Sublime Porte was assiduously collected; but the archivists – unlike their predecessors of the sixteenth century – had forgotten how to file, so that it became impossible to keep track of commitments, negotiations and intelligence." This cursory statement by a great scholar of Ottoman diplomatics and history has proven influential. Not only was it reproduced in Turkey by *Belleten*, 5/97-100 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1961) and very recently in a prominent international handbook on diplomatic history Christer Jönsson, *Diplomacy* (London: Sage, 2004), 2: 311, this conjectural line of thought echoes through in most modern scholarly contributions on the topic of Ottoman administrative breakdown and innovation. But compare, generally, with the narrative of the history of Ottoman bureaucratic specialization and professionalization in Carter Vaughn Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); *id.*, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); and with Faroqhi's careful qualifying statements as reproduced in note 63.

[63] Cf. Suraiya Faroqhi, who has repeatedly toned down categorical claims that 17th-century surveys are virtually non-existent: "Tax registers were no longer compiled in coherent series after the reign of Murâd III. [r. AH 982-1003 (AD 1574-1595)]. However, individual registers were occasionally prepared both in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, and a whole group of Anatolian *tahrirs* survives from the 1040s/1630s", Suraiya Faroqhi, "Tahrīr", *EI2*, x: 112b); "With the increase of tax-farming at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the expensive and labour-consuming compilation of *tahrir* registers was largely dropped … Occasionally, registers of taxpayers were compiled for one district or another even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries … But comprehensive information on large regions was no longer available", Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 92-93. Discussing this problem for Izmir, she notes that "After the tax register of 1575-6, no further count of the Izmir taxpayers survives and thus the population of the city can only be estimated. However a number of surveys was executed about 1070/1659-60, the results of which have as yet been located only as fragments", Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts, and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 116.

Might it not also be a consequence of our own limited understanding of such events and how Ottoman administration worked to absorb them without being completely derailed? When documents you would normally expect in such and such an archive, series or folder are not to be found there that does of course not mean they do not exist. Historical circumstances might just have conspired to disperse and hide them from view. Whether we fully understand its particulars or not, there was always some bureaucratic logic at work. In the case of the drying up of centrally compiled and kept tax registers of entire provinces, for instance, it is clear that the fast-growing farming of taxes made centrally kept registers obsolete (after all, it would be the tax farmer's task to administer and collect). But that is not to say that the information that used to be contained in central registers was no longer collected – it was just not centrally collected and uniformly presented anymore.

Most interesting as a source for miscellaneous registers are the *Maliye'den müdevver defterler* (abbreviated as MAD): a series of up to 26,000 miscellaneous Ottoman financial *defter*s covering a period of five centuries (1427-1927) that was transferred from the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Turkey to the Ottoman Section of the Prime Ministerial Archives in 1945. The four MAD-inventories for the years 1625-1700 consulted for this study – among account-books for practically every conceivable Ottoman fiscal unit and financial institution – list a great many non-continuous *defter*s that offer a reworking or summarizing (*icmal*) of the data of recent surveys (*tahrir-i cedid*) to aid in the collection of specific taxes from individuals and particular communities.[64] Several of these contain rare and otherwise unobtainable data, such as a *defter-i cizye-i gebran* covering the years AH 1070-1072 (AD 1660-1662), which not only counts, but also lists, creed by creed, the names of all Izmir's non-Muslim inhabitants liable to *cizye*, as gathered during a *tahrir* newly conducted by Vizier İsmail Paşa.[65]

Apart from truly miscellaneous documents like this, the MAD-inventories also yield a number of large near-continuous series of such *icmal defter*s. Two of these are of particular interest to us and will be returned to: the first is a series of around a hundred *cizye-i gebran defter*s from AH 1087 (AD 1676/77) based on a new *tahrir* of *Cezayir-i Bahr-ı Sefid* conducted by one Mustafa; the second a series of a few hundred *cizye-i gebran defter*s from AH 1099 (AD

[64] Istanbul, BBA Katalog 124 (AH 1035-65 / AD 1625-55); Istanbul, BBA Katalog 125 (AH 1064-87 / AD 1653-77); Istanbul, BBA Katalog 126 (AH 1087-1101 / AD 1676-90); Istanbul, BBA Katalog 127 (AH 1101-11 / AD 1689-1700).

[65] Istanbul, BBA MAD 14672 (AH 1070-72 / AD 1660-62): a detailed survey of the non-Muslim population of Kuşadası, Manisa and Izmir. This particular *defter* is an exception in that it lists not only added totals, but also all individuals and, thus, should not properly be considered an *icmal*. We will return to the results of the survey *infra*.

1687/88) based on a new *tahrir* of Anatolia.[66] Beyond the specific information these documents contain, they are also useful in demonstrating that the once well-oiled Ottoman survey machinery did not suddenly grind to a near halt at the turn of the 16th century. On the contrary, they show that the demographical explosion that took place in Izmir in the second half of the 17th century was recorded in at least three surveys (shortly prior to AH 1070, 1087 and 1099; AD 1659/60, 1676/77 and 1687/88); an image that is mirrored in the documents on Istanbul, with surveys shortly prior to AH 1067, 1084 and 1100 (AD 1656/57, 1673/74 and 1688/89).

These surveys inevitably coincide with key developments in Ottoman (political) history, respectively: the end of the "Time of Troubles" and the restoration of order under grand vizier Köprülü Mehmed Paşa (1656-1661); his successor and son Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa's territorial restoration, his preparations for the endowment of key parts of his territorial and political inheritance, and his gradual succession by his adopted brother Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa (1675-1676); and, lastly, Ottoman losses following the latter's failure to take Vienna (1683), culminating in the loss of Hungary in the Battle of Mohacs (1687) and in sultan Mehmed IV's deposition after a reign of 39 years (1687). If anything, such "coincidences" demonstrate that surveys could by the mid and late 17th century still be significant instruments of statecraft, at least if those managing the empire's affairs were interested in, and capable of, serving the empire's longer-term interests in tandem with their own.

Even though surveys were still intermittently conducted in the 17th century and bits of their contents are still available through the MAD archival series, the problem remains that these sources are not contiguous and most often abridged. This is to say they are not really fit for use as base material and should be treated with great caution in drawing comparisons. This shortage of the modern historian's favorite socio-economic sources is one of the reasons that Ottomanist scholarship has largely shunned the age. Unchallenged by hard quantifiable data divulging contrary trends and turning points, it seems to have regarded the age as a rather uninteresting stage between the oft-studied 16th and 18th centuries. Unjustly so, for the remarkable transition from that "classical" to that "early modern" Ottoman age of course took place in the century between the two.

---

[66] Istanbul, BBA MAD 15157 (AH 1087 / AD 1676/77): a survey of the poll-tax payable by the non-Muslim population of Patmos (BBA Kat. 125/5096). In the inventory, this *defter* (no. 5096) is immediately followed by the rest in the series (nos. 5907-); and Istanbul, BBA MAD 14888 (AH 11 Rebi' I 1099 / AD 15 January 1688): a summary survey of the poll-tax payable by the non-Muslim population of Izmir and environs (BBA Kat. 126/6746). The rest of the series spans the entire inventory, but particularly nos. 6707-6804 and 6808-6865.

The work of Haim Gerber – especially his studies on the court records of the city of Bursa – constitutes one of the most notable exceptions to the lack of interest in the 17th century. Out of frustration with the continuing absence of statistical data and with the resultant projection of figures from earlier and later periods on this "dark age", he has sought ways to put the court records to innovative uses.[67] One of these is to identify social and demographical indicators, equivalent to those that would normally be extracted from Ottoman tax and population registers, so that court records might be used in cases where *tahrir*s are not available, or as a supplement to them. Regrettably, not only comprehensive *tahrir*s are lacking for Izmir after the 16th century; repeated earthquakes and fires have also destroyed its court records. Although it is therefore impossible to replicate Gerber's research for Izmir, his most important findings might still be put to good use – even in our case.

The most basic demographic indicator is population size, but even for times and places where complete *tahrir*s are still available, coming up with a reliable figure is not easy. The problem is that Ottoman tax registers – depending on the particular taxes they were meant to assess – list either tax units (one or multiple households per unit) or taxpaying subjects. In some cases the tax-exempt were also listed (though almost never exhaustively) and in others they were omitted entirely. Despite the fact that the names and/or numbers of tax-exempt male adults (soldiers, clergymen, foreign protégés and those engaged in various state-controlled professions such as mining and the guarding of roads and bridges) can often be retraced in various other registers, this invariably leaves one without any indication of the number of women, underage children and sometimes even non-productive males. To overcome this obstacle, a means is needed to translate the number of taxpaying male adults or households in the surveys into a number representing the larger population taxed through a smaller slice of individuals representing it. If a more or less stable ratio between the two, or, in other words an average household or family size, could be identified, such a fixed multiplier would make coming up with a reliable number for a near-total population a relatively straightforward task. "Near-total", since tax-exempt and foreign households would never be included, as aren't slaves – a sizeable and silenced slice of the population of every Ottoman city that is all too often forgotten.

When the Ottoman *tahrir*s were opened up in the late 1930s, an average family size of "five plus" (married men times five, plus the number of single men) was considered reasonable for the Ottoman territories, but coefficients of six and upwards were also used.[68] More than anything else, such figures

---

[67] See Gerber, "Anthropology and Family History", 410 and throughout.

[68] The figure five – in fact the first one applied to *tahrir*-data – was proposed by Barkan. He added (and this has often been forgotten) that it was something of an educated guess not fit to be applied to units significantly smaller than the total Ottoman population), Ömer Lutfi Barkan, "Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'Empire

reflect now outdated anthropological notions about the great incidence of "extended family patterns" throughout the Middle East, as well as a once universal belief in the unchangeability of Islamic society. Numbers drawn from one geographical area and time were regularly and unscrupulously applied to subjects hundreds of miles and years removed. But since Fernand Braudel alerted scholarship to the exceptional population increase of the 16th century (in 1949 and – to a wider, non-Francophone audience – in 1972), it has become increasingly clear that coefficients that high have little validity beyond that century, certainly in Western and Northern Anatolia.[69] Comparison with the age pyramids of other historical populations (by calculating the approximate percentage of adult males in the population and taking that to represent the percentage of taxpayers registered in *tahrir*s) have suggested that further downward adjustment to a minimum of three and a maximum of four are called for. Currently, even the high multipliers used for the 16th century are under discussion, since that century's dramatic increase in taxpayers is considered too high to be entirely attributed to increased fertility and decreased infant mortality. A doubling of the population within a century, without revolutionary nutritional and medical advances, is unlikely. If increased state control (the registration and settling of nomads) and immigration (particularly of Jews from Europe and Armenians from Persia) are taken into account, the conclusion must be that a considerable part of the increase in taxpaying population is not attributable to natural growth. This in turn means that a considerable part of that growth was not the result of increased family size and should not be factored into a higher multiplier.[70]

If the well-documented 16th century still poses such problems, where does that leave us with the 17th century, let alone 17th-century Izmir? What kind of multiplier should be applied to the fragments of tax surveys at our disposal and how do the results measure up to travelers' estimates? Although comparison with similar historical populations might be useful in arriving at relatively reliable estimates for large segments of the Ottoman population, it is very risky business applying those to a local population for which little social evidence is at hand: the smaller the taxpaying population to which an extraneous multiplier is applied, the larger the risk that the impact of excep-

---

Ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècles", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 1/1 (1957), 21.

[69] See generally Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris: Colin, 1949). Braudel revised and augmented his work specifically for international publication, which first led to a revised and augmented French edition: *id.*, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris: Colin, 1966). The translation of this second French edition became the first English-language edition: *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. The most fundamental revisions were made to include the results of Barkan's work on the Ottoman *tahrir defter*s.

[70] Cf. Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History*, 88-92.

tional local circumstances – such as social and economic trends, or the ethnic background of population segments – on average family size is underestimated.

Gerber's (abovementioned) article may offer a way out of this dilemma. On the basis of 2,300 estate inventories from the 17th century in the court records of Bursa (and some further corroborating evidence), he has concluded that not large "extended" families, but small "nuclear" families were the norm, even in the rural areas surrounding the city. He arrives at "an average family size of 3.65 in the city of Bursa and 4.9 in its rural environs – well below what we find in the modern Middle East or in other civilizations."[71] After offering some explanations for these unexpectedly low averages (a high mortality rate due to bubonic plague, the in fact common experience of sons leaving their fathers' family to establish their own, the abundance of free land in the Ottoman Empire), Gerber proceeds to the pivotal question: "how geographically dispersed was the pattern we have discovered in Bursa"?[72] A tentative answer to this question is gathered from data available on the ownership and size of houses in 16th-century Istanbul, which appears to mirror the Bursa-pattern of small nuclear families. Gerber concludes that the typical family form must, by implication, have been nuclear in "the central areas of the Ottoman Empire prior to the 19th century".[73] In support of this generalization, he argues that the conditions of security and rule-of-law – which were most strongly felt in the heart of the empire (i.e. in the geographical or temporal vicinity of its capital, like Edirne, Bursa, or Izmir) – are generally known to have a tempering effect on family size: "such regions had fewer

---

[71] Gerber, "Anthropology and Family History", 413. Gerber himself had still advocated a multiplier of five shortly before the appearance of this article: compare with Gerber, *Economy and Society*, 9. Coefficients of 7 and 8 are, nevertheless, still considered reasonable for the Arab-Ottoman lands: Marcus, *Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 341. It is interesting to note that the difference between early modern average family size in the Ottoman central lands (Anatolia, the Balkans and the Aegean) and the Ottoman Arab lands (current Syria and further to the South) has parallels in our time: the current average Saudi family size is about 7 on average, but reaches "twenty in the eastern regions where the oil industry and affluent families are concentrated". The Saudi "total fertility rate was 7.3, compared to the Middle East average of 5.7 and the average of 1.8 in the world's high-income countries in 1990", Mohamad Riad el-Ghonemy, *Affluence and poverty in the Middle East* (London: Routledge, 1998), 143. By comparison, Turkey has a much lower total fertility rate of 2.5-2.6 and an average family size of around 4: *Family Planning: World Fertility Rates 1973 to 1997* (20 June 2009), by Rotarian Fellowship for Population Development, http://www.rifpd.org/Resources/Family Planning.shtml (accessed 12 October 2011); V. M. Zlidar, R. Gardner, S. O. Rutstein, L. Morris, H. Goldberg, and K. Johnson, "New Survey Findings: The Reproductive Revolution Continues" (Spring 2003), *Population Reports*, http://www.k4health.org/pr/m17/index.shtml (accessed 12 October 2011); Thomas M.McDevitt, "World Population Profile: 1998" (February 1999), *U.S. Bureau of the Census*, http://www.census.gov/population/international/files/wp98.pdf (accessed 12 October 2011), A-40.

[72] Gerber, "Anthropology and Family History", 416.

[73] *Ibid.*, 417.

security problems than outlying areas and may also have possessed other traits – such as urban society and an active government – supporting family nuclearization."[74]

Size and Composition of the Taxpaying Population in 1657/58

The applicability of the Bursa-pattern to all Ottoman central lands prior to the 19th century (fortunately) need not concern us here. For our purposes, it is sufficient to consider whether and how Gerber's multipliers can be applied to 17th-century Izmir. Although there is too little demographic data available to arrive at a firm base estimate, some indications of the size of Izmir's population can be gathered from travelers' accounts. At least six 17th-century travelers have left estimates; five of these are European and one is Ottoman. Four more European accounts, running up to 1739, may serve as additional context (see Table 1).

TABLE 1: TRAVELERS' ESTIMATES OF IZMIR'S POPULATION (1631-1739)

	Turks	Greeks	Armenians	Jews	Europeans	Given total
Tavernier (1631)	≈60 p.	≈15 p.	≈8 p.	6-7 p.	very few	90 p.
Evliya (1657/58-1671)	-	-	-	-	-	10.3 f.
Spon (1675)	>30 p.	9-10 p.	-	12-15 p.	-	55 p.
De Bruyn (1678)	majority	<Turks	<Greeks	<Greeks	fewest	≤80 p.
Galland (1678)	15-16 f.	0.8 f.	0.13 f.	0.15 f.	217 p.	-
French consular report on earthquake (1688)						15-16 p.
De la Motraye (1699)	-	-	-	-	-	24 p.
Tournefort (1702)	15 p.	10 p.	0.2 p.	1.8 p.	0.2 p.	27.2 p.
Lucas (1714)	100 p.	20 p.	8 p.	-	-	128 p.
Tollot (1731)	≈50 p.	≈12 p.	≈7 p.	6-7 p.	few	78 p.
Pockocke (1739)	84 p.	7-8 p.	2 p.	5-6 p.	-	≤100 p.
(p. = persons * 1,000; f. = families * 1,000)						

Based on Iconomos, *Étude sur Smyrne*, 138-39; Evliya, *Seyahatname* 9, 93; Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 105-27; Ülker, *Rise of Izmir*, 41-42.

Without a doubt, the most interesting of these sources is Evliya Çelebi. A teller of tall tales, particularly about the world beyond Ottoman borders, his

[74] *Ibid.*, 419. Some further support for Gerber's extrapolating interpretation is provided by Jennings, "Zimmis (non-Muslims)", 226. Jennings, who has studied the 17th-century Ottoman court records of Kayseri – a South-Central Anatolian city with a population approaching that of Bursa at the end of the 16th century – extensively, uses a coefficient of 3 to 3.5 for the taxpaying adult male population to arrive at an estimated total population of this heartland city. Incidentally, the average Istanbul household (or *hane*), although slightly larger than during the previous centuries, was still relatively small and nuclear at the turn of the 19th century with 3.90 persons per household in 1885 and 4.21 in 1907: Alan Duben, "Understanding Muslim Households and Families in Late Ottoman Istanbul", *Journal of Family History*, 15/1 (1990), 72-73.

Seyahatname (*Book of Travels*) nevertheless contains a wealth of information on Ottoman social history. The most revealing part of his description of Izmir, runs as follows:

> *Some two thousand of the city's houses* [hanes] *cling to the skirts of the upper castle. They lie among airy vineyards, mansions* [sarays] *with gardens, and mosques. Most of the public buildings* [imaristans]*, however, lie on the plain below and along the seashore. In the year 1068* [AD 1657/58] *Ismail Paşa compiled a register of this city, according to which this city altogether counts ten Muslim quarters, ten limited to non-Muslims, ten Frankish and Jewish quarters, two Armenian quarters and one Gypsy quarter. These said quarters* [mahalles] *altogether contain ten thousand and three hundred richly adorned, perfect, flourishing and embellished brick buildings* [kargir binas]. *The mansions* [sarays] *are exquisite and the other houses* [hanes] *are beautiful. With its red tiled roofs and tulip beds it is an exemplary city, and conspicuously flourishing.*[75]

Evliya then goes on to list, and occasionally describe, 310 places of worship (mosques and prayer houses; *cami*s and *mescid*s), 40 seminars (*medrese*s), 11 bathhouses (*hamam*s), 600 baths in private houses, 82 inns (*han*s and *kervansaray*s), 3 Koran schools (*dar ül-kuran*s), 40 primary schools (*mekteb-i sıbyan*s), 1 soup kitchen (*imaret*), 70 fountains (*çeşme*s; which were, he stresses, too few for a city this size), 17 fountains founded as charitable endowments (*sebilhane*s), 3,060 shops (*dükkan*s; being the number from which the market inspector collected taxes), 'exactly' 300 merchant warehouses (*mahzen*s), 40 coffeehouses (*kahvehane*s), 70 soap factories (*sabunhane*s), 200 wine shops and taverns (*meyhane*s), 20 *boza* breweries (*bozahane*s), 20 dye-houses (*boyahane*s), 1 saddle and leather market (*saraçhane*), 1 candle factory (*şem'hane*) and 1 customs shed (*gümrükhane*).[76]

The information offered in the *Seyahatname* has been taken at face value too often. Yet, Daniel Goffman's assesment that the account of Izmir is "brazenly hyperbolic" and will entice "historians into grave miscomprehensions about the size and influence of the town" to my mind squanders too much of what little, and therefore valuable, evidence we have.[77] There is no harm in being suspicious of Evliya's enthusiastic tone or the numbers he gives. However, if they explicitly refer to census evidence, they merit more

---

[75] *Bu şehrin iki bin mikdari haneleri yukaru kal'a bayırlarına yapışmışdır Havadar bağ ve bahçeli saraylar ve camiler vaki olmuşdur Amma imaristanının çoğu aşağı düzde ve lebi deryada vaki olmuşdur Sene 1068 tarihinde İsmail Paşa bu şehri tahrir etdüği sicillâtda masturdur Ol minvali meşruh üzre bu şehir cümle on müslüman mahallesi ve on kefere sınırı ve on Firenk ve Yahudi mahallesi ve iki Ermeni mahallesi ve bir Kıbtı mahallesi vardır Ve bu mezkûr mahalleler cümle on bin üçyüz mükellef ve mükemmel ve mamur ve müzeyyen kârgir bina sarayı ra'nalar ve sayir hanei zibalar ile kırmızı kiremitli lâlezar misal bir şehri ruşen âbâddır*; Evliya, *Seyahatname* 9, 92-93. Accord Eldem et al., *Ottoman City*, 79; and Nuran Tezcan, *Manisa nach Evliyā Çelebi: aus dem neunten Band des Seyāhat-nāme* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 46-47.

[76] Evliya, *Seyahatname* 9, 93 and 96. Accord Tezcan, *Manisa nach Evliyā Çelebi*, 46-47.

[77] Eldem et al., *Ottoman City*, 79.

careful consideration. In giving the number of 2,000 homes (or *hane*s), for upper Izmir and 10,300 buildings (or *bina*s) for the entire city, Evliya explicitly refers to his source: a *tahrir* compiled by one İsmail Paşa a decade and a half earlier. Far from being invention, this survey actually existed, as is evidenced by the derived register mentioned earlier.[78] Naturally, numbers given in *tahrir*s are open to interpretation, but when it is certain that the one Evliya refers to indeed existed, we at least have an estimate firmly rooted in administrative reality.

Still, the narrative poses serious problems. These have to do mainly with the text's terminology and the time-lag between İsmail Paşa's survey and Evliya's description. We may wonder what is meant exactly by *hane*s and *bina*s, and whether there is a possibility that Evliya tinkered with the terminology of his source to better fit what he witnessed in 1671 – a good decade later; a considerable timespan in the life of a boomtown. So, what can we do to arrive at a feasible estimate for Izmir's population in 1657/58?

For our purposes, the central passage in the text is "These said quarters [*mahalle*s] altogether contain ten thousand and three hundred richly adorned, perfect, flourishing and embellished brick buildings [*kargir bina*s]. The mansions [*saray*s] are exquisite and the other houses [*hane*s] are beautiful." The passage is not entirely clear on whether the number refers to the total number of buildings, which Evliya will have us believe were all brick (which we know for certain they were not from countless travelers' testimonies to the contrary), or to the number of brick buildings with an unspecified ratio to wooden structures. One might also wonder about the combined structures (brick ground floor and wooden stories) so typical in the region. It is also uncertain whether his "brick buildings" include private residences, public buildings, or both. In any case, the proud assertion that Izmir was a grand town is not so much conveyed by the number from the *tahrir* ("ten thousand and three hundred") as by the traveler's definition of it ("richly adorned, perfect, flourishing and embellished brick buildings").

Considering how Evliya's European contemporaries regularly described the structure and state of Izmir's residential quarters, we should assume that

---

[78] Istanbul, BBA MAD 14672 (AH 1070-72 / AD 1660-62). The full entry in BBA Kat. 125 runs: *No: 4722; Tarih: 1070-1072; Defter No: 14672; Sahife: 24; Cizye-i gebran defteri: Vezir İsmail Paşa tarafından Kuşadası, Manisa, İzmir ve Urla'da icra edilen cizye-i gebran tahrir-i cedidine aid müfredatle tahrir olub 945 hane ziyadesi olmakla bu suretle mahallinde hıfz olunub suret verilmek üzere arz olunduğunu ve 1071 tarihinde icali beyan edildiği hakkında meşruhat mevcuttur.* The main header of the *defter*'s section dealing with Izmir (pages 11-16) reads as follows: *kaza-ı İzmir ber-müceb-i defter-i tahrir-i cedid-i vezir İsmail Paşa* ("the *kaza* of Izmir according to the new[ly conducted] survey by vizier İsmail Paşa"). The sub-headers list Izmir's non-Muslim communities, or nations, each followed by the names and total numbers of that nation's men found liable to *cizye*: *Cemaat-ı Ermeniyan* (the Armenian nation, 61 names, page 11); *Cemaat-ı Rumiyan* (the Greek nation, 301 names, pages 11-14); *Cemaat-ı Yahudiyan* (the Jewish nation, 271 names, pages 14-16). Finally, the dateline (page 20) is AH 1070 (AD 1659/60).

his enthusiasm here got the better of him. For instance, Antoine Galland, an exceptionally open-minded and thorough witness to Izmir's situation, writes:

> *Hormis celle* [maisons] *des Francs et quelque khans, il y en a un grand nombre qui ne sont bâties que de maisons de terre, ou de boue seulement desséchée, et pour avoir plus tôt fait, les maçons ont une caisse sans dessus et sans fond, longue d'environ trois pieds et de largeur de la muraille qu'ils veulent faire, qu'ils remplissent de mortier et qu'ils ôtent ensuite d'abord qu'ils est un peu séché. … Après les maisons des Francs qui sont, comme je l'ai déjà remarqué, assez commodes et logeables, il n'y en a pas plus d'une vingtaine dans toute la ville qui soient considérables: toutes les autres ne sont que de bois et de planches, ou de terre et de boue. Il n'y a de longues rues que celle du quartier des Francs, celles des Arméniens, deux au bazar qui sont plus larges que les deux premières. Pour les autres, outre qu'elles sont étroites, elles sont encore entrecoupées, tortues et sans ordre, de telle manière que la ville d'aujourd'hui est autant différente de l'ancienne qu'une chose laide et vilaine l'est d'avec une belle et bien proportionnée.*[79]

There is no matching this observation with Evliya's, not even if European disparagement (at which Galland is not easily caught) would be allowed for as much as Ottoman pride. To make sense of this dissension, it would help to think about what *tahrir*s typically counted, namely families (represented by their adult males), tax/distribution units (consisting of one or several families per unit), or – less likely – dwellings. Since all of these were called *hane*s in Ottoman administrative parlance (a problem to which we will return below), it is very likely that Evliya, in speaking of 10,300 brick buildings (including exquisite mansions and beautiful houses), was actually paraphrasing the 10,300 *hane*s of the *tahrir*.[80]

Having thus arrived at a possible number of *hane*s for mid-17th-century Izmir, we should consider further the applicability of Gerber's multiplier. As mentioned earlier, the smaller the taxpaying population to which an extraneous multiplier is applied, the larger the risk that the calculated average family size is inaccurate due to differing local circumstances. Fortunately, mid-17th-century Izmir fits Gerber's main requirement: like Bursa, it lay at the center of the empire both in distance and in traveling time.

Distance from the center aside, there are other noticeable similarities between these two specific cities that limit the margin for errors. These have to do with both cities being commercial centers: Bursa that of the "old" international trade in fine silk, Izmir that of the rapidly expanding "new" international trade in bulky foodstuffs and coarser fabrics. Because of their interna-

---

[79] Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 107-8, 110-11).

[80] This interpretation appears to be corroborated by Nuran Tezcan's critical edition of the *Seyahatname*'s section on Manisa (which uses three codices, viz. Bağdat Köşkü 306, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi and Beşir Ağa 452 and Pertev Paşa 462, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi). In a summary of the section on Izmir, we read that "In allen Stadtvierteln befinden sich 10.300 *hāne*": Tezcan, *Manisa nach Evliyā Çelebi*, 46 (emphasis added).

tional transit function and lack of quarantine arrangements, both cities were regularly and severely plague-ridden. Due to their secure location close to the political center and their economic function and opportunities, both were characterized by relatively open and non-traditional societies stimulating nuclear family patterns. Furthermore, Izmir as well as Bursa had a sizeable population of bachelors and male passers-through that populated the cities' many inns and bars; a contingent reinforced by the presence of considerable garrisons in the cities' direct vicinity to protect the rich depots that these cities were.[81] Such functional similarities all suggest that Gerber's multiplier is suitable for estimating the total population of Izmir on the basis of the fiscal data cited by Evliya.

There is, however, one major relevant dissimilarity between the cities; Izmir's population of *zimmi*s (Ottoman non-Muslims) was relatively larger and predominantly Greek, while Bursa's was more modest in size and mostly Jewish.[82] The question then arises whether differences in the population's ethnical composition would not also have consequences for the city's average family size. To be short, it is unlikely that it does. On the basis of a Venetian census of 1700 and an additional Venetian document from 1702/11, Malcolm Wagstaff has recently calculated an average family size for the Peloponnesus of 3.6 in urban communities and 4.17 in rural communities, arguing that this should be considered the standard for most of 18th-century Southern Europe and at least parts of the Ottoman Empire.[83] When this Greek average family size is compared to Gerber's averages of 3.65 and 4.9 respectively, it emerges that demographical trends in Ottoman cities at the heart of the empire applied across cultures and mostly developed in conformity with broader urban demographical trends.[84] Apparently, the oft-cited

---

[81] Although neither city hosted large numbers of soldiers within its walls, many were stationed nearby: in Izmir in the castle guarding the entrance to the harbor (Sancak(burnu) Kalesi, see Appendix 1, plates 2 and 4 and in Bursa in nearby villages and towns. See Gerber, *Economy and Society*, 9-10.

[82] See Suraiya Faroqhi et al., *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire*, vol 2: *1600-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 517-19. Accord George Wheler, *Voyage de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant* (Amsterdam: Wolters, 1689), 185: 40,000 Turks and 12,000 Jews in Bursa in 1675, but little to no Greeks and Armenians.

[83] Malcolm Wagstaff, "Family Size in the Peloponnese (Southern Greece) in 1700", *Journal of Family History*, 26/3 (2001).

[84] Fully in line with the considerable similarity between the coefficients of Gerber for Bursa (mainly Turkish population), Jennings for Kayseri (large Armenian population) and Wagstaff for the Peloponnesus (Greek population), neither Barkan's discussion of the Ottoman empire's overall population, nor Jennings' or Gerber's urban studies (see *supra* and the bibliography), have proposed diverging average family sizes for the various ethno-religious communities within their sample populations. When moving from the local crosscultural to the international, it is striking to see how little average family size even varied across much of Southern and North-western Europe's towns and cities. The average for the Dutch towns of Gouda (in 1622) and Leiden (in 1581), for example, was 3.9 and 3.4 respectively: E. K. Grootes, "Het

impact of "Islamic traditionalism" was limited to provinces at the empire's periphery and to rural areas at the heart of the empire (where it still only generated a difference of 0.73) and was not of much consequence for the demography of urban centers such as Izmir.

If an average family size of 3.65 for 17th-century Izmir is accepted, that figure can subsequently be used to calculate the city's total population from Evliya's rendition of İsmail Paşa's *tahrir* (of AH 1068; AD 1657/58). Depending on what the number 10,300 is taken to represent – the number of taxpayers (most likely in a *tahrir*), the number of dwellings (closest to Evliya's text), or the number of tax units (increasingly common in 17th-century *tahrir*s) – the calculation will result in a minimum, a middle and a maximum figure, respectively. The minimum is calculated as the number of taxpayers times average family size: 10,300 • 3.65 = 37,595; say 37,500.

The (middle) calculation, involving the number of dwellings, however, has one more variable that needs fixing. Since more than one family generally occupy one dwelling, an average ratio between dwellings and families must first be identified. In the industrial and post-industrial ages, the ever-increasing number of stories and floor-areas of public housing blocks, apartment complexes, high-rises and skyscrapers, particularly in cities, has resulted in significantly higher numbers of families per dwelling than ever in human history. One might even wonder whether the designation "dwelling", although common in urban planning, is really still compatible with the modern cityscape. In any case, that of the early modern age was typically that of a small number of towering stone government, religious and, sometimes, commercial structures bathing in a sea of one to three-storied wooden or mud-brick houses. This is not only how Izmir was time and again described by European residents and visitors, but also cities as diverse as London, Amsterdam, Paris, Istanbul and Alexandria. It was, to be short, the typical appearance of the 17th-century city.

This similarity in building types and build-up across many Ottoman and other cities is reflected in the average number of families per dwelling; a figure that roughly ranges from 1.1 to 1.4 for most pre-18th-century cities, averaging at a conservative 1.25.[85] As this is an average for private dwellings

---

jeugdig publiek van de "nieuwe liedboeken" in het eerste kwart van de zeventiende eeuw", in: *Het woord aan de lezer: zeven literatuurhistorische verkenningen*, eds. W. van den Berg and J. Stouten (Groningen: Wolters Noordhoff, 1987), 81.

[85] The figures were obtained from Daniel Pasciuti, "A Measurement Error Model for Estimating the Population Sizes of Preindustrial Cities" (25 November 2002), *Urbanization and Empire Formation Project, Institute for Research on World-Systems, University of California*, http://irows.ucr.edu/research/citemp/estcit/modpop/modcitpop.htm (accessed 13 October 2011). Pasciuti in turn relies heavily on Richard Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*

and it therefore does not take into account Izmir's dozens of *han*s (inns where multiple families at once lived and traded) and its one *kervansaray* (caravansary; a great inn), the average for this particular case should be slightly higher. If these altogether numbered an estimated 50 in the 1650s and on average housed 15 families instead of the 1.25 of private dwellings, another ((15 - 1.25) • 3.65 • 50 =) 2,509.375 individuals have to be added to the calculation.[86] The result, then, is the number of dwellings times the average number of families per dwelling times average family size, plus the (additional) inhabitants of *han*s: (10,300 • 1.25 • 3.65 = 46,993.75) + 2,509.375 = 49,503.125; say 50,000.

In the (maximum) calculation involving the number of tax units, the number of families per dwelling is substituted with the average number of families per unit. As briefly touched on above, the Ottoman tax unit poses several problems for the historian. The first problem is with its designation; *hane* – a homonym for "house", "household", or "family" also used for taxation purposes and as such very difficult to distinguish from it when used without further qualification. The second problem is with its size. The size of one unit depended on the total sum that the administration wanted raised, as well as on the relative wealth and size of the taxed households and of those around them. The *hane* as a variable tax unit was used for the levying of *avarız*-taxes. These taxes were originally collected on an *ad hoc* basis to gather funds for specific purposes like military campaigns (hence its name, *avarız*, from the Arabic root '*arid*, meaning "incidental") but became increasingly frequent, until they were just another tool in the eternal battle to balance

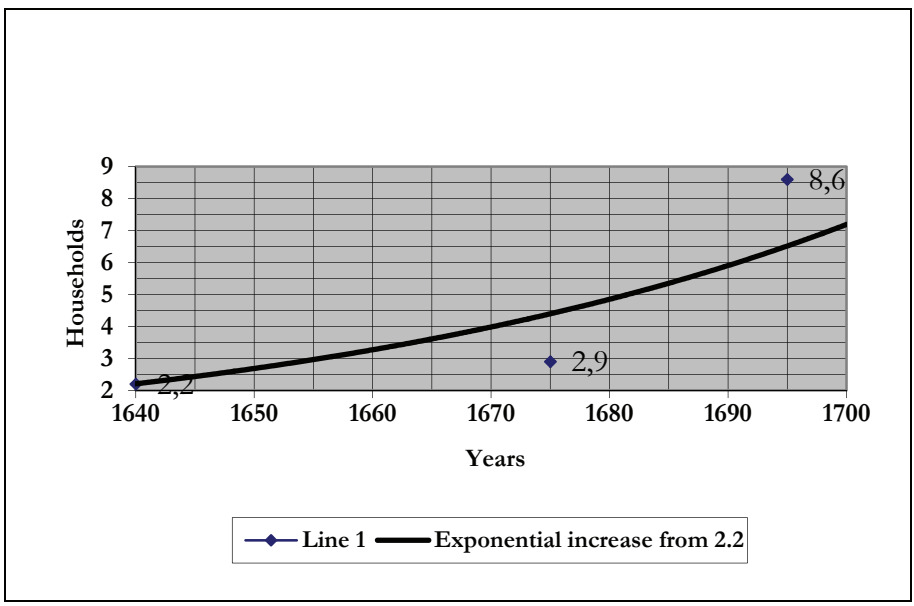
---

(New York: Routledge, 2002) and Roger Finlay, *Population and Metropolis: The Demography of London, 1580-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

[86] On the number of *han*s and *kervanssaray*s in 1670s-Izmir, and on their occupancy, compare Evliya, *Seyahatname* 9, 96; Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 104-10 and 144 ; Ülker, *Rise of Izmir*, 327; and M. Münir Aktepe, "İzmir hanları ve çarşıları hakkında ön bilgi", *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, 25 (1971). Although the numbers of *cami*s, *mescid*s, *medrese*s, *hamam*s, *han*s, *kervansaray*s, *dar ül-kur'an*s, *mekteb-ı sıbyan*s, *imaret*s, *çeşme*s, *sebilhane*s, *dükkan*s, *mahzen*s, *kahvehane*s, *sabunhane*s, *meyhane*s, *bozahane*s, *boyahane*s, *saraçhane*, *şem'hane*s and *gümrükhane*s given by Evliya under reference to his sources in local administration (*kadi*, *voyvoda*, *muhtesib*, etc.) are largely supported by Galland, as well as by other, documentary and archaeological, evidence (see, for instance, the other articles by Aktepe in the bibliography), they do concern the 1670s and not the 1650s. For lack of accurate information on the number of *han*s in that decade, it could be presumed that the number of *han*s rose in correlation with the number of taxpaying households (as established *infra*). Such an estimated increase of ((10,300 • 100) / 16,580 =) 62.12% over this 20-year period, ending in a number of 81, would give a number of ((81 • 100) / 162.12 =) 50 *han*s for the 1650s. The estimates for the number of *han*s and the average number of families per *han* are admittedly rather loose, but because of the consistently great numerical superiority of the inhabitants of private dwellings over those of *han*s, even changing these variables will not significantly alter the rounded outcome of the final calculation (i.e. the rounded total of the number of inhabitants of private dwellings plus those of *han*s); the result will always fluctuate slightly short of 50,000.

provincial budgets. They were collected from units known as *avarızhane*s, with every *avarızhane* contributing an equal share of the total amount that was to be collected. Since each *hane* consisted of several households that contributed in proportion to their resources, both the height of the tax per household and the number of households per *hane* varied.[87] There are not many who have ventured to publish figures for these variables, but Gerber has put forward the following averages for Bursa: 2.2 around 1640/41; 2.9 in the 1670s; and 8.6 in 1696 (see Table 2). If we continue to presume that the demography and social indicators of Bursa and Izmir were broadly comparable in the 17th century and that the number of households per *hane* increased in a steady, almost exponential fashion, we would arrive at a figure of approximately 2.5 for the number of *hane*s in Izmir around 1655; a couple of years before İsmail Paşa's *tahrir*. The total taxpaying population would then be the number of tax units times the average number of households per unit times average family size: 10,300 • 2.5 • 3.65 = 93,987.5; say 100,000.

TABLE 2: AVERAGE NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS PER AVARIZ-HANE (1640-1700)



Based on Gerber, *Economy and Society*, 8.[88]

[87] H. Bowen, "Awārid", *EI2*, i: 759b-61a.

[88] Accord the very careful review of the *avarız*-problem in Nenad Moačanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube, 1526-1690* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 215-19. Also see Gábor Ágoston, *Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 119; Dina Rizk Khoury, *State and Provincial Society in the*

Of these three estimates of Izmir's residential population in 1657/58 – 37,500, 50,000 and 100,000, omitting the tax-exempt and of course a considerable number of non-residents – the last one can be discarded immediately. A taxpaying population of 100,000 at that time would have made Izmir one of the larger cities of the empire and even of Europe. It would have put it in the league of absolute centers of international maritime trade like Aleppo or Amsterdam (with a population of approximately 100,000 and 150,000 respectively) and far ahead of major textile producing centers like Bursa or Leiden (estimated at about 40,000 and 65,000 respectively).[89]

Although Izmir had been growing continuously since the middle of the 16th century and most foreign consulates and merchants had abandoned Chios for it in the 1620s, the boom was only just starting and it would take a good hundred years more for Izmir to fully swallow up the trade of Chios and Aleppo, and for Izmir's population to pass the six-figure-mark.[90] The two remaining possible estimates (37,500 and 50,000) lie closer together due to the near-convergence of houses and households in the early modern period; and although the evidence certainly inclines towards İsmail Paşa's *tahrir* having listed families instead of dwellings, there can be little objection to reconciling figures that similar while weighing them in proportion to their likelihood.[91] With an estimated 40,000 taxpaying inhabitants (that is, taxpay-

---

Ottoman Empire: Mosul, 1540-1834 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 49-50n14; and Bogaç A. Ergene, "ʿAwārıḍ", *EI2*: "'Awārıḍ were determined by the number of 'awārıḍ households ('awārıḍ khānes) in a specific district. The relationship of these tax units to real households varied over time and space. In the early tenth/sixteenth century, one 'awārıḍ household was equivalent to one real household (Demirci). In later periods, one 'awārıḍ khāne might have equaled from three to as many as fifteen real households, depending on the relative prosperity of the district."

89 Compare Gerber, *Economy and Society*, 12; Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 621; and Marcus, *Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 338.

90 See Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *XV ve XVI. asırlarda İzmir kazasının sosyal ve iktisâdî yapısı* (Izmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayını, 2000), 24-33; Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World*, 61-64; and Frangakis-Syrett, *Commerce of Smyrna*, 46.

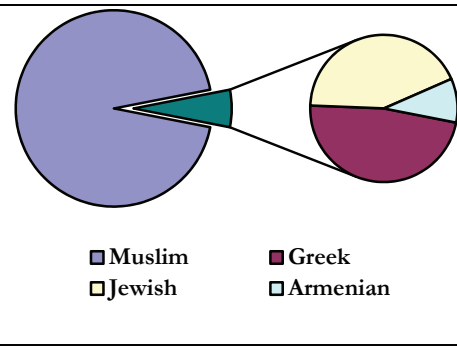
91 The evidence being; firstly, what is known about 17th-century *tahrir*s in general (i.e. that they are most likely to list either households or *avarızhane*s); secondly, that in the case of this particular *tahrir* the latter possibility can safely be discarded (since it would imply an unrealistically inflated population of around 100,000) and; thirdly and most importantly, that the *defter-i cizye-i gebran* (Istanbul, BBA MAD 14672 (AH 1070-72 / AD 1660-62)) that was based on the *tahrir* by İsmail Paşa in AH 1068 (AD 1657/58), does in fact list the names of non-Muslim heads of households (and their sons aged 14 and above) instead of *avarızhanes*. The interpretation of Evliya's figure of 10,300 as being the number of (taxpaying) families in 1657/8, is further supported by comparison with the figures available for 1678. These 20 years witnessed a 62.12% increase in the city's taxpaying families, with taxpaying non-Muslim families (those of *zimmi*s found liable to *cizye*) making up 6.15 % of the total population in 1657/58 and 6.51% in 1678. These figures will be discussed in more detail *infra*, but it is safe to say they correspond to the non-statistical data available for the period.

ers and their families) in the 1650s and an increasing pull on international maritime trade, Izmir already rivaled Bursa and was beginning to seriously threaten the dominance of Aleppo.[92]

Together, the *cizye defter* and Evliya's *Seyahatname* also provide us some insight into the ethno-religious composition of Izmir's population as it was recorded by İsmail Paşa in the middle of the 17th century (see Table 3).

TABLE 3: COMPOSITION OF THE TAXPAYING POPULATION OF IZMIR (1657/58)

	Families	% of total
Total (T)	10,300	100.00
Greek (G)	301	2.92
Armenian (A)	61	0.59
Jewish (J)	271	2.63
***Zimmi* (Z=G+A+J)**	633	6.15
Muslim (M=T–Z)	9,667	93.85



Based on Evliya, *Seyahatname* 9, 93; and Istanbul, BBA MAD 14672 (AH 1070-72 / AD 1660-62).

Size and Composition of the Taxpaying Population in 1678

As previously discussed, the only full *tahrir*s available for Izmir are of AH 929, 935, 983 and 1105 (AD 1522/23, 1528/29, 1575/76 and 1693/94). Had the city's growth been without spectacular interruptions from the 1570s to the 1690s, these last two *tahrir*s and the information in Table 3 might have been combined to create a population curve spanning most of the 17th century. Positioning the 1670s on such a curve would have made it possible to infer a rough estimate for population size during that decade. Unfortunately, a spectacular interruption did take place on 10 July 1688 in the form of an earthquake of truly apocalyptical proportions which leveled three quarters of the city's houses, torched half the city and left an estimated 15-16,000 dead, forcing many survivors to abandon its ruins.[93] Although the city did recover from the blow and was already firmly back on its feet as the undisputed center of Levantine trade by the beginning of the 18th century, the extent of the population's destruction and subsequent reconstruction ensures that the 1693/94-survey has no bearing on the pre-earthquake situation – even if the

[92] Klaus Kreiser also shortly mentions an estimated 40,000 taxpayers in Izmir around 1650: Klaus Kreiser, *Der osmanische Staat, 1300-1922* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 2001), 10.

[93] Iconomos, *Étude sur Smyrne*, 128-31.

estimated number of dead is accurate.

Since we do have at our disposal a small number of post-1670 registers on military, customs, minorities' and foreigners' affairs (see the bibliography) the lack of Ottoman administrative sources on 17th-century Izmir is not absolute. But it is deplorable nevertheless, since for all they can tell us about the daily goings-on of Izmir's international trade or the details of *cizye*-collection, these sources offer no quantifiable data on the city's general, or even overall minority, population. Again, information has to be pried from a combination of travelers' testimonies and the odd complementary *defter*; its relevance more inferred from our knowledge of general trends and data from earlier and later periods, than from the actual figures themselves. A glance at Table 1 will quickly reveal how hazardous it is to overly rely on travelers' accounts: their estimates are far too incongruous to reconcile. Among them, however, there is one that stands out: An toine Galland. In giving numbers of families instead of four to five-figure totals for the number of Turks, Greeks, Jews and Armenians or the overall population as his fellow European travelers did, this specific visitor reveals an interesting indebtedness to Ottoman sources.

It was not at all unusual for European travelers to rely on local residents for their general descriptions (and often even for the narration of specific events which they would then claim to have witnessed themselves), but their information was typically gathered from a relatively small and fixed group of informants that was readily accessible to them from within the safe and comfortable confines of Izmir's European quarter, from which many did not want or dare venture too far. These informants typically included European clergy, consuls and merchants, as well as their European and indigenous staff of chaplains, treasurers, secretaries, scribes; and guards, warehousemen, brokers and dragomans (translators, interpreters, advisors and spokesmen all-in-one). The latter group of mostly Greek and Jewish locals naturally dominated among the Ottoman informants, as they were just that by profession and were best equipped to bridge the language gap towards the most often non-Turkish and non-Arabic speaking European visitor.

An added difficulty with such indirect accounts is that both the travelers writing them down and their sources of course had their own private and professional agendas. More often than not these led to considerable distortions. One can easily imagine, for instance, how seductive it was for Ottoman Muslims, non-Muslims and Europeans to inflate the size of their community, for merchants to overstate the importance of their commerce, or for consuls to dwell excessively on the difficulties they had to overcome in the course of their duties. At the same time, any publishing travel-writer – being the early-modern equivalent of a modern best-selling fiction author – knew full well what sold back home and picked his informants' brains for anecdotes that stressed the foreign and Oriental beauty of the Ottoman city and world or that exemplified the proverbial cruelty and avidity of "the Turk". In

short, most accounts deal in a series of constantly reiterated and often literally copied commonplaces that essentially reflect not much more than the supply and demand of popular literary culture and crosscultural exchange. It is, therefore, no coincidence that the most interesting and informative European first-hand accounts of the 17th-century Ottoman Empire have been left by men who were equipped to go beyond the usual informants; men well-versed in the Turkish, Arabic, Persian and modern Greek languages and with good Ottoman connections that at times even provided them with documents from their private libraries and the archives of the Ottoman administration.[94] If such men – like Galland – also happened to be adventurous and inquisitive scholars, their accounts are all the more original and valuable for it.

Best known for his, the first European, edition of *Les mille et une nuits* (Paris, 1704-1708) and for his studies on the faith of the Greeks (conducted in French ambassador De Nointel's service from 1670 to assist in the envisaged French protection of Ottoman Christianity), Antoine Galland (b. 1646-d. 1715) might easily be misconceived as a hostile Orientalist. Yet, his work lacks the slightest resemblance to crusading efforts like Michel Febvre's *Théatre de la Turquie*.[95] Most interesting for our purposes are his *Journal* (1672-1673) – the daily entries of which testify to his adventurous, open-minded and scholarly nature, as well as to his superb Ottoman connections – and his only very recently published *Voyage à Smyrne* (1678) – an unparalleled and highly detailed inventory of the city of Izmir in all its aspects, which he wrote for Parisian bookseller Barbin in the period between De Nointel's decline and eventual disgrace and his own appointment as Louis XIV's antiquary in the Levant in 1679.[96]

In his *Voyage à Smyrne*, Galland provides us with a whole range of descriptions, measurements and statistics concerning Izmir's geography, topography and demography. He describes the city as a loosely shaped scalene whose sides he textually positions (see Map 2).

According to Galland, his scalene has a perimeter of 7200 geometrical paces (a geometrical pace being 5 feet, or 1.524 meters) and contains 2,000 to 3,000 dwellings (including 81 *han*s, or inns) housing 800 Greek, 130 Armenian, 150 Jewish and 15,000 to 16,000 Turkish families in 13 quarters (*mahalle*s).[97] These statistics reflect Galland's penchant for objective verification – they constitute the main variables still used today in historical demog-

---

[94] Paul Rycaut and Dudley North immediately come to mind. For further reference, see generally Sonia P. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667-1678* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

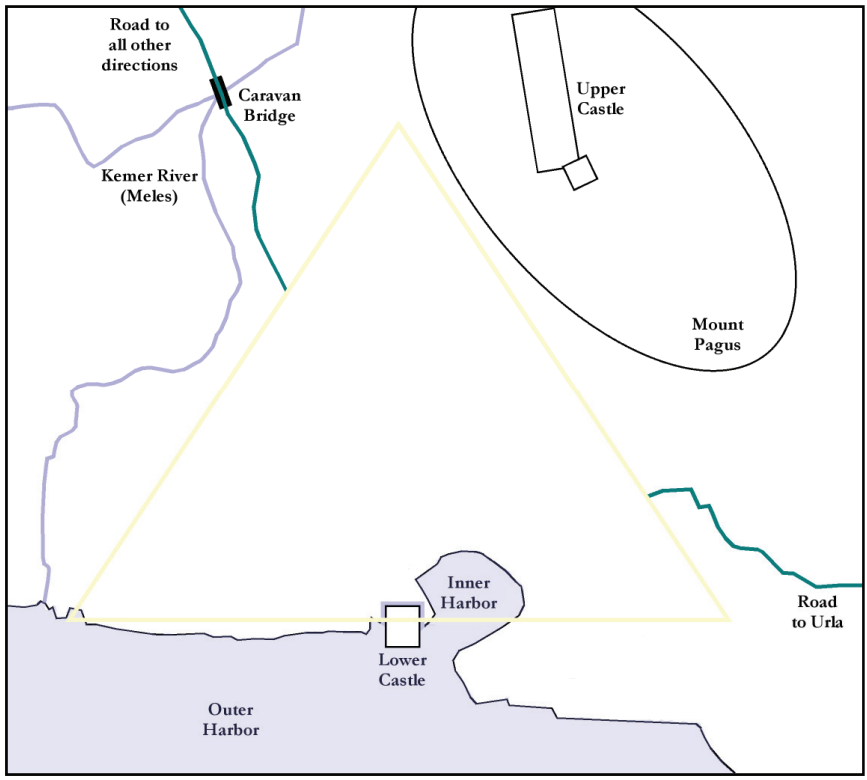
[95] Michel Febvre, *Theatre de la Turquie* (Paris: Edme Couterot, 1682).

[96] Antoine Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople (1672-1673)* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1881); and Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*.

[97] *Ibid.*, 103-5 ("Situation géographique"), 104-10 ("Description topographique").

raphy (built-up urban area, number of dwellings, number of families) and appear to have been gathered through personal observation in the field, as well as through the use of informants and Ottoman tax registers. Particularly the fact that he lists the number of families in conjunction with the number of quarters (and further along, their ethno-religious composition), points to tax data either directly or indirectly gathered from local Ottoman administrators. In this respect, Galland's approach resembles Evliya's, although, considering the former's scholarly aptitude and objectives, it is probably more reliable.

MAP 2: TRIANGULAR OUTLINE OF IZMIR IN 1678

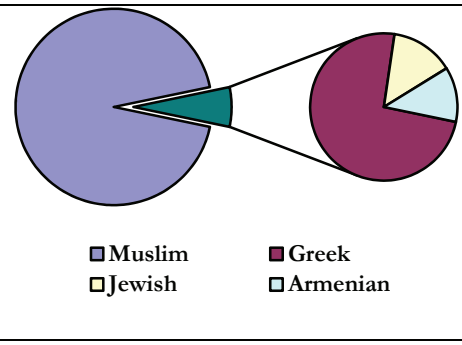


Based on Map 1 and Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 104-7.

If the demographic information provided by Galland indeed stemmed from tax registers, it follows that the numbers given concern the taxpaying population and not the population proper (see Table 4).

TABLE 4: COMPOSITION OF THE TAXPAYING POPULATION OF IZMIR (1678)

	Families	% of total
Total (T=Z+M)	16,580	100.00
Greek (G)	800	4.83
Armenian (A)	130	0.78
Jewish (J)	150	0.90
***Zimmi* (Z=G+A+J)**	1,080	6.51
Muslim (M)	15,500	93.49



Based on Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 107.

As before, the total taxpaying population is calculated by multiplying the number of families by average family size: 16,580 • 3.65 = 60,517; say 60,000.

Jewish Protection and Lump Sum Taxation

However plausible Galland's figures may be, it should be kept in mind that it is impossible to compare or verify them. This is particularly problematic since there is some internal and external evidence that might be considered conflicting. Externally, there is a *cizye-i gebran defter* for Izmir, dated 15 January 1688, which gives alternative numbers of Greeks, Armenians and Jews.[98] Internally, further along in his description of Izmir's population, Galland gives some widely diverging numbers of Jews.

It is tempting to think that the 1688-*cizye defter* must have been an ante-dated construct, meant to provide the Ottoman administration insight into the state of its tax base in the wake of the earthquake. It simply seems too big a coincidence for a population survey of Izmir to be abstracted by an Istanbul clerk while a few months later the very subjects and holdings it listed were being wiped out by a natural catastrophe. An exceptionally cruel twist of fate without a doubt, but it occurred nonetheless, for not only does the *defter* explicitly refer to a previously conducted survey, the existence of this pre-earthquake survey is further attested to by the MAD-series holding an extensive series of *cizye defter*s from 1688 derived entirely from the same full *tahrir* of Anatolia.[99]

The after all authentic *cizye defter* from 15 January 1688 lists the numbers of Greek, Armenian and Jewish taxpayers in Izmir and a number of other towns and cities in its vicinity (see the copy of the *defter* in Appendix 1, Plate 10). In the case of the Greeks and Armenians it states that the numbers were

[98] Istanbul, BBA MAD 14888 (AH 11 Rebi' I 1099 / AD 15 January 1688).

[99] See note 66.

taken from an older or previous survey (*tahrir-i atık*), while the numbers of Jews were obtained from a new or recent survey (*tahrir-i cedid*). Sure enough, the numbers for Izmir taken from the *tahrir-i atık* match those of our *cizye defter* taken from İsmail Paşa's *tahrir* of 1657/58 (301 Greeks and 61 Armenians; see Table 3). The registered number of Jewish taxpayers of Izmir, meanwhile, dropped significantly from 271 in 1657/58 to 219 at the beginning of 1688. The drop implied in Galland's breakdown of Izmir's population is even higher than that recorded in the survey: from 271 in 1657/58 to 150 in 1678.

It is peculiar that these two sources speak of a drop in the number of Jewish taxpayers while all contemporary western observers stress that community's growth – it certainly does not correspond to other historical evidence for the city's pull on European and Ottoman Jewry (particularly from Portugal, Chios and Salonica). In a way, the results of a *tahrir* are incontestable: if a certain number of households was deemed taxable, than that was the number of taxpayers as far as the Ottoman administration was concerned and the amount for which they were assessed was usually collected, if not from those surveyed (because of obsolete survey data), then from their families, communities or landlords. What should be questioned, however, is the degree to which changes in the number of recorded taxpayers accurately reflected demographical reality, just as we should wonder whether European visitors cooped up in "Frank Street" (and this does not include Galland, who did in fact venture further out) were able and willing to interrogate their informants critically. Both these issues are succinctly illustrated by a passage from Galland's *Voyage*.

After his treatment of Izmir's "situation géographique" and his "description topographique" (which include the previously discussed statistical data), Galland proceeds with the city's population, community by community: first the "Franks" – the French, English, Dutch, Venetian and Genoese nations and the few Florentines, Siennese and Livornese; then the indigenous communities – the Greek, Armenian, Jewish, Arab and Turkish *taife*s. As much as Ottoman administrative sources shine through in the rest of Galland's account, so obvious is his exclusive use of European and *zimmi*-informants throughout these passages. The organization and functioning of the Jewish community, for instance, is discussed in such expertly detail that the information must have originated from a well-informed (i.e. high status) insider. Concerning the Jews' liability to the poll-tax (*cizye*; here, *haraç*), for instance, he tells us the following:

> *Pour exiger le droit qu'ils sont obligés de payer au Grand Seigneur pour le carache, ils ont un député de chaque synagogue, qui se change de six mois en six mois, avec chacun un adjoint pour les secourir lorsqu'ils en ont besoin. Mais ces adjoints ne sont changés qu'à la fin de l'année, n'ayant point tant à travailler que les premiers. Ce droit est de 12000 à 15000 piastres, parmi lesquelles il faut comprendre ce qui est nécessaire pour les frais communs de*

la communauté. De 1500 familles qu'il y a parmi eux, il n'yen a que 500 qui contribuent, chacune suivant leurs richesses. Les plus accommodés payent 10 écus sur chaque 3000, et les autres en diminuant jusqu'à un écu seulement. Mais il y en a deux, Joseph et Moseh Algranate qui, à raison de ce qu'ils sont riches, paient 100 écus chacun; ce qui leur revient quelquefois à 500 écus par an.[100]

How, then, do these 1,500 families, with only 500 of them reportedly paying taxes, relate to the 150 families previously reported by Galland? And how can the drop from 271 to 219 recorded in the 1657/58 and 1688-*tahrir*s be explained? And finally, how do the two classes of information fit the same reality?

It remains conjecture, but it seems there are two possible answers to the first question. One is that Galland (for reasons to be explored further on) was unable to obtain reliable Ottoman data on the number of Jewish taxpayers and neatly reduced the number of 1,500 to 150 to illustrate how few families actually paid *cizye*. This, however, would mean he was well aware of these contradicting passages in his work and if that was the case one would have expected him to correct or at least explain the difference in the editing process. A more probable answer is that Galland felt no need to reconcile the diverging figures since he received them as such. As mentioned before, the way the figures are presented suggests they originated from different sources; the first (150 families) from Ottoman administration and the second (1,500 families, of which 500 taxpaying) from Jewish informants – most likely from the same Josef and Moshe Algranate he refers to, not coincidentally the European nations' main trading partners.

Since the 1688-*tahrir* explicitly refers to the last previous survey (*tahrir-i atık*) and since the figures taken over from that survey are those of the 1657/58-*tahrir*, this confirms that no surveys were conducted during the intervening thirty years. Of course, comprehensive surveys coordinated from the capital were not the only administrative devices available to Izmir's administration; the local *kadi* (magistrate, notary public and tax collector all-in-one) and tax farmers and their various deputies depended on their own, locally compiled or updated, registers in the exercise of their daily duties. Such sources were typically also consulted by well-connected travelers. Just as Evliya, by his own admission, used information provided by (among others) the local market inspector (*muhtesib*), so Galland will have relied on information provided by Ottoman officials deeply involved in Izmir's European affairs, like the *voyvoda*, who was responsible for the collection of taxes that had not been farmed out and for issues of public order related to those taxes.

[100] Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 140.

The second question is relatively easy to answer. In itself, a drop in the number of Jewish families assessed for *cizye* from 271 in 1657/58 to 219 shortly before the 1688-earthquake, can be attributed almost entirely to protection by Izmir's European nations. During this interval the city became the absolute center of Ottoman-European maritime trade and its close-knit and well-organized Jewish community managed to (temporarily) capture an effective monopoly on commerce-related positions from the previously dominant Greeks.[101] As bankers, dragomans, brokers and wholesalers for the Europeans, a considerable number acquired the protection that European consuls were allowed to extend their native personnel under the Ottoman capitulations.[102]

This protection, originally intended to safeguard the confidentiality of Ottoman subjects in European diplomatic service, had several fiscal and legal advantages. One of these was their own, their families' and their servants' exemption from *cizye*, thus excluding them from any registered totals of *cizye*-payers. The three largest nations (the French, English and Dutch) had over the years acquired an increasing number of dragomans; each held an average three over the last quarter of the century. In addition to these "actual" dragomans, whose importance to their employers most often also lay in the fact that they were members of prominent families doing business with the Europeans, the consuls of these nations appointed a number of "nominal" dragomans and vice-consuls. The purpose of appointing such nominal deputies, or *protégés*, was to patronize even more local business elite by requesting the sultan to recognize their appointments and provide them with the necessary documents. These diplomas (or *berat*s) confirmed the protégé in his position and affirmed his right to protection under his employer's capitulations.

A conservative estimate of the average number of nominal deputies nominally employed by the consuls of Izmir's three largest European nations would be five.[103] If we make the informed guess that an average three of those will have been Jews, and if a combined estimated average of three servants and adult sons per appointee is included, the resulting minimum number of Jewish families freed from *cizye* through European – or, really,

---

[101] See Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World*, 87-92. Accord Eldem et al., *Ottoman City*, 97-102; Daniel Goffman, "Jews in Early Modern Ottoman Commerce", in: *Jews, Turks, Ottomans: A Shared History, Fifteenth Through the Twentieth Century*, ed. Avigdor Levy (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002), 32-34; and Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry*, 29 and 58.

[102] İnalcik, "Imtiyāzāt", 1187a.

[103] Cf. Ülker, *Rise of Izmir*, 216 and 246n65; The Hague, NA 1.02.22 684: Dagboek van Daniël-Jan de Hochepied, secretaris van de resident in Turkije, gehouden tijdens zijn reizen van en naar Turkije en van zijn verblijf in Smirna en Constantinopel, met afschriften van stukken betreffende het Nederlandse gezantschap in Turkije (1677-1680); The Hague, NA 1.02.20 1088; The Hague, NA 1.01.02 6912; The Hague, NA 1.01.02 6913; *e.g.*.

indirect Ottoman – protection would be (3 nations • (3 actual dragomans + 3 nominal appointees) • 3 servants and sons =) 54 against a drop of 52 Jewish taxpaying families recorded in the *tahrir*s.

Even if we take into account the considerations above, it still eludes us how the information provided by Galland and that of the Ottoman registers both fit the same historical reality of a flourishing Jewish community. The remaining discrepancy has two causes; one on the European side and another on the Ottoman.

Firstly, European travelers to 1670s-Izmir, as mentioned earlier, could not help but notice the predominance of the Jewish community. Their frequent assertions that it was up to half the size of the Turkish population should perhaps be attributed to its visibility and to the pride of their Jewish informants, but certainly also to their compatriots' annoyance at being at the mercy of this community:

> *The commerce of the Frank merchants is entirely directed by the Jews, for which purpose each merchant house has its own Jewish brokers (normally 3 to 4 per house) who repartition their brokerage fees amongst each other. To this nation of deceivers the merchants commonly defer, and must trust it with their affairs.*
>
> Daniël-Jan de Hochepied (1678)[104]

> *Ils ne vivent la plupart que de ce qu'ils gagnent en servant de sensal ou courtier aux marchands francs qui ont chacun le leur, ne pouvant presque rien faire sans leur secours. Ils gagnent plus ou moins suivant les achats de marchandises que font leurs marchands, lesquels leur donnent un tant pour cent. Les Anglais et les Hollandais ont plus de confiance en eux que nos marchands, en ce qu'ils leur donnent connaissance de toutes leurs affaires et qu'ils leur confient la clef de leur caisse.*
>
> Antoine Galland (1678)[105]

> *When a fresh merchant, or factor, comes to Constantinople, the first Jew, that catches a word of him, marks him for his own, as becoming his peculiar property, and calls him his mechant ; and so he must be as long as he stays. And, from this time, no other Jew will interpose to deprove him of his purchase, but as soon rob an house as do it. And thus, by compact or custom among themselves, this sacred rule of right is established. On the other side, the merchant can no more shake off his Jew than his skin. He sticks like a bur, and, whether well used or ill used, will be at every turn in with him; and no remedy. Somewhat the rogue will get out of him in spite of his teeth., and commonly (besides pay) just so much more as he is trusted with: and the merchant cannot be without a Jew, nor change that he hath. The only expedient is to make the best of him, and never trust him upon honour. It is not a little convenience that is had by these appropriated Jews; for they serve in the quality of universal brokers, as well for small as great things. Their trade is running up and*

---

[104] The Hague, NA 1.02.22 684, 39a (my translation).
[105] Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 142.

down, and through the city, like so many of Job's devils, perpetually busking after one thing or other, according as they are employed. If the merchant wants any thing, be it never so inconsiderable, let him tell his Jew of it, and, if it be above ground, he will find it. This is accounted a common advantage; for there are multitudes of people, that have need of each other, and want means to come together; which office the Jews perform admirably.

Dudley North (1670s)[106]

Not only was this a mid-sized minority community wielding a disproportionate amount of economic power, the fact that it was Jewish in particular will also not have alleviated the European nations' frustration at a time so rife with religiously and politically inspired anti-Semitism. Although the passages quoted above are relatively mild, it was not at all uncommon for 17th-century European – or, for that matter, Ottoman – travelers to use pejoratives in referring to Jews, although we should add that many did not. Galland and Tournefort, for instance, wrote with barely concealed admiration about Jewish communal organization and solidarity, and many travel accounts stick to more or less neutral observations about the community's size and institutions.[107]

In much commercial and diplomatic correspondence, however, Jews tend to figure as untrustworthy business partners and dragomans – more often than not easy scapegoats for failings and complications not their own. The full extent to which European anti-Semitism could go can be gleaned from the correspondence of Dutch consul Van Dam (see Appendix 2, document 9). The consul had been at odds with his nation's Jewish brokers and their community over his nation's outstanding debts and his taxing their nation's goods at a discriminating tariff. Upon witnessing the Jews of Izmir and Amsterdam successfully working together to demolish his reputation at home and abroad he fell back on attempting to appeal to the States General's religious prejudices by comparing himself to Christ condemned to the cross through a multitude of Jewish false accusations – which practice, he added (echoing the common European misperception of Islamic legal testimony against non-Muslims), their law permits if it is in their community's advantage.[108]

Although Van Dam's attempts to cast his own mishandling in terms of the paradigm of Jewish duplicity failed, one can see how European residents and visitors will have confused the influence of Izmir's Jews with their number. As for Ottoman testimonies; if they were indeed so numerous, Evliya would have certainly remarked upon it. Yet in discussing the district to which

---

[106] Roger North, *The Life of the Honourable Sir Dudley North* … (London: John Whiston, 1744), 123.

[107] Jacob Barnai, "The Development of Community Organizational Structures: The Case of Izmir", in: *Jews, Turks, Ottomans*, 35.

[108] The Hague, NA 1.01.02 6912: Jacob van Dam to States General, 20 April 1677.

Izmir belonged, his only (disapproving) remarks on "excessive" non-Muslim presence concerned the multitude of Greeks purportedly living in nearby Bornova and the many Frankish ships and churches of Izmir.[109]

But secondly, and more decisively, the number of European protégés is not the only cause of the discrepancy between the actual number of Jewish families and the number of Jewish taxpayers in the Ottoman records. Ottoman registration of Izmir's Jewish taxpayers was inherently inaccurate because of the methods used for the assessment and collection of this community's *cizye*. While the tax was collected from the members of most, if not all, Armenian and Greek communities on an individual basis, most Jewish communities obtained express sultanic permission to pay it collectively as a fixed lump sum (*ber vech-i maktu',* literally meaning "in a fixed manner"). In cases where official permission for *maktu'* payment was not forthcoming and collection of the tax had been farmed out, communities often made similar arrangements with the farmer.[110] The system had advantages for both sides. On the collecting end, it saved the tax farmer the trouble of updating the records on the standard three-yearly basis and of having to find ways to recoup deficits from evasion or natural turnover. On the paying end, it allowed the community in question maximum control over the internal distribution of the tax load.

Whether officially sanctioned or not, this is how the Jews of Izmir paid their *cizye* (in the 1670s and 80s at least), and they took full advantage of the possibilities offered by the *maktu'*-arrangement with Izmir's *cizye*-collector (also the director of its foreign customs office) to lower the tax burden, and to transform the tax into an instrument for communal policy.

Faced with a tremendous influx of Portuguese Jews and from the rest of the Ottoman Empire, as well as with the centrifugal potential of foreign protection, the overriding concern of Izmir's established Jewish leadership was its continuing primacy, and the strengthening and enforcing of communal unity and solidarity. Very much in evidence in all spheres of Jewish life (professional and religious organization and practice, education, healthcare

---

[109] Evliya, *Seyahatname* 9, 89 and 96-97.

[110] See İnalcık, "Djizya". On the *maktu'* arrangements of other Ottoman Jewish communities see Daniel Goffman, "The Jews of Safed and the Maktu' System in the Sixteenth Century: A Study of Two Documents from the Ottoman Archives", *Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 3 (1982); and Yaron Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans: Ottoman Jewish Society in the Seventeenth Century* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck Verlag, 2008), 148-53. Christian tributary rulers also regularly collected their subjects' *cizye* to be paid in lump sum to the Ottoman treasury. See, *e.g.*, Ben Slot, *Archipelagus turbatus: les Cyclades entre colonisation latine et occupation Ottomane c. 1500-1718* (Leiden: NINO, 1982), 79 on Naxus; and Marinos Sariyannis, "Notes on the Ottoman Poll-Tax Reforms of the Late Seventeenth Century: The Case of Crete", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 54 (2011) on Crete. The resulting conflation of tribute and *cizye*, and the degradation of tributary rulers to tax farmers, is entirely in keeping with the Ottoman view of the world and its sovereign divisions.

and poor-relief, to name but a few), the fiscal elaboration of this policy was that each member of the community was assessed in proportion to his income. The poorest two-thirds of the community were excused, and the remaining 500 paid at a redistributing relative rate of 0.033-0.33% (Galland's "Les plus accommodés payent 10 écus sur chaque 3000, et les autres en diminuant jusqu'à un écu seulement."), without any ceiling being applied. Even the – usually wealthy – members that had acquired European protection and were therefore exempt before Ottoman law, were still required to contribute.

This joint responsibility for *maktu'* meant that the entire community derived substantial benefit from as large a number of members as possible acquiring exemption. So the community regularly put its entire weight behind candidates for protection, and exerted maximum pressure on local authorities to under-assess their liability. A drop from 271 Jewish taxpayers in 1659/60 to 150 in 1678 (Galland) or 219 (*tahrir*) in 1688 – while all other evidence points to a sharp increase in numbers – does not occur of its own. It is no coincidence that the same fund (the *tanza*, as it was called in Levantine parlance) in which the contributions for the *maktu'* were collected, was also drawn upon to pay the extraordinary expenses of the community: it is of course a euphemism for all the legal costs, presents and bribes made to keep the community itself intact and its tax burden low. This, we might add, was not necessarily against local officials' own interests, because by "beating down" the official worth of the *cizye*-farm (in return for unregistered compensation), the price at which a renewal could be purchased also went down.[111]

For the historian, the net result of this situation is that neither the figures local officials sent to Istanbul, nor those of the 1688-census should be considered as reliable as their officiality suggests.

Luckily, Galland offers a way around the documentary consequences of the *maktu'*-system. Taking the lump sum's 12,000 to 15,000 dollars as a starting point and presuming that the difference in Galland's range represents the included communal expenses, we can arrive at a new estimate of the number of adult Jewish males. To do so, we must divide the 12,000 dollars *maktu'* by the 2 to 4 dollars *cizye* paid on an individual basis by the Greeks and Armeni-

---

[111] North, *Life*, 84: "*Galata*, over-against *Constantinople*, where all the *Franks* and a great many other *Christians* live, is a Town that belongs to the Queen Mother, the Revenue of it going to her Maintenance. The Farmers of the Rents for some Years past, *to beat down the Farm*, for argument's sake, used to allege, that the Place was in a manner wholly peopled with privileged Persons, as *Dragomen*, who are Interpreters (and notwithstanding that both they and their Wives are the Grand Signor's Subjects, yet are exempted and made free by the Capitulations of the Nations they served, as also by especial Grants to themselves obtained at the Desire of their respective Ambassadors) and married *Franks*." (emphasis added)

ans of Izmir.[112] The (unrealistic) upper limit count would then be (12,000 / 2 =) 6,000 – the (somewhat less unrealistic) lower (12,000 / 4 =) 3,000. With an average family size of 3.65 (i.e. 1 man, 1 woman, 1.65 children, of which 0.825 female and 0.825 male, and most of them underage), an average *cizye* rate of 3.5 seems reasonable. This would yield a count of (12,000 / 3.5 =) 3,429. Given the small difference with the lower count of 3,000 and the uncertainty of the variables, it is sensible to stay with that figure.

There is of course no way to ascertain that the height of the lump sum was indeed determined in this manner – and an increase from 271 individually listed *cizye*-payers in 1657/58 to an approximate 3,000 males included in a lump sum *cizye*-payment in 1678 may (still) seem on the high side. Nevertheless, the figure is not unrealistic when measured against Izmir's exceptionally rapid economic and demographical development, added unto by the relocation of entire Jewish communities from all over the empire's western fringes and beyond. And even if it stems from the same source, some reassurance about the calculation and the implied growth rate might be gained from Galland's estimate of the overall size of the community: his 10,000 souls very closely match the number we would arrive at by multiplying taxpayers by average family size (3,000 • 3.65 =) 10,9503.[113] The addition of 10,950 more persons (taxpayers plus families) to the previous estimate yields a result of 70.919.5; say an estimated taxpaying population of 70,000.

More interesting, however, is to see what happens when the number of 150 Jewish taxpayers in Table 4 is replaced with the 3,000 of the *maktu'*-arrangement; the breakdown changes considerably (see Table 5).

In discussing the comparative grain consumption of Izmir's communities much further down in his description, Galland unwittingly validates our claim that his previous statements on community size should be adjusted for Jewish protection and lump sum taxation. Especially within the fixed-price Ottoman redistributive economy, grain took up a position of strategic importance, and its production, distribution and processing was monitored and registered closely by the authorities. Galland apparently also had access to the resulting registers, or at least to a summary of their contents (probably

---

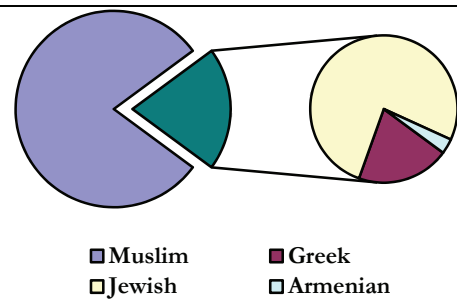
[112] On the Greeks and Armenians paying *cizye* at an annual rate of 2 and 4 dollars (men between 15 and 20 years of age, and men over 20 resp.), see Ülker, *Rise of Izmir*, 230-34. Apparently, the first bout of experimentation with *cizye* reform (that sought to achieve a transition from individual universal rates and lump-sum payments to a wealth-related distribution of *cizye* liability, individually determined or according to a preset distribution pattern of poor, middle and rich classes) was not limited to Crete and the Aegean (accord Sariyannis, "Notes on the Ottoman Poll-Tax Reforms"), but had also involved 1670s Izmir. The rates of 2 and 4 dollars correspond to the "middle" and "wealthy" categories in the new three-class system (only the "poor", with a rate of 1 dollar, have been left out). This makes sense in light of Sariyannis conclusion that from the 1670s onwards Crete and the Aegean islands were testing sites for a planned empire-wide implementation of the three-class system.

[113] Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 140-41.

via the *voyvoda*, who was after all the official responsible for collecting the relevant market and retail dues), and declares that Izmir's grain consumption amounted to 120,000 *quillots per annum*, 30,000 going towards the Jews and 45,000 towards the Turks, with a further 6,000 being taken up by one French and one English oven for the European communities and their shipping.[114] The obvious implication is that in estimating the comparative size of Izmir's Jewish community, a significant upward adjustment must indeed be made to compensate for the obscuration of Jewish tax-payers by the *maktu'*-arrangement.

TABLE 5: IDEM, ADJUSTED FOR *MAKTU'* (1678)

	Families	% of total
Total (T=Z+M)	19,430	100.00
Greek (G)	800	4.12
Armenian (A)	130	0.67
Jewish (J)	3,000	15.44
***Zimmi* (Z=G+A+J)**	3,930	20.23
Muslim (M)	15,500	79.77



Based on Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 107 and 114-41.

Demographic Trends from 1657/58 to 1678

When the data concerning the size and composition of Izmir's taxpaying population in 1678 is contrasted with that of 1657/58, Table 6 emerges.

The table shows a near-doubling of the taxpaying population between 1657/58 and 1678 (coefficient of 1.89), with the non-Muslim part growing at a significantly higher rate than the Muslim part (coefficients of 6.21 and 1.60 respectively), although still being only a quarter of the latter's size. Assuming that the ratio between the number of taxpayers and the number of tax-exempt was more or less equal for all communities over this 20-year period (and having made some adjustments to compensate for the exceptionality of the Jewish case), these general conclusions can be extended to the population proper.

[114] Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 145-46. A *quillot* comprised 22 *okka*s, 1 *okka* equals 1.282 *kilograms*, 120,000 *quillot*s equals 3,384,480 kilograms of grain.

TABLE 6: DEVELOPMENT OF THE TAXPAYING POPULATION OF IZMIR (1657-1678)

	1657/58			1678			1657/58-1678	
	Families	**% of *Zimmi*s**	**% of total**	**Families**	**% of *Zimmi*s**	**% of total**	**Abs. growth rate**	**Rel. growth rate**
Total	10,300	-	100.00	19,430	-	100.00	1.89	0.00
Greek	301	47.55	2.92	800	20.36	4.12	2.66	0.41
Armenian	61	9.64	0.59	130	3.31	0.67	2.13	0.14
Jewish	271	42.81	2.63	3,000	76.34	15.44	11.07	4.87
Zimmi	633	100.00	6.15	3,930	100.00	20.23	6.21	2.29
Muslim	9,667	-	93.85	15,500	-	79.77	1.60	-0.15

Based on Tables 3 and 5.

Concerning the composition of the non-Muslim part of the population, we can then conclude that although all non-Muslim communities registered growth (coefficients of 2.66, 2.13 and 11.07), the "original autochthonous" Greek community and the "older immigrant" Armenian community were being outstripped by the "newer immigrant" Jewish community (relative growth rates of 0.41, 0.14 and 4.87 respectively), which is indeed the tenor of most contemporary Ottoman and European sources. In fact, it looks as if the Jewish community grew at an even higher rate, since the ratio between the tax-exempt and the taxpaying was much higher for the Jewish community than for the Greek or Armenian. It should not be forgotten, however, that the semblance of accuracy of the figures in the table is illusory, as they are all the result of repeated reinterpretation. Consequently, they should serve as indicators of general trends only.

This having been said, the foregoing certainly still permits some interesting observations to be made. To begin with, it has been shown that the years 1658-1678 witnessed a near-doubling of the taxpaying population, which could well have meant a doubling of the overall population, particularly if the European communities are included. With a population rapidly approaching the hundred-thousand mark, Izmir was propelling itself into the range of important Ottoman cities. Furthermore, it has become clear that this rapid development reversed the 200-year-old trend of Turkification in favor of the non-Muslim communities, initiating a counter-trend towards the non-Muslim dominance to which the 19th-century designation "infidel Izmir" famously refers. Lastly, the coinciding of intense Jewish immigration with rapid growth in the volume of international trade going through the city, marks that community's rise to numerical and economic ascendancy at the cost of the city's older Greek and Armenian communities; a fact reflected in the capturing by Izmir's Jews of almost all middlemen positions, previously the domain of Greeks and, to a lesser degree, Armenians.

The Tax-Exempt: From Elite to Underclass

So far, in discussing the population of Izmir, we have spoken mainly about taxpayers and their families. In that discussion the tax-exempt have figured a number of times, but without any consistent qualification or quantification. Now that we have arrived at an estimated tax-paying population of 70,000 for 1678-Izmir, let us see whether we can specify that segment of Izmir's population further.

The difference between the taxpaying population and the resident population proper (including semi-resident visitors) was made up of protégés, administrators, military, clergy, the non-productive sick, old and destitute, slaves, and subjects laboring in state monopolies, pious endowments or as civilian guards or watchmen. That leaves us to guess at the size of a considerable segment of the population, commonly estimated at 10-15% (which would add another 10,000 souls or so to the overall population of Izmir in 1678).[115] But even worse, other than fiscal sources are also largely silent on the lower classes, equally among the tax-exempt. This silence is especially unfortunate since if one takes the time to consider them, the movements and occupations of these laborers, servants and slaves can be seen to have brought them in regular contact with those of other cultures.

In discussions about the proverbial cosmopolitan or tolerant character of Izmir, claims to that effect are often challenged through statements that contacts of diplomats and merchants with Ottoman officials should not count towards the incidence of crosscultural contact because they are formal, irregular and limited to elites – as if a tolerant attitude towards other cultures only amounts to something if it is shared across the entire society. Seen from this perspective, it will always be debatable whether a society at large is truly multicultural or cosmopolitan, warmly tolerant, or parsimoniously tolerant, its members of different cultures barely tolerating each other out of necessity. Although that is always a sensible question (and a steady antidote against "neo-Ottoman nostalgia" for early modern Izmir, or similarly lyrical descriptions of medieval Granada, the American melting-pot, or Dutch multiculturalism), we might wonder whether cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism have not always been ideologies of the few (a question to which we will return further down).[116] What, then, remains if we are to discount those same few, even if it is just because we cannot count them for lack of sources?

The answer often is: little to nothing. But what we can see is that in Izmir (as in Granada; see note 26 and the accompanying discussion) crosscultural contact was pervasive, although it remains well-hidden under a triple layer of

---

115 Barkan, "Essai sur les données statistiques", 21-22.

116 "There are, of course, just as many who suffer from neo-Ottoman nostalgia, and pine for the tolerant society of the Ottoman sixteenth and seventeenth centuries": Virginia H. Aksan, "Theoretical Ottomans", *History and Theory*, 47/1 (2008), 114.

ethno-religious, class and fiscal silencing. So, let us take a look at the exempted categories, whilst also taking note of the degree of their crosscultural involvement.

Protégés we have already spoken of quite a bit, and we will discuss them some more below, but let us here simply estimate their number at a conservative 5 middleman-protégés for Izmir's Dutch, English and French nation (the Venetians and Genoese in Izmir do not appear to have protected commercial partners in this manner), with each having an average – automatically exempted – 1 son and 3 servants with 1 son each. This would make the number of real and nominal dragomans and vice-consuls 35 – a negligible absolute number, even if it were double or three times as high, although we should remember it represented some of the city's richest families and therefore had a far greater impact on public finance than numbers alone suggest.

As brokers, translators, advisors and warehousemen for the Europeans, these prominent Jews, Greeks and Armenians, their offspring and their servants were in daily contact with European consuls, merchants, captains and crews on the one hand, and Ottoman wholesalers, merchants and officials on the other. They were the oil for Izmir's crosscultural engine. If ever there was a truly cosmopolitan set, this was it.

Administrators, meaning Ottoman officials in charge of Izmir's administration, public order and justice, included the *kadi* (judge/chief administrator), his *naib*s (assistants), the *mufti* (jurisconsult), the *voyvoda* (substitute governor) and his troupe, including the *subaşı* (chief of police) and the *muhtesib* (market inspector), and numerous *mukata'ac*s and *mültezim*s (tax-farmers) and guards (*kapıcı*), as well as all these men's households.

Izmir being a crown domain, its military contingent counted no fief-based cavalry (*sipahi*s), but was made up completely of 2 castle wardens (*dizdar*s), a regiment of Janissaries (*yeniçeri*s; at least 10 employed as consular guards), 72 guards (*bostancı*s) and perhaps some irregulars (*sekban*). Both administrators and military were in regular contact with Izmir's Europeans because they were overseeing their dealings, were actively lobbied by them for favors, and often struck up mutual friendships to support mutually profitable favoritism and smooth official relations.

Among the aforementioned officials, the *kadi* and the *mufti* were strictly speaking not administrators but clergy (*ülema*), just like those employed in running Izmir's 310 mosques and prayer houses, its 40 advanced religious schools, 3 Koran schools, 40 primary schools, and its single soup kitchen. On the non-Muslim side, European and European-protected clergymen were in charge of the city's seven churches (a Franciscan, Capuchin, and a Jesuit

church in the European quarter, and the native Greek Saint George, Saint Photina, Saint Veneranda and Latin Saint Polycarp).[117]

To these categories of tax exempt should also be added an unknown and unknowable number of non-productive sick, old and destitute, as well as subjects enjoying exemption by virtue of their daily labor in the service of the state (laboring in the salt fields, as civilian guards or watchmen, and so on). The latter category will have had little to do with Izmir's Europeans, other than guarding the stations along which merchandise found its way to and from Izmir's Europeans, or than having to go through the heart of the European quarter on their way to another day's work in the salt mines (see below).

This leaves one last category to be discussed: slaves. Until its abolishment in 1847 Ottoman slavery was widespread. Before the modern period, when slave labor drove the cotton industry, slaves were commonly used in elite households (as harem servants and guards), in the production of fine textiles (as weavers and dyers) and in brokerage, banking and trade (as most trusted agents).[118] A vibrant commercial center of Izmir's size would not only boast markets for grain, wood, fresh produce and caravan items, but certainly also another one, as tightly organized and overseen, for slaves.[119] Ottoman legal, fiscal and executive registers do testify more fully to the regulation of slave markets and ownership in general, as well as to legal protection of what little rights slaves did possess.[120] European diplomatic and travelers' accounts turn to the subject occasionally, but always to relate only the financial consequences of the grinding work of redemption or the most sensational accounts of flight.[121] Nevertheless, glimpses of everyday slavery in the center

---

[117] See Evliya, *Seyahatname* 9, 89: *Ve bu şehrin şeyhülislâmı müftisi ve nakibüleşrafı ve kethüdyeri ve yeniçeri serdarı ve cavuşu ve hünkâr bağçesinin bostancıbaşısı ve yetmiş added külâhlı bostancısı ve bir hâkim dqahi gümrük emini iki yüz bin altuna iltizam hükûmetdir Ve kal'a dizdarı ikidir Biri lebi deryadaki kal'ada biri dağda Seddi Kahriyye kal'asında hâkimdir Ve voyvodası ve muhtesibi ve şehir naibi dahi hâkimdir Askerî tayifesinden gayri cümle ehli hirefe hükûmet ider hâkimlerdir.* The seven churches Evliya goes on to refer to will be discussed in more detail *infra*.

[118] Alan Fisher, "Chattel Slavery in the Ottoman Empire", *Slavery and Abolition*, 1/1 (1980).

[119] I have not come upon references to Izmir's slave market in European and Ottoman primary and secondary sources studied for this project, except for a confirmation of its existence by Slaars in Iconomos, *Étude sur Smyrne*, 46n82; and in Nicolas Chamfort's famous late-18th-century comedy, Sébastien Roch Nicolas Chamfort, *Le marchand de Smyrne: comédie en un acte et en prose* (Paris: Delalain, 1770).

[120] See Fisher, "Chattel Slavery"; William Gervase Clarence-Smith, *Islam and the Abolition of Slavery* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 2006), 85-93; and Ehud R. Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), 54-80.

[121] Concerning flight, see, *e.g.* The Hague, NA 1.02.22 684, 50a-b – on the French and Venetian cases of 1679, in which the incoming French ambassador and Venetian *bailo* were held responsible for a significant number of slaves seeking refuge on their warships whilst they laid anchored off Seraglio Point in Istanbul (with the French resisting consequent visita-

and along the margins of the Ottoman-European commercial system occasionally do make it into European official archives and travelers' accounts, as in Galland's discussion of Izmir as a *tour de Babel*: "Un curieux des langues peut avoir le plaisir à Smyrne d'en entendre parler près d'une douzaine et d'apprendre celles qui lui plairaient le plus: l'arabe, le turc, le persien, l'arménien, le grec vulgaire, *la langue de Russie parmi les esclaves tant hommes que femmes*, l'hébreu, l'italien, le portugais, le français, l'anglais et le hollandais."[122] Slavery was so common in Izmir as to be impossible to disregard completely.

The most poignant testimony of how widespread slavery actually was in late 17th-century Izmir, is that which indicates that non-Muslims, be they Ottoman or European, kept slaves, even though this was in direct contravention of Islamic law, and oftentimes even of Ottoman law.[123] The owning of slaves by Ottoman Jews all over the empire is widely attested, in the case of late 17th-centruy Izmir again by Galland, who feels the need to state that his estimate of the Jewish community's size does not include their (Christian) slaves.[124]

Just as surprising as Christian slaves being owned by Jews in Ottoman Izmir, are indications that European merchants also owned slaves – and in all probability Christian (or heathen?) ones at that, since any claims to ownership of Islamic slaves would never have been upheld in Ottoman territory (leading to immediate loss of such human property). References to slave-owning by European merchants are very sparse, but its factuality and high incidence may nevertheless be inferred from the unsurprised and matter-of-fact tone with which it was treated whenever mentioning it could not be avoided. In the case of the 1681-bankruptcy of the prominent Dutch merchant J(oh)an(nes) van Breen, for instance, chief Dutch dragoman Willem Theijls, in charge of compiling an inventory of the merchant's house and belongings, dryly navigates a house brimming with multicultural contradictions (see Appendix 2, Document 13), most prominently the combination of the owner's black Sunday dress, the goods of his "Greek" wife Elisabeth Violier and their (?) six children, and right next to the master bedroom a

---

tion by Ottoman troops, and the Venetians allowing it after having thrown the liberated slaves overboard to drown in the Bosporus' rapids); or Galland, *Journal*, 133-34; The Hague, NA 1.03.01 124: Jacob van Dam to DLH, 6 December 1674; The Hague, NA 1.01.02 6912: Jacob van Dam to States General, 11 July 1676 – on European slaves on Barbarian ships seeking refuge in Izmir's European consulates. For a financial account of redemption work, see, *e.g.*, The Hague, NA 01.03.01 98: Andreas Forestier to DLH, 4 December 1676.

122 Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 151 (emphasis added).

123 See Joseph Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law* (London: Clarendon Press, 1966), 132; Majid Khadduri, *War and peace in the law of Islam* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1955), 167; and Fisher, "Chattel Slavery".

124 Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 141-42: "Entre 10000 âmes qu'ils peuvent être, *sans compter les esclaves chrétiennes qu'ils ont*, il y en a 200 qui demandent l'aumône, et 100 nécessiteux à qui l'on fait la charité en secret et aux frais de la communauté" (emphasis added).

"slave girls' room, 1 large bed with its blankets and pillows for the same, and some boxes with their clothes."[125]

Another instance of European (Dutch) residents in the Ottoman Empire owning slaves may be encountered in a deposition dated 31 August 1672 by Dutch merchant of Izmir Christoffel Capoen. Finding himself taken hostage by two fellow Dutch merchants (Cornelis Rogier van Goor and Pieter Smout) over a complicated transaction concerning consular duties involving 500 Lion Dollars of theirs handed over to him by the Venetian consul, he manages to jump from a second floor window to the safety of the French consul's garden and make his way home. His partner, meanwhile, repeatedly sends their servant over to enquire about his whereabouts, and is told by the hostage takers' *slave* Jusuf (Joseph), leaning out the window of Van Goor and Smout's reception room, and speaking Italian, that his patrons are having dinner in the garden on the seafront and that there is no one from outside in the house.[126]

Clearly, in delineating the web of crosscultural relations at work in late-17th-century Izmir, the 10-15% tax exempted, from rich to poor to destitute, should be accounted for.

Geography

It goes without saying that more than a century of intense growth had a profound impact on Izmir's appearance. In the first half of the 16th century it had been a relatively insignificant market town straddling a small regional inner harbor protected by a castle (lower Izmir) and a populated mountain slope with a fortress that was quickly losing importance (upper Izmir), joined together by an ancient commercial district; a neutral ground that might be termed "middle Izmir" (see Map 1). By the second half of the same century this "double city" had been firmly cemented into one, adjoining an inner harbor that now primarily serviced the imperial authorities as a staging point for Ottoman naval expeditions in the Aegean and an interregional provisioning center for Istanbul's palace and populace.[127] A century later, in 1678, the port's regional and interregional functions had been far outstripped by the unstoppable flow of international seaborne trade, and the Ottomans were

---

[125] The Hague, NA 1.02.20 1060: Willem Theijls in Justinus Colyer's chancery, 18 November 1681.

[126] The Hague, NA 1.01.02 6913: Christoffel Capoen in Jacob van Dam's chancery, 5 October 1672.

[127] On twin or double cities, and their frequency, types and instances, in the Muslim world, see Ira M. Lapidus, "Muslim Cities and Islamic Societies", in: *Middle Eastern Cities: A Symposium on Ancient, Islamic, and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism*, ed. Ira M. Lapidus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 60-69. On the Ottomans' wish to reserve Izmir for provisioning tasks, as well as on European smuggling in strategic goods undercutting this policy, see Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World*, 7-10.

busy finishing a major reconfiguration of the city's commercial and administrative infrastructure, designed to enhance their control and taxation of that same flow (see below).

Since the inner harbor – too small and shallow to accommodate Western European shipping – remained the exclusive domain of Ottoman commercial and naval vessels, European ships dropped anchor slightly further north of the inner harbor and its castle, opposite Frank Street's jetties in the bay that was Izmir's natural harbor. Again, the city's focus had shifted, be it slightly, from the area east of the inner harbor towards the European quarter (Frank Street) and the (international) customs house, where a new commercial center was taking shape (see Map 3). The rapid growth of the city's population, meanwhile, had been accommodated by filling and expanding the old quarters and creating new ones. Unsurprisingly, the garden-rich plain behind Frank Street (previously considered too unhealthy for habitation) and the quarters adjoining it (inland from the new economic center) absorbed much of the latest growth.

Towards a Plan of the 17th-Century City

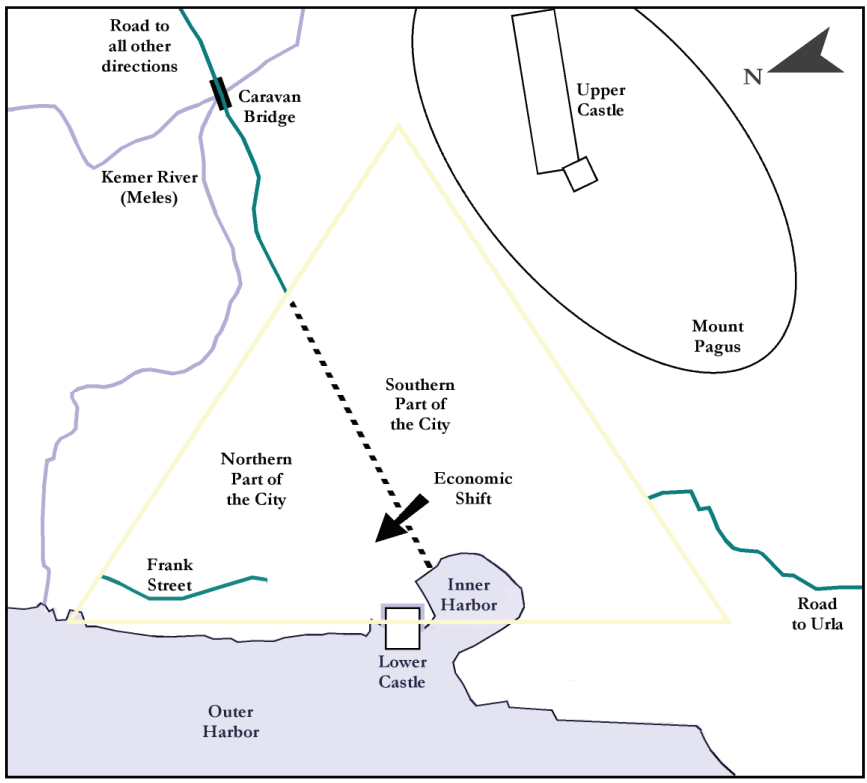
It is very difficult to go beyond this general description and elaborate further on the city's 17th-century form and structure. The circumstances are identical to those surrounding our discussion of the size and composition of the population: although there is some relatively detailed information available for 1678 and some additional context from the preceding and succeeding decades, it is a far cry from the survey data available for the 16th century.[128] The *tahrir*s of AH 935 and 983 (AD 1528/29 and 1575/76) provide precise information regarding the number, location, functions, size and composition of Izmir's quarters.[129] Beyond that, there is only circumstantial commerce-related evidence. Regrettably, this hides much of the city and its quarters from view, making a full urban geography unattainable and a partial one invariably biased towards the parts most associated with international trade; the non-Muslim communities and the northern half of the city (see Map 3).

---

[128] The most interesting of these sources are: Evliya, *Seyahatname* 9, 88-100 (1671-situation); De Bruyn, *Reizen*, 20-36 (1678-sit.), which includes a beautifully accurate and detailed city panorama by the author (see Plate 1); The Hague, NA 1.02.22 684 (1678-sit.); Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne* (1678-sit.); Jean Dumont, *Nouveau voyage du Levant* (The Hague: E. Foulque, 1694) (1691-sit.); the deed (*vakfiye*) of the Köprülü charitable endowment (*vakf*) that transformed Izmir's commercial infrastructure at Istanbul, SLK MF 4027 (AH 15 Safer 1089 / AD 8 April 1678): Vakfiye-i Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa (1678-sit.); two French consular reports on the 1688-earthquake summarized in Iconomos, *Étude sur Smyrne*, 128-31 (1688-sit.); and two receipts confirming the lease of houses at Leiden, UBL Legatum Warnerum Cod.Or. 1267 (AH 10-20 Şevvâl 1101 / AD 18-27 July 1690), fos. 5a-6a and 15b-16a (1690-sit.).

[129] Istanbul, BBA TT 148 (AD 935 / AH 1528/59); and Istanbul, BBA TT 537 (AH 983 / AD 1575/76).

MAP 3: NORTHWARD SHIFT OF IZMIR'S ECONOMIC CENTER FROM 1570S TO 1670S



Based on Map 2.

Nevertheless, if we accept the inevitable shortcomings caused by the lack of sources and complement the information from the *tahrir*s with snippets from the 17th-century, it is still possible to roughly position the city's quarters within the general description above.

The most effective way to do so is graphically, by delineating the city's quarters on a plan of Izmir. Despite printed atlases and collections of city plans becoming exceedingly popular from the middle of the 16th century onwards (and remaining so throughout the 17th), these tended to concentrate on Europe and included only the most ancient and famous Ottoman cities (Cairo, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, Istanbul, Edirne, and increasingly also corsair centers Algiers and Tunis), without exception neglecting recent upstart Izmir. In another – more practical – cartographic category, that of the sea-chart, Izmir and its gulf are represented frequently, but as is to be expected considering the navigational purpose of such charts, the city itself figures marginally in them. 16th and 17th-century sea-charts of the Gulf of Izmir only rather clumsily depict the city's coastline, inner harbor, upper

and lower castles and, in some cases, a token building or two (see the plates in Appendix 1). The total absence of anything resembling a city plan, or even a delineation of the overall built-up area, has forced scholars who wanted to visualize the information contained in the *tahrir*s of 1528 and 1575 to represent the quarters of the city as text within otherwise bare outline maps.[130]

Due to the city's increasing fame and the growing popularity of the travel account, the same does not have to apply to the 17th-century. As it gained importance to Europe, more and more European travelers flocked to Izmir. Concomitantly, the amount of space these travelers dedicated to the city in their accounts also increased, as did the scope and quality of their descriptions – some even so far as roughly indicating the ethnic composition of areas of the city. Adorning these travelers' descriptions is another type of illustration than the ones previously discussed: the panorama. Originally intended to enhance the attractiveness of commercial editions, panoramas now constitute an important historical source. For 17th-century Izmir, there are essentially two, not counting innumerable imitations: De Bruyn's (from 1678) and De Tournefort's (from 1700) (see Plates 1 and 2). Of these, the former best suits our purpose, both because it predates the 1688-earthquake and because it is much larger, more accurate and more detailed than De Tournefort's (and, for that matter, all others' until well into the 19th century). Combined with his own and other travelers' descriptions, De Bruyn's panorama makes it possible to project a reasonably accurate outline of the 1678-city on a detailed 19th-century map.

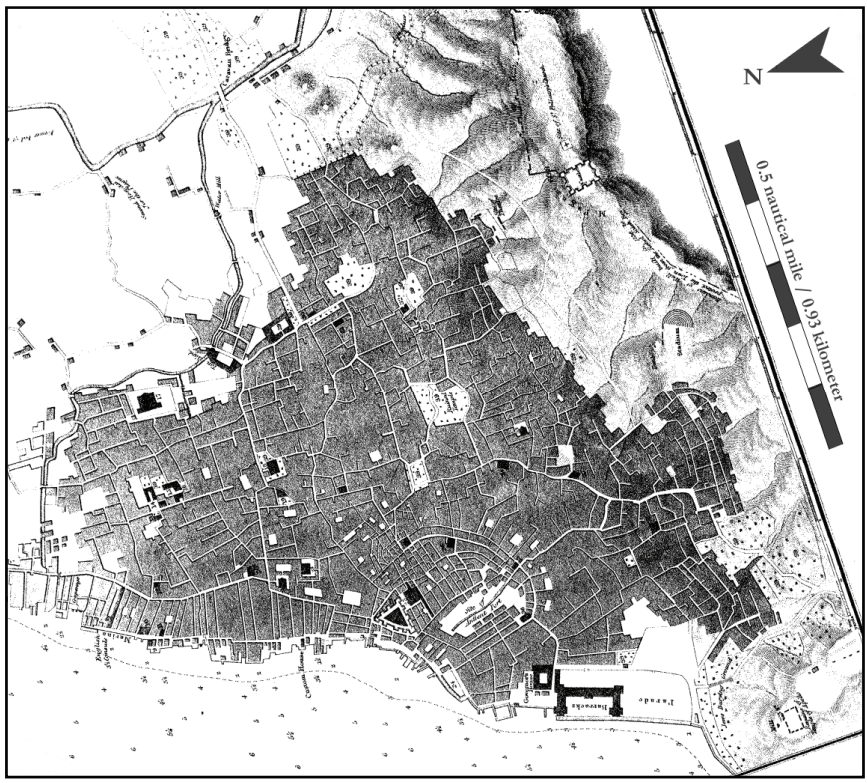
The earliest detailed city plan of Izmir was drawn by Lieutenant (later Commander) Thomas Graves and published in 1844 (see Plate 3). Cropped and tilted to correspond to De Bruyn's panorama, it appears as Map 4.

To clearly illustrate the situation of the 1678-city on the basis of this map from 1844, it has been altered in several ways: the map's opacity has been diminished; the main geographical and man-made features have been identified and emphasized or colorized; the triangular area that Galland describes as being built-up in 1678 (see Map 2) has been spotlighted; the approximate position, orientation and field of vision of De Bruyn (when drawing his panorama) have been added; and a number of adjustments have been made to the shoreline on the basis of his and De Tournefort's panoramas as well as several travelers' accounts. The result is shown as Map 5.

---

130 See, *e.g.*, Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World*, 12; Eldem et al., *Ottoman City*, 80; Kütükoğlu, *XV ve XVI. asırlarda İzmir*, 23. But see Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, *Une société hors de soi: identités et relations sociales à Smyrne au XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Paris: Peeters, 2005), 251 for another more detailed rendering and strategy, similar to the one taken in this study.

MAP 4: PLAN OF IZMIR IN 1844



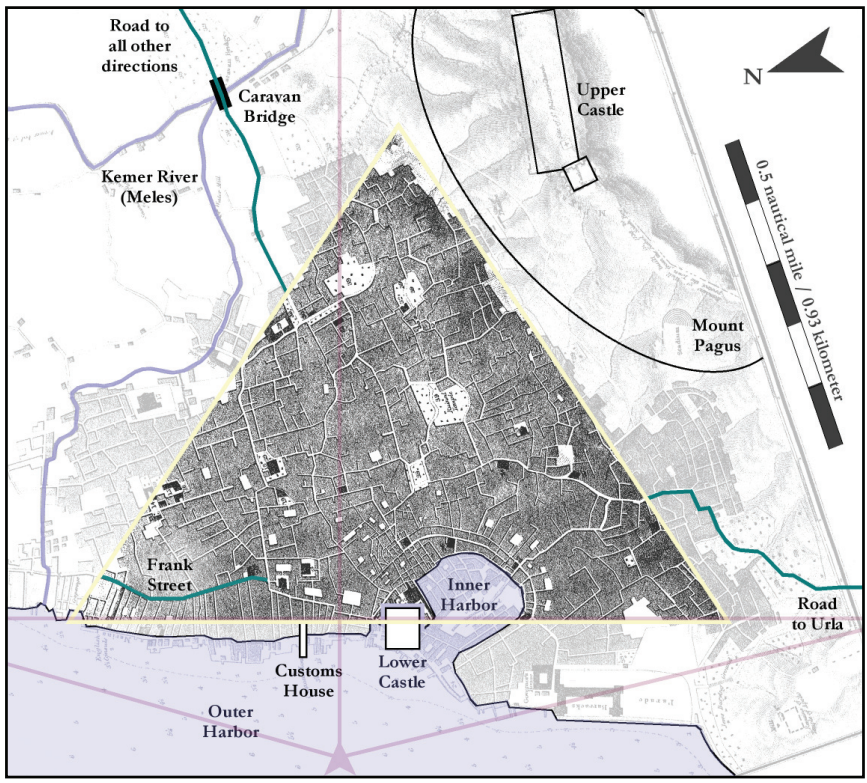
Detail from Graves, "City of Ismir or Smyrna", with re-added legend for scale and orientation.

The adjustments on the basis of panoramas and travelers' accounts all concern the shoreline and the structures along it. Most conspicuous is the reappearance of the inner (or, galley) harbor (no. 16 in De Bruyn's panorama), which was filled at the beginning of the 19th century to make space for a marketplace and housing.[131] At the entrance to the inner harbor, the rectangular lower (or, harbor) castle with its landward moat (De Bruyn's no. 15) has been restored over the triangular battery that remained in the middle of

[131] Kütükoğlu, *XV ve XVI. asırlarda İzmir*, 20-21. By then, the harbor was heavily silted up and opening it up again made little sense because ships had grown so much in size from the 16th century that they would not be able to use it anyway. It was more sensible to reclaim it for habitation. Today, as it was back then, the typical circular shape of the harbor is easily recognizable within the city's grid (see Plates 3, 4, 6, 7 and 8) – just as it is with Istanbul's former galley harbor in the Kumpkapı quarter, see http://maps.google.com/maps/place?ftid=0x14cab99a4a1d22b3:0xbb396fd3b268797d&q=kadirga+limani+&hl=nl&ved=0CA0Q-gswAA&sa=X&ei=XgrJTvrDOIrvjAfDsuHuCw&sig2=rp73V3q00dbxuyDLendusA.

the 19th-century. When the entire structure was finally torn down in 1870, its remains were used to further broaden Izmir's quays.[132] Although the overall shape of the shoreline was not altered between 1678 and 1844 (except around the inner harbor), a number of changes along the northern shore have been undone to revert to the 17th-century situation: the fully developed shore and large piers and harbor sheds of the 19th century have disappeared to make room for (from left to right) Frank Street's guarded beach (beneath De Bruyn's nos. 5-11), where boats loaded and unloaded the cargoes of ships

MAP 5: IMPRESSION OF IZMIR'S SITUATION IN 1678; ENHANCED GRAVES' MAP



Based on Map 4.

anchored in the outer harbor; the customs house-pier (De Bruyn's no. 12) that had partly taken over this function in 1675; and the beach between the customs house and the castle, until 1675 the site of a shambles (open-air slaughterhouse), but now the location of the newly built covered market (De

[132] Kütükoğlu, *XV ve XVI. asırlarda İzmir*, 21. Also see Plate 8.

Bruyn's no. 13). To the right of the inner harbor, on the southern part of the shore, the governor's house, barracks and parade ground should be considered undeveloped; an empty beach with extensive burial grounds inland to the south and southeast (De Bruyn's nos. 19-21).

If we turn our attention from the shore to the city's inland margins, comparison between De Bruyn's panorama and the enhanced Graves' map shows that the southern part of the city in the course of time completely swallowed the Greek and Armenian cemeteries (De Bruyn's no. 19) to form the western arm of a fork stretching southwards along either side of the Urla-road. It also appears that the site of the ancient Greek Church of St. Veneranda (De Bruyn's no. 18; reduced to rubble in the earthquake of 1688) had become a Turkish cemetery (in between the forked quarters), as had much of the mountain's lower flanks further to the south. If we move further inland, to the eastern arm of the fork between the Turkish cemetery and the ancient stadium (on the map, directly left of the text "Mount Pagus"), we notice that – like the western arm – it falls outside Galland's triangle. A glance at the panorama, however, reveals that the city's build-up was not that far removed from this imaginary line between the St. Veneranda and the ancient stadium; although the stadium is not visible in the panorama, a comparison of landmarks positions it in a slight depression between the windmills highest on the hill and the build-up below them. Thus, it seems that at least part of the eastern fork was already in existence around 1678. This is confirmed when a line is drawn between the St. Veneranda and the ancient theatre (on the map, just north of the western side of the upper castle); when this line running straight along the right (or, southern) side of Galland's triangle is replicated in De Bruyn's drawing (no. 18 to no. 3), it is indeed shown to have been crossed by the beginnings of the eastern fork.

Of course, the sides of the scalene were nowhere as defined as the map suggests. In fact, before describing their situation, Galland was careful to point out that the absence of a city wall had caused the city's margins to be ill-defined – his figure indicative of the city's general shape only.[133] Concerning the left (or, northern) side of his triangle, for instance, Galland states that it was in reality "beaucoup interrompu par les jardinages" – a fortunate comment since this flat area is not visible in the panorama.[134] Equally fortunate, it seems, is that while Galland remains silent on the interspersion of the right (or, southern) side of his triangle, the panorama does depict some development in that area.

Although it is safe to assume that the 1678-city crossed and receded from the triangle's left side at several points (due to the gardens and orchards along the distributary of the Meles), and that its build-up crossed the right

[133] Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 104.
[134] Ibid, 107.

side (skirting Mount Pagus) at one point at least, it should be added that there are some distortions in the panorama. De Bruyn's position and orientation, as indicated by the arrow on Map 5, were retraced by following the lines of perspective of the customs house, covered market and lower castle, which we know were built at right angles to a relatively even shore. Since the vanishing point of these lines lie slightly above the middle of the market's roof, it seems De Bruyn did his shipboard drawing from the anchorage directly opposite that building. Yet, by his own account, it was when the Dutch convoy was waiting for permission to pass the castle controlling access to Izmir's bay (Sancak Kalesi; see "Chateau" on Plate 2 and "Sanjak Kalassi" on Plate 4).[135] This would be consistent with the single angle at which the rooftops are depicted along the entire breadth of the coastline. However, the fact that the harbor castle is depicted in line with the mountain castle and the theatre, combined with the perspective chosen to depict the customs house and harbor castle at the heart of the drawing, suggests that the panorama was in fact composed from two locations: from the considerable distance of the entrance to the gulf and from the anchorage in the outer harbor closer by. The artist's shift in position might have resulted in some deformation, not so much of the direct horizon that was the shoreline, but of the inland parts of the city further away. If the build-up to the right of the theatre was drawn from the outer harbor, it might very well be that this is actually a depiction of the part of the city to its left (that is the upper half of the right leg of the triangle), which is so pronounced in Galland's triangle, yet seems so absent from De Bruyn's drawing. All said and done, it seems wise to not to overly rely on the panorama where Izmir's layout beyond the direct shore is concerned.

The City and its Quarters According to the Survey of 1528

The information on Izmir's quarters contained in the *tahrir*s of 1528 and 1575 has been expertly analyzed and effectively presented by Kütükoğlu, so a short summary will suffice here.[136] The *tahrir* of 1528 lists six quarters (*mahalle*s) belonging to the jurisdiction (*kaza*) of Izmir: Faik Paşa, Mescid-i Selatinzade, Han Bey (Pazar), Limon (Liman), Cemaat-ı Gebran and Boynusekisi. Of these, the first five made up the city proper, the last being a nearby village administratively attached to Izmir. Of the total 224 families (*hane*s) and 75 unmarried men (*mücerred*s; bachelors and celibates) constituting the jurisdiction's population, 50 and 11 lived in Boynusekisi, leaving, respectively, 174 and 64 for the actual urban area. All members of the Greek community (the only non-Muslim community the surveys of 1528 and 1575 list for Izmir) lived together in one exclusively non-Muslim quarter, appropriate-

[135] De Bruyn, *Reizen*, 20.

[136] See Kütükoğlu, *XV ve XVI. asırlarda İzmir*, 23-33.

ly referred to as "the community of non-Muslims" (*cemaat-ı gebran*). The other four quarters, as well as Boynusekisi, were registered as being fully Muslim. The distribution of the population over the five quarters of the city proper, then, is as seen in Table 7.

TABLE 7: DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF IZMIR PROPER (1528)

	Registered Individuals	% of Total	Families	Bachelors & Celibates	Exempted Muslims			
					Higher Clergy	Higher Officials	Saltpan Workers	Destitute & Disabled
Faik Paşa	70	29.41	52	18	6	2	8	-
Mescid-i Selatinzade	61	25.63	43	18	1	-	5	2
Han Bey (Pazar)	39	16.39	30	9	2	-	4	1
Limon (Liman)	25	10.50	18	7	-	-	-	-
Cemaat-ı Gebran	43	18.07	31	12	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	238	100	174	64	9	2	17	3

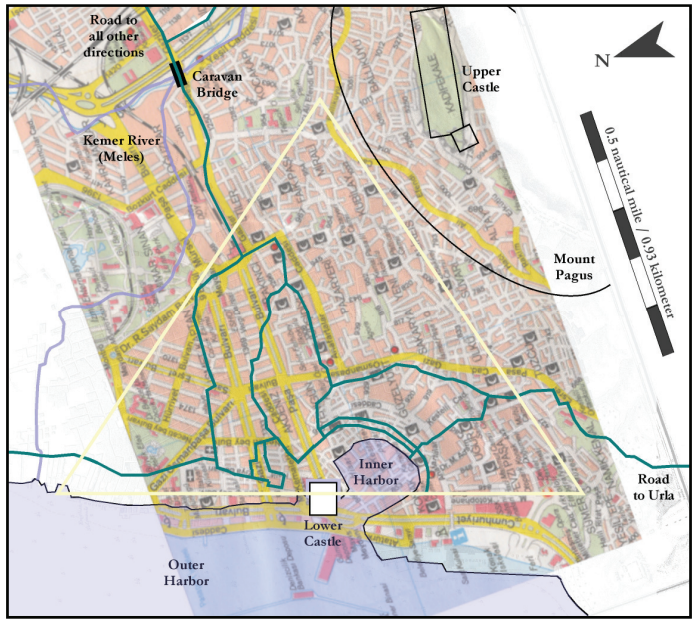
Based on Kütükoğlu, *XV ve XVI. asırlarda İzmir*, 25.

Before these five older quarters can be located on the enhanced version of Graves' city plan, we need to call to our aid another cartographic device; the tourist map. Since the modern equivalents of most historic quarters have already been identified by historians of the municipality and since city quarters are commonly indicated on tourist maps, the whereabouts of the historic quarters on Graves' city plan can be partly retraced by projecting modern maps over it. The two tourist maps that will be used for this purpose have also been reproduced as Plates 6 and 7. The resulting projections are shown as Maps 6 and 7.

Comparison of the two maps clearly shows that the second one best fits Graves' map. Nevertheless, the first has also been included, because it lists alternative, older, names for some quarters. Altınordu (in the top of the triangle on the second map), for instance, is the modern equivalent of Faik Paşa (same location on the first map). Similarly, modern Kurtuluş and Namazgah (around the old agora on the second map) used to constitute Han Bey (Pazar) and Mescid-i Selatinzade, indicated on the first map as Pazaryeri.[137]

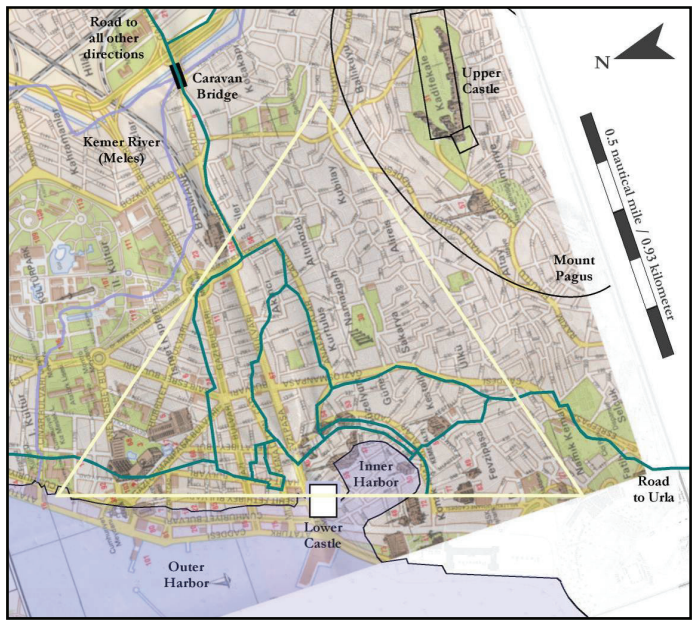
[137] See *ibid.*, 23-24.

MAP 6: TOURIST MAP (C. 1990) PROJECTED ONTO OUR ENHANCED MAP (1844)



Based on Map 5 and Plate 6.

MAP 7: TOURIST MAP (1992) PROJECTED ONTO OUR ENHANCED MAP (1844)



Based on Map 5 and Plate 7.

The locations of Limon (Liman) and Cemaat-ı Gebran cannot be retraced in this manner, but this is not a problem since there is ample evidence (including the *tahrir*s) that confirms what is already implied by their names and associates the former with the inner harbor (İç Liman) and the garrison of the lower castle (Liman Kalesi), and the latter with the area further to the north and northeast, easily identifiable by its two historic Greek churches of Saint George (Hagios Georgios) and Saint Photina (Hagia Photini) and the Latin church of Saint Polycarp (see, from right to left, the three temple-shaped objects directly above the customs house on Map 5). The Greek churches were located opposite the entrance to what would later become Frank Street and the Latin church lay at the beginning of that same street. Indeed, our knowledge of Frank Street may serve as an additional aid, since we know that the non-Muslim quarter originated in the area around the abovementioned churches and developed with Frank Street as its westernmost border, it is easy to determine the location of Cemaat-ı Gebran and the direction of its development.[138]

The five quarters of the city proper, then, can be positioned as shown in Map 8.

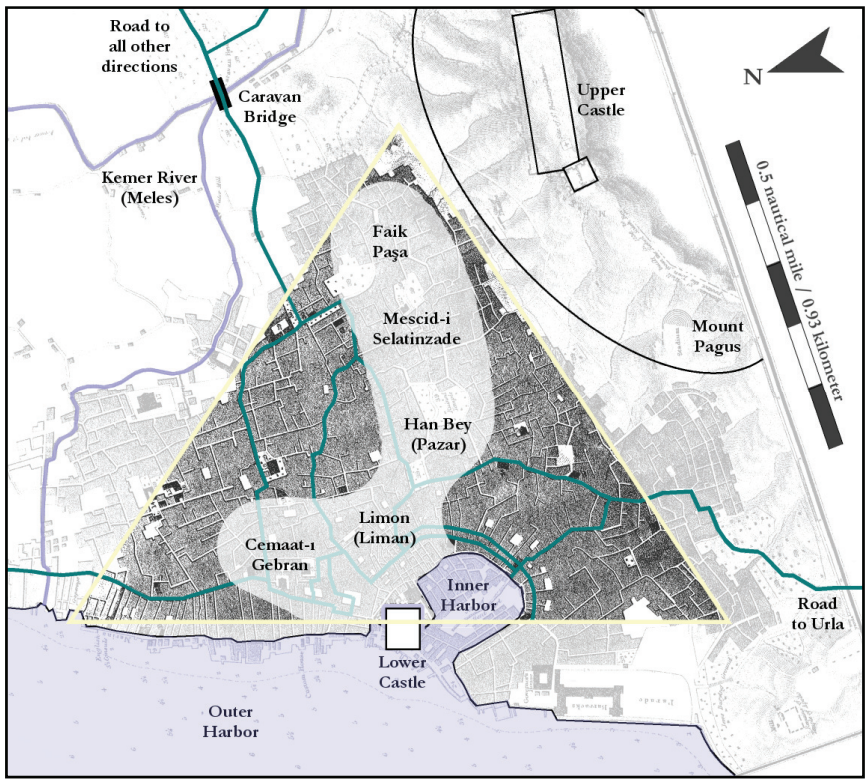
The names of the quarters are not the only new additions to the map; the main streets visible on Graves' map have also been highlighted. These are the streets of 1844, of course, but since no rigorous urban planning (like in Amsterdam and London in the 17th, Washington in the 18th, or Paris in the 19th century) took place in the old quarters before the burning of the city in the War of Independence, the main street network of 1844 was the result of an uninterrupted process of evolution. If its relative continuity (as evident in Maps 6 and 7), past even the utter destruction of 1923, is any indication of the tenacity of the city's main grid, there is little danger of anachronism in assuming that it will also have changed little over the previous centuries.

The absence of far-reaching coordinated redevelopment aside, two interlinked positive factors also contributed to the continuity of Izmir's street network. Firstly, the two main functions of the lower and lower-middle city, military and commercial, had been concentrated in the area directly east and north of the inner harbor long before the 16th century. In the second half of the 17th century these central areas were functionally supplanted by Cemaat-ı Gebran and Sancak Kalesi. By that time, however, the city's build-up had already acquired the triangular shape noted by Galland and the main streets within that built-up area were already firmly in place.

---

[138] Incidentally, Frank Street is not to be found on any modern map, since it has been replaced by a number of interspersed smaller streets. Its function as a thoroughfare has been taken over by two main roads, Cumhuriyet Bulvarı and Atatürk Caddesi; the first constructed over the old shoreline where the sea once washed over Frank Street's beach, the second on an artificially extended coastal strip or *kordon* (see Plates 6 and 7).

MAP 8: QUARTERS OF IZMIR PROPER IN 1528



Based on Map 5.

Secondly, the city's two main approaches – the road over the caravan bridge and the road to Urla – were in existence well before the 16th century. Before the renewed rise of Ottoman Izmir at the turn of that century, these two roads meeting in the city had been a single thoroughfare connecting the western Anatolian caravan routes to Chios, as an overland alternative to the sea-lane running from Aleppo to Chios.[139] From Izmir, the caravan road crossed the river, where an arm branched off to follow the Meles upstream around Mount Pagus and towards the town of Buca, while the main road passed in between the ancient ruins of the bath of Diana and the mosaic pavement (thought to have belonged to the temple of Dionysus; see Plate 4) and from there continued on to the towns of Bornova (referred to by Evliya as mostly Greek; see above) and ancient Hacılar, from where it continued to

[139] See Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 285-86.

central and northwestern Anatolia. The Urla road was not only a remainder of the old caravan route, but also Izmir's sole landward connection with the district capital (at Urla) and the wider Karaburun-peninsula that defines and guards the city's seaward approach. Since accessibility by road has been a precondition for the formation of administrative entities throughout history and since both Byzantine and Ottoman Izmir were part of maritime provinces centered on Chios and the Karaburun-peninsula, it is certain this road's importance went far back and had not only been commercial, but political and military as well.

Together, the absence of major coordinated projects of redevelopment and the longevity of the roads connecting a stable central area to its wider hinterland and foreland ensured that the city and its main streets consistently developed along these outward axes and in amplification of them. It will not have gone unnoticed that a third approach has so far been ignored – because its characteristics were very different from those discussed above. This third approach, the coastal road running north from Frank Street, was not a thoroughfare connecting the city to any wider commercial network or administrative entity, but a short road to the saltpan located at the deep end of the bay (see Plates 4 and 5; now the location of the quarter of Alsancak, see Plates 6 and 7). Nonetheless, as the surveys of 1528 and 1575 and several historical maps attest to its prolonged existence, as well as to its continued importance to many city dwellers (see under "saltpan workers" in Tables 7 and 8), it might well be considered a third, albeit minor, axis of development. Viewed in this light, Izmir's triangular shape was not merely the automatic result of its natural boundaries (the river Meles, Mount Pagus and the sea). The river in particular might just as easily have been crossed – after all, there are plenty of examples of historical "double" cities developing on either side of a river. Rather, the three axes at the crossroads of which the city expanded, played a pivotal role in determining the course and direction of growth. This strengthens the assumption that, in developing, the city's main streets and quarters followed the overriding logic of these axes of development. In practice, this means that utilizing the main streets highlighted in Map 8 in visualizing Izmir's growth is not as hazardous as it might seem at first glance.

Returning to the quarters in Table 7 and on Map 8, we see that Han Bey (Pazar) is located at the crossroads of the main overland axes (the caravan road and the Urla road). This old commercial district (hence the addition of *pazar*, signifying market or bazaar, to its name) was centered on the ancient agora and was the linchpin that connected the upper and lower parts of the city. It is joined to the third overland axis (the salt road) and the inner harbor (the terminus of a fourth, overseas, axis of growing importance) by Limon (Liman). This quarter was the center of the lower city and facilitated both the commercial and military functions of the inner harbor. The former function, which generated the typically intricate structure still recognizable in the 19th-century (see Map 4), was concentrated in the higher, northern, part of the

quarter between the harbor and Han Bey. Lower Limon was a garrison quarter centered on the lower castle. Its regiment, however, was not included in the *tahrir*.

North and southeast of these central but relatively small quarters lie the bigger three; Cemaat-ı Gebran, Faik Paşa and Mescid-i Selatinzade. The fully Greek-Orthodox population of the first, heir to Byzantine Izmir, rebuilt and repopulated its quarter after Timur's devastation and swelled further as the city passed to the emirates for good and Turks from the hillside quarters populated Limon (1402 and after; see above). Together, Mescid-i Selatinzade and Faik Paşa constituted upper Izmir, where the bulk of the city's Turkish population still dwelt. Mescid-i Selatinzade served the commercial functions of this part of the city in much the same way as upper Limon served those of the lower city (notice that both adjoin Han Bey). Faik Paşa, meanwhile, was the political and religious center of the upper city, as is illustrated by its concentration of higher clergy and officials (in the survey data from 1528).

Looking at the quarters and their main functions, we can distinguish the beginnings of a process of internal diversification prompted by the unification and consequent growth of the city. The development of a division of labor over areas of a city and this division's reshuffling under circumstances of further growth or decline are processes central to urbanization.[140] Izmir's history as a double city becoming one makes these processes all the more visible. Where once both the lower and upper city had each displayed the primary urban features (commercial, political-religious and military), these were now slowly being redistributed under the *pax Ottomanica*. The eventual result was the concentration of commercial functions along the shore (inter-regional-commercial around the inner harbor and international-commercial along the outer harbor), political and religious functions in the upper quarters and manufacturing in between the two. After the upper castle had lost its function as a stronghold against depredations from the lower city and the sea, military functions were concentrated in the lower castle (which would be supplanted by Sancak Kalesi in the 17th century). In the 16th century, however, this division of labor was still in its beginnings, as were the economic and demographical developments behind it.

The City and its Quarters According to the Survey of 1575

By 1575, the number of quarters of the city proper had increased from five to eight, as shown in Table 8.

---

[140] Cf. Burgess, "Growth of the City", 154-56; Sjoberg, *Preindustrial City*, 11, 101 and 209-11; Frederic C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 155-56; Henri Lefèbvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991; 2009), 347; Savage, *Urban Sociology*, 39 and 122; and Saskia Sassen, *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 57-58.

TABLE 8: DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF IZMIR PROPER (1575)

	Registered Individuals ((F)+BC)	Difference with 1528	% of Total	Bachelors & Celibates (BC)	Exempted Muslims		
					Higher Clergy	Saltpan Workers	Destitute & Disabled
Faik Paşa	83	+13	16.87	4	2	16	-
Mescid-i Selatin-zade	56	-5	11.38	-	2	6	4
Han Bey (Pazar)	92	+53	18.70	1	-	8	1
Limon (Liman)	54	+29	10.98	-	1	9	-
Ali Çavuş (new)	35	+35	7.11	-	-	3	-
Yazıcı (new)	32	+32	6.50	-	-	7	-
Şeyhler/Şaphane (new)	30	+30	6.10	-	-	-	-
Cemaat-ı Gebran	110	+67	22.36	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	492	+254	100.00	5	5	49	5

Based on Kütükoğlu, *XV ve XVI. asırlarda İzmir*, 26-30.

The table introduces three new quarters, Ali Çavuş, Yazıcı and Şeyhler/ Şaphane. In previous studies these quarters' possible locations appear surrounded by question marks. These express an uncertainty both illustrated and exacerbated by their being situated on otherwise nearly blank maps.[141] This uncertainty can be mitigated, however, with the help of the enhanced versions of Graves' plan, travelers' testimonies and some modern tourist maps. Previously, the built-up areas of 1528 and 1678 have been determined and displayed in a fixed projection in relation to a number of permanent landmarks. The uninterrupted growth (without major relocations) of Izmir's population in the period between those years means that the build-up of 1575 will have exceeded that of 1528, but will easily have stayed within Galland's 1678-outline.

Within these limits, the direction of growth can be specified even further by eliminating any areas that would later accommodate the Armenian and Jewish immigrants that started arriving around the turn of the 16th century. Would the growth of the Greek and the Armenian and Jewish communities of Izmir have coincided with a decline of the Turkish population, some quarters that had formerly been Turkish would certainly have passed to the minorities. As it was, however, the growth of the Turkish population did not lag that far behind; between 1528 and 1657 it was at least as prodigious as the minorities' (compare Tables 6 and 8) and between 1657 and 1678 it was indeed still growth, although at a lower rate than the minorities' (see Table 6). The lower social status of the non-Muslim population and the uninter-

[141] See Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World*, 12; and Kütükoğlu, *XV ve XVI. asırlarda İzmir*, 23.

rupted growth of the Muslim population make it highly unlikely that the former (its growth notwithstanding) displaced any solid concentrations of the latter. To put it more emphatically; under such circumstances it was out of the question that institutionalized and well-defined Muslim quarters like the ones in the 1575-*tahrir* would become partly or entirely non-Muslim, let alone within a mere half century. Thus, the areas that were to house the Armenian and Jewish communities in the 17th century (the Greek has already been accounted for with Cemaat-ı Gebran) should be considered largely undeveloped in the 16th, although some incidental spillover from the Muslim quarters might first have settled there.

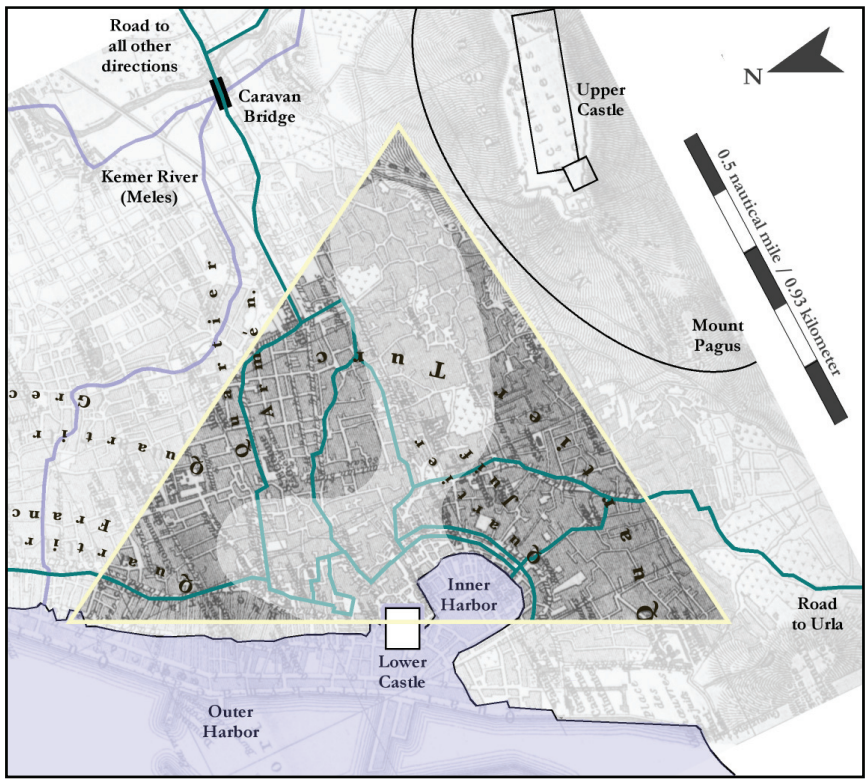
Which, then, are these areas that should be excluded as possible locations for the three new quarters, because they would later be inhabited by the Armenian and Jewish communities? Some visual indications can be gathered from a French map from the first years of the 20th century, published in Karl Baedeker's guide for European tourists visiting Izmir (see Plate 8). The map indicates a *Quartier Turc* hugging the full breadth of the northwestern slopes of Mount Pagus, a *Quartier Juif* between the agora and the (filled) inner harbor, a *Quartier Arménien* directly north of the Turkish quarter(s), a *Quartier Grec* north and northwest of the Armenian quarter and a *Quartier Franc* between the northern Greek quarter and the shore. Again, note the broadened quays: the 17th-century quays corresponded to the Eski Balık Pazarı (old fish market) and the *Quai Anglais* of the map and continued northeast from there; Frank Street was the street running directly behind it, renamed Sultan Djaddessi (Sultan's Street) and continuing on as Medjidié Djaddessi (Street of Sultan Abdülmecid). If Baedeker's map is given the same treatment as that of Graves in Map 8, but with the names of the quarters omitted and the text indicating the ethnic distribution brought to the front, the result is Map 9.

Although centuries separate Baedeker's map from the beginnings of Izmir's Armenian and Jewish communities, it displays considerable continuity where the various communities' development is concerned. The addition of some minor qualifications will make it fit to help determine where the growth of the years 1528-1575 (and after) was directed.

Map 9 clearly illustrates that the *Quartier Franc* and *Quartier Grec* had sprung from the quarter of Cemaat-ı Gebran, by comparison still embryonic in the 16th century. South of the Greek quarter, we see the *Quartier Arménien*, with the Armenian cathedral of St. Stephen at its westernmost border (see Plates 3 and 8 for a better view). Notwithstanding the fact that one of the most erudite works on the history of Izmir states that this was not the location of the Armenian quarter at the time of the earthquake of 1688[142]

[142] Iconomos, *Étude sur Smyrne*, 128.

MAP 9: ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF IZMIR'S POPULATION IN 1905



Based on Map 8; Karl Baedeker, *Konstantinopel, Balkanstaaten, Kleinasien, Archipel, Cypern: Handbuch für Reisende* (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1905; 1914), between 332-33.

(a statement repeated in all modern works on Izmir) contemporary evidence shows that it certainly was. The confusion might have been caused by its name; "*Apano-Machala* (Haut-Quartier)", which appears to have been interpreted as meaning "on the slopes of Mount Pagus". It should be kept in mind, however, that the inhabitants of the miniature Europe along the northern seashore considered all quarters further inland as lying higher up in town, no matter whether these quarters were actually located on the plain or the hillside. This lies behind 17th-century European visitors to Izmir saying that "the Turks, Greeks, Armenians and Jews live in the upper city; the latter mostly together in one quarter", while Galland simultaneously testifies to the St. Stephen lying in the Armenian quarter.[143] That the early 20th-century Ar-

[143] The Hague, NA 1.02.22 684, 42b. Similar statements can be found in, *e.g.*, De Bruyn, *Reizen*, 27: "The Armenians and Jews mostly live in the upper city" and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes* (Paris: n.p.,

menian quarter did in fact evolve from the 17th-century quarter is corroborated by references to an Armenian street. Galland tells us "Il n'y a de longues rues que celle du quartier des Francs, celles des Arméniens, deux au bazar qui sont plus larges que les deux premières."[144] A quick look at Map 9 shows he is speaking of Frank Street and the three streets carrying traffic from the caravan bridge westwards to the 17th-century city's commercial center (the area northeast of the inner harbor). If the higher half of the northernmost of these three streets (above the southern end of Frank Street and running east off the St. Stephen) was indeed popularly called Armenian Street, this effectively identifies the quarter on either side of this street as the Armenian quarter.[145]

The traveler's statements above could be interpreted as suggesting that the Armenians shared their quarter with the Jewish community, or that the Jewish quarter was located in the same general area as the Armenian. In reality, however, Izmir's Jews inhabited the area west of the agora in the 17th century as they still would in the beginning of the 20th (see Map 9).[146] The old center of the Jewish part of the bazaar quarter is Havra Sokak (Synagogue Street, see Plate 7; slightly left of Güneş, between the old inner harbor and the agora). This street – now officially known as 927th Street – was once lined with no less than nine synagogues and oratories, six of which are still in existence (in use, disuse, or at least identifiable) today.[147] A further two synagogues and one oratory can also still be found in streets nearby.[148] Their geographical concentration, as well as the continuity evident in their being founded in an uninterrupted series from before the community's formal establishment in 1605 until well into the 18th century, indisputably shows that the center of the *Quartier Juif* was as old as the community it housed.[149] Of

---

1679), 83: "Les Turcs, les Grecs, les Armeniens & les Juifs demeurent sur la colline, & toute le bas qui est le long de de la mer n'est habité que par des Chrestiens d'Europe, François, Anglois, Hollandois & Italiens". Contra Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 136.

144 *Ibid.*, 110.

145 This location is confirmed by geographical descriptions of its location in *ibid.*, 89; and Iconomos, *Étude sur Smyrne*, 48-55.

146 Today most of Izmir's approximately 2,500 Jews live in the Alsancak-quarter, which also houses the city's Grand Rabbinate.

147 These are Senyora or Gheveret, Portugal, Shalom or Aydinlis, Algazi or Kaal de Ariva, Nevrano or Hevra and Mizrahi.

148 These are the synagogues Etz ha-Haïm (no. 5, 937th Street) and Bikur Holim (no. 40, İkiçeşmelik Street), and the oratory Bet Hillel (no. 23, 920th Street).

149 The older synagogues can be dated as follows: Etz ha-Haïm (Byzantine), Senyora or Gheveret (16th ct.), Portugal (pre-1620), Gerush (*id.*), Shalom or Aydinlis (*id.*), Talmud Torah (*id.*), Mahazike Torah (pre-1622), Pinto (pre-1666), Galanté (c1666), Bakiche (17th ct.), Bikur Holim (1724) and Algazi or Kaal de Ariva (*id.*): Abraham Galanté, *Histoire des Juifs d'Anatolie: les Juifs d'Izmir (Smyrne)* (Istanbul: Imprimérie Baroque, 1937), 37-45 and throughout. The community's history (up to its formalization in 1605) is discussed on 7-12, its distribution on 12-16.

more recent date, however, was the eastern part of the quarter, away from the old center around the synagogues. This part would in time take up much of what had previously been the Muslim quarter of Han Bey (see Map 9), but the *tahrir*s show that this change in ethnic composition occurred after the 16th century – perhaps after the massive displacement caused in the area by the earthquake of 1688, or as a gradual process over hundreds of years.[150]

Now that the areas have been identified that were to host the non-Muslim communities from the late 16th and early 17th century onwards, these can safely be discounted as locations where the main thrust of the Muslim population's expansion of the years 1528-1575 was not directed. This does not mean that no Muslims settled in those areas, however. Ethno-religious separation was not strictly observed in early modern and modern Ottoman Izmir. Although no non-Muslims lived in the Muslim quarters, many Turks certainly did live in the city's non-Muslim quarters. Similarly, there was also a great deal of residential mingling taking place among Izmir's non-Muslim communities.[151] This leaves the more elevated areas (the south-eastern part of the triangle in Map 9) as the only ones that could have absorbed the bulk of the growth of the four older Muslim quarters and the creation of three new ones. These areas lie on either side of the upper quarters of 1528 (in Maps 8 and 9), confined by the later Armenian quarter to the north and the Urla-road to the west.

Kütükoğlu argues that the new quarter of Şaphane was in reality called Şeyhler, the former being a misreading of the *tahrir*'s text by previous scholars.[152] If this is indeed the case, the misreading was probably occasioned by attempts to identify a likely location for the quarter: *şaphane* translates as "alum-house" or "alum-factory" and *şap*, or alum, was used in tanning leather and dying fabrics. Such a reading, therefore, would suggest a location around the tan-yard (or tanneries) halfway along the distributary of the Meles (see the constructions built over this waterway in Map 4).[153] But this location is problematic as Baedeker's map shows the area to have later belonged to the Armenian quarter. Even if only the area taken up by the small Armenian quarter of the 17th-century (limited to the direct proximity of the St. Stephen) is discounted as a possible location, this would still leave too little room for a 16th-century Muslim quarter around the tanneries. What's more, such a miniscule quarter would have been separated from the city's other Muslim quarters, which is unconvincing considering its spillover function. Instead, reading the quarter's name as Şeyhler has led Kütükoğlu to identify it as the

---

150 The earthquake hit the lower lying areas the hardest: Ülker, *Rise of Izmir*, 43-47

151 See, *e.g.*, Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 107; and Istanbul, SLK MF 4027.

152 Kütükoğlu, *XV ve XVI. asırlarda İzmir*, 23n24.

153 Which is indeed the location proposed by Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World*, 12.

16th-century equivalent of the 19th-century quarter of Şeyh (also known as Yaycılar). This puts it neatly between the 1528-buildup and the location of the later Armenian quarter; that is, south and west of the modern Basmane-train station (see Maps 7 and 8). Ironically, this re-legitimizes the Şaphane-reading since the station's name is a corruption of *basmahane*, signifying a place where fabrics are dyed and/or printed, which establishes it as a second location that historically housed dying industries.

Of the remaining two quarters, that registered as Ali Çavuş has been identified as an early version of the quarter of Ali Reis (see Map 7; southeast of the agora), historically placing it southwest of Mescid-i Selatinzade.[154] The last quarter, Yazıcı, is much more difficult to identify. In this case, there is no toponymical continuity, however vague, as with the other two quarters. We are forced, therefore, to rely on an estimation of the space available between the five quarters of 1528, the two already established new quarters of 1575, the 17th-century Greek, Jewish and Armenian quarters and the city's general triangular shape of 1678. These limitations really only leave enough space for Yazıcı between Ali Çavuş and the future Jewish quarter.[155]

With the three newest quarters topographically accounted for, it is now possible to represent the situation of 1575 graphically (see Map 10).

Although Izmir had grown a great deal since its definitive unification in 1424, the furrows left by a long history of duality were so deep that they were still clearly visible 150 years later. A slightly unequal distribution of growth had transformed the city: from the boomerang-shaped top-heavy city of the early 16th century into the hourglass-shaped late-16th-century one (see Maps 8 and 10). But its form was still reminiscent of an upper and lower city connected by a commercial corridor. In figures, the change can be represented by grouping the upper, middle and lower quarters together to compare the population-sizes of these parts in 1528 and 1575 (see Table 9).

The table shows that the 16th century witnessed a moderate shift in population from the higher to the lower-lying areas. This shift reflects three interrelated trends that are characteristic of Izmir's development from a modest market town and regional harbor to an international port city in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries: the unification of the double town and the consequent Turkification of the lower-middle city (1), the internationaliza-

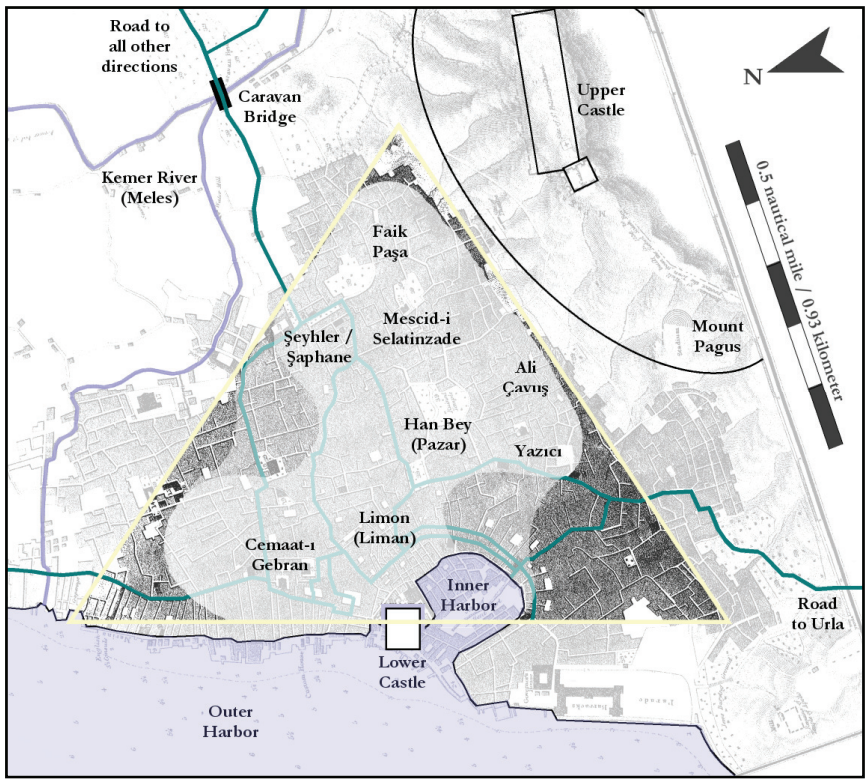
---

154 The quarter of Ali Reis already comes up in Ottoman documents from the 17th century and still exists today: Kütükoğlu, *XV ve XVI. asırlarda İzmir*, 24. It is also listed in Istanbul, SLK MF 4027, 18r.

155 Kütükoğlu's map omits the quarter altogether (*id.*, *XV ve XVI. asırlarda İzmir*, 23), while Goffman's (which is dated 1650 but appears to have been based on the 1575-*tahrir*) puts it in the same location, but with Ali Çavuş below instead of above it (Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World*, 12). Unfortunately, neither author elaborates on the subject.

tion of the city's economy and the resulting shift in economic focus (2) and the growing importance of the non-Muslim population (3).

MAP 10: QUARTERS OF IZMIR IN 1575



Based on Map 8; Kütükoğlu, *XV ve XVI. asırlarda İzmir*, 23-24; Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World*, 12.

TABLE 9: POPULATION OF UPPER, MIDDLE AND LOWER IZMIR (1528-1575)

	1528		1575	
	Quarters	**% of total**	**Quarters**	**% of total**
Upper Izmir	Faik Paşa Mescid-i Selatinzade	55.04 %	Faik Paşa Mescid-i Selatinzade Şeyhler (Şaphane) Ali Çavuş	41.46 %
Middle Izmir	Han Bey (Pazar)	16.39 %	Han Bey (Pazar) Yazıcı	25.20 %
Lower Izmir	Limon (Liman) Cemaat-ı Gebran	28.57 %	Limon (Liman) Cemaat-ı Gebran	33.34 %

Based on Tables 7 and 8.

As discussed previously, Izmir was originally a double town with both parts dependent on an uninterrupted flow of commerce between the caravan road, the Urla-road and the inner harbor. This made the ancient agora at the junction of these crossroads the commercial center where the geographical opposites were united in the pursuit of worldly gain. Once the double town was united under the Ottomans, the commercial district around the agora (now identifiable with Han Bey) became the corridor through which part of the Turkish population of the higher town flowed towards the lower part. The incentive for this movement (the "pull factor") was the growing commercial importance of Izmir's harbor. As the port began to compete with Chios to become the Anatolian caravan route's western terminus, international trade started to account for an ever larger share of the city's economy. Manufacturing and the marketing of regional produce were slowly but certainly internationalized, regional commodities being exported along with the extra-regional luxury commodities from the caravans.

This change in economic orientation brought with it a shift of focus from the inner harbor and the crossroads to its west towards the shore along the outer harbor. Although this process was still in its beginnings in 1575, there is no doubt that it was already reflected in the exceptional growth of the "community of non-Muslims" – after all the main facilitator of the city's Ottoman-European trade. The limited mobility between residence and employment characteristic of the pre-industrial age dictates that the size and density of an area's population was closely correlated to that area's economic importance, which implies that changes in the distribution of pre-industrial populations are a sound indicator of economic focus. A brief glance at Map 10 is enough to confirm the validity of this rule, not only for 16th, but also for 17th-century Izmir: as its economy increasingly revolved around international trade, the city's population was drawn towards the shore, in the end creating the triangular shape noted by Galland. Judging by Graves' map and the way in which one of the world's largest port cities today envelopes most of the bay that made its fortune, this process continued well past the period under discussion.

Now that 16th and 17th-century demographical developments and trends have been discussed and a necessary excursion into Izmir's 16th-century geography has identified the physical margins of 17th-century growth, it is time to return to the city of 1678.

The City and its Quarters According to Evliya and Galland

Just as before, it is Evliya and Galland who provide us with the most elaborate accounts, this time of Izmir's quarters. In 1678, Galland counts eleven exclusively Turkish quarters, three quarters inhabited by Greeks, Armenians

and Jews, and one, Kasap Hazır, housing the Franks.[156] Evliya, quoting İsmail Paşa's survey of 1657/58 as his source, gives no less than "ten Muslim, ten exclusively Greek, ten Frankish and Jewish quarters, two Armenian quarters and one Gypsy quarter".[157]

Evliya's numbers seem suspiciously high, the more so since the total number of 16th and 17th-century historical quarters' names come down to us barely amount to twenty – and that is including quite a few duplicates due to name changes.[158] Then, there is another famous Ottoman man-of-letters, the historian-bibliographer-geographer Katip Çelebi (b. 1609-d. 1657; also known as Hacı Halifa), who speaks of "up to twenty quarters" in the mid-17th century.[159]

There is no way of checking these figures against official data as the original detailed register of İsmail Paşa's survey is not extant and the derived register that is extant (the aforementioned BBA MAD 14672) does not list quarters. The only way out is to revert to steering a course through contradicting evidence in the hope of arriving at a sensible destination. Luckily, Galland has left us what might be a valuable clue: just before his ethnic breakdown of the city's quarters, he speaks of a total number of thirteen, only to go on to count fifteen, which figure he confirms two paragraphs down. If Evliya's numbers are considered in light of Galland's contradictory statements, it appears that a course may yet be plotted.

Galland's and Evliya's access to Ottoman fiscal data (be it directly or indirectly) and the latter's penchant for hyperbole have already been established. We have also seen that the joining of information from various sources and times typically led to internal contradictions that could slip by the author producing them. At the risk of reading too much into his unblinkingly giving us two different figures in a single sentence, it seems that Galland, when confronted with discrepancy in his sources, took the same route as before (concerning the number of Jews) and followed a short mention of the last-known official figures up with more extensive contemporary or personal observations.

Let us assume for a moment that Galland took his figure of thirteen quarters from the last *tahrir* available to him, being the one conducted by İsmail Paşa in 1657/58, and that his figure of fifteen quarters represents the situation around his own visit in 1678. Then, let us ask ourselves whether it is not too much of a coincidence that Evliya's "ten Muslim, ten exclusively Greek, ten Frankish and Jewish quarters, two Armenian quarters and one Gypsy quarter", explicitly derived from İsmail Paşa's survey, can be brought down

---

156 Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 107-8.

157 Evliya, *Seyahatname* 9, 93.

158 Kütükoğlu, *XV ve XVI. asırlarda İzmir*, 23-24.

159 Katib Çelebi, *Kitab-ı Cihannüma* (Kostantıniye / Istanbul: Darultibaat-ul Amire, 1065 / 1654; 1145 / 1732, 669.

to Galland's thirteen through a very slight syntactical reinterpretation: "ten Muslim, Greek, Frankish and Jewish quarters, two Armenian quarters and one Gypsy quarter"' Could Evliya's account be the result of the reverse procedure?

TABLE 10: AVG. NUMBER OF TAXPAYING FAMILIES PER QUARTER (1528-1678)

Year	Taxpaying families	Number of Quarters	Taxpaying families per quarter
1528	238	5	47.6
1575	492	8	61.5
1657/58	10,300	13	792.3
1678	19,430	15	1,295.3

Based on Tables 6, 7 and 8; Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 107-8.

Evliya's credibility aside, an increase in the number of quarters from eight in 1575 to fifteen in 1678 does seem more consistent with the development of Izmir's built-up space over this period: the space between the quarters of 1575 and Galland's 1678-outline indeed represents about half of the triangle's total area (see Map 10). On the other hand, such an increase seems remarkably slight when compared to the growth of the taxpaying population. If the increase in the number of quarters was proportionate to the growth of the city's area, the relation between the number of quarters and the size of the population became increasingly disproportionate (see Table 10). Nevertheless, this would hold true even for much higher numbers of quarters.

The table not only suggests that the filling and expanding of existing quarters played a larger role in accommodating population growth than the creation of new quarters, it also points to a rapid increase in population density. If we leave, for a moment, the uncertain confines of the 17th-century quarters and consider the city's population in light of the area it occupied, we cannot but conclude that both population and administration faced a major challenge.

Galland's scalene delimits an area of just over half a square mile, or slightly under one and a half square kilometers.[160] As appears from the maps of the situation in 1528 and 1575 (see Maps 8 and 10), the main built-up area was about one third and one half, respectively, of the area later delimited by Galland. Dividing our population estimates for those same years (see Table 10) by these areas results in the population densities shown in Table 11.

[160] 0.5 nautical mile equals 0.926 km. The triangle's perimeter measures about 2.88 nautical mi, or 5.334 km. If the triangle is taken to be a scalene (which it indeed almost is), the length of the sides is 0.96 nautical mi, or 1.778 km, equaling 1.106 mi. This results in an area (0.5 • sides^2 • sin60º) of 0.399 nautical mi^2, 1.369 km^2, or 0.529 mi^2, a figure confirmed by other maps.

TABLE 11: DENSITY OF THE TAXPAYING POPULATION (1528-1678)

Year	Taxpaying families	Average family size	Taxpaying population	Occupied area in mi² / km²	Urban Density per mi² / km²
1528	238	4.90	1,166	0.176 / 0.456	6,625 / 2,557
1575	492	4.90	2,411	0.265 / 0.685	9,098 / 3,520
1657/58	10,300	3.65	37,595 (49,503)	0.450 /1.164	83,544 (110,007) / 32,298 (42,528)
1678	(16,580) 19,430	3.65	(60,517) 70,920	0.529 / 1.369	(114,399) 134,064 / (44,205) 51,804

Based on Maps 8 and 10; Tables 3, 4, 5 and 10.

Please note that the figures in the table are not as accurate as the use of decimals might suggest; these were only added to avoid the added inaccuracy inherent in doing calculations with round variables. Also note that the estimated numbers of taxpaying families are interpretations of Ottoman fiscal data and travelers' estimates, themselves contemporary interpretations. Furthermore, the multipliers used were obtained from solid research, but on another region (Bursa and surroundings) and should be considered generalizations. They introduce a rather mechanical difference between average family size in the 16th and 17th century, presumably reflecting the evolution of Izmir's typical family structure from one of the village to one of the city. Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that the areas are approximate because they were obtained from edited historical maps delineating city quarters whose exact boundaries remain unknown. Lastly, the absence of similar data for the *tahrir*-year of 1657/58 has meant that this year's area had to be derived from statistical context.[161]

For all the leeway these interpretations allow in the table's middle columns, however, the jump in population density visible in the final column remains amazingly high, even if the calculation is done with our lower population estimates (the figures between the brackets in the table). No matter how much we question the number of taxpaying families (and particularly the 1678-figure), the difference between 16th and 17th-century family size, the resultant size of the taxpaying population (several possible options in 1657/58 and 1678), or the approximate area taken up within the 1678-outline – any and all adjustments are simply dwarfed by the unequivocally explosive growth of the number of taxpayers in relation to the relatively

[161] If we were to make a scale of average area growth per decade on the basis of our sample years (1528, 1575, 1657/58 and 1678), we would arrive at an average growth of about 0.0174 per decade between 1528 and 1575 and about 0.0238 per decade between 1575 and 1678. On such a scale, the estimated area in 1657/58 would amount to 0.543. The assumption of course is that the city's area grew at a more or less constant rate, with an acceleration occurring around 1575, at the time the city started booming.

modest area occupied. This is even more surprising when considering that these estimated densities are made up entirely of taxpaying bachelors and families, excluding what must have been a sizeable population of tax-exempt, visitors and slaves.

To put this density of 134,064 taxpaying inhabitants (taxpayers and family) per square mile in historical perspective, we could look to one of the best-conserved and most-researched historical cities; the booming provincial Roman port-city of Pompeii. Such a comparison across many centuries may seem peculiar, but mid-17th-century Izmir shared a number of significant commonalities with Pompeii as it stood on the eve of its destruction on AD 79: a comparable geography (on the seaside, at the far end of a large bay, with a sizeable natural harbor and a slightly sloping buildup, oriented to the windward side and protected in the rear by hills and mountains), function (port town, regional trade center, culturally diverse), life cycle-phase (previously booming Pompeii still recovering from the heavy earthquake that had struck it 17 years earlier, Izmir still removed a similar number of years from the peak of its original boom), size (probably similar if we include the area and population directly beyond Pompeii's walls) and supporting technology (it would take until the 19th century until the infrastructure of waterworks and sanitation began to overtake that of Roman times).

On the eve of its burial underneath Vesuvius' pyroclastic flow and downpour of ashes, Pompeii housed an estimated 10 to 20,000 on the 0.25 mi^2 (0.647 km^2) area within its walls.[162] That makes the estimated population density of its walled-in area 40 to 80,000 persons per mi^2 (15,456 to 30,912 per km^2); only very slightly behind the freshly booming Izmir of 1657/58. The neat Roman grid so vividly in evidence in Pompeii's uncovered center has seduced many a visitor into contemplating a calm and orderly city, forgetting not only about the mass of simple homes and winding streets that still lie buried underneath the Campanian landscape, but also simply about what such densities mean in reality.

Anyone who imagines walled-in Pompeii to have been anywhere near as calm and orderly as its planned center suggests should know that its maximum estimated density of some 80,000 p/mi^2 (30,912 p/km^2) nearly equals today's highest officially recorded urban density (that of Mumbai), and its minimum of 40,000 p/mi^2 (15,456 p/km^2) the 7th highest (that of Taipei), while the urban densities of modern western port cities like Amsterdam,

---

[162] See Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 95 and throughout.

Naples and New York amount to but 11,865 p/mi² (4,581 p/km²), 10,619 p/mi² (4,100 p/km²) and 5,309 p/mi² (2,050 p/km²) respectively.[163]

Considering the enormous contrast the bustling chaos of a living Ottoman city and the stately wistful vestiges of the planned Roman city center shimmering beneath it, it is not difficult to see why many a visiting Renaissance man, remarking upon the city's overcrowding, would lament the demise of the romanticized ancient grid: "Pour les autres, outre qu'elles sont étroites, elles sont encore entrecoupées, tortues et sans ordre, de telle manière que la ville d'aujourd'hui est autant différente de l'ancienne qu'une chose laide et vilaine l'est d'avec une belle et bien proportionnée".[164] Still, that such complaints were already uttered in the 17th century is rather remarkable in light of future developments. For the city's population would continue to grow for centuries to come, hitting the 200.000-mark in the mid-19th century.[165] And that without significant expansion of its built-up area![166] And this is without even considering the increasing numbers of non-residents attracted to Izmir's ever-increasing commerce. Under such circumstances, would one not expect the city to have suffocated its own development?

The solution to this apparent contradiction lies in the application of technological innovation to urban infrastructure. Improvements in building, utilities and transport can dramatically increase a city's tolerance for higher population densities through increasing the number of floors of buildings, through providing adequate lighting, water supplies, waste disposal and sewerage and through building and maintaining paved roads, bridges and means of public transport. In our wealthier and individualistic modern age, such advances have tended to go hand in hand with demands for ever larger private living space, largely nullifying the net effect of infrastructural advances on urban density. Nonetheless, this effect was not yet in play in the early modern city of Izmir. Life in the overcrowded city of the 1670s could only remain bearable and economically viable if adjustments were made to Izmir's old town-like infrastructure. In other words; to survive Izmir needed an upgrade to city-status, not just by being reattached administratively to the im-

---

163 "The largest cities in the world by land area, population and density" (6 January 2007), *CityMayors Statistics*, http://www.citymayors.com/statistics/largest-cities-density-125.html (accessed 23 November 2011).

164 Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 111.

165 Cf., *e.g.*, Niyazi Berkes and Feroz Ahmad, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (New York: Routledge, 1964), 141n8; Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World economy: The Nineteenth Century* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1988), 151n45; Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World economy, 1800-1914* (London: I.B.Tauris, 1993), 98; and Peter Sluglett, *The Urban Social History of the Middle East, 1750-1950* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2008), 159.

166 In Map 5, compare the 1678-triangle and the build-up of 1844.

portant district of Aydın and the central province of Anatolia, or by fiscal interference by court, but also by modernizing its infrastructure.

In Western Europe such projects were typically planned, funded and executed by the municipality or subordinate civic bodies. In the Ottoman Empire, however, such chartered local institutions were conspicuously absent from the political-administrative configuration. This is not to say that there were no Ottoman associations based on vocation (*esnaf*), religious profession (*tarikat*) or social status (*eşraf* and *ayan*), nor that these did not wield any influence in local politics – but these were not civic bodies in the western European sense and their membership was not necessarily limited to citizens or inhabitants of a given town or city. In fact, these associations had not come into being as a reaction to aristocratic and dynastic authority as they had in Europe. Rather, they functioned as an extension of the state, albeit with the capacity to exert considerable influence over the practical application of its policies on the local and regional levels. Along with the *millet*s, this functional difference with Europe's urban institutions has been considered so crucial as to warrant propositions that the term "city" should not be applied to Ottoman urban phenomena (or, for that matter, to Islamic or Middle Eastern ones; see the quotations preceding the introduction).

The third set of institutions to share in this dubious honor of often being viewed as an insurmountable obstacle to a modernity grafted on civic identity in particular and civil society in general, is the charitable endowment, or *vakf*.[167] Although the vast majority of Ottoman public works was realized, administrated and maintained through this essentially benign class of institutions, it was nevertheless regarded as a root cause of Ottoman backwardness by 19th and 20th-century western analysts from Max Weber onwards.[168] And by the Ottoman and Turkish modernizers who undertook to act upon their diagnoses. In their view the trouble with *vakf*s was that they provided their public services not from budgets furnished by regular taxation and private investment (as in the West), but from incomes generated by movable and immovable holdings bequeathed to it *ad infinitum* by private benefactors.

---

[167] See R. Peters et al., "Wakf", *EI2*, ii: 59a-b.

[168] See Bryan S. Turner, *Weber and Islam* (London: Routledge, 1998), 124. Or, in his own words – Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, vol. 4: *Herrschaft* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 120: "Denn daß die höchst nachhaltige Immobilisierung akkumulierten Besitzes in Gestalt der Wakufgebundenheit – ganz dem Geist der antiken Wirtschaft entsprechend, welche akkumuliertes Vermögen als Rentenfonds, nicht als Erwerbskapital benutzte – für die ökonomische Entwicklung des Orients von sehr großer Bedeutung gewesen ist, nimmt Carl Heinrich Becker sicher mit recht an." In the preceding and following pages it becomes clear that Weber considered the Islamic institution to be the source of similarly counter-capitalist institutions in Europe, from Spain to Germany.

Such a removal from free market circulation of what might by the 19th century have amounted to "three-quarters of the buildings and arable land in the empire" was regarded by Weber *cum suis* as a major if not *the* factor hindering the healthy development of Ottoman private interest and capitalism, thereby blocking first civic and later civil progress (as well as full European economic hegemony).[169] Whether or not the institution of *vakf* was indeed instrumental in the underdevelopment of market capitalism in the Ottoman Empire (and whether or not this was of direct consequence for its ability to survive in the periphery of the expanding western world economy), the view that up to three quarters of the assets in the Ottoman Empire was forever immovably fixed in place and function and played no role in the market economy is plainly absurd.

Here, the problem is similar to that surrounding the question of whether or not Ottoman or Islamic cities really constituted cities. Essentially, the issue is not with the studied subject, but with the foreign conceptualizations used in studying it. When the very definitions of capital, enterprise, market and economy we use are formulated on the basis of European practice, how can functional equivalents elsewhere ever be recognized as such and meet the standards of those conceptualizations? They cannot. At least, not until they are destroyed and rebuilt completely after the European *idea* – in which case they will of course still never quite attain the ideal.

It is beyond the scope of this study to suggest an Ottoman alternative to the selection bias inherent in the *vakf*-paradigm. That is something others (cited directly above and below) have already attempted with some success. We will here limit ourselves to describing the many roles and functions of Izmir's main *vakf*, and leave for elsewhere the question if the functions of such *vakf*s indeed differed that much from the European civic and civil institutions to which they have been compared so unfavorably.

The City and its Quarters According to the 1678-Deed

Sound descriptions of the institution of *vakf* and its functions are very hard to come by. They invariably focus heavily on either its general legal foundation or on its specific physical manifestations. In his superb case study of the *vakf*s of Ottoman Damascus, Richard van Leeuwen attempts to go beyond this dichotomy to arrive at a (Bourdieuan) approach that integrates both the *vakf*'s formal theoretical bases and its manifold practical expressions.[170] He does so starting from the following schematic description of its functions:

> *The proliferation of waqfs in Muslim societies in the course of time fostered the diversification of their functions and characteristics. Essentially a waqf consisted of an object which*

[169] Peters et al., "Wakf", 91.

[170] Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991; 2010).

was endowed to a specific pious purpose for eternity. The founder (waqif) gave up his property rights and determined the pious purpose and the regulations for the exploitation of the object, which became 'the property of God'. The object was dissociated from the market circulation and any form of alienation (sale, pawning, donation) was strictly forbidden. Waqfs were often founded for the benefit of mosques, which themselves also had the status of waqf. In such a case, agricultural lands were converted into waqf and their revenues destined to build and maintain a specified mosque and its functionaries. Waqfs could thus either be possessions yielding revenues and profit, or objects consuming these revenues and serving as religious or social institutions. At an early stage of the development of waqf regulations, the founder was allowed to designate himself and/or his family and descendants as the beneficiaries of his foundation. Only after the extinction of his line would the revenue be allocated to a certain pious purpose (for instance, 'the poor of Damascus'). He could, moreover, appoint himself and his descendants as trustees of the waqf, thus keeping control of the waqf possessions in spite of having relinquished the rights of ownership.[171]

As was the case throughout the Ottoman Empire, Izmir's inhabitants spent most of their public lives, as well as a significant part of their private ones, depending on the properties, services and employment of Islamic pious endowments (*vakf*s). Not only were all major Muslim places of worship (mosques), learning (schools and libraries), and charity (soup kitchens) owned and maintained by such institutions, they also accounted for the construction, governance, upkeep and security of most Ottoman roads, bridges, waterworks, inns, markets, and shops.

In principle any *paterfamilias* with some capital, land or real estate to spare could endow it to pious purposes. By doing so he stood to gain socially *and* economically. He could appoint progeny or clients to administer his endowment, thereby also enhancing his own and his family's power of patronage for as long as the endowment was operated, which in turn encouraged sustained good governance of the lands and buildings endowed. That endowing property was at once devout and socially and economically advantageous made the *vakf* the predominant mode of civil investment in the Ottoman Empire. Without it Ottoman society could never have survived as long as it did.

While countless relatively modest provincial *vakf*s together formed the sinew of Ottoman civilization, it was their highly prestigious imperial equivalents that made up its muscle.[172] Endowed by patrons at the center of power

---

[171] Van Leeuwen, *Waqfs and Urban Structures*, 11-12.

[172] Discussions of the *vakf*-institution usually distinguish between royal and other (smaller or provincial) endowments. I find the distinction between imperial and provincial or local endowments a more useful one, certainly within the Ottoman context. There existed a good number of Ottoman non-royal *vakf*s that rivaled royal ones in geographical dispersion, size and influence. If these can be seen to have served the needs of their founders and certain populations while also emphatically serving that of the imperial state and civilization, there is no point in suggesting that they were functionally different and belong in a separate category

(sultans, *valide*s, *vezir*s, *şeyhülislam*s, etc.), and encompassing a wide range of public services (mosques, schools, bathhouses, inns, soup kitchens, fountains, shops, warehouses, factories, customs houses and merchants' apartments) – often all at once – such endowments delivered public services of superior quality in an environment of dazzling grandeur. In the process they provided immense prestige and enduring political capital to their founders, who demonstrated their moral uprightness while simultaneously tying local elites to their households and networks of patronage through investment and employment. In this respect the social, political and economic roles of the institution did not differ that much from those of the institutions organizing public services in contemporary European cities.

Quite apart from delivering such obvious advantages to their founders and the public, imperial endowments had another easily overlooked but more fundamental function. They renewed, affirmed and projected Ottoman civilization by forging new dependencies between imperial and regional centers, by legitimating its social, economic and political order in the eyes of its subjects, and by showing off its vigorous splendor and equitable greatness to the outside world it aspired to dominate. Although many *vakf* holdings were located in the countryside, most of their purposes were dedicated to support Ottoman urban civilization. Leaving aside discussions about its basic urban character or gradual urbanization, we might simply point out that it was "the city" in which this administrative and civilizing order could manifest itself most visibly and effectively to the highest number of Ottoman subjects and foreigners. In this manner the degree to which imperial endowments imposed administrative and cultural order on a city came to be an important marker for that city's perceived importance – second only to administrative rank.

By both measures the status of 1660s-Izmir lagged considerably behind the city's real political, economic and cultural impact. It has already been noted that booming Izmir was still stuck with the commercial and cultural infrastructure of an important town while its influence had far outgrown that status. This was due in large part to its relatively late incorporation into the empire: although the city itself was securely Ottoman from 1424 it only became truly safe for full institutional investment and cultivation under the *pax Ottomanica* after its bay and the wider Aegean had also been secured with the Ottoman taking of Chios and Crete in 1566 and 1669 respectively. Although the Venetians, the Genoese, the French, the English and the Dutch had all relocated from Chios to Izmir at the turn of the 16th to 17th century and had perfected their own commercial networks and infrastructure there, Ottoman

---

from *vakf*s that were royal in the strict sense of being endowed by members of the Ottoman dynasty.

efforts to control the city's development were mired in sustained dynastic crises and popular revolts and had to wait until the 1670s to be taken up in earnest.

During the preceding century of rapid growth all infrastructural initiative in the expanding city had been left to small local endowments. As these proved unable to meet the accelerating requirements of Izmir's population and trades, the European communities' need to maintain their own private commercial infrastructure along Frank Street was continually underlined. In the absence of viable Ottoman alternatives nothing much could be done against the European trading partners' monopolization of the handling of Izmir's international trade. This left the Ottoman administration without the structural leverage it needed to effectively monitor and control the flow of trade through its territory. Although this problem did surely not go unnoticed on the Ottoman side the cost of adequate infrastructural renewal required in Izmir must have become prohibitive by the 1670s. Certainly it was bigger than any local or provincial personages would be willing or able to bear. In the end the challenge was taken up by the sultan's second-in-command, grand vizier Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa.

Why he did so will concern us a little further down; of more interest to us here is the extent of his *vakf*'s holdings, which are listed in the – fortunately still extant – endowment deed or *vakfiye* (see Appendix 1, plate 9).[173] The document lists a host of possessions throughout the empire. Mosques, schools, bathhouses, inns, soup kitchens, fountains, shops, warehouses, factories, customs houses, apartments and lands were endowed in recently conquered or strategically important places in the Ottoman Balkans (in and around Uyvar, Kamenice and Belgrade) and on Crete (in and around Candia), in the northern Anatolian village of Kedegire or Köprü (where the Köprülü dynasty had its origins), in Istanbul and – of course – in Izmir.[174] In the latter city, the *vakf*'s holdings comprised no less than seventy-three structures scattered over eleven quarters.[175]

The way in which the *vakf*s numerous holdings in Izmir are positioned and described practically turns the *vakfiye* into an urban topography, be it a partial one. Typically, the enumeration of bequeathed buildings is structured as follows: I have devoted to pious uses my property of [name and/or kind of property], in the quarter of [name], next to [this or that structure, landmark or location], including [number of] rooms on [number of] floors, made

---

[173] SLK MF 4027 – a Süleymaniye Library-microfilm of the original in the Köprülü Library.

[174] Uyvar is modern-day Nové Zámky in southern Slovakia; Kamenice is now Ukrainian Kamenetz-Podolsky; Cretan Candia is today called Irákleion; and the Turkish village of Kedegire, once more widely known as Köprü, now goes by the name Vezirköprü.

[175] SLK MF 4027, 17r-20v.

of [building material] and including [any additional property such as a garden or wall].

Fifteen items of real estate are listed following this pattern, all of them in the quarter of Kasap Hazır:

TABLE 12: REAL ESTATE ENDOWED IN IZMIR'S KASAP HAZIR-QUARTER (1678)

Folio	Item	Description
17r	a1	with known boundaries | comprising fifty rooms on the ground floor | and fifty-four rooms on the second floor | newly constructed | of masonry | a great *han* (*han-ı kebir*)
	a2	adjoining the great *han* | comprising seventeen rooms and a warehouse on the ground floor | and eighteen rooms on the second floor | of masonry | a small *han* (*sagir han*)
	a3	adjoining the great *han* | twenty-four shops (*dükkanlar*)
	a4	designated the covered market (*bezestan*) | forty-four shops (*dükkanlar*) | with warehouses and rooms on the second floors
	a5	adjoining the back of the covered market | twenty-four shops (*dükkanlar*) | of masonry
17v	a6	opposite the gate of the covered market leading to the customs house | two warehouses (*mahzen*) | of masonry
	a7	in front of the covered market | towards the slaughterhouse of Hüseyn Ağa | with boundaries known to the inhabitants | a vacant lot (*arza-ı haliye*)
	a8	adjoining the covered market | [extending] over the sea | comprising eighteen rooms and a kitchen | and a small bathhouse with a warehouse and stable below | newly constructed | a customs house (*gümrükhane*)
	a9	[as] purchased property (*mülk-i müşteram*) | with known boundaries | another customs house (*gümrükhane*) | and two rooms on the second floor
	a10	a pastry cook's oven (*börekçi fırını*)
	a11	a sherbet maker's shop (*şerbetçi dükkanı*) | and a room on the second floor
	a12	with known boundaries | a Jews' apartment (*Yahudihane*) | including all its belongings
	a13	adjoining the Jews' apartment | two apartments (*hane*) on the ground floor
	a14	adjoining the Gülhane bathhouse | comprising many rooms on the ground and second floors | an apartment (*hane*)
18r	a15	adjoining the castle wall | on the beach | with known boundaries | two candle factories (*şemhane*)

Based on Istanbul, SLK MF 4027, 17r-18r.

To function properly, the endowed commercial facilities needed additional infrastructural support in the form of a reliable supply of drinking water. The existing unplanned water supply system that fed the city's public fountains and institutions (as enumerated by Evliya, see note 34), however, did not carry enough water with sufficient pressure to allow feeding such extensive additions.[176] This obstacle was overcome by the construction of a double aqueduct (*kemer*) that tapped the river Meles at a point of higher altitude and

[176] See M. Münir Aktepe, "İzmir suları, çeşme ve sebilleri ile şadırvanları hakkında bir araştırma", *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, 30 (1976), 135-37.

delivered its water to a distribution point in the easternmost part of the city (see the two dotted lines in Plate 4).[177]

Between the distribution point and its final destinations along the northern seashore, the flow traversed the full breadth of the city from east to west. Along the way, it alleviated the general population's shortage of freely available drinking water through a network of fifty-eight public fountains. The fountains of this "vizier's water(system)", or *vezir suyu*, were part of Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa's endowment and are therefore also listed in its deed (directly after the real estate in Table 12). Here, the enumeration of the holdings is much more summary, listing only a general (quarter and/or ward) and a precise location (street and/or house) for each fountain:

TABLE 13: FOUNTAINS ENDOWED IN IZMIR (1678)

Folio	Item	Quarter	Description
18r (cont.)	b1	[Kocakapı (1)][178]	known as Çukurçeşme
	b2	Çiçek (2)	on Sadıkzade Halil Efendi's wall
	b3	Ali Reis (3)	on Abdülkadroğlu Hasan's wall
	b4	Pazaryeri (4)	on Dellak el-Hac Mehmed's wall
	b5	Mahalle-i Cedid (5)	along the thoroughfare | on the wall of Belci Ömer
	b6		near the Uzun Hüseyn Ağa bathhouse | on the wall of el-Hac Mehmed
	b7		on Tavil Mustafa Çelebi's wall
18v	b8		on Şerbetçi Cafer Beşe's wall
	b9	Kefeli (6)	on el-Hac Mustafa's wall
	b10		at the entrance to the three-road junction | on Kaymoğlu Ahmed's wall
	b11		in Jews [the Jewish ward] | on a *zimmi* named Mihalaki's wall
	b12		on Küçük Mehmed Ağa's wall

[177] In Plate 4, the aqueduct's intake is located in the vicinity of Homer's Cave (the remains at this location are currently known as the Şirinyer aqueducts). From there, the aqueduct followed the Meles at a higher elevation towards Mount Pagus, with one arm crossing the river halfway between the inlet and Kadifekale (the remains of this crossover are currently known as the Yeşildere aqueduct). From there, it proceeded hugging the eastern slopes of Mount Pagus, delivering its contents to a distribution point slightly southwest of the caravan bridge and east of the quarter of Faik Paşa. The final stretch of the aqueduct is also visible in Plate 3, where it is accompanied by the inscription "Aqueduct begun by Visir Ahmet in 1674".

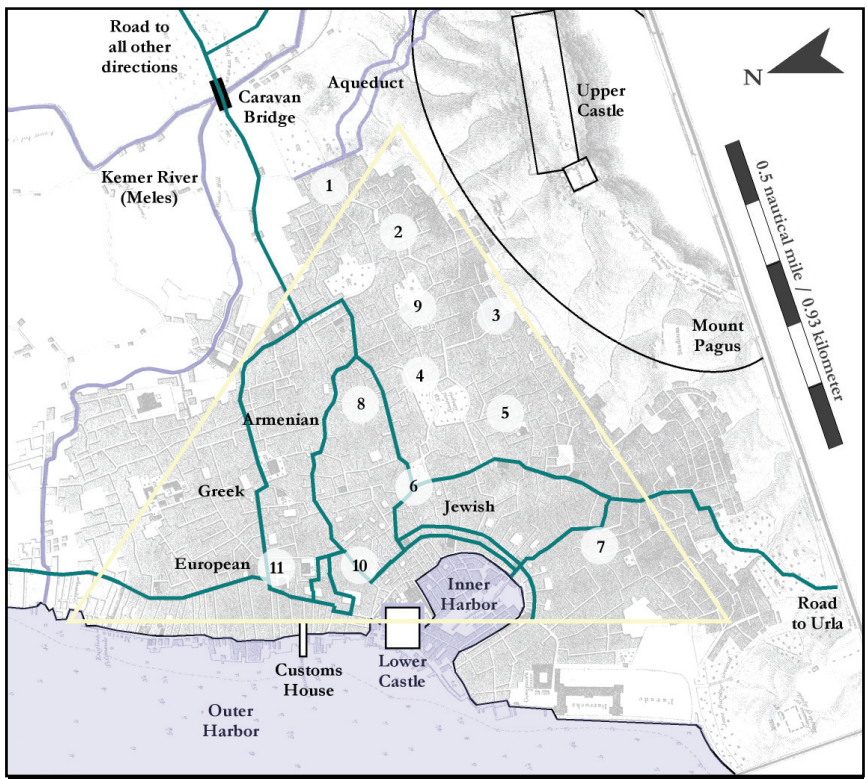
[178] In fact, the *vakfiye* does not mention a quarter here – the reference to this first fountain in the list reads: *ve yine medine-i mezburede Çukurçeşme demekle maruf bir çeşmeyi* ("and in the aforementioned city a fountain known as Çukurçeşme"). In an inventory that was made of the endowment's fountains in 1912, however, the 17th-century descriptions of location are followed by updated ones. Here, it is added that this Çukurçeşme-fountain is located in the vicinity of Kocakapı, "the great gate" (Aktepe, "Izmir suları", 139). This places it in the area that would later become the quarter of Kocakapı, located slightly east of Faik Paşa and southwest of the caravan bridge (see Maps 6 and 7, Plates 6 and 7). Incidentally, Aktepe's list omits items b24 and b50, arriving at a total of fifty-six fountains instead of the original *vakfiye*'s fifty-eight. Further comparison with our microfilm copy of the original *vakfiye* shows that the inventory consulted by Aktepe contains not only omissions but many misreadings as well.

	b13		near the day-laborer's market | on Kalaycı Murad's wall
	b14		on a *zimmi* named Karayani's wall
	b15		on the governor's mansion's wall
	b16		on Kasap Bodur Ali's wall
	b17		at the fence| on Derzi Yorgaki's wall
19r	b18	Cami-i Atik (7)	on el-Hac Hüseyn's wall
	b19		on Solak Mahmud Ağazade Abdülkerim Ağa's wall
	b20		on el-Hac Süleymanoğlu Mehmed Ağa's wall
	b21		on the corner of Ali Yazıcı's house
	b22		on el-Hac Halil's wall
	b23		in Hazır Efendi street | on el-Hac Ali's sons-in-law's wall
	b24		in the vicinity of the el-Hac Muhammed mosque
	b25		in Palanduzoğlu street | on el-Hac Süleyman's wall
	b26		on the long road | near the Ümmehatı Hatun prayer house | on Süleyman's wall
19v	b27		on Baba Hasan Bey's wall
	b28		on the el-Hac Mahmud mosque's wall
	b29		on Sabuncı el-Hac Hüseyn's wall
	b30		in Kara Hüseyn Ağa street | on Ali Yazıcı's wall
	b31		on el-Hac Hasan's wall
	b32		in the Kaplan Paşa market | in the middle aisle | at the entrance to the four-road junction | on the wall of a warehouse
	b33		on the Ahmed Ağa mosque's preacher Abdurrahman Efendi's wall
	b34		on Konyalı el-Hac Ömer's wall
	b35		in the vicinity of the el-Hac Hüseyn mosque
	b36	Hatuniye (8)	opposite the Demirci el-Hac Mehmed prayerhouse
20r	b37		in the vicinity of the oratory | on el-Hac Osmanoğlu's wall
	b38		on es-Şeyh Mustafa Efendi's wall
	b39		on the abovementioned şeyh's paternal uncle Mehmed Ağa's wall
	b40		adjoining the pair of scales installed in a place called Tilkilik
	b41		on Osman Çavuş's wall
	b42		opposite the Mahmud Efendi holy mosque
	b43		on Seyyid Ömer's wall
	b44	Hasan Hoca (9)	on the Hasan Hoca school's wall
	b45		adjoining the gate of the sellers of roasted chickpeas' inn
	b46		in the vicinity of the courthouse | on the el-Hac Ebubekr school's wall
20v	b47		in the middle of the grain market
	b48	Kasap Hazır (10)	on Aydınlıoğlu el-Hac Mehmed's wall
	b49		in the vicinity of the Hasan Beşe inn
	b50		on Hewwa Hatun's wall
	b51		on Hasan Çavuş's wall
	b52	Frenk Mahallesi (11)	opposite the French consul's
	b53		on the Hungarian consul's wall
	b54		on the inn's wall | opposite the customs house
	b55		inside the customs house
	b56		in the vicinity of the castle
	b57		in the vicinity of the bathhouse
	b58		in the vicinity of the abovementioned bathhouse | inside the Jews' apartment

Based on SLK MF 4027, 18r-20v.

With the help of our panoramas and maps, of an article giving the 1912-equivalents for the fountains' locations and of Izmir municipality's excellent searchable digital map of the modern city, the descriptions of the fountains can be utilized to the fullest. Not only does it become possible to locate the listed quarters on Graves' city plan (see Map 11), the descriptions also give valuable clues about these quarters' spatial organization and ethno-religious composition.

MAP 11: QUARTERS OF IZMIR IN 1678, AS LISTED IN THE ENDOWMENT DEED



1. Çukurçeşme (1 fountain)	5. Mahalle-i Cedid (4 fts.)	9. Hasan Hoca (4 fts.)
2. Çiçek (1 fountain)	6. Kefeli (9 fts.)	10. Kasap Hazır (4 fts.)
3. Ali Reis (1 fountain)	7. Cami-i Atik (18 fts.)	11. Frenk Mahallesi (7 fts.)
4. Pazaryeri (1 fountain)	8. Hatuniye (8 fts.)	

Based on Istanbul, SLK MF 4027, 18r-20v; Maps 9 and 10; Plates 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7 and 8; Aktepe, "İzmir suları"; *İzmir Sayısal Kent Rehberi* (n.d.), by İzmir Konak Belediyesi Bilgi Sistemleri Müdürlüğü, and İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Harita Şube Müdürlüğü, http://rehber.izmir-bld.gov.tr (accessed 2003; no longer available).

As is to be expected, the new water system primarily serviced Izmir's principal quarters, providing us with a topography of the city's socially, economi-

cally and politically central areas – which the endowment was after all designed to support and promote. If the Greek and Armenian quarters (the locations of which have already been established) are included, most of the 1678-city's area is now covered.

One of the first things to catch our attention is the appearance of many new quarters' names, most often associated with areas already inhabited a century earlier. The frequent alternation of quarters' names is a recurring phenomenon throughout the Ottoman Empire. Many quarters went by several names, the choice for one or the other seemingly only depending on the preference of the person whose documentary testimony we are left to interpret (for instance; the name Faik Paşa, although absent from the *vakfiye*, never went out of use). On the other hand, some quarters' names did change for good (Mescid-i Selatinzade to Hasan Hoca for instance). Most often this was the result of the construction of new public facilities (mosque's, schools, baths, and so on) and the quarters' being identified through these facilities' names.

Besides name changes, comparison of Maps 10 and 11 also suggests that some quarters' boundaries were redrawn. Considering that the Ottoman quarter was an important administrative unit, this redrawing might have occurred in response to the increase in population density – as a way to maintain administrative manageability.

As briefly touched upon above, the information in the *vakfiye* allows a number of observations to be made about the individual quarters, their certainty increasing with the number of references:

1. **Çukurçeşme** (exclusively Muslim): This area between the caravan bridge and the top of Galland's triangle was apparently not a quarter. The fountain (b1) might have been intended for use by travelers.
2. **Çiçek** (exclusively Muslim): Its precise location is uncertain, but considering the course of the aqueduct and the structure of the *vakfiye* this probably refers to the area formerly associated with the Muslim quarter of Faik Paşa. In any case, Sadıkzade Halil Efendi (b2) is a Muslim name.
3. **Ali Reis** (exclusively Muslim): The Muslim quarter formerly known as Ali Çavuş. Abdülkadroğlu Hasan (b3) is a Muslim name.
4. **Pazaryeri** (exclusively Muslim): The Muslim quarter formerly known as Han Bey (Pazar); the old commercial center. Dellak el-Hac Mehmed (b4) refers to a Muslim; a *dellak* is a shampooer in a bathhouse (an exclusively Muslim occupation) and *el-hac* or *hacı* is a title reserved for Muslims who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina (and for Christians who have made the pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulcher).
5. **Mahalle-i Cedid** (exclusively Muslim): Signifying "the new quarter", appears to have been a matured version of the Muslim quarter of Yazıcı. The thoroughfare (b5) referred to is probably the eastern arm of the road coming in from Urla. Belci Ömer (b5), Uzun Hüseyn Ağa (b6), el-

Hac Mehmed (b6), Tavil Mustafa Çelebi (b7) and Şerbetçi Cafer Beşe (b8) all indicate Muslim heritage. A *belci* is a maker or seller of spades and forks and a *şerbetçi* is a maker and seller of sweet beverages.

6. **Kefeli** (fully mixed): A large commercial quarter (as also indicated by the presence of the day-laborer's market (b13) put together from parts of the former quarters of Han Bey and Limon, extending far south-westwards to include the Jewish quarter as a separate ward referred to as *Yahudiler* (b11; "Jews"). It enclosed most of the inner harbor, including the governor's mansion (b15) on the far end of its western shore. The "fence" (b17) might denote a barrier between the Muslim and Jewish parts of the quarter. The number "6" on the map is located over the three-road junction (b10). el-Hac Mustafa (b9), Kaymoğlu Ahmed (b10), Küçük Mehmed Ağa (b12), Kalaycı (tinsmith) Murad (b13) and Kasap (butcher) Bodur Ali (b16) point to Muslim habitation. Mention of the *zimmi*s Mihalaki (Jewish?; b11) and Karayani (Greek?; b14) confirm non-Muslim settlement. Derzi (tailor) Yorgaki, although not referred to as a *zimmi*, must have been a Greek.
7. **Cami-i Atik** (exclusively Muslim): Signifying "the ancient mosque", this quarter was a completely new and exclusively Muslim quarter. It had absorbed most of the past century's growth of the Muslim population and took up the entire lower right corner of Galland's triangle (with the exception of the inner harbor's shore). It was not only residential, but certainly also commercially oriented, as is evidenced by the presence of the Kaplan Paşa market (b32) and at least one warehouse (b32). The long road (b26) could be the western arm of the road coming in from Urla. All accompanying descriptions (b18 to b35) indicate Muslim occupation. A *solak* (b19) is a guardsman in attendance on the Sultan in processions, a *yazıcı* is a (letter) writer (b21 and b30), a *sabuncı* (b29) is a maker and seller of soap.
8. **Hatuniye** (exclusively Muslim): A quarter consisting of (the western part of) Şeyhler/Şaphane and the northern fringes of Mescid-i Selatinzade and Han Bey. Again, the references (b36-b43) point to Muslim habitation, to which we should add that most are religiously oriented (b36, b37, b38, b39, b42, b43). A *şeyh* (b38) is a head of a religious order, a *seyyid* (or *şerif*; b43) is a descendant of the prophet Muhammad, a *çavuş* (b41) is a pursuivant and halberdier of the sultan's bodyguard. The place called Tilkilik ("craftiness" or "foxiness") has often been associated with Izmir's Armenian population. However, as the Armenian quarter appears to have bordered on the obviously Muslim quarter of Hatuniye, this association is probably not due to residence. It could be that the pair of scales (could it be a weighing-house?) to which the *vakfiye* refers (b40) was used for weighing the silk imported by caravans before its sale to the Armenian-dominated silk-weaving industry.
9. **Hasan Hoca** (exclusively Muslim): Formerly the quarter of Mescid-i

Selatinzade. There are only four references to this quarter in the *vakfiye*, which could very well be an indication of some diminished importance. Since the 16th century the center of gravity had shifted even further towards the city's shore and middle and lower Izmir now housed a sizeable part of the Muslim population (in Pazaryeri and Kefeli, but particularly in the newer quarters of Mahalle-i Cedid and Cami-i Atik). Even so, the old center of Muslim habitation east of Pazar(yeri) was still the site of the *kadi*'s residence, or courthouse (b46); the city's undisputed judicial and administrative center. It also still served commercial purposes, as is evidenced by the presence of the *leblebici hani* (the inn of the sellers of roast chickpeas; b45) and the all-important *irgad pazari* (the grain market; b47). With its two *mekteb*s (Islamic schools; b44 and b46), one of which was apparently part of a *vakf* important enough to name the quarter after, it also qualifies as a center of Muslim education.

10. **Kasap Hazır** (fully mixed): Named after the open-air slaughterhouse (shambles) formerly located on the beach north of the harbor castle and comprising the old quarter of Limon, this quarter was the center of the endowment's construction program – and the principal target of the *vezir suyu*. Kasap Hazır has often been confused with its Frankish (or European) neighbor. Even the *vakfiye* is unclear about where the one ended and the other began: a8 places the customs house in Kasap Hazır, while b52 refers to a fountain inside this customs house as lying in Frenk Mahallesi, which quarter b56 erroneously suggests to have extended until just under the walls of the harbor castle. As the *vakfiye* also illustrates, however, Kasap Hazır is not to be confused with Frenk Mahallesi and was not European but Ottoman in character; it housed Muslim (b48-b51), as well as Jewish (the *Yahudihane*; a12) and Armenian (a *han* described by Galland[179]) institutions and inhabitants.
11. **Frenk Mahallesi** (fully mixed, but predominantly European): Taking up the entire lower left corner of Galland's triangle, this Frankish or European quarter was the last one to profit from the *vezir suyu* (b52-b58). This quarter and its organization will be the subject of the next part (on The European City).

[..]. Unmentioned **Armenian and Greek quarters** (mixed, but predominantly Armenian, resp. Greek): The Armenian and Greek quarters were also inhabited by Muslims – who were present in all quarters (even the European). The Greek quarter also housed many Europeans, who chose to live there either out of necessity (due to lower rents) or choice (being in relationships with Greek women).

[179] Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 106.

Pluralism within and among 1678-Izmir's Quarters

Given the mixed character of all but Izmir's exclusively Muslims quarters, it is misleading to speak of quarters as "Jewish", "Greek", "Armenian" or "European". Even if such ethno-religious designations are meant as shorthand for "the predominance of an ethnicity in a quarter", or for "how an ethnicity is centered on a given quarter", they all too easily obscure the non-uniform character of all Izmir's northern quarters. It is much more useful to have a rendering that permits not only visualization of a group's central area, but also its secondary areas, and how they overlapped with those of other groups. We then see (in Map 12):

- Turks centered in the southern quarters, but also ever-present in the northern quarters where all of Izmir's non-Muslims resided[180];
- Jews centered in their ward in the old market quarter of Kefeli, but also renting apartments and storehouses further east and in the new commercial center of Kasap Hazır to the north[181];
- Armenians centered in their old Şaphane quarter, but following the flow of trade with extensions into the commercial centers of old Kefeli and new Kasap Hazır[182];
- Greeks centered in old Cemaat-ı Gebran, but also still present along the entire northern shore in rented apartments and *hans* at the southern and northern end of Frank Street.[183]

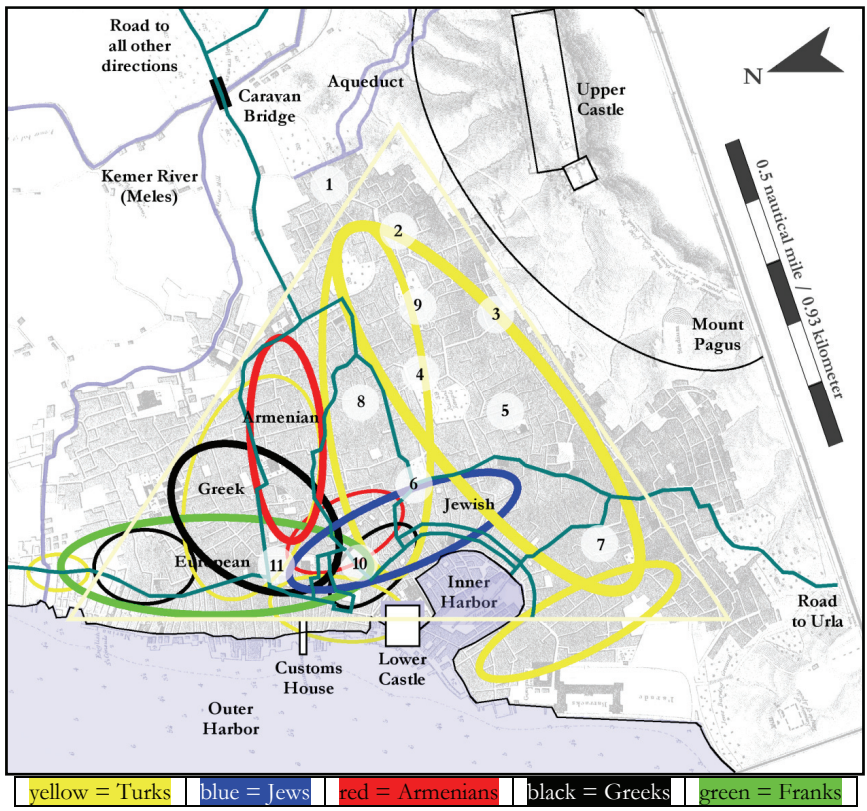
[180] See, *e.g.*, *ibid.*, 108: "Il n'y à point d'autre nation que les Turcs qui demeure dans les onze premiers quartiers, comme je l'ai déjà remarqué, mais il se trouve des Turcs qui sont dispersés dans les quatre autres."

[181] See, *e.g.*, the *Yahudihane* of the *vakfiye*, and two contracts (*temessük*s) for the lease of apartments to members of the Jewish *taife*: Leiden, Leiden University Library, Legatum Warnerianum, Or. 1267, 5a-6a and 15b-16a (AH 10-20 Şevvâl 1101 / AD 18-27 July 1690).

[182] See, *e.g.*, the Armenian *han* of the *vakfiye*, described by Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 106.

[183] See, *e.g.*, the Greeks living in Kefeli according to the *vakfiye*, and the Greek *han* illustrated and described by Cornelis de Bruyn, Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn (Delft, 1698), plate 2 and 23-25.

MAP 12: ETHNO-RELIGIOUS DISTRIBUTION OF HABITATION IN 1678-IZMIR



Based on Map 11 and all cited primary sources.

Crosscultural Traffic in 1678-Izmir

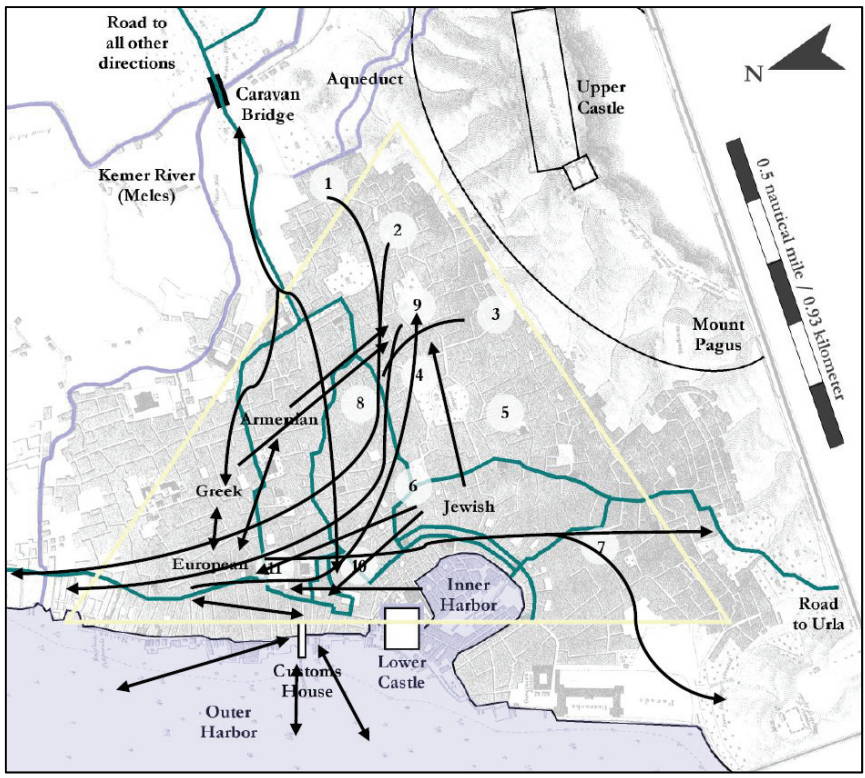
The *vakfiye* also adds unto other (previously discussed) information from *tahrir*s and European correspondence and accounts in a way that makes it possible to include systemic traffic between and through quarters to our map.

The arrows in Map 13 represent the direction and flow of systemic cross-cultural traffic in 1678-Izmir, which breaks down into the following recurring movements:

- Caravan merchants carrying goods to and from Kasap Hazır, over the caravan bridge and through the city;
- Groups of Europeans on their way to and from their summer residences in the countryside and on archaeological excursions, or travelling elsewhere overland;

- ships' staff, crews, merchants and other visitors arriving at the customs house coming in or heading out;

MAP 13: SYSTEMIC TRAFFIC BETWEEN THE QUARTERS OF 1678-IZMIR



Based on Map 11 and all cited primary sources.

- heavy traffic of all sorts between Frank Street, Kasap Hazır and the customs house, including of Ottoman notables and their retinues taking passage on European ships, and of customs guards heading out to guard the quays along Frank Street;
- Ottoman and Barbary crews on shore-leave spilling out onto the inner harbor's quays and heading out to roam the European quarters;
- salt miners commuting between the Islamic quarters, through Frank Street, to the salt fields further north;
- Ottoman notables visiting Frank Street's consulates, merchant houses, taverns and theatres, the deputy grand vizier's residence on the southern end of Frank Street, as well as the *voyvoda*'s pavilion (or playhouse) at its far end;

- Janissary guards commuting to and from their employment in Frank Street;
- European and *zimmi* delegations and individuals crossing into the Muslim parts of the city visiting Ottoman notables and officials, particularly the *kadi*'s and the *voyvoda*'s courts;
- Europeans and *zimmi*s crossing the breadth of the city on their way to and from the cemeteries beyond its southwestern limit;
- Jewish middlemen constantly travelling between their ward, Kasap Hazır's storehouses and markets, the customs house and Frank Street;
- Armenians and Greeks heading out to their various employments in Frank Street, and Europeans heading in to their quarters for professional, residential and leisurely purposes;
- And, crossing the town in every which way and at every given hour, inspectors and guards on their route and countless people of all sorts on personal or professional errands (not included in the map).

Perhaps the spaghetti of winding arrows in the map is not the most accessible way to illustrate an urban topography of systemic crosscultural movement, of movements that were so integral to the city's economy, demography and geography that groups of inhabitants repeated them day after day, month after month, year after year, and even century upon century. Their point, however, is not to identify those movements precisely, or to trace their exact course. Rather, it is to impress upon us that the seemingly static veins of the grid were always alive with an intense and diverse pulse of crosscultural traffic. What's more, cohabitation, employment or meetings across cultures were not that alone, they were always preceded and followed by travel through the city, and therefore by ever so many interactions with other cultures. Similarly, we should always be aware that people of different cultures living together, employing each other, or simply meeting each other for business or pleasure unavoidably impacted either side's outlook and probably also that of their direct environments. When speaking about the impact, or spill-over effect, of crosscultural contact it would have been more accurate (but even less legible) to have the arrows drag wide wakes behind them and to have them begin and end in huge oil-spill-like blots.

A familiar trope to describe the supposedly superficial and haphazard interaction of members of various *millet*s is that of "people meeting on the stairs". Let us for a moment go with that image… Imagine Ottoman Izmir as an apartment building housing the sultan's deputies (the landlords), Turks (his family), Ottoman non-Muslims (the tenants) and Europeans (the landlords' guests). In such a building, in which power equaled elevation, the sultan's deputies would occupy the penthouse, the Turks the 5th floor, the Jews the 4th floor; the Europeans the guest apartments on the 3rd floor, the Greeks the 2nd floor apartments, and the Armenians the 1st floor apartments.

But occupation is one thing, what about movement? The trope suggests that ethno-religious separation was near-total and fixed immutably, and that contact between the ethnicities on the building's floors was mostly short and superficial: a simple nod or civilized platitude in arriving or leaving. However resourceful the trope might be, it fails to account for three complicating realities, namely ethnic mobility, professional mobility and social mobility. It supposes ethno-religious uniformity was strictly maintained in habitation, in faith, in religion, in marriage, in love and sex, in government employment, in private employment, in entertainment, in friendship, and so on. As if a building like this would have no need for janitors and bellboys – resident Jews and Greeks – running from floor to floor and apartment to apartment doing maintenance work, opening and shutting doors, operating the elevators and passing along notes in the service of the landlord and his family. And as if no employment or friendships would have been struck up across floors.

The point of the trope of course is to suggest that an Ottoman society like Izmir's was plural yet deeply segregated, that it could not have been cosmopolitan because its parts were so insulated and their interaction so limited by parochialism. The implication is that this was a society that merely tolerated otherness, and often barely so. This is not the place to delve too deeply into the question of how to delineate such complicated, changing and overlapping concepts as tolerance, multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. Nor should we want to decide upon one of them and discuss how it suited late-17th Izmir. But we can afford ourselves a few more thoughts on the subject.

Cosmopolitanism has recently been characterized as follows:

> *So there are two strands that intertwine in the notion of cosmopolitanism. One is the idea that we have obligations to others, obligations that stretch beyond those to whom we are related by the ties of kith and faith, or even the more formal ties of a shared citizenship. The other is we take seriously the value not just of human life but of particular human lives, which means taking an interest in the practices and beliefs that lend them significance. People are different, the cosmopolitan knows, and there is much to learn from our differences. Because there are so many human possibilities worth exploring, we neither expect nor desire that every person or every society should converge on a single mode of life.*[184]

The historical record certainly testifies to the sense of shared humanity and personal interest signaled by Appiah; they are discernible in the writings of some of late-17th-century Izmir's most lettered inhabitants and visitors. How many of their less erudite and communicative neighbors shared the sentiment and to what degree is unknowable, and pointless to discuss. Nevertheless, if we let the inhabitants' ethnic, professional and social mobility do the

---

[184] Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), xiii.

talking, it should be clear that crosscultural contact was not limited to passings-by.

It has been shown above that nearly half of the residential floors of the building that was Izmir were ethnically mixed, and that all ethnicities competed for additional footholds in and around the lobby that was Kasap Hazır, as well as in its two adjacent forums of Frank Street and Kefeli. Besides the wild residential hotchpotch on the lower and ground floors, we have also taken a look around the lobby itself (the covered markets), in the service areas (the customs house, inns, warehouses, and brokers' apartments), in the elevators and on the stairs (the city's thoroughfares), and have noticed the heavy crosscultural traffic continually moving through all of them. Naturally there were sections of this complex that were calm, neat and ethnically homogenous; the interiors of the residential wards that made up the quarters. But all around them was the never-ending, intense and undiscriminating bustle of people of all sorts meeting up to do deals or simply to enjoy each other's company or satisfy their curiosity. Forget about people inadvertently bumping into each other on their way out or coming in – in Izmir the non-private areas were the destination: the best opportunities presented themselves in the crosscultural tangle of the markets and the thoroughfares.

Whatever container we would choose to sweep all that interaction into (tolerance, multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism), it would always be too encompassing and too narrow at once. I propose to forget about such burdensome concepts for now and simply attempt to remain conscious of what living and navigating the city really involved in the way of crosscultural sights and communications, and of the potential for crosscultural understanding and cooperation they carried as their frequency increased.

It was the commercial and political side of this potential which the Köprülü *vakf* was intended to unlock, organize, control and tap. So, before we move to the European side of the Izmirean equation, let us take a closer look the *vakf*'s founder Fazıl Ahmed Paşa and his Köprülü dynasty, outline the extent of their involvement in Izmir's affairs and explore the intended and unintended effects of their interference.

The Köprülüs, Their Endowment and Its Impact[185]

Obviously, the Köprülü *vakf*'s Izmir program was a singular undertaking. The vastness of the project is all the more striking if one considers that it was not carried out as part of a royal endowment intended to forever serve the reputation of the ruling dynasty. This endowment, though actively sup-

[185] A shorter version of this section was previously published in honor of my dear mentor as "Köprülü Imperial Policy and the Refashioning of Izmir", in: *Ottoman Izmir: Studies in Honour of Alexander H. de Groot*, ed. Maurits H. van den Boogert (Leiden: NINO, 2007).

ported from court, was planned, funded and executed by a grand vizier with little more than a decade in power behind him, but it rivaled most royal ones in size and influence.

Who, then, was this Köprülü vizier, what guided his attention to Izmir, and what was the immediate impact of his involvement in that city's economic, political and social fabric? Any retelling of Fazıl Ahmed Köprülü's rise to the grand vizierate and his involvement in Izmir has to begin with the ascension of his dynasty's founder, Mehmed Köprülü, and the state of affairs he was called upon to remedy – and should end with their successor Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa's heading down the road to Vienna. Although that campaign did not end the dynasty, it did mark the high point of the dynasty's power and influence, as well as its consistent and methodical interference with Izmir.

The three consecutive grand vizierates of scions of the renowned Köprülü family spanned nearly the entire second half of the seventeenth century. Mehmed Paşa Köprülü held the office of grand vizier from 1656 to 1661, when he was succeeded by his son Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, who held the position until 1676. His successor was his adopted brother, Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa, who held the post until 1683 and should be considered an important beneficiary, partaker and promoter of the Köprülü legacy of statesmanship.[186] Together, the grand vizierates of these three Köprülüs constitute a remarkably resurgent yet stable quarter of an otherwise stormy Ottoman century.

When Mehmed Paşa Köprülü took over the reins of executive power on 15 September 1656 he inherited an empire paralyzed by dynastic, bureaucratic, military, monetary and fiscal mismanagement. Among his most pressing concerns were a major ongoing crisis surrounding the sultanate and the empire's highest offices, an Ottoman-Venetian war of more than a decade that was quickly becoming catastrophic, and a seemingly unending series of uprisings throughout the empire and particularly in Anatolia. The history of the protracted period of troubles predating the Köprülüs' rise is also relevant here, because it highlights the near-miraculous turnaround their policies managed to effect.[187]

---

[186] On Merzifonlu Mustafa Paşa and his reign, see C.J. Heywood, "Karā Mustafa Pasha, Merzifonly, maktūl", *EI2*, iv: 589b-92b; and my "'A most agreeable and pleasant creature'? Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa in the Correspondence of Justinus Colyer (168-1682)", in: *The Ottoman Capitulations: Text and Context*, eds. Maurits H. van den Boogert and Kate Fleet (Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente, 2003).

[187] For the basic historical context of Kösem's rule as well as the Köprülü period, I have relied primarily on İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. 3 (Istanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1972); Joseph von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (Pest: C.A. Hartleben, 1827-36); and Robert Mantran, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* (Paris: Fayard, 1989).

The dire state of the empire in 1656 had many causes, some external and beyond the Ottomans' control. Nevertheless, the seizure of power by the sultan's harem in the person of Kösem Sultan Mahpeyker had proved to be an important factor in exacerbating an already insecure situation. Not because "harem rule" as such was necessarily bad – it could be an effective way to cushion the effects of rule by inadequate sultans while maintaining imperial authority and stability by continuing the dynasty.[188] But Kösem's purpose, it appears, was never primarily to protect the sultanate but to control it at any cost. From Sultan Ahmed I's death in 1617 until her own murder in 1651, Kösem had done everything she could to secure her prominent place at the center of power. This included having suitable candidates for the sultanate passed over or killed, and even engineering the deposition of reigning sultans to have them replaced with her own creatures, who were invariably either mentally incapable or still minor when they ascended the throne (see Table 14).

TABLE 14: HAREM RULE FROM 1617 TO 1648

Sultan	Reign	Reign ended by	Principle relationship	Main protector
Mustafa I	1617-1618	deposition	brother of Ahmed I	Kösem Sultan
Osman II	1618-1622	deposition & execution	son of Ahmed I & Mahfiruz Haseki Sultan	Mahfiruz Haseki Sultan
Mustafa I	1622-1623	deposition	brother of Ahmed I	Kösem Sultan
Murad IV	1623-1640	natural death	son of Ahmed I & Kösem Sultan	Kösem Sultan
Ibrahim I	1640-1648	deposition & execution	son of Ahmed I & Kösem Sultan	Kösem Sultan
Mehmed IV	1648-1687	deposition	son of Ibrahim I & Turhan Sultan	Kösem Sultan > Turhan Sultan

Two notable exceptions were the rules of Osman II and Murad IV. The first was enthroned in opposition to Kösem's influence. His deposition and execution in 1622, after a reign of merely five years, brought an end to his attempts at fiscal and military reforms and marked the renewed ascendancy of Kösem. The reign of Murad IV, who had become sultan at the age of eleven, started under the regency of Kösem and with all the familiar troubles. Any policy or vision regarding government and administration seemed to be lacking as she went through eight grand-viziers and nine *defterdar*s between 1623 and 1632. This insecurity of office caused a veritable mass migration as high officials desperately tried to secure their positions by maneuvering their dependents (from their own households and other clients) into all echelons of central and provincial administration. The gravity of the resulting discontinu-

[188] Cf. Christoph K. Neumann, "Political and diplomatic developments", in: *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 3: *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839*, ed. Suraiya N. Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 48; and Aksan, "Theoretical Ottomans", 119.

ity in the state's affairs became apparent as large rebellions flared up all over the empire and the Safavid Şah reopened hostilities and managed to take Baghdad.

No doubt prompted by this deteriorating state of affairs, Murad ended his mother's regency and assumed control in 1632, initiating a policy of severe purges and reactionary measures, which under the grand vizierates of Tabaniyası Mehmed Paşa and Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa managed – for the moment – to stabilize the empire. The blueprint for their policy was Koçi Bey's *Risale*, which advocated a return to the imagined perfections of the Ottoman classical age that was considered to have ended after the reign of Süleyman the Great. This "Ottoman fundamentalism" included the following suggestions for imperial policy: the restoration of the grand vizier's independence; the neutralization of the influence of palace favorites; putting a stop to the high frequency of rotation of offices, particularly regarding governors(-general); the dismissal of ignorant clergy (*ulema*) and their replacement with learned men; the restoration of sumptuary laws; the (re)distribution of feudal fiefs (*timar*s) to worthy men only; ending the practice of distributing *timar*s as other forms of tenure.[189]

These suggested measures amounted to a rather desperate attempt to undo the superficial manifestations of a series of profound economic and societal changes that had their origin in the longer sixteenth century (see further below). Of course, forcing a 17th-century society back into an early-16th-century mold could never be an adequate long-term answer to the challenges of the money economy and the pressures exerted on the empire by the evolving economic world-system. Not because the outcome – the semi-peripheralization of the Ottoman economy in the nineteenth-century (see below) – was inescapable, but because new economic realities and challenges required new solutions and strategies. But although they were out-of-sync with the age, the measures at least restored some predictability and accountability to Ottoman rule.

After Murad had died of an illness in 1640 and his demented brother, Ibrahim I, had taken the throne, the Ottoman fundamentalist policy unraveled as quickly as Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa's fortunes. Confronted with renewed attempts by Kösem to obtain control over the highest offices of state, he held out for four more years before being dismissed and executed. Thus began another period of rapid deterioration, continuing well into the sultanate of Ibrahim's minor son, Mehmed IV. Even the downfall of Kösem in 1651 and the assumption of the regency by her daughter, Mehmed's mother,

---

[189] How far the reality of appointments to the executive branch became removed from the ideal is vividly portrayed, quantified and reasoned in Rifaat Ali Abou-el-Haj, "The Ottoman Vezir and Paşa Households, 1683-1703: A Preliminary Report", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 94/4 (1974).

Hatice Turhan brought no relief, as no less than 18 grand viziers, 12 *şeyh ül-Islam*s, 23 *başdefterdar*s, 18 *kapudan*s and countless provincial governors were changed – and, more often than not, executed – like small coinage between 1644 and 1656.

Amidst this administrative chaos Kösem's clique, particularly the sultan's teacher, Hüseyin Efendi Cinci Hoca, in 1644 managed to plunge the empire headlong into an unprovoked war with Venice (and eventually with half of Europe) over Crete. The war, which Kemamkeş Kara Mustafa Paşa had done his utmost to prevent and which commenced almost immediately after his execution, directed scarce resources from the central and provincial treasuries towards the war effort, and also from the enormous and increasing number of clients upon which the rule of the harem depended.

The results were predictable: a doubling of salaried government personnel, an enormous budget deficit, riotous unpaid soldiery, the levying of huge extraordinary taxes (of up to 50% on *timar*s, for instance), the institutionalized venality of offices, radical and uncompensated devaluations of coinage, revolts and counter-revolts, and the erosion of Ottoman power in the provinces. But worst of all were the Venetian blockades of the Dardanelles, Istanbul's lifeline for communications and provisions, from 1650. In 1656, the last year of the blockade, the defeat of the Ottoman naval expedition sent out to break it, the subsequent abandonment of Limnos, Samothrace and Tenedos by the Ottomans and the seemingly imminent siege of the capital caused great panic in Istanbul. Food prices rocketed and the sultan momentarily took flight to Üsküdar. It was under these circumstances that the sultan-mother called the elderly and relatively unknown provincial governor, Mehmed Paşa Köprülü, to the grand vizierate. He accepted the appointment only after she had sworn a formal oath guaranteeing him absolute independence and freedom from interference.

Within the five short years of his grand vizierate Mehmed Paşa, an erstwhile protégé of Kemankeş, managed to repair most of the damage caused by the rule of the harem – and more. Numerous rebellions were suppressed both in Istanbul and the provinces, and a number of severe purges were carried out to prevent them flaring up again. Simultaneously, the causes of the rebellions were addressed when the grand vizier considered them reasonable. Government expenses were cut drastically to balance income and expenditure, making the payment of state wages and stipends more reliable.[190]

---

[190] According to Evliya Çelebi: "In 1067 (1656) Köprülü Mehmed Paşa was made independent grand vizier. Since the Ottoman state was in turmoil, he killed 400,000 *celalis* in Anatolia, 17 viziers, 41 *begler-begs*, 70 *sancak-begs*, 3 mollahs, and a certain Moroccan cabbalist named Şeyh Salim. He balanced the revenues and expenditures of the Ottoman state, erasing three years of arrears and also accomplished several conquests": Robert Dankoff, *The Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman: Melek Ahmed Pasha (1588-1662) as Portrayed in Evliya Çelebi's "Book of Travels" ("Seyahat-Name")* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 55.

Köprülü's firm hold on power also meant less uncoordinated reshuffling in Ottoman administration as a whole. Officials could now be relatively sure of their continued employment if they deserved it. Although the grand vizier was in the habit of rotating key posts on an annual basis in order to prevent the holders of these offices forging potentially threatening local and provincial alliances, the prospect of reappointment was in fact a leap forward from the uncertainty of previous times.

On the international front Mehmed Köprülü's activities were limited but successful. They were aimed first and foremost at the direct survival of the Ottoman Empire and at maintaining its physical integrity. Careful not to stretch the empire's still recuperating resources too thin, he concentrated his efforts on lifting the Venetian blockade, retaking the islands which had been lost to Venice a short time before, and replacing the rebellious Transylvanian vassal prince George II Rakoczi with Arkos Barcsay after the Ottoman army had taken Varad (Grosswardein).

Before he died of old age in 1661, Mehmed Köprülü had secured his own succession for his son, Fazıl Ahmed. With the empire's domestic affairs reasonably well in order, the task fell to him to marshal the resources necessary to secure the empire's northern and western borders (with Italy, Austria, Russia and Poland). The son's stabilization of the periphery thus followed the father's stabilization of the central lands and the capital. Fazıl Ahmed Paşa first concern was the northern borders. Continuing his father's campaign in support of the new vassal king of Transylvania and the securing of Varad (Grosswardein), in 1663 Fazıl Ahmed took Uyvar (Neuhäusel) on the Austro-Hungarian border, a town on the road to Vienna, which was now only 150 tantalizing kilometers from the Ottomans' grasp.

After the peace of Vasvar (Eisenburg) formally ended hostilities on 10 August 1664, and once the renewed demarcation and fortification of the northern frontier had been completed, Fazıl Ahmed's attention turned to the festering issue of Crete which had been draining the empire's resources for two decades. No doubt considering full Ottoman mastery of the Eastern Mediterranean basin too important a prize to let go after such investment, he rejected several Venetian overtures for peace and managed to take Candia (Heraklion) in 1669 after a prolonged and massive siege. Once again turning around to the northern frontier, Fazıl Ahmed then supported the Dniepr Cossacks against the Zaparogue Cossacks – making sure the Ottomans would not lose the overland connection with the vassal Crimea Khanate and mastery of the Black Sea. The subsequent effort to broaden and buffer the corridor connecting the two resulted in a number of campaigns against Poland, and the conquest of Kaminiec (Kamenetz Podolski) in 1672 and nearby Hotin in 1674. Only a week after he had secured – partly through his adopted brother and proxy Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa – advantageous positions and peace on the empire's western and northern borders, and having

for the moment kept at bay the resurgent powers of western and eastern Europe (France and Italy in Crete; Muscovy and Poland in Ukraine and Podolia) Fazıl Ahmed Paşa died from the effects of a stroke.

The further implementation and consolidation of Fazıl Ahmed's conquests and policies fell to Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa, who indeed followed Fazıl Ahmed's policy prescriptions right up until his catastrophic siege of Vienna and the subsequent Austro-Hungarian onslaught (how he did so precisely will concern us later on). But what were these policies? From the summary of events above it becomes clear that the Köprülüs' principal aim was the restoration of Ottoman power and territories, first inward, then outward. The record of their actions consistently suggests that this aim was promoted through an evolving yet coherent set of policies that dictated which political associations, acts and attitudes should have priority over others. Whatever their policy implied precisely (and this will be discussed throughout the remainder of this text), it certainly differed significantly from the reactionary type (as taken straight from Koçi Bey, and pursued by, among others, Murad IV). Their commands, correspondences and other communications – although they often forcefully reaffirmed neglected Islamic principles in law, economy and society to support Ottoman claims to sovereignty – nowhere betray any kind of systematic attempt to turn back the clock to an earlier age.

To find out what the Köprülüs' policy alternative to Ottoman fundamentalism might have looked like and, more to the point, to get an idea of what part Izmir was meant to play in it, we should take a close look at the timing, composition and operation of the Köprülüs' largest single investment; their endowment.

It is easy and tempting retrospectively to interpret a series of historical events as the results of a deliberate policy. This danger is particularly great when we lack policy statements of the kind produced by modern bureaucracies, or by that of Louis XIV's administration in France, for example. Can we ever discover the long-term perspective of someone like Fazıl Ahmed Paşa without superimposing our own policies *ex post facto*? How can we hope to accomplish this without documents which explicitly reveal motivations and policy statements?

Although it does not solve the problem entirely, Fazıl Ahmed's *vakfiye* is one document that can take us a considerable distance beyond the mere reading of grand events – a political testament of sorts. It describes a project larger than the ones bequeathed by countless other wealthy and powerful Ottomans, surpassing even many royal endowments in ambition and scope. As we have seen, in Izmir alone it provided an extraordinarily large number of institutions for the benefit of both the public and professionals, as well as contributing to the status and influence of its founder.

What distinguishes the Köprülü *vakf* form earlier and contemporary elite endowments, however, is that the classical form of its deed actually masks this particular endowment's radical departure from classical physical form. The purpose of all major Ottoman urban *vakf*s was to express piety, to increase social capital, to gain influence and to add missing functions to a site thereby transforming it into a functioning micro-model and mirror of an ideal Ottoman urban civilization. More often than not such acts of piety and conviction, whether self-serving or not, were simultaneously acts of politics *and* of policy, of economic *and* of social engineering, like the constructing of a mosque-complex in recently-conquered lands or the construction of a mosque with bazaar, seminar, lodgings and so on in the burnt Jewish Istanbul neighborhood of Eminönü.[191]

Although this was certainly also the case with the Köprülü endowment it nevertheless deviated considerably from the accepted forms and purposes of the institution. The Köprülüs took a very novel approach to the functional distribution of their endowment's facilities: the properties endowed in Uyvar, Kaminiec and Candia were all designed to support these cities' military infrastructure; those in Istanbul and Belgrade were overwhelmingly "civilizational" (religious, educational, etc.); while the 73 structures and properties endowed in Izmir served commercial purposes exclusively. This might not seem exceptional since Uyvar, Kaminiec and Candia were already primarily military bastions, while Istanbul and Belgrade already had prominent civilizational functions, and while Izmir was by now a well-established economic center.

Exactly so, but there is a telling difference between a city having a specific function because of historical circumstance and a city being purposely designated to further specialize in a particular function, as happened here. If the Köprülüs would have wanted to rebrand commercial upstart Izmir as a center of Ottoman civilization they would have invested lightly in its commercial infrastructure and heavily in its religious and educational facilities, or – since the city's commercial infrastructure was dangerously makeshift and out of the Ottomans' control – perhaps equally in both. As it happened, they chose to strengthen Izmir's commercial capacity at the cost of all other functions Ottoman cities normally fulfilled.

That this was a purposeful expression of a carefully planned policy (to curb European contraband trade and stimulate Izmir's economy in the service of the empire and, of course, the Köprülü household) would be in evi-

---

[191] See Marc David Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 81-104 on the Yeni Camii complex in Eminönü. The complex was a pet project of Mehmed IV's mother Hatice Turhan and was erected on the site of Istanbul's confiscated Jewish ward destroyed in the great fire of 1660.

dence throughout the remainder of Köprülü rule, but is already implied by the sheer amount of planning and investment that went into the endowment.

The endowment's cities were carefully selected, properties were acquired and converted, effective and beneficial uses were sought out, building plans were commissioned, major construction teams were put together to work for years on end, and personnel was picked and hired to run the endowed institutions.

It is safe to say that from the moment construction of its properties began, the Köprülü *vakf* and its benefactors dominated Izmir socially, economically and geographically and tied the city to Köprülü power. This was a radical reassertion of central authority after decades of semi-independence and ineffectual rule.[192] Through their project the Köprülüs established a degree of control otherwise unattainable. They not only determined what the city was going to look like, but also *how* it was to be lived, worked and interacted in. Their hiring of (army) architects and engineers, of workmen, of administrators, as well as their determining which professions and, ultimately, professionals would operate from what sites under what conditions, also gave them and their proxies considerable influence; over *who* would live, work and interact in which part of it.

When it was completed, the endowment not only comprised the city's central meeting points and its most important markets, warehouses and shops, it had also become the main employer of its educated population and had profoundly changed its outward appearance. The imperial might and splendor projected by the endowment, however, not only radiated outward across the bay to visitors arriving by sea, it also communicated to Izmir's Ottoman elite (*ayan*) and European communities, that after a century of disorder, instability and waning influence, the Ottoman center intended to take full control of the economy of Izmir and its hinterland. Relations between *taife*s would be redefined, and any local informal arrangements the *ayan* and the Europeans had set up (and perhaps the beginnings of a budding internationally-oriented civic identity) would be broken up. Still, the assertion of Ottoman power could work to the advantage of local Ottoman and European power brokers – as long as they adjusted and cooperated: *ayan* would be coopted by the Köprülü household or *vakf*; European officials would see their consular and ambassadorial duties increased through the curbing of smuggling. I said "take control" and not "retake", because the measure of control over Ottoman-European trade that was aspired to was greater than any accomplished, or even attempted, before. Few would have failed to un-

---

[192] Cf. Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World*, 26-33, 132-35, 138-46. According to Goffman, the reconfiguration and ignition of Izmir – the one that irreversibly primed and launched it into the European semi-periphery – took place during such a period at the turn of the 17th century when Istanbul was too busy to notice. Thereafter, this process could at best be contained, but never reversed.

derstand the language and ultimate message of this imperial project, if only because its changes to the cityscape were too dramatic to be overlooked.

In the foregoing we have seen how, historically, the northern part of town had been Christian (Armenian, Greek and Latin, later European), the south-eastern part being inhabited by the various Muslim communities (Turkish, Arab, Persian) with a ward adjacent to the inner harbor reserved for the Jews. Originally these two parts had been two separate and opposing towns, one Byzantine and one Turkish, that met in the market district of Han Bey/Pazar(yeri). When the towns merged in the sixteenth century under the *Pax Ottomanica*, their economies fused as well – the former parts, however, retaining much of their specialized economic functions. Generally speaking, the Latin/European quarter's economic activities focused on international seaborne trade (shipping from the outer harbor); those of the Armenian quarters focused on textile manufacturing and marketing; while the Greek quarter facilitated both with middlemen. The Muslim quarters fulfilled all other, regular, economic functions, but with a heavy emphasis on supplying Istanbul with regional produce and with luxury items arriving through the southern arm of the Anatolian caravan route (on Map 11; coming in over the caravan bridge, stocked in warehouses between the lower castle and items 6 and 10, and shipped from the inner harbor). Predictably, the necessary financial services were provided by the Jewish ward.

As Izmir and its seaborne trade were increasingly integrated into international markets from the middle of the seventeenth century onward, and as more and more ships anchored in the outer harbor and more and more goods were sold from European and Greek warehouses in the northern quarters, the city's economy had been pulled ever further from the Ottomans' grasp as they were too embroiled in war, revolt and dynastic reversal to do much about it. The construction of an Ottoman alternative in the form of a fully up-to-date commercial district in the quarter of Kasap Hazır, financed and controlled by the grand vizier's family and staffed with that family's local clients, was designed to redirect the flow of commerce from the European quarter's quays and warehouses and seize back control (if not initiative) in a movement of unprecedented intensity and ambition. Under the Köprülüs, it was clear, the Ottomans would tolerate and even stimulate international trade and local and regional arrangements, but within appropriate limits and only as long as they could be seen as working towards the benefit of their empire and its population.[193]

[193] The Köprülüs' effort to reclaim, centralize, sponsor and appropriate commercial activity from the periphery might well be interpreted as forming part of a transition from pre-industrialism to modernity. In Western Europe, this process – state incorporation of international trade – came to be known as mercantilism.

To complete the attempted reorientation of the city's economy, the enterprise was complemented with a new set of rules by which the city's European merchants had to abide. No longer were they permitted to freely shuttle goods between ships in the outer harbor and their warehouses along Frank Street, only to declare an estimated amount to customs afterwards. According to contemporary estimates, this arrangement had enabled them to smuggle up to half the value of their total trade at major personal gain and at the minor cost of paying off the Ottoman watchmen along the quays:

> *The aforesaid merchant ships drop anchor … right in front of … Frank Street. The merchant houses there have double entrances: one in the front and one in the back, on the seashore, the latter of which is of great commodity and advantage to them …, in particular for smuggling and defrauding customs, at which the Smirniotes in general are very adept. All the more so because, when caught, they don't risk much beyond being charged customs at a double rate, which, at worst, is no more than 3% of all cargo according to the imperial capitulations. And to avoid being subject to that danger, the individual merchants usually manage to come to an agreement with the guards and inspectors of said customs, who tend to be highly corruptible, to fix the matter for half the amount.*[194]

Naturally, it was a setup detrimental to the interests of the Ottoman customer (a tax farmer) and, because of the looming devaluation of his tax farm, to those of the state. With the completion, in 1675, of the new customs house (*uc gümrüğü*), constructed and leased out by the *vakf*, however, all goods were to pass through there to be physically assessed by the customer and his deputies. An added discomfort for the Europeans, and at least a number of their middlemen, was that the *vakf*'s warehouses and markets, all but one adjacent to the customs house and firmly in Ottoman hands, were now in serious competition with their own further north. And yet, the Europeans could not object too much without incriminating themselves, for no-one could openly deny Ottoman claims that such structural improvements as had been made to the city's commercial infrastructure could only promote commerce.[195]

---

[194] The Hague, NA 1.02.22 684, 39a-b) (my translation).

[195] See Galland, *Voyage à Smyrne*, 105-6: "La rue, que ces maisons forment du côté de la ville avec celles qui sont vis-à-vis, est longue, à la vérité, mais elle est forte étroite. L'on trouve, au bout, la grande douane pour les marchandises de dehors où le douanier fait sa demeure. C'est un bâtiment nouveau, qui n'est que de bois et bâti sur pilotis, avec une grande avance de planches soutenue en l'air, sous laquelle la mer bat, avec des degrés pour monter et descendre à la mer et pour décharger les balles de marchandises. Les marchands sont beaucoup mortifiés de cette nouveauté, parce qu'on les oblige d'y faire aborder ce qu'ils veulent débarquer ou embarquer pour être fouillé et examiné afin que les droits ne soient point frustrés et pour empêcher les marchandises de contra bande, qui étaient auparavant fort fréquentes lorsque chacun débarquait directement à son magasin, ou qu'il embarquait pour envoyer aux vaisseaux. On dit que les consuls n'en sont point fâchés parce que les marchands ne peuvent rien soustraire à leurs droits, en faisant embarquer quoi que ce soit à son insu, pouvant avoir con-

The customs house was the first major new structure of the endowment to be completed (full completion of its assets would take two more years). This suggests that customs reform was indeed a cornerstone of the policy the endowment was set up to support. The imperial writ dictating that from then on European ships unload their cargoes at the customs office was dispatched to Izmir at the end of July 1675 by express imperial messenger (*çavuş*).[196] There was considerable resistance from the European communities, but by 15 November of that year all attempts to undo the order had come to nothing and the foreigners had no choice but to comply. By the Dutch consul's own admission, neither the various consuls of Izmir, nor their superiors in Istanbul stood to gain from blocking execution of the order: given that most of their incomes were paid from consular and ambassadorial duties over the same goods, the widespread evasion of duties hit them as much as it did the customer.[197] Even if they had countered the order full force, however, the Köprülüs' investment would have been too great for them to give in and revert to the previous arrangement.

Leading the effort to wrestle European economic activity in Izmir under Ottoman sovereignty would be Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa.[198] When illness forced his adopted brother to lay down his public functions in July 1676, he not only inherited the functions of the grand vizier but also his position as the head of the family's political-administrative network or "household" and its policies, as well as control over the state's and the family's assets with which to realize them – first and foremost the as yet uncompleted endowment in Izmir.

---

naissance de tout par le mémoire de la douane. Le douanier ne se contente pas de cette innovation: il veut aussi que les vaisseaux demeurent devant la douane et que personne ne s'embarque ou débarque, soit marchand, soit marinier, qu'on ne le fouille partout."

196 The Hague, NA 01.03.01 124: Jacob van Dam to DLH, 22 August 1675: "Some days ago a *çavuş* or bailiff from Adrianople arrived here on horseback, with a written order or commandment, personally signed by the grand Turk, and therefore named a Hatt-ı Şerif …, which is of great force and should be obeyed pertinently; that all Frankish or Christian ships are henceforth commanded to visit the customs house, unload their cargo there, and pay customs in the same manner as is usual in Constantinople" (my translation).

197 *Ibid.*; *id.*: Jacob van Dam to Justinus Colyer, 20 September 1675; *id.*: Justinus Colyer to Jacob van Dam and the Dutch Nation of Izmir, 20 September 1675; *id.*: Jacob van Dam and Dutch Nation Izmir to Justinus Colyer, 25 September 1675; *id.*: Justinus Colyer to Jacob van Dam and the Dutch Nation of Izmir, 4 October 1675; *id.*: Jacob van Dam and Dutch Nation Izmir to Justinus Colyer, 14 October 1675; *id.*: Jacob van Dam to DLH, 14 October 1675; *id.*: Justinus Colyer to Jacob van Dam and the Dutch Nation of Izmir, 21 October 1675; *id.*: Jacob van Dam and Dutch Nation Izmir to Justinus Colyer, 24 October 1675; *id.*: Jacob van Dam to DLH, 15 November 1675; and The Hague, NA 01.03.01 98: Justinus Colyer to DLH, 14 May 1676, 7 June 1676, and 3 September 1676. For a brief summary of the English point of view, see North, *Life*, 111-12; and Anderson, *English Consul*, 3-4.

198 More on Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa's reformalization of Ottoman-European relations under "Kara Mustafa Paşa and the Reassertion of Ottoman Control".

Once the endowment was up and running and the (re)regulation of European commercial activity was adequately supported by law and enforcement, the new grand vizier followed it up with a policy aiming to (re)regulate the European communities' formal status. Again, the aim was to counter the ever growing liberty taken by their "impudent" European guests, this time not by forcing their trade back into the Ottoman economic mold, but by underlining the unilateral quality of their sultanic privileges (capitulations) and diplomas (*berat*s) through limitation and revocation, reestablishing their proper place within Ottoman law and administration and renegotiating their practical application.[199]

While Ottoman reactionary politics had always inclined towards having as little to do as possible with these foreigners and their commerce, the Köprülüs were clearly aiming for full control and profit. That is, for the strict physical, legal and social subjugation of Ottoman-European contact to the rules of Ottoman society and (distributive) economy; and for incorporation of the European nations in the Ottoman system under the same system of group-autonomy that served the empire's minorities.

With the Köprülüs' major investment Izmir's appearance had been transformed from that of a smugglers' paradise and regional port supplying Istanbul, to that of a major Ottoman commercial center and a true focus of empire. The upgrade heralded a drive for increased Ottoman control which, if it was to be consistently followed up with matching legislation and administrative practices, would significantly curtail the uncommon liberty the European merchant communities of Izmir had become accustomed to. The city's previously discussed provincial and fiscal reassignment seems to have further signaled the firmness of the Köprülüs' resolve to bring it more fully into the imperial fold. On another (more informal) level the *vakf* also tied local elite (*ayan*) to the imperial center through the investment and employment opportunities it offered.

The direct cause of this drive to give Izmir an imperial upgrade and tie it to the Köprülü family and its fortunes was the Cretan experience: while trying desperately to secure the necessary provisions for their troops laying siege to Candia, Fazıl Ahmed and his deputy Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa had encountered growing obstruction from Izmir's non-Muslim wholesalers and European merchants. Their smuggling of raw materials and staple foodstuffs to the defenders of Candia had dealt a triple blow to the Ottoman effort: firstly in lost taxes, secondly in taking up ships' holds desperately needed by the other side, and thirdly in providing the defenders with goods earmarked for the besiegers. Now, with the war over and the western frontier pushed back from the Aegean and past the Peloponnesus, the time had finally come

[199] On *berat*s and their proliferation, see, generally, Van den Boogert, *The capitulations*.

to integrate what was still essentially a frontier boom town and a provisioning port fully into the Ottoman administration and economy.

Stabilization and incorporation appear to have been the Köprülüs' answers to the challenges posed by the increasing pull of the emerging economic world-system. And although it may seem a conservative strategy and it included at least some of Koçi Bey's prescriptions, it was not reactionary or Ottoman fundamentalist in essence. In this respect, European observers were correct when they complained that Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa – the Köprülü to whom the burden to integrate Izmir's Europeans ultimately fell – cared about only two things; power and money, for the attaining of which he was very willing to trample what they considered to be their capitulatory "rights" (but which were in fact privileges). What they failed to appreciate (and how could they?) is that to the Ottomans the capitulations were instruments, not goals. It seems that proper and strict subjugation of foreign merchants and their commerce to the laws of the realm was fully in accordance with the logic of the Ottoman polity *and* was instrumental to being a good Köprülü grand-vizier. Whether it was a legal, ethical or even reasonable goal to pursue, was beside the point. If stabilization and incorporation were the purpose, the attitude with which they were to be attained was one of ruthless subjugation.

How this policy played out in practice will be the theme running through the following part's survey of the "The European City".