

URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN OTTOMAN ANATOLIA (16.-17. CENTURIES)*

Suraiya FAROQHI

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* The present article is largely the summary the author's forthcoming book "Town and Townsman of Ottoman Anatolia, Trade, Crafts, and Food Production in an Urban Setting 1520-1650". The sections "The Town as an Administrative Centre" and "The Townscape: Human Habitations" refer to research as yet in progress.

1. For an introduction to the Ottoman *timar* system, compare H.İNALCIK, *The Ottoman Empire-The Classical Age 1300-1600*, London: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973, p. 104-118.

2. For the anecdote concerning Osman Gazi, compare Richard F.KREUTEL(ed.) *Vom Hirtenzelt zur Hohen Pforte, Frühzeit des Osmanenreiches nach der Chronik des Denkwürdigkeiten und Zeitlufte des Hauses 'Osman' vom Derwisch Ahmed, genannt 'Asık-Paşa-Sohn, Graz, Vienna. Cologne: Verlag Styria, 1959, p.40. For the messianic movement in Thessaly, compare Başbakanlık Arşivi, Mühimme Defteri 5, p. 196, n. 487 (973/1565-66).*

3. On the problems of Ottoman markets in general see. S.FAROQHI, *Sixteenth Century Markets in Various Anatolian Sancaks*, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, v.2, p.1, 1979, pp. 32-80.

4. L.GÜÇER, *XVII.Yüzyıl Sonlarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Dahilinde Hububat Ticaretinin Tabii Olduğu Kayıtlar*, *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, c.13, n.1-4, 1951-52, s. 79-82.

No towns without markets... In late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Anatolia, only administrative centres seem to have possessed marketing facilities. Under these circumstances, it is probable that the Ottoman taxation system stimulated the development of a market economy. Peasants sold produce in order to pay their taxes. In turn, Ottoman *sipahis* offered agricultural commodities for sale, which they had collected from the primary producers as dues, but which for one reason or another they did not consume themselves.¹

On the other hand, once a market was regularly attended, it might form a valuable source of revenue to the Ottoman state. According to Aşıkpaşazade, the founder of the Ottoman state Osman Gazi had very much objected to the idea of collecting dues from a market which he had done nothing to promote. Less than three centuries later, Ottoman official attitudes had undergone a drastic change. For when in the last decades of the sixteenth century there emerged a messianic movement among the Christians of Thessaly, the most scandalous aspect of its leader's teachings was that he prohibited the frequentation of markets. As a result, Ottoman administrators lost part of their revenues, and the machinery of the state was set in motion to bring the peasants back to urban and rural market places. Thus marketing and administrative control were closely associated in the Ottoman towns of both Anatolia and the Balkans.²

MERCHANTS, PEASANTS, AND CRAFTSMEN IN RELATION TO THE URBAN MARKET

INTERREGIONAL TRADE AND URBAN GROWTH

Particularly in the less accessible provinces of southern and southwestern Anatolia, extension of Ottoman control and of the marketing network developed as parallel phenomena. Very possibly, some markets were founded by administrative fiat, in order to collect market dues and permit the conversion of tax grains into ready cash. But if the economic life of the villages affected by these decisions had not been relatively open to regional and interregional exchange, attempts to set up markets would have resulted in failure even if backed by the powerful Ottoman state.³ Certainly, conditions of transportation forced villages and districts to be more or less self-sufficient in grains.⁴ But even so, a certain amount of regional and interregional exchange must have existed in the

pre-Ottoman period, and these exchanges were certainly intensified in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

If many Anatolian towns of the early Ottoman period thus appear as small administrative and market centres, these few and scattered urban settlements were to develop into a much more closely integrated increase. It must be admitted that our information concerning Anatolian population in the late fifteenth century is blatantly insufficient and probably unreliable. However, it does appear as if many parts of Anatolia were very thinly settled as late as the reigns of Mehmed the Conqueror (1451-81) and of Bayezid II (1481-1512). Unfortunately, the Ottoman tax registers of sixteenth-century Anatolia have not yet as been systematically evaluated. Therefore it is at present impossible to decide whether towns grew at the same rate as overall population, or whether the share of townsmen in the total population of Anatolia increased or declined in the course of the sixteenth century. However, as a working hypothesis, it may be assumed that at least in the more commercially active regions, the percentage of townsmen did in fact grow.

Whatever the relationship of urban growth to overall population increase may have been, a minor administrative role as a district centre and associated marketing functions were clearly not sufficient to explain why many towns attracted immigrants and grew appreciably. However, such a phenomenon can be observed in many Anatolian towns during the sixteenth century. Growing international trade is the first explanation that comes to mind. However, the increase in urban population was so widely spread that international trade alone cannot be considered a sufficient explanation. Thus a city like Kayseri, whose role in international trade was certainly minor, grew to be the second city of Anatolia after Bursa.⁵

5. R. JENNINGS, *Urban Population in Anatolia in the Sixteenth Century: A Study of Kayseri, Karaman, Amasya, Trabzon, and Erzurum*, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, v.7, 1976, p. 27-34.

Under these circumstances, it must be assumed that commercial exchanges taking place *within* the Ottoman Empire accounted for at least a good share of the urban growth taking place in sixteenth century Anatolia. It would be a good thing if we could in any way measure the volume of Ottoman interregional trade. Almost the only possibility offering itself is to establish series of the bids made by would-be tax farmers willing to take over the collection of urban commercial dues on behalf of the Ottoman treasury. Unfortunately series of this type, if by chance they can be compiled, are full of gaps, and consequently difficult to interpret. Even worse, taxes upon commercial activities and others that have little if anything to do with trade are very often aggregated and recorded as a single figure. Thus at least for the time being, the expansion of internal trade in the Ottoman Empire of the sixteenth century must remain a hypothesis, albeit a very likely one.

Connected with this hypothesis is another assumption, namely that in the course of the sixteenth century, the circulation of money within the Ottoman economy increased. Again direct indications are lacking, but indirect evidence does point in this direction. Thus the weakening of the *timar* system and its widespread replacement by tax farming were probably connected with the central governments need for cash. On the other hand, if the Ottoman government had not been tied down by an increasing number of money commitments, we could scarcely explain the avid search after sources of cash revenue, which can be observed throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶

6. B. CVETKOVA, *Changements intervenus dans la condition de la population des terres bulgares*, *Etudes historiques*, v.5, 1960, p. 307.

URBANIZATION AND FLIGHT FROM THE LAND

It is tempting to connect the related assumptions of increasing internal trade and of growing money circulation with significant changes in the system of Ottoman landholding. Probably these changes began in the second half of the sixteenth century. The classical Ottoman system of landholding had never excluded the possibility that peasants might transfer their right of possession to a given piece of land

7. Ö.L.BARKAN, *Türk Toprak Hukuku Tarihinde Tanzimat ve 1274(1858) Tarihli Arazi Kanunnamesi, Tanzimatın 100. Yıldönümü Münasebetiyle*, İstanbul: Maarif Vekâleti Neşriyatı, 1940, s. 1-101; reprinted in: *Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi, Toplu Eserler*, İstanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 1980, c.1, s. 291-375.

against payment of money. Legally speaking, such a transfer was not considered a sale, and the local administrator had to give his permission for the transfer to be valid.⁷ However within the context of the Ottoman land system, it is likely that such cases were originally considered exceptional. On the other hand, from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century onward, such transfers became quite common, at least in the vicinity of major cities such as Ankara or Kayseri. Moreover, the permission of the local administrator was increasingly granted as a matter of routine. Thus what might be termed a land market came into being, and in the vicinity of Kayseri the process advanced to the point that fields owned as freehold property (*mülk*) were no longer an unusual phenomenon.

Under the circumstances, the classical Ottoman system of inheritable peasant tenures ceased to be efficient as a means of keeping peasants on the land. In fact, once tenures became easily transferable, the system began to work against stable peasant holdings. For the price paid for the mere right of possession to a field was much lower than the price of a piece of land owned as freehold property. Thereby a peasant might find it necessary to get rid of a field in order to pay a trifling debt. It is very likely that many of the late sixteenth century migrants to Anatolian towns were in one way or another victims of the emerging land market.

From the Ottoman administration's point of view, these changes involved a crisis in the established system of revenue collection. With these considerations in mind, the Sultans of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries tried to reverse the trend toward peasant expropriation and migration, although on the whole with limited success. In this sense, it can be said that the Ottoman administration attempted to limit urban expansion. This policy was very explicit where Istanbul was concerned.⁸ But to a lesser degree, it applied to late sixteenth and early seventeenth century provincial towns as well.

Thus it can be concluded that by this period, the Ottoman government had reversed its policies with respect to urbanisation. For Mehmed the Conqueror had used force and persuasion in order to induce his subjects to settle in his newly-conquered capital.⁹ In the same sense, the early Ottoman Sultans, and the rulers of many fifteenth-century Anatolian principalities had established the covered markets, *hans*, and rows of shops that made up the *çarşı* of many an Anatolian town. When exactly this reversal of policy occurred, is difficult to determine. However it is remarkable that in most Anatolian towns, the construction of pious foundations endowed with large numbers of shops slowed down after about 1530, while attempts to limit the growth of the capital are documented from 1567-68 onward.¹⁰ It must be assumed that the limited productivity of agriculture was the decisive factor behind this change of policy. Certainly, commercial dues, such as could only be levied in a town, were often more valuable than the agricultural taxes of several villages taken together. But without a decisive change in agricultural technique, only a limited number of hands could be freed from work in gardens or fields.

On the other hand, settling in a town was not equivalent to giving up agriculture altogether. Braudel has stressed that pre-industrial towns in general, and Mediterranean towns in particular, were more than semi-agricultural in character,¹¹ and Anatolian towns were no exceptions to this rule. During the Celali uprisings, peasants frequently sought shelter within the walls of a town. Many moved back (or were forced by the Ottoman administration to return) to their villages after the worst of the fighting had passed.¹² But others must have stayed, and it is not unreasonable to assume that some of these newly-baked 'townsmen' made their living by cultivating fields and vineyards. Thus Anatolian towns at the end of the sixteenth century appear to have grown in size, but their semi-agricultural character remained. If anything, it became more pronounced.¹³

8. R.MANTRAN, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle*, Paris: Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie d'Istanbul, 1962, p. 106 seems to assume that the Ottoman administration rarely sent away people who had established themselves in the capital. However, at least the intention to do so was certainly present. (Compare note 10).

9. H.İNALCIK, *The Policy of Mehmed II Toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, v.23-24, 1969-70, p. 231-249.

10. *Başbakanlık Arşivi, Mühimme Defteri*, 7, p. 46, n. 130 (975/1567-68).

11. F.BRAUDEL, *Capitalism and Material Life 1400-1800*, translated by M.Kochan, Glasgow: Collins/Fontana, 1974, p. 377.

12. H.ANDREASYAN, *Celâlilerden Kagan Anadolu Halkının Geri Gönderilmesi, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya Armağan*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1976, s. 45-54.

13. Concerning the semi-rural character of a town like Akşehir even at the end of World War II, compare, F.SANIR, *Sultan Dağlarından Sakarya'ya*, Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, 1948, s. 168.

CRAFTSMEN AND INTERREGIONAL EXCHANGE

The life and growth of a town is not sufficiently determined by describing its role in international, interregional, or even local trade, and by analysing its relations with its rural hinterland (Figure 1). For the most characteristic group of urban dwellers were the craftsmen, who engaged in small-scale production mainly for a local market, and who with more or less luck tried to maintain a certain degree of independence vis à vis the major merchants. Inalcik's studies have shown frequent instances of conflict between merchants and craftsmen, particularly with respect to the thorny question of interest-bearing loans.¹⁴ Conflicts between these two groups were moreover exacerbated by the fact that the profit which craftsmen might legally make was limited by official intervention. For the prices of many goods and services were determined by the *kadı*, whose decisions the guildsmen could only influence to a limited degree. On the other hand, no such restrictions applied to merchants, who especially if they were active in international trade, practically were left to determine their own margins of profit.

From older studies of the Ottoman guild system one gains the impression that the rules concerning membership were quite rigid, and entry into a guild often tied to conditions difficult to fulfill for all those who were not themselves the sons of guild masters. However a recent study has been able to show that conditions varied considerably from city to city and probably from period to period.¹⁵ In a major manufacturing city such as Bursa, regulations seem to have been more flexible than in smaller towns with a more limited market, or possibly than in the capital itself. This adaptability of the guild system explains why even in the early nineteenth century, major textile producers of southern Bulgaria preferred to work through the guilds rather than break out of them,¹⁶ as large-scale producers in early modern Europe so frequently did. In the same context, it is worth noting that while conflict between masters and journeymen wishing to set up their own workshops was certainly not absent from Ottoman Anatolian cities, journeymen never seem to have attempted to establish their own separate organizations.¹⁷

If the majority of town-dwellers were craftsmen, the prosperity or decline of the major crafts should have led to the growth or decay of the towns where these trades were being exercised. During the last years, several craft industries have been investigated and the results are not without interest for the history of Ottoman town development. Murat Çizakça in his work on the Bursa silk manufacture of the sixteenth century has concluded that manufacturers were caught between increasing

14. H.INALCIK, Capital Formation in the Ottoman Empire, *The Journal of Economic History*, v.29, n.1, 1969, p. 97-140.

15. G.BAER, Monopolies and Restrictive Practices in Turkish Guilds, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, v.13, n.2, 1970, p. 145-163.

H.GERBER, Guilds in Seventeenth-Century Anatolian Bursa, *Asian and African Studies*, v.11, n.1, 1976, p. 59-86.

16. N.TODOROV, 19. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Bulgaristan Esnaf Teşkilatında Bazı Karakter Değişimleri, *Istanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, c.27, n.1-2, 1967, s. 28.

17. On medieval European guildsmen, compare S.THRUPP, *Medieval Industry 1000-1500*, *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, ed. C.Cippola, Glasgow: Collins/Fontana 1972, v.1, *The Middle Ages*, p. 265-270.



Fig. 1. A birds-eye view of Tokat, one of the commercial centres of Ottoman Anatolia. In the foreground Voyvoda bani, in the centre the Hatuniye mosque.

18. M.ÇİZAKÇA, Price History and the Bursa Silk Industry, A Study in Ottoman Industrial Decline 1550-1650, *The Journal of Economic History*, v.40, n.3, 1980, p. 533-550.

19. B.BRAUDE, International Competition and Domestic Cloth in the Ottoman Empire, 1500-1650, A Study in Underdevelopment, *Review*, v.2, n.3, 1979, p. 437-454.

20. N.TODOROV, 19.Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Bulgaristan Esnaf Teşkilatında Bazı Karakter Değişimleri, *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, c.27, n.1-2, 1967, s. 14.

21. Concerning Ankara's relative prosperity in the 18th and its decline in the 19th century, see S.EYİCE, Ankara'nın Eski bir Resmî, Atatürk Konferansları, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, v.4, 1970-71, s. 78-79.

22. Concerning the delivery of building materials for the construction of the Süleymaniye foundation in the mid 16. century, compare O.L.BARKAN, *Süleymaniye Camii ve İmareti İnşaatı (1550-1557)*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, c.1, 1972, s. 351-393.

raw material costs and a limited market for the goods they produced, so that price rises in raw silk could not be readily passed on to the purchasers of Bursa silk fabrics.¹⁸ In the long run, this situation was to lead to a decline of the Bursa silk manufacturers, while at the same time the export of raw silk gained greater importance. This fact in turn may account for the relatively slow growth of Bursa population after about 1600.

Similar conclusions have been arrived at by Benjamin Braude in his work on the Salonica wool manufactures. This latter researcher has suggested that increasing raw wool prices in Rumeli and a contracting market for the relatively expensive fabrics produced by the weavers of Salonica, led to a decline of the industry from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards.¹⁹ However in the case of Salonica, commercial activities seem to have taken the place of the woolen industry, so that the city continued to grow throughout the eighteenth century. On the other hand, Todorov's work on the manufacture of rough woolen fabrics (*aba*) in southern Bulgaria has shown that this branch of trade did quite well throughout the eighteenth century, and continued to prosper until well into the nineteenth.²⁰

No study has as yet been undertaken of the Ankara mohair (*sof*) industry after about 1620, but it seems that in spite of momentary difficulties in the middle of the seventeenth century, the manufacture of mohair textiles was of importance until about 1800.²¹ Thus it is probable that crises were limited to certain industries, and did not engulf all types of craft manufacture at the same time. In addition, it is probable that conjunctural variations occurred between about 1600 and 1820. An industry that found itself in serious difficulties around the year 1600 may very well have picked up a century later. Unfortunately, since research into possible economic fluctuations within the Ottoman economy is as yet in its infancy, all that can be said in this context is more or less speculative and subject to future revision.

When examining Ottoman craft production, it must not be forgotten that certain craftsmen, both urban and rural, were obliged to deliver a considerable share of the goods which they produced to the Ottoman state. In certain places, deliveries to the Ottoman state might be demanded but sporadically, such as when artisans were required to furnish shoes or camel harnesses for a troop of soldiers which happened to pass through their town. But more often such services were demanded regularly. Thus the sailcloth needed by the Arsenal in Istanbul was largely furnished by the Aegean coastal regions of Anatolia, while rope was manufactured in Samsun and the surrounding districts. In such areas, work on behalf of the Ottoman central administration must have become an integral part of the regional economy.

Deliveries of the type outlined above belonged to the broad domain of 'command economy' which contrasted with the market-oriented activities of the craftsmen when they were working for ordinary subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Admittedly, the Ottoman state paid the artisans whom it employed for their services. However, these payments generally were not equivalent to the price the goods and services provided would have commanded in the town market.²² Unfortunately, a systematic comparison between prices in the urban market and prices paid by the Ottoman administration has not as yet been undertaken for any branch of production. Such a comparison is beset with many difficulties, due to the extreme dispersal of the relevant information. However, we can risk the hypothesis that craftsmen working for the Ottoman state made so small a profit that they had to increase the price of the goods and services which they furnished to the ordinary consumer. Thus deliveries to the Ottoman state must have been financed by a kind of tax, payable by urban consumers in general.

This arrangement becomes more clearly visible when we examine the financing of the so-called *orducu*, craftsmen who accompanied the Ottoman

23. M.AKTEPE, *Patrona İsyanı (1730)*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1958, s. 32-39.

army on campaign.²³ These craftsmen were selected by the guilds. Members of these latter organizations also had to find the capital which was needed to equip their fellow guildsmen appointed to follow the Ottoman army. Quite often disputes ensued concerning the amounts of money to be supplied by individual guilds. The frequency of these conflicts shows that such levies constituted a heavy burden upon the guildsmen. The latter must again have passed on part of this load to their customers. For given most craftsmens' notorious lack of resources, they could scarcely have survived in any other fashion.

A question which has not yet been sufficiently investigated is the impact which this 'command economy' had upon the history of Ottoman town development. As a working hypothesis, plausible but in need of verification, it might be proposed that in areas upon which the Ottoman state made heavy demands, urbanization was held back. For in such districts, production for the Ottoman state may have taken up so much of the craftsmens' time and resources that only a small share of their production could be marketed. At the same time, in an area producing mainly for the Ottoman state, there was little need to locally set up the institutions which were normally needed for storing, transporting, and marketing the goods produced by urban and rural craftsmen. For whenever the Ottoman state was involved, all the necessary arrangements had already been made in İstanbul. However, without credit facilities, *hans*, and market places, no urban *çarşı* could be expected to develop.

THE TOWN AS AN ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRE

URBAN INSTITUTIONS

The set of hypotheses and tentative conclusions outlined above deals mainly with the economic functions of the Ottoman Anatolian town, that is with the ways and means by which the town dwellers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries made a living. However, the town should equally be regarded as a religious and administrative centre. Apart from the fact that higher-ranking administrative officials and *ulema* constituted the upper echelons of urban society, the radiation of a town consisted partly of the reputation which its schools and *ulema* managed to gain in the surrounding provinces.²⁴

More important on a day-to-day basis was the existence of Friday mosques (*cami*) in the towns, while these institutions were rare in the surrounding countryside. Not so rare possibly as the *vakıf* registers of the sixteenth century would have us believe, because these documents tend to underenumerate particularly rural foundations (Figure 2).

24. This attitude is sometimes reflected in legendary texts centered around a certain town. Compare S.FAROQHI, *The Life Story of an Urban Saint in the Ottoman Empire: Piri Baba of Merzifon*, *Tarih Dergisi*, c.32, 1979, p. 672-673.

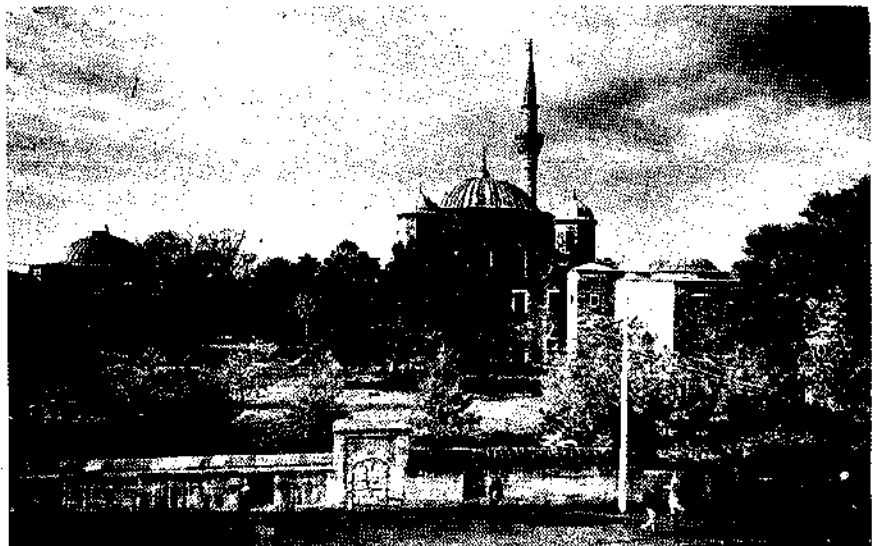


Fig. 2. The *külliye* assembles the most important public buildings in a Ottoman town: mosque and schools in Lüleburgaz.

25. Başbakanlık Arşivi, Mühimme Defteri, 3, p. 322, n. 942; Başbakanlık Arşivi, Mühimme Defteri 3, p. 470, n. 1402 (1967/1559-60).

26. For the summary of a discussion on this subject, compare E. WOLF, *Peasants*, Englewood Cliffs N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1966, p. 10-13.

But villagers often preferred the market in the district centre to be held on a Friday, so that they could attend communal prayers before returning to their homes.²⁵ If towns of the sixteenth century provided services to the surrounding countryside,²⁶ it is likely that the opportunity to attend a fully-fledged mosque constituted the urban service most valued by the villages.

Since no record was kept of who used what mosque, it is not possible to say anything about the rural districts serviced by urban mosques. However we are better informed concerning the impact of *kadis'* courts, at least with respect to the larger towns of Anatolia. For in the documents recording the salient facts of court cases which have been preserved in the court registers (*sicil*), it was customary to record the plaintiff's place of residence. Thus it becomes possible to draw the limits of the district serviced by an important court, such as that of Ankara or Kayseri. At the outer fringes of such a district, villagers doubtlessly had a choice between the central court and the courts of certain large villages or small towns such as Ayaş or Çubuk in the case of Ankara.

But the registers of these smaller courts have rarely been preserved for the period preceding the second half of the nineteenth century, and often enough nothing at all remains. In this context, it should be interesting to compare the limits of actual court use with the boundaries of the formally constituted districts administered by a given *kadı*. For in this roundabout manner, it becomes possible to test the efficiency of the Ottoman administrative and judicial organization.

An investigation into the administrative functions of Ottoman towns also involves a study of the distribution of urban citadels. On the whole, the impact of town walls upon urban life should have been relatively weak. For the typical Anatolian town was an open town, not surrounded by walls until the insecurity of the Celali period made some arrangement for defence necessary.²⁷ The *kale* (citadel) was the only fortified part of the town, usually of very modest dimensions (Figure 3). In most cases the business centre was located outside the walls. While in certain towns only Muslims were allowed to reside in the citadel, this was by no means a general rule. Quite to the contrary, in an important city like Edirne, Muslims might leave most of the citadel's narrow streets to the Christian population and settle in more spacious quarters outside of the fortified area.²⁸ All these facts indicate that the walls of Ottoman citadels did not contribute much to the 'urban'

27. Concerning the citadel of Ankara, compare Ü. ERGENÇ, XVII. Yüzyıl Başlarında Ankara'nın Yerleşim Durumu Üzerine Bazı Bilgiler, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları - The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, c.1, 1980, s. 95-97.

28. Concerning this information, which has been transmitted by Evliya Çelebi, compare K. KREISER, *Edirne im 17. Jahrhundert nach Evliya Çelebi, Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der osmanischen Stadt*, Freiburg i.Br.: Klaus Schwarz, 1973, p. 22.

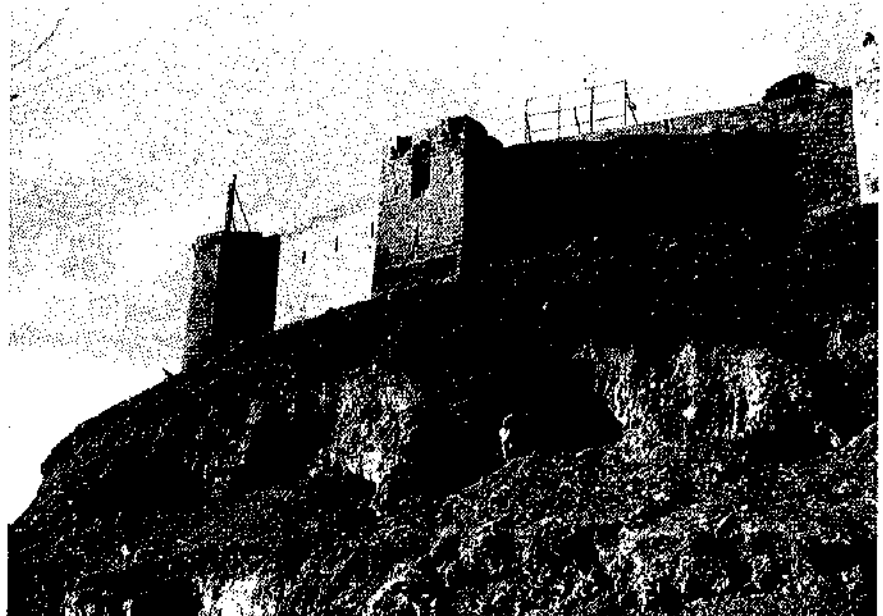


Fig. 3. The citadel of Gaziantep.

prestige of a particular town, nor were they intended as a means of controlling the movements of urban residents. The citadels and walls of Anatolian towns appear to have been purely utilitarian structures, hastily repaired when it was feared that Iranian troops or Celali bands might attack. Otherwise, they were left to themselves, and peacefully crumbled away. (Figure 4).

At the same time, the soldiers and officers who manned these citadels were an active element in urban life. We possess evidence of local janissaries lending money on a fairly grand scale, and acquiring houses and gardens in urban territory.²⁹ Others gained control of boat traffic between Istanbul and the Anatolian shores of the Sea of Marmara, and made handsome profits by raising the price of maritime transportation.³⁰ Yet others turned to more openly illegal activities, and certain janissaries and fortress commanders were even known to make common cause with highway robbers. Thus in 1567-77 the *kethüda* of the fortress of Sinop was involved in what might well be regarded as the 'Great Train Robbery' of the sixteenth century (Figure 5).³¹

THE FLOW OF TAXATION

For their functioning, urban institutions as described above depended directly or indirectly upon sums of money that had been collected as taxes. In an economy in which the vast majority of all producers were peasants or nomads, urban settlements could not have survived without a flow of taxes from the countryside. Istanbul, as the capital of the Ottoman Empire, was of course the chief destination of all taxation revenues. But provincial towns played a not inconsiderable role in this process, partly as relay stations, partly because a share of the taxes collected in the countryside was consumed in *sancak* capitals and district centres. Most information concerning the flow of taxation revenues is available with respect to pious foundations. Thus it is possible to map the data concerning mid-sixteenth century Istanbul foundations, for the relevant register has been published by Barkan and Ayverdi.³² Once such a map has been prepared, it will be possible to distinguish at one glance the area whose taxable wealth was drained toward Istanbul through the *vakıf* mechanism. With a similar aim in mind, Hütteroth and Abdulfattah have published a map showing the sources of revenue which had been granted to pious foundations in southern Syria and Palestine.³³ Comparable maps could easily be drawn for most Anatolian provinces.

29. Başbakanlık Arşivi, Mühimme Defteri 75, p. 194, n. 391 (1012/1603-04).

30. Başbakanlık Arşivi, Mühimme Defteri 79, p. 253, n. 636 (1019/1609-10).

31. M.AKDAG, *Celali İsyanları (1550-1603)*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 1963, s. 88-89.

32. Ö.L.BARKAN and E.AYVERDİ, *Istanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri 953 (1546) Tarihi*, İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1970.

33. W.HÜTTEROTH and K.ABDULFATTAH, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century*, Erlangen: Fränkische Geographische Gesellschaft, 1977, map n. 4.



Fig. 4. A citadel by the seashore: Marmaris.

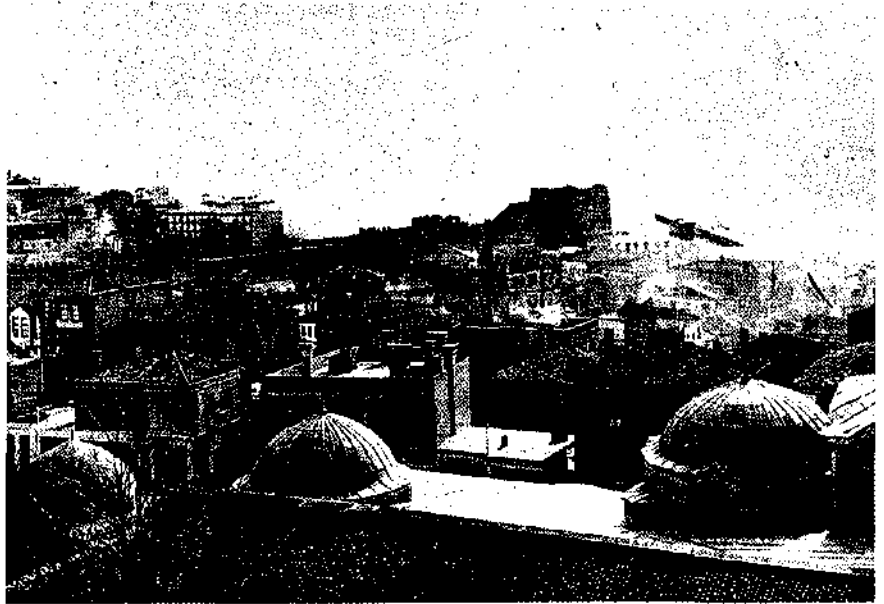


Fig. 5. Port and citadel in Sinop.

34. Ö.L.BARKAN, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Bütçelerine Dair Notlar, İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası, c.15, n.1-4, 1953-54, s. 247.

35. Ö.L.BARKAN H. 933-934 (M.1527-1528) Mali Yılına Ait Bütçe Örneği, İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası, c.15, n.1-4, 1953-54, s. 251-329.

H.SAHİLLİOĞLU, Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs'ın İlk Yılı Bütçesi, Türk Tarih Kurumu Belgeler, c.4, n.7-8, 1967, s. 1-34.

36. On the appearance of Beypazarı in the middle of the seventeenth century, compare EVLIYA Çelebi, Seyahatnâmesi, İstanbul: İkdâm Matbaası, n.y., v.2, p. 456-457. While makes no references to a covered market, this institution, which characterized all prosperous towns, had existed in the 16th century. Compare K.KREISER, Bedesten Bauten im Osmanischen Reich, Istanbul Mitteilungen, v.29, 1979, s. 378-379.

However, considering that only about twelve percent of all tax revenues recorded in the sixteenth-century registers had been assigned to pious foundations,³⁴ even a detailed analysis of *vakıf* finances tells us relatively little about the flow of tax revenues. On the other hand, a detailed study of Ottoman crown lands (*has*) has more potential in this direction, if only because about one half of all state revenues was administered in this fashion. At first glance, the figures contained in the summaries to the sixteenth century tax registers appear to furnish an indication concerning the taxable wealth transferred to Istanbul as revenue from crown lands. Unfortunately for the historian, the Ottoman central administration from a very early period onwards was in the habit of farming out the collection of these revenues. Therefore the figures recorded in the tax registers often have very little relation to the sums of money which the Treasury actually received from the Ottoman imperial domain. However the budgets of the Ottoman Empire, which have been studied by Ömer L.Barkan, do allow a more realistic appreciation of *has* revenues. In addition, the provincial budgets, of which only a small number has been studied to date, permit the estimation of revenues transferred to Istanbul from individual provinces.³⁵

In order to understand the impact of the taxation system and particularly of the collection of *has* revenues upon the development of provincial towns, it is necessary to study tax farming as it functioned on a day-to-day level. To cite one example among many, one might compile a series of the money bids made by tax farmers competing for the fiscal administration of a major complex of rice fields surrounding Beypazarı. At the same time, one might try to establish the quantities of rice which the tax farmers in charge of the Beypazarı rice fields threw upon the market every year. At present nothing is known about the manner in which the rice production of Beypazarı rose or fell in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But one might expect to find that the decline of this town as a commercial centre, which was obvious as early as the mid-seventeenth century, had something to do with a crisis in rice growing.³⁶

While tax-farming significantly affected the Anatolian regional economies it is also of interest to study the tax farmers as a social group. From the monographs on Ottoman cities which have already been completed, it has become apparent that the major

tax farmers always formed part of the narrow decision-making group which existed in every urban community. Tax farmers, as part of their contracts, were granted what might be termed 'rights of patronage'. Not only could they suggest candidates for appointments to *tımars* and similar positions, they were the paymasters of many soldiers and lower-level functionaries, and thus must have been able to exercise considerable local influence. Thus it is all the more surprising that except for Mehmed Genç's work on tax farms of the eighteenth century, and André Raymond's study of the Cairo tax farmers, very few attempts have been made to analyze the social composition of this crucially important group.³⁷

37. M. GENÇ, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikâne Sistemi, Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Semineri, Metinler-Tartışmalar*, der. O. Okyar, Ü.Nalbantoğlu, Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1975, s. 231-296.

A. RAYMOND, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVII^e siècle*, Damas: Institut Français de Damas, 1974, 2, p. 612-655, 719-726.

38. T. STOIANOVICH, *Model and Mirror of the Premodern Balkan City, Studia Balcanica*, v.3, (La ville balkanique XV^e-XIX^e ss), 1970, p. 87-89.

F. BRAUDEL, *Capitalism and Material Life 1400-1800*, translated by M. Kochan, Jagow: Fontana/Collins, 1974, p. 401-411.

39. Ü. ERGENÇ, "1580-1596 Yılları Arasında Ankara ve Konya Şehirlerinin Mukayeseli İncelenmesi Yoluyla Osmanlı Şehirlerinin Kurumları ve Sosyo-Ekonomik Yapısı Üzerine bir Deneme". Unpublished doctoral thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi, Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi, Ankara, 1973.

Closer examination of the taxation revenues flowing through Ottoman cities finally leads us to a discussion of the degree of administrative autonomy that these cities may have possessed. Three categories have been proposed by authors such as Stoianovich and Braudel, namely 'dependent', 'semi-dependent', and 'autonomous' cities.³⁸ While Stoianovich has tended to class all Ottoman cities of the sixteenth century as belonging to the 'dependent' type, Özer Ergenç has come to the conclusion that late sixteenth century Ankara was not as closely dependent upon decisions made in Istanbul as might appear at first sight. From Ergenç's analysis, it seems that Ankara should rather be classed as a 'semi-dependent' city, for important undertakings, such as the construction of a new city wall, could be decided and financed by local initiatives. Certainly, a larger number of detailed city monographs will be needed before we can know how many Anatolian towns had as strongly developed an urban life as Ankara.³⁹ But even at our present state of information, it does appear quite likely that researchers have tended to overestimate the cohesion of *mahalles* and religious groups, and to underestimate the degree of integration which prevailed in the larger Anatolian towns.

PHYSICAL LAYOUT AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

THE TOWNSCAPE : HUMAN HABITATIONS

Urban activities as outlined above led to a characteristic spatial organization, which has been outlined in recent studies by Kuban and Stoianovich.⁴⁰ When one wishes to go beyond the observations recorded by these authors, several possibilities offer themselves. Thus for instance one might study the concrete functioning of the town quarters (*mahalle*) (Figures 6 and 7). Such a project would involve

40. D. KUBAN, *Anadolu-Türk Şehri-Tarihi Gelişmesi, Sosyal ve Fiziki Özellikleri Üzerinde Bazı Gelişmeler, Vakıflar Dergisi*, 1968, s. 53-74.

T. STOIANOVICH, *Model and Mirror of the Premodern Balkan City, Studia Balcanica*, v.3 (La ville balkanique XV^e-XIX^e ss), 1970, p. 83-110.



Fig. 6. Shops in a small town (Göynük).

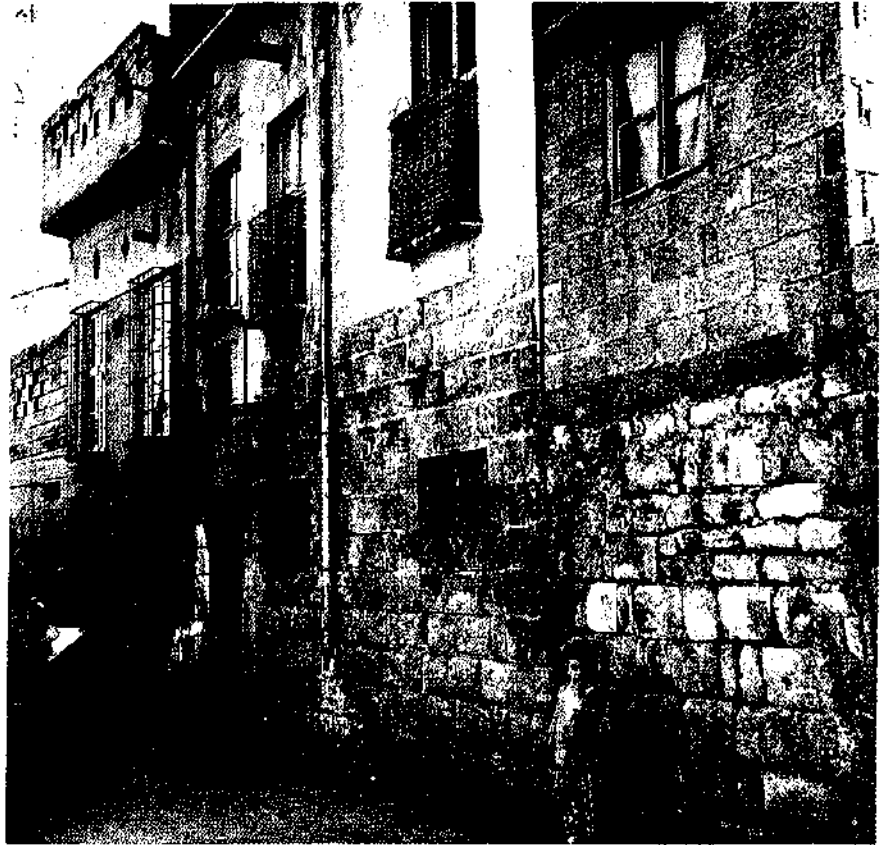


Fig. 7. A street in Gaziantep. Note the difference between substructure and upper floor in the house to the right.

the manner in which the payment of taxes was arranged among the inhabitants, and locally-based pious foundations were administered. Disputes between *mahalles* can also be used to show up the power structure established in a given town.

Another possible alternative consists of examining the relationship of Anatolian towns with the countryside surrounding them, particularly the way in which gardens and vineyards were used by urban dwellers. Planhol has pointed out that Denizli throughout the Ottoman period constituted a kind of 'garden city', with a very small *çarşı* and residences dispersed among gardens and vineyards.⁴¹ This type of town was quite widespread in Anatolia, with (Eski) Malatya and Kırşehir as two particularly obvious examples. Where and how this type of town developed might repay a closer investigation.

The 'garden town' is of particular interest as an urban type, since *bağ* villages surrounding a major settlement often developed into what might be called 'satellite towns'. In the course of time, such a *bağ* settlement might even surpass the older central town, such as happened in the case of Malatya. Thus a number of *bağ* settlements seem to have shown considerable dynamism, and their development provides certain insights into the functioning of Ottoman urban society.

Other possibilities of research are connected with the history of urban housing. Traditional houses, mainly of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, have been extensively investigated by historians of architecture.⁴² However since the number of existing houses dating from the eighteenth, seventeenth, or sixteenth century is quite limited, recourse to written documents can be of considerable assistance (Figures 8 and 9). At least where the larger cities are concerned, documents recording the sale of dwellings include an enumeration of the rooms in each house. Sales documents also mention the special

41. X. de PLANHOL, *Le cadre géographique: Le pays de Laodicée-Denizli, Laodicée du Lycos, Le Nymphée*, ed. Jean des Gagniers et al. Québec, Paris: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, E. de Boccard, 1969, p. 398-400.

42. For an overall typology, with particular emphasis upon Istanbul, see S.H. ELDĒM, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri*, Istanbul: Istanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1954.



Fig. 8. Domestic architecture: the inner courtyard of a house in Gaziantep.



Fig. 9. Domestic architecture in Gaziantep: note the sequence of windows and the mosaic-floor.

activities for which certain rooms were reserved, such as cooking or weaving. Admittedly, the very smallest and poorest houses were underrepresented in the sales contracts, as their ownership was in most cases transferred without recourse to the *kadi's* court. On the other hand, the extant documents probably allow us to form a reasonably accurate impression of the houses inhabited by the more well-to-do townsmen. Occasionally we can also find descriptions of the *konaks* belonging to urban notables, that permit us to reconstruct the physical setting in which the life of *ayan* families took place.⁴³

43. For a 17th century example, see the *Kayseri kadi sicilleri* (Etnografya Müzesi, Ankara), v.100, p.13 (1104/1692-93). For existing structures, compare N.ÇAKIROĞLU *Kayseri Evleri*, İstanbul: İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1952, s. 23-36.

RIVER VALLEYS, COASTS, AND CARAVAN ROUTES AS URBAN SITES

Market towns, *sancak* centres, and major cities of ten thousand inhabitants and more did not exist in isolation. Certain of the biggest towns were even served by smaller ones, such as Bursa by Mudanya.⁴⁴ Administrative action on the part of the Ottoman state equally contributed toward establishing a hierarchy among Ottoman towns. However, it must be admitted that these hierarchies were often weakly developed. Bursa or Kayseri dominated large districts more or less exclusively rural, and the food-producing potential of their respective hinterlands was probably monopolized by the appetites and demands

44. L.ERDER and S.FAROQHI, The Development of the Anatolian Urban Network During the Sixteenth Century, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, v.23, n.3, p. 265-303.

of these two large cities. On the other hand, certain settlements which were clearly subordinate to a large town of the neighbourhood could themselves be considered towns only 'by courtesy'. Thus at the end of the sixteenth century a place like Mudanya did not possess 400 taxpayers and a market, features which in the present study have been accepted as the minimum criteria opposing small towns to villages.⁴⁵

45. Mudanya possessed a regular ferry-boat service to Istanbul, and by the 17th century had acquired a han and a mosque built of stone. Compare *Başbakanlık Arşivi Mühimme Defteri* 95, p. 42 (1075/1664-65).

In the geographical distribution of Anatolian towns; certain regularities are also apparent. Urban sites were often found near rivers, although towns built directly on the banks of a major water course, were comparatively rare. A number of factors contributed toward this choice of location. Except for the Euphrates and Tigris, Anatolian rivers were of little use for transportation purposes. Moreover, since rivers flowing through plains frequently changed their courses, leaving the immediately adjacent land marshy and unhealthy, there existed no reason why people should have selected a river bank as the site of a town.

On the other hand, the agricultural potential of areas receiving sufficient water obviously increased, so that the ideal location for a town seems to have been a low hill at some distance from the river. Such sites were selected mainly for the smaller towns. This observation confirms the assumption that in such cases agricultural considerations predominated. While certain medium-sized and larger towns also developed in locations of this type, the overall distribution pattern of the more important settlements was not determined by the proximity of rivers.

The second remarkable feature characterizing the geographical distribution of sixteenth-century Anatolian towns is the almost complete absence of port cities. Trabzon, Sinop and possibly Antalya were the only settlements which functioned as port towns and held more than 1000 taxpayers at the end of the sixteenth-century.⁴⁶ Izmir, which grew into a major port in the course of the seventeenth century, even at the end of Kanuni Süleyman's reign could be counted as barely more than a big village, and the same applied to such places as Ereğli (Karadeniz Ereğlisi), or Foça.

46. For the number of taxpayers registered in 16th century Anatolian towns, compare S.FARUQH, *Taxation and Urban Activities in Sixteenth Century Anatolia*, *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, v.1, n.1, 1979-80, p. 19-53.

Under these circumstances, all the major cities of Anatolia depended upon caravan trade. Even Bursa, which is situated but a few kilometres from the sea, relied much more upon caravan trade than upon the small number of boats that brought Bulgarian iron or Egyptian spices to the city.⁴⁷ All other large towns of Anatolia did not even possess Bursa's limited interest in maritime trade, and were resolutely continental in character.

47. Thus goods arriving in Anatolia from Egypt were unloaded in Antalya and then conveyed to Bursa by caravan. H.İNALCIK, *Bursa Ticaret Tarihine Dair Vesikalar*, *Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten*, c.24, n.93, s. 50.

At the same time, the Aegean and the Black Sea carried a considerable amount of boat traffic. However, most of these ships served the enormous needs of the Ottoman capital, even there also existed an appreciable amount of trade between Anatolian towns and the Ottoman province of Keefe in southern Russia.⁴⁸ It can be assumed that this orientation of maritime trade toward Istanbul explains the weak development of port towns in Ottoman Anatolia. For the pressure upon coastal regions with marketable foodstuffs was severe, and such areas may simply not have been able to retain enough of their grain supplies to permit the development of large towns. Only the intensification of European-dominated international trade in the seventeenth century was to cause the disruption of this pattern, and permit the rise of Izmir as a major port city.⁴⁹

48. H.İNALCIK, *The Question of the Closing of the Black Sea under the Ottomans*, *Archeion Pontou*, 35, 1978, p. 74-110.

49. N.ÖLKER, "The Rise of Izmir 1688-1740", Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor Mich., 1974.

CONCLUSION

From the investigation of Anatolian town life in its various aspects, the major theme which emerges again and again is the impact of the

50. However at the same time, the guarantee of being able to sell a minimum number of woolen cloths or other manufactured items may in certain cases have aided the development of urban or rural industries.

51. For attempts which have been made in recent years, compare H.İNALCIK, *Impact of the Annales School on Ottoman Studies and New Findings*, *Review*, v.1, n.3-4, 1978, p. 69-96.

P. ANDERSON, *Lineages of the Absolutist State*, London: Verso Editions, 1979, p. 361-394.

H. İSLAMOĞLU and C. KEYDER, *Agenda for Ottoman History*, *Review*, n.1, 1977, p.31-55.

Ottoman state. Without the intervention of the Ottoman central administration, the city of Istanbul would never have gained the ascendancy over all provincial towns which it possessed in fact. Deliveries to the army, navy, and Palace constituted a burden which was born by the urban economy as a whole.⁵⁰ Officials and tax farmers sent out by the central administration made the basic decisions in Anatolian towns. Least not least, the grass-roots institution of local markets was closely connected with the tax demands of the Ottoman state. Under these circumstances, the dividing line between 'political' and 'economic' history becomes almost impossible to draw.

The present study has been conceived as an attempt to analyse a specific topic. As has appeared from recent debates concerning the character of the Ottoman social formation, the number of analytical studies is as yet insufficient, both in quantity and in quality, to permit a satisfactory understanding of the Ottoman state and society as a whole.⁵¹ At the present time, attempts at synthesis are mainly useful because they disengage the basic concepts, which historians dealing with concrete problems of documentation are often inclined to neglect. However even at the present stage of our knowledge, we can be sure that the peculiar relationship of the Ottoman state to commerce, and thereby indirectly to town development, constituted one of the most crucial elements of the Ottoman social formation.

OSMANLI ANADOLUSUNDA KENTSEL GELİŞİM (16.-17. YÜZYILLAR)

ÖZET

Bu makalenin bazı bölümleri, yazarın yayınlanmakta olan "Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia, Trade, Crafts, and Food Production in an Urban Setting 1520-1650" adlı kitabının özetini oluşturmaktadır. Öte yandan, "İdari Merkez Olarak Anadolu Kenti" ile Kentsel Çevrede Evler" diye adlandırılan bölümler, halen devam etmekte olan iki araştırmanın geçici sonuçlarını bildirmektedir. Bu durumda sunulan makale, uzun süreli olarak tasarlanan bir çalışmanın belirli bir basamağında elde edilen sonuçları ve kanıtlanmaya çalışılan varsayımları dile getirmektedir.

Makale 1520 ile 1650 yılları arasındaki dönemi kapsamakta ve üç ana bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birincisinde, pazar olgusu üzerinde durulmaktadır. Sıra ile, tüccar ve bölgelerarası ticaret, köylü ve arazi alım-satımı, esnaf örgütleri ile bölgelerarası ticaret ele alınmıştır. Pazarların oluşması, onbeşinci ve erken onaltıncı yüzyılda gittikçe büyüyen ve kentsel bir hal alan idari merkezlerden başlamış, daha sonra köy ve yaylalara kadar yayılmıştır. Onaltıncı yüzyıl sonlarına doğru köylünün tarımsal arazi üzerindeki tasarruf hakkı dahi, genişleyen pazar ilişkilerinin icine girmiş ve satın alınması veya satılması mümkün olan bir mal olmuştur. Bu şekilde borcu olan bir köylünün, topraklarını yitirmesi olgusu açıklanabilmektedir.

Bu bağlamda, Osmanlı merkezi idaresinin kentleşme olgusunun karşısında takındığı tavır üzere durulmuştur. Onbeşinci yüzyılda ve onaltıncı yüzyılın ilk yarısında kentlerin büyümesi, vakıf yoluyla ele alınan çarşı yapımının bir sonucu olarak merkezi idare tarafından teşvik edilmişti. Ancak bu tür teşvik önlemleri, onaltıncı yüzyılın ikinci yarısından başlayarak bir hayli seyrekleşmiş ve 1600 dolaylarında Osmanlı hükümeti, kırsal alanlardan kentlere ve özellikle İstanbul'a doğru meydana gelen akını durdurmak için önlemler uygulamaya başlamıştır.

Bu durumda Anadolu kentlerinin gelişiminin, Osmanlı devletinin müdahalesinden soyutlanamayacağı açıkça görülmektedir. Osmanlı devletinin kente ve ticarete karşı izlediği politika, zaman zaman çelişen öğelerden oluşmuştur. Bir kaç yüzyıllık bir süreç içinde bu öğelerin göreceli önemini kavramak, Anadolu kent gelişimini önemli derecede aydınlatmış olmak demektir.

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