

yazılarıyla kitaba katkıları, 17. yüzyıl Osmanlı düşünce tarihi ile ilgilenenler açısından önem taşır. Özellikle Hagen tarafından kaleme alınan “Ottoman Understanding of the World in the Seventeenth Century” (s. 215-256) başlıklı yazı, tek başına bir araştırma eseri olarak ele alınabilir. Bu yazı sayesinde, Osmanlı tarihinin en meşhur müelliflerinden biri olan Evliya Çelebi'yi, 17. yüzyıl Osmanlı fikir hayatı ve cılız biçimde de olsa değişme temayülü gösteren Osmanlı edebî gelenekleri içinde bir yere oturtmak kolaylaşır.

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Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town Ayntab in the 17th Century

Hülya Canbakal

Leiden: Brill, 2007. XV+213 pp.

One of the favorite research themes in contemporary Turkish historiography is still urban history. Canbakal's study, which is also a part of the genre of this literature, differs from similar ones with its rigorous sociological perspective. Her main purpose is to explore the patterns of politics in everyday life. With this purpose in mind she treats the court registers of Ayntab as a mirror for the local distribution of wealth and power in the seventeenth century. This choice, as expressed very clearly by Canbakal herself, represents the point of view which belongs to one of the leading contemporary sociologists; P. Bourdieu. In Bourdieu's view, the law is a cultural domain that constitutes and consecrates the social reality as it is. Therefore, it is more closely related to the social world and relations of power than other cultural fields.

Canbakal's study consists of three parts. In Part One, geography, population, economy, ethnicity, and several related aspects of Ayntab are discussed in detail to establish a contextual background for later discussions and considerations.

After describing the context, in Part Two the author tries to identify first who were the local elites, and then how they acquired power and wealth. One of the main themes here revolves around the fact that the *askeri* (tax-exempt service nobility) status and wealth are two related sources for becoming a local elite.

According to Canbakal there was an Ottomanization process in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under which an integrated elite emerged; it was through this elite that the local people were incorporated into the administrative and distributive networks of the central state. In this process, officials became local by establishing themselves economically where they had been appointed and locals became Ottoman by acquiring stipends (*vazife*), posts or tax-farming (*mukataa*) contracts. One dimension of the Ottomanization process was the expansion of the status of *askeri*. In the Ottoman case, the acquisition of stipends, posts or tax-farming contracts also made one an *askeri*, as did claiming descent from Prophet Muhammad or entering the military. During the second half of the seventeenth century, there were three points of entry to the *askeri*, namely acquisition of revenue grants with or without civil service, claiming descent from Prophet Muhammad or acquiring membership of a military corps. Ayntabis employed all three strategies extensively.

According to Canbakal's estimations *askeris* as a whole made up about 36% of all households in 1697 while they had constituted only about 6% of the population in 1536. Thus, between the early sixteenth century and the end of the seventeenth century, the *askeri* population of Ayntab increased by more than five times. Likewise, the *sadat* (pl. *seyyid*) of Ayntab increased by 50% in the second half of the seventeenth century. This situation was possibly the result of the relative weakness of central control over the distribution of titles. Another equally important factor was population pressure. During the seventeenth century the town continually received peasant and nomadic migrants from the east. Seyyidization was the channel of mobility preferred and controlled by the local elite.

While the state in the seventeenth century recognized a much larger body of people as *askeri*, thus granting them distinction and varying degrees of power, it also tried to selectively tax them. Available *askeri* posts and stipends were limited and therefore competition was stiff. Aside from a few top-paying posts, the income that these positions generated for the claimants seems low. Tax exemptions must have been a major incentive behind the demand for official positions. But the symbolic value of office-holding may have been no less important than its material awards.

After describing the profile of the *askeri* estate in seventeenth century Ayntab, Canbakal examines the distribution of wealth in the same period. She discovers that status was correlated with economic power. 91% of the wealthy (male urbanites with estates exceeding 1,000 *guruş*) had honorific titles in the late seventeenth century, whereas only 10% of the poor (owners

of estates smaller than 100 *guruş*) had such titles. At the end of seventeenth century Ayntab had around 80 *zade* families, while in the early decades of Ottoman rule there had been only three such families.

About two-thirds of the wealthy probates (*tereke*) (those above 1,000 *guruş*) belonged to civilian notables and a third belonged to members of the military. All those who qualified as wealthy among the members of the military were officers of the central army or *prebend*-holding provincial cavalry, and not the rank-and-file.

The control of tax-farms is known to have been one of the major means through which the new elite of the post-classical period amassed great wealth and power. As was the case elsewhere in the empire at this time, and as would be the case later under the *malikane* regime, all the major tax-farms in Ayntab in the late seventeenth century were held by members of the military. Local families and local agents of the state in Ayntab all invested in urban and rural real estate, credit markets, commerce and tax-farming, although, as elsewhere, the biggest investors in tax-farming were officers.

After identifying the structure and the distribution of power and wealth in Ayntab, Canbakal goes on in Part Three to explore the relationship between the local elites and the common people in the light of the town court records. Thus, these records are regarded as a major locus of decision-making in Ayntab.

The author reminds us that as in earlier Islamic practice, there were two kinds of witnesses in Ottoman courts: instrumental witnesses (*şuhudu'l-hal*), who stood witness to the court hearing itself or its legality, and circumstantial witnesses (*udul*), who gave testimony in support of the litigants. A third group of legal agents, informants, are also included in the witness category in this study. These are distinguished from men of cognizance (*ehl-i vukuf*). They were called Muslims or folk (*ahali*), but the three categories recruited from the same pool of trustworthy men.

The trustworthy witnesses knew who had money and who did not, who was harmless and who was not. Whether testifying to actions or to character, they could get people in and out of prison or send them to the hands of the executioner. They testified not only to the truth of allegations but also to the probability of an offense. When there was no eyewitness to a particular offense, the character testimony of the informants was decisive. Honorable Ayntabis (who bore honorific titles such as *seyyid*, *molla*, *el-hac*, *bey*, *çelebi*, *efendi* etc.) were more successful litigants and plaintiffs than ordinary people at court.

Although the concept of *vekalet* in Islamic law did not involve advocacy in the sense of defense, it is possible that the identity of the representative, like the identity of the witness, contributed towards the defense of the person being represented. Therefore, the patterns of legal agency paralleled the patterns of testimony by *udul*. More than 80% of the legal agents who appeared in court between 1689 and 93 also served as witnesses on other occasions. In addition to acting as *vekalet* (agency or representation) the honorables stood in and acted for individuals on a more permanent basis, as in the guardianship of orphans or the mentally ill (*vesayet*), for legal institutions, as in the trusteeship of pious endowments (*tevliyet*), and for collectives, such as the neighborhoods or the town as a whole.

The running of the endowments, handling their relationship with individuals or other institutions, acting on behalf of the townsmen in matters as diverse as moral conformity, security, tax allocation and collection, provisioning, the fixing of weights and measures, and under specific circumstances, even the guardianship of orphans, were all aspects of urban administration. These urban functions imply representation, decision-making and power which were interwoven into the fabric of everyday life. All of these functions allowed the representative legitimate access to the resources of the represented, and the right to make decisions affecting them. That is why urban administration was a political function and predicated on power, although the term urban administration itself implies only a neutralized form.

At the same time, the elite who were involved in decision-making in public matters constituted a political society at the local level, and this translated into a substitution for the people in the political vision of Ottoman officialdom when dealing with the Ayntabis, and possibly, also in the vision of the Ayntabis themselves: the elite not only represented the people of Ayntab, they also constituted the people (*ahali*) of the town in the eyes of the capital.

There were two major means of accessing the resources of others in Ottoman towns. One was to entrust orphans' funds to prominent men (*vesayet*), the other was the administration of religious endowments (*tevliyet*). 80% of the prominent men were from among the righteous witnesses of the court. Likewise, the trustees (*mütevelli*) in seventeenth-century Ayntab were largely from among the same source.

The right to administer the *waqf* in any town meant more or less controlling the town budget allocated for basic public functions. In addition to their involvement in the provision of public services, *waqfs* were also the only institutional participants in the money market. The point to be underlined here

is the range of opportunities for self-interest offered by the ordinary mechanisms of the public domain.

The representation of the local elites was more than mere spokespersonship. The elite were decision-makers over a wide range of issues, ranging from urban political issues to the standardization of weights and measures. They also allocated local posts. Several officials (such as *waqf* employees, trustees, and town wardens) were chosen and appointed with the consensus and intervention of the *ayan* and *eşraf*.

The findings of this study suggest that in most cases office-holders were local people whose families had been residents of Ayntab for a number of generations. The capital's involvement in the daily functioning of the town was also minimal. The main focus of any interaction between the capital and the town was limited to direct taxes, the collection of which allowed a certain degree of negotiation.

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Tektanrılı Dinler Karşısında Kadın: Hıristiyanlık'ta ve İslâmiyet'te Kadının Statüsüne Karşılaştırmalı Bir Yaklaşım

Fatmagül Berktaş

İstanbul, Metis Yayınları, 2000. 240 sayfa.

Metis Kadın Araştırmaları Dizisi'nde yayımlanan bu eser, Fatmagül Berktaş tarafından Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi'nde doktora tezi olarak hazırlanmıştır. Müellif bu kitapta tektanrılı dinler ve kadının statüsünü siyaset merkezli okumaya çalışmaktadır. Eser "Önsöz" ve "Din, Kadınlar ve Direnme" başlıklı "Giriş"ten sonra, "Ana Tanrıça'dan Dölleyici Sözün Kudretine", "Ataerkil Sistemin Ayırt Edici Özelliği: Kadın Bedeninin Toplumsal Denetimi", "İnsanı Kendisine Karşı Bölen Bir Kutuplaşma: Ruh-Beden Karşıtlığı", "Bugünkü Köktenci Yükselişin de Odağı: Kadının Konumu ve Denetimi" adlarını taşıyan dört bölümden ve "Kendi Adını Koymaya Cesaret Etmek" başlıklı "Sonuç", "Notlar" ve "Kaynakça"dan oluşmaktadır. Bölüm başlıkları aslında kitabın hangi kurgu üzerinde inşa edildiği hakkında fikir vermek için önemli ipuçlarıdır.

Kadın konusu bilhassa I. Meşrutiyet'ten (1876) itibaren modernleşme tarihimizdeki temel izlek noktalarından birisi olagelmıştır. Özellikle Cumhuriyet