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Osmanlı Modernitesinin Bir Panoraması: 19. Yüzyılda Tüketim Örüntüleri

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Öz

Sosyal tarih, devleti Osmanlı modernleşme sürecinin tek faili olarak görmek yerine farklı toplumsal aktörlere odaklanarak süreci anlamak için yeni bakış açıları sunar. Bu yaklaşım, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki sıradan insanları yukarıdan aşağıya modernleşme politikalarının pasif alıcıları veya modernleşmeye karşı reaksiyoner güçler olarak görmeyi reddeder. Tüketim modern zamanlarda sosyal farklılıkları ifade etmeye yönelik yaygın sosyal ve ekonomik davranış haline geldiğinden, modernleşme sürecinde sosyal aktörlerin rolünü anlamanın önemli bir yönü onların tüketim pratikleri üzerine düşünmektir. Bu çalışma, giyim ve modadaki; medya ve reklamlardaki, kamusal alanların kullanımındaki, boş zaman etkinlikleri ve hayır işlerindeki ve son olarak kültürel tüketimdeki değişimlere odaklanarak 19. yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda tüketim örüntülerini ele alan bu makale, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki farklı toplumsal grupların tüketim pratiklerinin, genel toplumsal yapı içinde, kendilerini diğer toplumsal gruplara ve devlete karşı nasıl konumlandırdıklarını açıkladığını savunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Modernite, Tüketim, Osmanlı Modernleşmesi, Toplumsal Tarih, Toplumsal Kimlik

Makale Türü: Araştırma Makalesi

A Panorama of Ottoman Modernity: Consumption Patterns in the 19th Century

Abstract

Social history opens new perspectives into understanding the Ottoman modernization process by focusing on different social actors rather than seeing the state as the only agent of the process. This approach rejects considering ordinary people in the Ottoman Empire as passive recipients of top-down modernization policies or reactionary forces against modernization. An important aspect of understanding the role of social actors in the modernization process is to reflect on their consumption practices, as consumption has become the widespread social and economic behavior for social differentiation in modern times. By focusing on the changes in clothing and fashion; media and advertisement; use of public spaces; leisure activities and charity; and cultural consumption in the 19th century Ottoman Empire, this paper argues that consumption practices of different social groups in the Ottoman Empire explains how they locate themselves within the general social structure against other social groups and the state.

Keywords: Modernity, Consumption, Ottoman Modernization, Social History, Social Identity

Article Type: Research Article

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1. INTRODUCTION

Application of World-Systems Theory to the Ottoman history displaces the state as the sole arbiter of the modernization process in 19th century and makes it possible to analyze and understand the social transformation in the Empire from a broader perspective during what has been said to be the "decline" period. Thus, various social groups outside the scope of *Askeri* class, i.e., the ruling elite, have been incorporated into the analyses of the late Ottoman period as agents of change. In so doing, scholars of Ottoman history pay more attention to political, economic, and cultural practices of the tax-paying subjects of the Empire who have long been accepted as, at worst, the passive recipients of top-down policies of ruling class to save the Empire, or at best, the reactive forces against these policies. Analyzing the social life of the subjects allows us to challenge these premises of decline or modernization paradigms as the analysis sheds light on the social dynamics of change and the negotiations between the agents of the process. Hence, this paper aims to understand how 19th century Ottoman society reflected their experience of social transformation, through an inquiry into the consumption practices of the people.

Lifestyle and consumption practices are among the most evident indicators of social identities. Individuals regard their patterns of consumption as the markers of their identity and ways of social and cultural differentiation. In this way, emergence of modern identities is inextricably linked to the modern ways of consumption. Modernity as an individual experience is argued to begin with the rise of modern consumerism as consumption has become the widespread social and economic behavior for social differentiation (Quataert, 2000: 1). Thus, analysis of consumption practices of different social groups in the Ottoman Empire illustrates the way they posit themselves in the general social structure vis-à-vis other social groups as well as the state. Consumption patterns are related with "cultural change and resistance, including the ways in which changes in consumption patterns affected the shaping of Ottoman identities" (Exertzoglou, 2003: 77). Studying changes in consumption patterns in relation to social transformation diverts our attention from the state to the contestations and negotiations among different agents. It also allows us to challenge the arguments of modernity as a western phenomenon through explorations of different experiences of modernity in the Ottoman context.

Following the framework introduced above, this paper argues that changing consumption practices in the Ottoman Empire reflect a deeper change at the social level. The process had begun with the economic integration to the capitalist world-system and culminated in the 19th century with different notions of social identities and a re-definition of state-society relations. Consumption patterns were among the substantive indicators of this transformation. After a brief discussion of Ottoman integration to the world economy and its impacts on Ottoman state and society, I will be focusing on new consumption habits of the people in general and changing lifestyles of Ottoman middle and upper classes in particular. Based on this analysis, I shall discuss consumption and lifestyle in the 19th century Ottoman Empire in connection to the state-society relations. I will conclude my analysis with some critical questions regarding the Ottoman modernization in the light of the consumption discussion.

Before proceeding to the discussion, some theoretical and methodological concepts should be clarified. Although it is evident that a comparative analysis of all segments of society from different regions of the Empire could give a deeper and more robust insight into the effect of social change and its reflections on consumption practices, availability of sources on the core areas of the empire and the cities where commercial activities are denser directs the attention to the capital and port cities such as Smyrna, Salonika, Beirut, and so on. It is for this reason; this paper will mostly focus on the consumption patterns of dwellers of Istanbul and of commercial classes of port cities. Another implication of the existing literature is that the emphasis will be on the non-Muslim bourgeois groups. Thus, the main units

of my analysis are middle and upper classes of Istanbul and the port cities. Since these groups are the most rapidly modernized sections of the Ottoman society whose consumption practices were later emulated by lower classes, the limitation in terms of unit of analysis does not affect the overall evaluation of Ottoman modernization process in this study. The analysis in the study mostly relies on secondary literature about the 19th century developments in the political and commercial centers of the Empire. Nonetheless, it is important to stress that the findings of the secondary literature were put in a comparative perspective to understand the social and cultural transformation in the Ottoman Empire—which is a task that the existing studies have not thoroughly undertaken. Apart from arguments and assessments in the studies cited in this paper, direct references to newspaper and magazine articles of the period as well as testimonies of people who experienced 19th century social and cultural transformation were also incorporated into the study.

2. INTEGRATION INTO THE WORLD ECONOMY AND ITS SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

Although 'when Ottoman Empire had been integrated to the world economy' is a controversial question (Wallerstein, 1979), the process can be traced back to the end of price revolution of the "long sixteenth century" (Wallerstein, 1974). Since then, Ottoman economy began to resonate with the cyclical fluctuations of the European world-economy. However, the fully fledged integration to the capitalist system had been consolidated with the incorporation of the Empire to the European state system in the late 17th century and the early 18th century. The establishment of a secular bureaucracy specialized in the external affairs of the state and the growing autonomy and influence of this bureaucracy which culminated in the Tanzimat period were the markers of this integration (Keyder, 1987: 28) Peripherialisation of the Empire had started early in the 18th century and after the free trade agreements with the European powers in middle of the 19th century, Ottoman Empire has become a free-trade zone, hence a full periphery in the European world-economy (Keyder, 1987: 29).

First regions that were incorporated to the European world-economy were the Balkan provinces. According to Kasaba (1988), contraband trade in grains constituted the initial link between these two areas and in the middle of the 18th century trade expanded to the commercial crops (18-19). The growing demand from Western Europe for the Ottoman wheat, cotton, tobacco, maze, livestock, commercial fibers, and so on increased the trade volume between Ottoman Empire and the developing industries. In return for the raw materials, grains and commercial crops, industrial goods, especially textiles and other consumables were the major importing items. During the 18th century the volume of trade between Ottoman Empire and Austria and France increased remarkably and with the revolutionary upheavals of the end of the century Ottoman grains have become more attractive to the West. The peripherialisation of the Ottoman Empire had been finalized under the hegemony of Britain in the 19th century through bilateral free trade agreements with first Britain in 1938 and then with the other Western powers in the coming years.

Among the most integral aspects of the capitalist integration is the transformative effect of economic re-structuring of the society. First of all, as stated above, the integration of the Ottoman Empire was a peripherialisation. Therefore, it follows a similar trajectory that experienced in the Eastern Europe; that is, central state had lost its major influence over the control of the means of production and appropriation (Wallerstein, 1974). In Ottoman Empire, the land, in principle, belongs to the state. However, beginning in the 17th century power of the central state declined and tax-farming was introduced as a form of land ownership at the end of the century. Hence, during the process of peripherialisation, tax-farmers consolidated power and together with the intermediaries of trade, emerged as the influential agents of the social transformation in the following century. De-centralization

in Ottoman Empire, in this way, should be regarded as one of the major implications of integration to the world economy. "While the sultan and his office-households suffered from the impact of trade with the West, the Ottoman provincial notables, artisans, Janissaries, and foreign residents of the empire potentially stood to gain from it" (Göçek, 1996: 89). Thus, regarding the power relations between the state and society, de-centralization brought along a strong societal domain outside the scope of state and new notions of negotiation between these agents. Among the beneficiaries of Western trade and its returns, commercial non-Muslim bourgeoisie rose as a significant economic and social agent within the Empire.

As a consequence of the terms of trade between Europe, Western consumer goods entered into the Ottoman territories. Keyder (1987) argues that although the internal organization of European and Ottoman manufacturing were similar, "their articulation into the economic system and their capacity for transforming the system were very different" (32). Following his argument, the meaning attributed to the Western goods reflects this transformative effect. Nonetheless, we should be cautious that consumption of Western products may not necessarily be an indicator of a general Westernization of society. Quataert (2000) suggests that as the increasing consumption of India-made goods by Ottoman peasants in 18th century did not mean that they were Indianized! "So too, nineteenth-century Ottoman peasants did not buy cheap English cloth because they wanted to be English" (5). However, when considering the meaning of Western goods among the middle and upper classes, especially social groups that have come to acquire a notion of modernity, the penetration of Western goods brought about new patterns of consumption for the dwellers of Istanbul and other major cities throughout the Empire. Especially as the engagement with the Europeans increased thanks to their trade networks, a strong allegiance to the West emerged among commercial groups as well as among the secular bureaucracy and upper classes of the Empire.

Hence, these groups expressed their allegiance to the West through their consumption habits along the Western lines. As Exertzoglou (2003) rightly asserts "[t]he adoption of new consumption preferences and patterns was one of the cultural effects of Western penetration on the newly emerging commercial communities" (79). In the 19th century, the increasing political influence of the West, diffusion of cultural values as well as the economic dominance of European powers facilitated the dispersion of this cultural effect on consumption patterns towards the other elements of society. Thus, consumption and lifestyle have become not only markers of social identity during the transformation of the Ottoman society, but they also complemented the political westernization led by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. In the following section I will sketch the new forms of consumption and lifestyles during the 19th century Ottoman Empire with an emphasis on commercial bourgeois groups and their allegiance to the Western culture.

3. CONSUMPTION PATTERNS IN THE 19TH CENTURY OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Literature on consumption studies in relation to the Ottoman history is very limited and far from being coherent. In order to encounter the difficulties in reaching information about the consumption habits and lifestyles of Ottoman subjects, memoires, newspaper advertisements and inheritance registers are the conventional sources relied on by the scholars. Although Ottoman coffee shop culture of 18th century is an extensively studied field, studies specialized in a single consumption item or a single aspect of lifestyle in the 19th century Ottoman Empire are particular examples of this immature body of literature. Thus, the following review is going to encompass various consumption items instead of focusing on a single one. I will be using a diverse body of literature to analyze (1) clothing and fashion; (2) advertisement; (3) the use of public spaces, cafes and food consumption; (4) leisure activities and

charity; and (5) cultural/artistic consumption among the middle and upper classes of the aforementioned cities of Ottoman Empire.

3.1. Clothing and Fashion

Textile was one of the most important sectors of manufacture in Ottoman Empire as well as the world economy. Along with the peripherialisation of the Empire, European, notably British, textile products invaded the Ottoman market and, hence, transition from traditional to mass fashion system has begun during this process (Jirousek, 2000). In her analysis of that transition, Charlotte Jirousek points out the correspondence of the evolution of mass fashion system and the developments in socio-economic conditions in Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, the evolution of official garments and headgears as well as the dresses of ordinary people was gradual before 1800; but the rate of change after that point was unprecedented (Jirousek, 2000: 217). During the 18th century, Ottoman elites and non-Muslim groups have acquired Western clothing patterns. The rate of change increased even more in the 19th century accompanied by the adoption of Western political and educational institutions. Jirousek argues that "by the latter nineteenth century among some urban elites it was possible to observe alteration rates in fashion that corresponded to those seen in European cities as these groups adopted mass fashion dress habits" (Jirousek, 2000: 224) However, she is cautious on generalizing these new patterns of clothing to the lower segments of the Ottoman society. Although domestic manufacture was accommodated to the Western standards for competitive purposes, the essential form of clothing and fashion remained traditional for most of the population up until the mid-20th century.

An important change that the mass fashion system brought along to the Empire was the marking of gender differences in clothing. Not only did men conform to European forms of fashion, but women also experienced the same change as well (Jirousek, 2000: 228). As the new fashion system introduced new market relations and modern marketing methods, emphasis on sexual dimorphism occurred as a method for attracting women. Although traditional dresses were "quite gender-neutral in form… gender-specific forms seems to have appeared with mass fashion system dress…" (Jirousek, 2000: 233). According to Fanny Davis (2006), European fashion had not yet adopted in the beginning of the 19th century even in the Ottoman palace. During the reign of Abdulmecid underwear, corset and gloves began to be imported from Europe, embraced first in the palace then among the households of pashas (216). Davis goes on her depiction with an article of Emine Seniye in *Ladies' Own Gazette* in 1894, suggesting monitoring women's fashion in Europe and her way of describing the use of corset and the points that should be mindful of when using it (Davis, 2006: 220).

3.2. Advertisement

In the same period, several advertisements of the stores in Galata that offered ready-to-wear clothes were published in the same magazine. In *The Creation of Consumer Culture in Late Ottoman Society,* Elizabeth Frierson (2000) analyzes the newspaper advertisements at length in relation to the promotions of local and then of Muslim manufacture in the Hamidian period which I am going to discuss later on. Although it is very rare for woman to stroll around alone and women were not allowed to buy from non-Muslim merchants, a store run by non-Muslims, Haim Mazza and Sons, advertised in *Ladies' Own Gazette* (*Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*). "In this advertisement… minority merchants selling finest of dry goods to upper-class women dressed in a range of *allafranga* [sic] fashion, one of them accompanied by a man whose frock coat and fez also presented a norm for the modern Ottoman male" (Frierson, 2000: 249). Furthermore, women had the opportunity to share their shopping experiences in the magazine. In December 1899, for instance, Belkıs Hanım wrote for a new store, Haşmet ve Rıf'at Mağazası, in Galata. It is interesting that her first point regarding her experience was the treatment she

received followed by the low prices and the quality of the products respectively (Frierson, 2000: 251). Frierson reports another important point touched upon by other women; that is, the increasing interest by women to the Muslim merchants and local products in the articles of *Ladies' Own Gazette*.

Advertisement flourished after the Industrial Revolution and the diversification for the consumer choices with modern consumerism. Zafer Toprak (1995), by grasping this close association, asserts that advertisement has become relevant for the Ottoman context only in the 19th century when people outside the ruling elite began acquiring the notion of modern consumerism with the availability of diverse preferences for consumers. He argues that the emergence of hedonistic consumer expectations accentuated the role of advertisement and reflected the breakthrough from traditional forms at least in cities like Istanbul and Salonika and for the middle classes and rising Ottoman bourgeoisie (Toprak, 1995: 26). The emergence of department stores in Istanbul took place under these conditions.

3.3. Department Stores

In the 19th century Istanbul, department stores were concentrated on Cadde-i Kebir (today's İstiklal Caddesi) and around Galata –districts inhabited by mostly non-Muslim groups. According to Toprak (1995), the Crimean War marks a milestone in the history of Western influence on the Empire and the increasing interaction and European soldiers lodged in Istanbul during the war stimulated the Ottoman consumerism. He informs us that one of the first department stores at the time was Bon Marchè and this name generalized in time for the other stores that offer rich varieties of goods. One example of department stores in Istanbul along this line is Mayer Department Stores owned by Georg Mayer, an Austrian-Jewish textile merchant. In *Portraits from a Bygone Istanbul* Rıfat Bali (2010) follows an advertisement of Mayer in *Indicateur Ottoman Illustrè*, in 1893 that "all manner of finished clothing are on offer for men, women and children, as well as shoes, perfumes, ties, gloves, parasols, undergarments, sundries, luxury and travel items, as well as flannels and that tailoring and seamstressing [sic] to order were also available" (17). Clothing and fashion were not the only options that were offered by the stores in Beyoğlu. Jewelry, furniture and carpets were also available for well-to-do Ottomans, as well as musical instruments, sewing machines and camera equipment. Bechstein, Julius Feurich, J. Blünther pianos; Bells and Co. keyboards; Stradivarius, Amati, Steiner violins were among the most popular items of instrument markets (Toprak, 1995: 27).

3.4. Public Spaces

Together with the stores and fashion systems, Galata Bridge was, in fact, dividing two different lifestyles. Beyoğlu district and especially Cadde-i Kebir host hotels, restaurants, cafes and other open public spaces along the Western lines. These places, not exclusively for the capital, offered opportunities for socialization and displaying of wealth and status for the Ottoman elite and commercial classes. In the end of the 19th century cafés and theatres have become the melting pot for Europeans, non-Muslim bourgeois and Muslim upper classes. As Suraiya Faroqhi (2000) points out, affluent Muslim families began to move the districts around today's Taksim Square and Şişli to be in the vicinity of such opportunities and conveniences of modern urban life (256). Such places contributed to the transformation of urban life in other cities such as Smyrna and Salonika as well. Anastassiadou (2001) draws attention to how Café Colombo, a new enterprise owned by an Italian, in Salonika became the favorite place for the city dwellers who would like to display their social status (171). New cafés were different from the traditional Ottoman coffee shops in their interior design with their wider lounge, food tables, chairs, billiard tables and newspaper collections as well as the foods and drinks offered (Anastassiadou, 2001: 172).

The changes in public spaces brought along new codes of manner among which the most important one was the appearance of women in public spaces. Around a Veblenesque line, Exertzoglou stresses the gendered division of labor and the role of women within the new Ottoman consumer culture. Although certain norms excluded women from participating in certain fields of public life and restricted them to such fields as teaching and practicing medicine, women were usually associated with luxurious and conspicuous consumption that signify the affluence of their husbands. Hence, "[t]he boundaries of women's public activity had expanded moderately since the 1860s, in spite of the predominantly male character of public space" (Exertzoglou, 2003: 86). Increasing appearance of women, according to Davis (2006), was related both with the diffusion of Western lifestyles and with the introduction of new means of transportation. She draws attention to the women's use of carriage and phaeton beginning from the 17th century. At the end of 18th century she says, carriage became the popular vehicle for women's visit to promenade (Davis, 2006: 153). During the 19th century, Western influence in use of carriage and phaeton was thoroughly evident. Abdülhamid II invited Europeans to manufacture carriages in Istanbul, factories for production of *lando* and other vehicles based in the city. All these facilitated the spread of new consumption culture and participation of women into this culture and social life in general.

3.5. Food and Eating

As stated above, new cafés introduced new and rich menus for their customers. They serve starters, cakes, cheese and varieties of alcoholic beverages; beer was one of the most demanded among those (Anastassiadou, 2001: 173). Ottoman cuisine was enriched by the novelties introduced at the end of the 19th century such as noodles, cakes and chocolate as well as originally American plants like tomato and potato. Changes in eating habits and new dishes, as expected, diffused into homes too. Faroqhi points out the growing interest in writings on modern Turkish cuisine in women's magazines and the rising popularity of cookery books by the 1860s. Furthermore, "[p]rominent personalities, above all members of the palace, sometimes imported furniture from France" (Faroqhi, 2000: 268) Like Zafer Toprak, Duben and Behar (1996) emphasize the impact of the Crimean War on changing cultural patterns among Ottoman society. Accordingly, European goods were displayed first among the non-Muslim groups, and then they diffused into the middle-class houses and even the lives of lower classes in the beginning of the 20th century. Following Clifford Geertz's stratigraphic conception of culture, the authors argue that the introduction of dinner table, and silverware along the Western lines were adopted rather painfully since Turkish and European eating habits were fundamentally different (Behar and Duben, 1996: 224). Dinner tables, chairs, plates and separate glasses became common during the reign of Abdülhamid II, and these new habits of eating contributed to the transformation of Ottoman family.

3.6. Charity and Leisure

New patterns of consumption and forms of lifestyle introduced the concept of modern philanthropy to the Ottoman upper classes and commercial non-Muslim bourgeoisie and changed the notions of leisure time activities for these groups. Within a modern consumer culture, well-to-do individuals are expected to subscribe to the educational institutions, philanthropic organizations and clubs which are usually carried out through personal donations and raising funds in public gatherings, fair and balls. Exertzoglou (2003) puts forth that middle-class individuals of Istanbul and Smyrna adopted these norms by the 1860s. Comparing charitable activities of the past with religious overtones to the new forms of philanthropy of the day, "donations to private funds for 'good causes' were always by name, a factor that added to the symbolic and political capital of the individual" (84). One of the most frequent occasions of these activities in Salonika was balls. In cooperation with the local press, *high society* of Salonika often organized balls usually headed by a committee of women aimed at raising fund for the charity organizations. Anastassiadou (2001) notes that the purpose of these organizations

was less to emancipate the poor and to cease pauperism than to improve economic and intellectual conditions of the communities of those who organized these events (335).

Anastassiadou provides further instances regarding the lives of high society members of Salonika. Accordingly, possessing estates or being wealth did not suffice to be included in the high society of Salonika; being invited to the important events was indispensable. In addition to the charitable organizations, members of high society were subscribing themselves to the social clubs among which sport clubs were most popular (Anastassiadou, 2001: 330). High society of Salonika was comprised mostly of Jewish and Greek-speaking Ottoman subjects, Muslim military and civil officers and Europeans. In order these people to maintain a social position in this environment, they must attend the festivals, follow sport games, visit clubs frequently, involve in charity organizations; in a word Anastassiadou says, they must model the lifestyle of European elites on themselves (Anastassiadou, 2001: 336). That included visits to the European countries as well. Among Ottoman upper classes travelling was among the most integral part of their lifestyle in the latter 19th century.

3.7. Cultural/Artistic Consumption

19th century Ottoman society, not surprisingly, met with new forms of culture and new patterns of cultural consumption. European art, literary genres and technological novelties such as camera were introduced to the Empire. "Towards the end of the century… photographs and caricatures quickly turned pictures into a part of everyday culture" (Faroqhi, 2000: 258). In fact, the invention of photography was announced by an Ottoman newspaper after two months of the invention and it aroused a noteworthy curiosity and enthusiasm. Following the entrance of camera to Ottoman Empire, photography was embraced by most of the population and photographs became demanded consumption items due to the convenience of photographs especially pricewise. Nancy Micklewright (2000) cautions us to be aware of the fact that this was not "a simple borrowing of a cultural product by one society from another, for photography, as a new art form and new product in Europe and in North America, was evolving in those contexts as well" (p.283). Thus, photographs, if they are to be referred as historical sources, should be interpreted within the social context, rather than be taken as the face value of what they show. What is important here, for my point, is the quick and popular adoption of photography as a new form of visual culture. According to Faroqhi, the adoption of photography and museums were parallel. Although most of Turkish museums were founded in the Republican era, the first examples were introduced during the 19th century (Faroqhi, 2000: 259). In addition to the museums, theatre, and other literary genres such as novel, memoire and letter were enthusiastically embraced by the Ottoman elites. First attempts in these new literary forms especially in theatre and novel were reflecting the social and political turmoil. Hence, art was intended to function as venue for new social and cultural practices (Faroqhi, 2000: 261).

4. OTTOMAN MODERNITY, IDENTITIES AND NEGOTIATIONS

In the above part, I delineated a general picture of changes in consumption patterns and lifestyles of middle and upper classes—non-Muslim commercial groups and Muslim bureaucratic bourgeoisie in Istanbul, Smyrna, and Salonika. This plain depiction of consumption practices requires a discussion through which we can contemplate on the nature of change. The generalizability of the change to the Ottoman population is among the first problems that arise at this point. Although the official division among the subjects is in accord with one's religious affiliation, generalizability problem can be addressed through elaborating on social stratification both in religious terms and in terms of socio-economic conditions. First, visibility of the effects of social transformation and thus changes in consumption practices and lifestyle for commercial and bureaucratic bourgeois groups outweigh that of lower classes. As mentioned above, Jirousek puts forth the belated diffusion of mass fashion system to

the rural parts of the Empire. Unlike the upper-middle classes and elites, lower classes and rural population have adopted the changes in consumption practices rather gradually. Exertzoglou (2003) argues that most of the population "stuck to their own preferences in dress and food consumption and viewed foreign products with suspicion" (80). Jirousek (2000) supports this point with a photograph of a coffeehouse dated ca. 1890-1895 in which most of the customers appear with traditional clothes like *şalvar*, *kaftan* and turban (223). Thus, based on socio-economic stratification of society, changes in consumption patterns that I depicted above are far from being generalizable to the whole society. However, this does not mean to suggest that the change was by no means the product of a large-scale social transformation. Contrary, it is not interesting that the effect was experienced first by the more vibrant segments of the society; that is the emerging middle class and the bourgeoisie.

Second, scholarship on the social transformation in the late Ottoman history emphasizes the differential impact of the process of Muslim and non-Muslim populations and the distinction in their ability to adopt the premiums of the process. Yet again, it is not surprising that in a period of growing integration to the European economy, non-Muslims, notably Greek and Jewish merchants, became distinguished benefactors of the integration thanks to their economic networks throughout Europe and cultural capital which led Europeans to prefer them as trading partners. Hence, the fact that Greek merchants emerged as the most powerful and prosperous in the Black Sea trade in the late 1700s as they formed alliances with Russians who gained the control of the Black Sea trade at that time (Turgay, 1982: 289) is but an instance of how non-Muslim commercial groups wielded economic power at the expense of Muslim groups and of the state as well. The same cultural capital which connected European merchants with the non-Muslim bourgeoisie of Ottoman Empire facilitated the adoption of new consumption patterns. Eating habits in Western style, for example, reached the lower classes of non-Muslim communities earlier that they did for the upper class Muslim subjects (Behar and Duben, 1996: 225). Yet upper class Muslim groups did not lag behind to close the gap and cultural transformation of the 19th century encompassed Muslims and non-Muslims alike, as Faroqhi underlines.

All in all, adapting and reflecting the changing norms and values in an age of great social transformation occur as a generic feature of upper-middle classes whether Muslim or non-Muslim. In this sense, it is possible to argue for the cultural uses of consumption largely for bourgeois groups of the Empire. Anchoring this, whether the adoption of modern consumption patterns along Western lines indicates a propensity to be Western is a controversial issue. On the one hand, as pointed out before, Quataert (2000) asserts that the preference of a good does not suggest any allegiance to the place from which that good originated. He accentuates the authentic interpretation and articulation of the manufacturing and consumer goods in accord with what he calls "Middle Eastern agency" within the development of capitalism in this part of the world (8). Studies of newspaper advertisements in the Hamidian Era provide examples of this authentic articulation of the modern consumer goods as they served to the Ottoman nationalist agendas (Frierson, 2000: 246). Hence, these scholars reject to take the use of Western goods at their face value. Arguably, the adoption of Western consumption practices under the increasing domination of Western goods in the Ottoman market and increasing Western political, economic, and cultural influence may not necessarily indicate any simple imitation to the Western norms and practices.

On the other hand, some scholars emphasize the significance of meanings attributed to the goods that are preferred. Abou-Hodeib (2012) underscores how middle classes associated new lifestyles and tastes with the West and appropriated them as the marker of their Western identity. Among the middle classes of Beirut, "access to imported commodities, engender[ed] a fascination with the new and a` la mode, particularly objects and trends finding their way from places such as Paris and England" (587).

In a similar vein, Göçek (1996) refers to the "competition among households fostered Ottoman luxury consumption, including many Western goods" (38). Both authors interpret the change in lifestyle and consumption patterns as a thread of Westernization. A counterfactual interpretation of this argument leads us to a point that demand for Western goods should have been increasing even though Western goods had not flown into the Ottoman market and had not dominated it. Although social meanings of the goods and practices are not independent from where they are originated, we must interpret these meaning within that social context. In doing so, not only can we grasp how goods and practices became an instrument of expressing and negotiating social identities but also how expressions and negotiations were performed variedly by different groups of agents within the Ottoman context.

The immediate implication of the modern consumerism is the social differentiation of people from different socio-economic status groups. Consumption and lifestyle become very vital spheres of social life in which upper classes mark the distinction between them and people of lower classes. Anastassiadou (2001) gives a clear example from the transformation process of Salonika in the 19th century by observing that the charity organizations functioned as a way to balance the increasing differentiation between upper and lower classes which share same neighborhoods in the beginning of the century and segregated within 50 years (337). As Abou-Hodeib points out socio-economic and religious differentiation was parallel in the sense that non-Muslim communities outperformed in collecting the gains of increasing volume of economic activity. Hence, consumption has become a marker of religious, or communal, identity as well (Abou-Hodeib, 2012). Western goods were articulated as the marker of Greek national identity, for instance (Exertzoglou, 2003: 87), as the nationalists constructed a Greek/Helen history around the idea that Greece was the cradle of Western civilization and, therefore, Greeks belong to the West. This ideology utilized in the legitimation of the use of Western products.

Furthermore, Western consumption patterns and cultural practices were used by the Muslim population for various purposes. For one thing, the instruments of modern consumerism were extensively used to promote Ottoman/Islamic/Turkish identities. As stated before, advertisements in Ottoman newspapers propagated the virtues of shopping from local/Muslim merchants. The animosity against Armenians in the early 1900s reverberated on the newspaper articles and advertisements calling for a boycott of Armenian goods (Frierson, 2000: 255). Consumers too reflected their preference for Muslim merchants. In her article in *Ladies' Own Gazette*, Bedriye Hanım expressed her pleasure for her shopping experience and her honor since the store was run by an Ottoman Muslim (Frierson, 2000: 252). The function of European artistic and literary forms in the Ottoman context, too, reflects the unique way the Ottoman elite made use of them. The Ottoman elite, according to Faroqhi (2000), "had the courage to attempt using innovations from European culture as the starting point for their own version of the Enlightenment" (272). Despite the modernist tone of the argument, it is made clear that the Ottoman adoption of Western practices was not a straightforward imitation nor was it a mere pleasure for them to perform these novelties. Rather, they utilized them to reflect the social and political realities of the Empire.

In addition to negotiation with other groups through consumption practices around the new identities and social roles, various segments of the Ottoman society negotiated with the state as well. Maintaining boundaries between the rulers and the ruled and between different communities among the ruled had been a vital characteristic of Ottoman State (Barkey, 2008). Hence, consumption patterns, especially clothing styles were the most important marker of these boundaries. The clothing law of 1829, in this sense, indicates how state perceived the changing consumption practices of its subjects and how it reacted against these changes. "The law, in short, was a quite radical measure in its attempt to eliminate

clothing distinctions that long had separated the official from the subject classes and the various Ottoman religious communities from one another" (Quataert, 1997: 403). Far from being a top-down process, the elimination of the distinctions, as I have discussed so far, was a result of an ongoing process which necessitated Mahmud II to implement a new code for dressing in accord with the transformation Ottoman society had passed through. Thus, 1929 law was an attempt to "take control of a reshaping of Ottoman society that had been taking place since the 18th century, as non-Muslims dressed like Muslims and subordinate Muslims dressed like their social superiors" (Quataert, 1997: 420). The role of the state in the transformation of consumption patterns and lifestyles, in this way, was to mediate or, at best, to regulate the undergoing process. Hence, political modernization did not dictate a social transformation from above, but the two processes complemented each other.

5. CONCLUSION

The transformation of the consumption patterns and lifestyles is a story within the history of capitalism. That history began intersecting with the Ottoman history in the 17th century and Ottoman economy was integrated to the capitalist world-system during the 18th and 19th centuries. Hence, social transformation in the Empire, as elsewhere in the world, had been a product of this integration. Beginning from the regions in which the integration, i.e., volume of trade with the center of the system, was more intense, the social structure on which the empire had been built started shattering. One major impact was the changing social roles and statuses of non-Muslim commercial groups which collected the gains of integration process in better terms than other groups did. Hence, the most apparent reflection of changing consumption practices and lifestyles was the impotence of the state to stop non-Muslim groups acquiring new clothing habits that challenged the rigid sumptuary laws of the Empire. It became evident in the 1829 clothing law of Sultan Mahmud II in the sense that the state came to admit the power of the change and attempted to be the main arbiter to direct it.

Muslim upper classes, too, adopted changing consumption patterns, artistic and cultural innovations, and new lifestyles. As the Western goods dominated the Ottoman market, different segments of society exhibited different rates of openness to change their consumption habits. Yet, bourgeois groups and upper classes—Muslim and non-Muslim alike, had been more prone to adopt themselves to what the terms of integration to the world economy brought about. All in all, the transformation of consumption patterns and lifestyles ought to be understood in terms of social stratification and class positions rather than ethnic and religious identities. Changing norms and values, as stated before, can be read as a unifying theme in the lives of upper-middle classes in the Empire, whether Muslim or non-Muslim.

However, it is important to emphasize locally-relevant variations and mutations of adopting new practices, attitudes, and habits—which ultimately make Ottoman modernization a unique process in its own terms. While those who were in the higher echelons of Ottoman society appropriated new patterns and tastes as a marker of their self-attributed affinity with Western European culture, each social group attributed different meanings to their new practices so as to express and negotiate their social identities and roles vis-à-vis others and most importantly the state. Meanings attributed to new goods, material or cultural, were also informed by traditions and structure of their own social groups. As such, modernization of social sectors through appropriating new practices, attitudes, and habits offers us an example of indigenized modernity in the Ottoman context.

In the last analysis, the penetration of Western goods into Ottoman markets was a historically contingent process in the Ottoman integration to the world economy and arguing that this penetration led to a straightforward Westernization means ignoring the agency and contextual meaning that the local

agents attributed to the adopted goods and practices. Hence, the transformation of the society in the 19th century Ottoman Empire is not at all independent from what has been going on elsewhere in the world, yet the articulation of what transformation brought about was shaped by local dynamics that carved out the Ottoman modernity.

Etik Beyan

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