

# THE STRUCTURAL CHANGES CAUSED BY TRADE IN THE OTTOMAN CITIES DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

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## INTRODUCTION

The impact of trade on the structure of the Ottoman city in the second half of the 19th century has been primarily directed by the nature and the changing trends of trade. Trade in the Ottoman city has centered around manufactured goods, artisanship and guilds, and they played the crucial role in the structure and change in trade. For this reason a brief evaluation of the factors that caused structural changes starting with the 17th century and the change in the nature of trade itself will be elaborated. In the following part, the way in which changes have been reflected on buildings and how this had affected the spatial structure will be elucidated.

## THE IMPACT OF TRADE ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE OTTOMAN CITY BETWEEN THE 17TH CENTURY AND 19TH CENTURY

The 17th century has been a turning point for Anatolia regarding urban organization<sup>1</sup>. A rapid organization process has taken place in order to provide security and unity against foreign pressures like the Celali attacks and migration from rural areas. This organization was opposing the central authority and the pressure coming from provincial administrators; decisions had been taken by the presidents of organizations that were economically powerful in the city<sup>2</sup>.

The most common organizational units had been the guilds as they were prominent regarding their activities within the socio-economic structure. Guilds have participated in municipal activities, so they have become competent regarding the problems of the city and they played a crucial role for the preservation of the city against foreign pressures. The most concrete example for this can be cited as the city wall built around Ankara to protect it from the Celali attacks<sup>3</sup>. At the same period Afyon was a poor city, and the urban organization could not be formed around the production. Many people has migrated from the rural areas and they settled on the uninhabited lands around the city<sup>4</sup>. This case is important in the sense that

trade and guilds which played an important role in the Anatolian city have also influenced the structure of the city.

Starting with the 17th century external demand for the manufactured goods within the Ottoman territory decreased<sup>5</sup>. The reason for this has been the accumulation of wealth in Europe and its ramification in the Ottoman Empire; expensive raw materials and raw material shortage. Another factor which deteriorated production has been the easy access of cheap European products that were manufactured in newly industrializing countries. In spite of this situation by the end of the 18th century production in the Anatolian cities was not in stagnation<sup>6</sup>.

### CHANGES IN THE NATURE OF TRADE AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The years between 1825 - 1830 had been marked as the initial period of regression for the local industry within the Ottoman boundaries. Regression was in the cities which had close trade ties with foreign countries (Istanbul, the Balkans). On the other hand, products other than the local ones could not be seen in the markets of the Anatolian cities<sup>7</sup>.

In order to demonstrate how and the way in which production had changed in the Anatolian cities, the case of 'sof' (a special type of fine wool weaving) workshops of Ankara will briefly be described: Throughout the 17th century and the 18th century the entire Ankara people were leading their lives 'sof' production<sup>8</sup>. There were 1000 'sof' looms around the city together with the villages<sup>9</sup>. The workshops had preserved their original identity until 1821, but from this year on raw mohair sales began in the workshops. As the 'sof' workshops could not compete with European products, and since there was the raw material shortage, the city of Ankara has turned into a market of cheap raw mohair<sup>10</sup>. As a result of this, towards the end of the 19th century there were only several 'sof' looms intact in Ankara and its neighbourhood. The city which was exporting processed 'sof' by the beginning of the 19th century, began to export semi-processed 'sof' by the mid-century and by the end of the century was an export center of raw mohair, Ankara goat, and goat for consumption as food<sup>11</sup>.

During the same period coppery had been an important artisanship along with trade in Tokat<sup>12</sup>. By the beginning of the 18th century copper kitchen utensils produced in Tokat had become the greatest trade item. The export of semi-finished copper resulted in the collapse of coppery in Tokat starting with the second half of the 19th century. On the other hand, Konya's extensive tannery districts which dominate specif-

ic areas of the city in the 17th<sup>13</sup> and the 18th century, were lost their importance in the 19th century because of the similar reasons.

The collapse of production of 'sof in Ankara and of coppery in Tokat, that has been a great change period of the economic structure, has also influenced the local industry and artisanship in other Anatolian cities.

A. Visquesnel states that between 1848 and 1855 silk cloth workshops, which were wide-spread in cities like Amasya, Diyarbakır, and Bursa, were closing towards the end of the century<sup>14</sup>. This situation clearly defines how the changes in production goods and commerce affected the buildings in the cities in the second half of the 19th century. The state had taken some measures to have industries intact again especially in Istanbul and some other cities in the second half of the 19th century<sup>15</sup>. The ones that were related to my subject are as follows:

1. Opening of industrial schools to educate personnel who would work in industry.

2. Opening of exhibitions to make local industry favourable.

3. Establishment of companies and unification of tradesmen in these companies with the aim of supporting industry.

4. Increasing of the customs charge in order to restrict the amount of imports.

However, towards the end of the 19th century none of these measures served their ends, and the already collapsing local industry could not be regained<sup>16</sup>.

With the Tanzimat Proclamation of 1839, a number of factories have been established by private entrepreneurs with foreign capital in Anatolia<sup>17</sup>. The first case had been the Bursa silk thread factory. Following this many factories had been established by the end of the century and by the beginning of the 20th century. However, many of these factories could not survive like the ones established by the state due to the high customs charge<sup>18</sup>.

The change in the structure of manufactured goods which lasted for 200 years (17th - 19th century) resulted in the collapse of local industry and artisanship by the end of the 19th century. This affected the land use of the cities and the land use for local industry at the end of the 19th century was the same as at the beginning of the 17th century. Production areas were narrowed with respect to the 17th century because of fires, workshops which were closed since they did not keep their functions and similar causes<sup>19</sup>.

According to this it can be said that the changes, which occurred in trade and production of manufactured goods, caused the closure of workshops that were prevailing in the cities. This situation is important from the point that the changes in the trade in the 19th century had influenced the buildings.

While the Ottoman Empire was in an economic depression the European countries had passed through the Industrial Revolution, the range of manufactured goods increased and export of them resulted in capital accumulation. This caused a decrease in the interest rates, and accordingly new investment areas were to be found. Thus, starting with the second half of the 19th century this capital was moved to countries whose economies were based on raw materials and agricultural production. The Ottoman Empire had been one of these countries. However, the socio - economic structure of the Ottoman Empire was not suitable for the import of foreign capital. The financial problems, the immature legal system, which was supposed to guarantee capital, the provision, according to the religious principles, preventing the purchase of land by foreign investors, reduction in tax revenues because of favouritism, prevented the possibilities of paying of invested capital interests. Because of this situation starting with the 19th century Western commercial capitalists demanded certain commercial privileges and industrial capitalists demanded social and legal reforms.

In the context of reforms, the reorganization of army, changes in cloth and change in life style has created new consumer patterns, so that a new market has emerged for European products. Anatolia has become an open market for the industrialized countries when in 1838 a trade agreement was concluded with Great Britain and following this with other countries. For example between 1800 - 1870 there were 1232 shops in Trabzon with the population of 33000, in Kastamonu one shop for 16 persons<sup>20</sup>, at the end of the 19th century 2188 shops and 260 great stores<sup>21</sup> besides 33 hans, which also existed in the 17th and 18th centuries, in Ankara with 6518 houses, in Tokat with 4426 houses 1300 shops except 26 hans built formerly in 1885<sup>22</sup>, in Afyon with 3487 houses 1081 shops except seven hans, five great stores, two drugstores, also armourers, saddlers, handworkers and workshops producing military tent and cloth, in 1890<sup>23</sup>.

As can be seen, at the end of the 19th century, the number of shops in the commerce centers of Anatolia was so much increased that there was one shop for three or four families<sup>24</sup>. In the second half of the 19th century, state incomes or gross national product did not show a rapid increase in the Ottoman Empire. In the same period, the main income of the Empire was gathered from agriculture since there was no development in industry. No development related to increase in agriculture could be seen, and in some regions plants like cotton and tobacco which were the demands of European countries were cultivated in this period<sup>25</sup>.

As a result, since there is no increase in the city population, the increase in the number of shops in the cities can be expressed only by the increase in the percentage of money reserved for the consumption in the total city income<sup>26</sup>. In the second half of the 19th, empire expenses in the

Ottoman Empire were met by the external debts.

'Muharrem' Agreement dated as 1881 was a crucial point for Ottoman Empire economy. By this agreement, foreign creditors established an association under the name of The Ottoman Public Debt Administration (Duyun-u Umumiye)<sup>27</sup>. The Administration had taken the power of tax collection and budget preparation from the State. To realize these procedures some offices established in many cities.

In the second half of the 19th century another structural alteration related to commerce was the railway construction. The construction of railways was an important factor which affected intra - regional transportation in Anatolia and spatial structure in the city scale at the end of the 19th century<sup>28</sup>.

From the 17th century till the mids of 19th century, caravan was the only transportation way which provided distribution and commerce functions in regional scale and caravan roads were the only transportation network.

In the second half of the 19th century, in the Anatolian city, an indirect effect of commerce to structural alteration can be seen in Samsun: We know that in Tokat, which was in the Yeşilirmak valley, coppery, painted cloth, leather, in Amasya silk<sup>29</sup>, in Şebinkarahisar alum had developed<sup>30</sup> and Zile became the market of the region<sup>31</sup>. Samsun was the port of this region<sup>32</sup>.

As mentioned before, in the second half of the 19th century, in the cities, production of goods had decreased because of external effects, raw materials were sold to the external markets. So, Samsun had become the port which was used for the transportation of raw materials of the region to Istanbul and from there to European countries. Moreover, manufactured goods which were coming from outside, to the cities like Ankara, Tokat was entering from Samsun port. This provided Samsun to have a commercial superiority over the other cities<sup>33</sup>.

In 1890, it was decided to construct a railway which would connect Samsun to the inner parts of Anatolia<sup>34</sup>. In the second half of the 19th century, population of Samsun had shown a great increase with parallel to this increased commercial importance. In spite of its village like appearance in the 17th and the 18th centuries, the population of Samsun had increased to 3000 in the mids of the 19th century, and by the end of the 19th century it reached to 11000<sup>35</sup>. New comers to the city were Rums and Armenian merchants, European company representatives, bankers and workers of other services and this caused new structures in Samsun<sup>36</sup>. This result is an interesting example for the structural alteration caused by commerce in the Anatolian city, in the second half of the 19th century.

In addition, in the cities where a continuous commercial products flow like Istanbul, Samsun, Izmir, Rum and Armenian merchants, European company representatives constituted the new population. And as a result of

the changes which came up with 'Tanzimat', the architecture of the buildings changed in the style. Izmir is the other example which reflected the effects of commerce as regards the structural alteration in the second half of the 19th century. Izmir was the port of a fertile region which Gediz and Menderes rivers pass through. In this region, Manisa was prime in silk industry, Uşak in coppery, Izmir in cotton, called hand-painted kerchief industry, Ayvalık and Edremit in olive oil and soap industry<sup>37</sup>. As mentioned before, during the changing commerce relations, artisanship declined not bearing the competition of import goods. Surplus of agricultural products were starting to flow external markets and this new course brought the railway system together with it. We see the construction of Izmir - Aydın railroad in that time<sup>38</sup>. The population of Izmir which is the breaking point of the new transportation net had increased rapidly. This population had come from the near surrounding of the city and from all the other parts of the Empire. Rums who were dealing with commerce were the greatest ethnic group. Foreign merchants from other countries can also be added to these. In 1850, merchants of 20 different countries established great firms and opened consulates in Izmir<sup>39</sup>. These are the buildings coming up with the changes in commerce and are interesting examples for the subject since they affected the spatial organization by the places that they chose for the settlement.

Thus as a result of the change in commerce, the increase in the population of the characteristic commerce centers (like Istanbul, Izmir, Samsun, Afyon) together with the construction of new railroad nets, in parallel with the developing technology, caused some changes in the spatial structure.

At the end of the 19th century, commerce of industrial plants necessary for the developing industry in Europe increased and especially in the regions which were open to external commerce, while 1/10 of the regional products were included to commerce according to old tax collection rules, in this period more than 1/10 of especially foods were included<sup>40</sup>.

It was seen that the amount of cereals that were marketed was less with respect to total production depending on climate and the economical status of villagers, however this rate was high for industrial plants<sup>41</sup>.

The main cause of this were the attempts of foreign capitalists to provide more commonly cultivation of industrial plants and flow of almost all production to external markets. As a result of scarcity of raw cotton and increase in prices seen in England, Western Anatolia became one of the regions chosen by English capital owners with the aim of finding new cotton cultivation areas<sup>42</sup>.

With the help of a decree proclaimed in 1862, some facilities were brought to cotton producers. Beginning from 1862, since the cotton produc-

tion directed for export was increased merchants started to built cotton gin factories and hydrolic press foundations to provide that the processes of cotton gin and packing could be carried out in the desired way. In 1870, the number of factories built in the cities on the railroad net reached to 34<sup>43</sup>. At the same time cotton production caused the emergence of new jobs like banking and insurance companies.

## CONCLUSIONS

Beginning from the 17th century till the end of the 19th century, the effects of changes in the commerce structure on the structural changes and reflections of them to the spatial structure in the Ottoman Empire are seen in that period: Capital accumulation and decrease in the interest rates in Europe necessitated to look for more profitable investement areas, and beginning from the second half of the 19th century capital began to flow to the countries like the Ottoman Empire whose economies were depended on raw material and agricultural products.

In the second half of the 19th century, the flow of commerce had changed, since the products, which were the raw material of local industry of cities were directed towards external markets instead of internal ones as a result of demand of rapidly developing industry in Europe. This change brought its communication system, which was railroad, also and at the end of the 19th century, this new communication technology entered to Anatolia. In this alteration period, local industry and artisanships in the cities fell down, and the products of Western factories came to the Anatolian city markets pacts of commerce made with Europe. The production of industrial plants which were the necessities of Western industries was encouraged and accelerated.

The entrance of railroad to the Anatolia caused an increase in the population of the cities which were on the route, and various ethnic groups in the city became effective on the commerce, and firms and factories of them, firms and consulates of foreign merchants in cities like Izmir which were the breaking point of railroad, emerged. Banks and insurance companies supporting the production of industrial plants which were exported, and giving credits and also guaranteeing them were established and stores for these products, which have the same functions today were built.

At the end of the 19th century as a result of change in socio-economic structure caused by change in commerce, city center and residential areas were affected; at that period it was seen that city center was composed of two functional areas:

1. The traditional center which contained the work places of artisans and tradesmen, serving the region as well as low income population in the city.
2. Newly developed shopping area which contained shops selling the Western manufactured goods, the offices of tradesmen and wholesale traders,

servicing the high income population in the city.

In the residential areas there are also two kinds of parts at the end of the 19th century in the Anatolian city:

The irregular pattern of old traditional parts existed until the end of the 19th century, at the end of the 19th century geometrical grid - iron pattern was used as the street network in newly developed areas. The near parts to this grid - iron pattern were mostly the areas where new comers to the city resided such as migrants and minorities. Some of the native rich families also moved to the newly developed upper class residential areas in the city 44.

In addition to the newly built grid - iron residential districts which were built according to new building codes (Ebniye Nizamnamesi), other functions such as railroad, military base, administrative center and new shopping - storage - office development as the new centre were added to the land use of Anatolian city at that period.

These created new forms within the city pattern. Due to the change in transportation system and the use of horse - cart in city scale which was introduced by the new comers to the city such as the minorities, the urban area developed.

As a result, the new center which was servicing the high class and as the offices of Rum and Armenian minorities and tradesmen who came from outside and settled in the city as the result of changing external commerce relationships besides the old center composed of traditional tradesman markets, in addition, in the residential areas, new districts with geometrical patterns in the form of horse - cart besides the traditional residential pattern were the evidence of alteration period of spatial structure at the end of the 19th century in the Anatolian city.



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