

COMMUNAL RELATIONS IN İZMİR/SMYRNA, 1826-1864:  
AS SEEN THROUGH THE PRISM OF GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations  
University of Toronto

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## ABSTRACT

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2008

This dissertation examines the level of social and cultural interaction between the Greek and Turkish communities of İzmir and the impact of the centralizing Ottoman reforms on the society of İzmir during the age of the Ottoman modernization. It focuses on the years between 1826 and 1864 that marked a turning point in the administrative history of the Ottoman Empire. Analyzing this subject requires understanding the social-cultural and economic dynamics of İzmir that played a crucial role in the formation of the social fabric of the city. Ottoman-Turkish archival material and to some extent Greek newspapers of the time are used as primary sources. The sources discussed in this dissertation demonstrate that the central authority attempted to re-integrate İzmir into its administrative and political structure in accordance with the centralizing or repressive *Tanzimat* reforms. However, *Tanzimat* reforms did not disturb the social cohesion of İzmir, which the city produced over the centuries with its local character and some peculiar dynamics. The evidence also indicates that the Empire did not aim to mold social relations in İzmir, instead benefited from city's already existing social-cultural and economic situation, which was well suited to its modernization program. This study attempts to write a social and cultural history of İzmir, by considering the ethno-religious policies of the Ottoman state in the

given period and questioning Ottoman modernity through the prism of the Greek-Turkish communal relations. Much of the conventional Turkish and Greek historiography of the post WWI years has analyzed 19th century İzmir's history in terms of two “conflicting nations.” While Turkish historiography has focused on the ethnic homogeneity of Turks and its history, modern Greek historiography has stressed the suppression of the Ottoman Greeks under the Ottoman rule. Such approaches have engendered the commonly used categories of Greek versus Turkish or Muslim versus non-Muslim. Approaching İzmir as an organic whole, instead of dividing the city according to ethno-religious criterion, this dissertation tries to uncover the dynamics of coexistence and communal relations, which marked the life of the city for centuries, but was brought to an abrupt end as a result of the modern nation state formations.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It has been a privilege being a PhD student of my supervisor Virginia Aksan. She deeply influenced my intellectual development, enlarged my vision and perception of Ottoman History over the years. Her exceptional personality and scholarly skills turned the process of my PhD into an enjoyable trip within history. I have benefited more than I ever thought from her wisdom and her approach to history and constructive criticisms. Without her encouragement, dedicated and wholehearted supervision I could not write this dissertation. Amir Hassanpour profoundly influenced my approach on historical issues and enriched my theoretical knowledge. He has always been very generous in making long discussions with me about complicated issues not only in Ottoman History, but also in general western and wear and Middle Eastern history and politics. His constructive suggestions and continuous support and advice made this dissertation possible. Moreover, our long conversations while wandering around in the historical places and narrow streets of İzmir and İstanbul will remain as unforgettable and wonderful memories for me. Özer Ergenç was the first person to encourage and convince me to pursue my PhD abroad. When we first met in Turkey neither of us knew that I would be his “unofficial” PhD student. It was very kind and generous of him that he voluntarily supervised my dissertation out of Canada. His deep scholarly skills and knowledge of Ottoman history directed me to correct sources in the Ottoman Archives. He was very patient and generous with his time in reading and checking Ottoman-Turkish documents with me. I conducted the analysis of the Ottoman Turkish documents under his exclusive supervision and continuous support.

My intellectual development initially began with Elisabeth Özdalga during my undergraduate years in the sociology department in the Middle East Technical University. When I decided to conduct PhD abroad she gave me ample encouragement. Studying closely with her not only made me develop a special interest about social change in Turkey, but also to search for

the historical heritage of the country. I would like to thank Reşat Kasaba who encouraged me to work on the subject of İzmir and guided me at the beginning of my research with his great expertise in the region. James Reilly helped me understanding complex and overlapping relations in Near and Middle Eastern societies. My adventure of learning Modern Greek Language began with George Kirikopoulos in the University of Toronto. His teaching talent, continuous support and encouragement gave me the courage to learn this language. Jens Hanssen's comments on overall thesis made me re-consider İzmir in broader geographical location and think about possibilities of a future comparative study.

My special thanks go to Angelos Dourlaris who was my Greek tutor in İstanbul. I could finish this dissertation on planned time because of his generous help and encouragement. It was a misfortune that I had pneumonia when I went to Athens in order to complete my dissertation and he devotedly scanned Greek Newspapers for me and patiently explained them to me. Moreover, his special interest in the history of the Aegean region and İzmir provided me with the opportunity to had long and enjoyable conversations with him. He not only tolerated me with his sense of humor in all my difficulties with the Greek sources, but also gave me endless support during the writing process of this dissertation.

I would like to thank my department at the University of Toronto, the Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations, for awarding me with a research travel grant to support my research in İstanbul. I would also like thank to the staff in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives for their kind help.

Vasilis Yandas offered me great hospitality whenever I was in Athens, and turned my downs into highs. It was reassuring to have his friendship during these stressful times. The encouragement of my dear friend Sait Özervarlı provided me with very important support during my research and writing process in İstanbul and Athens. He generously helped me in finding some urgently needed sources, and sent them from İstanbul to Athens. His kind and quick help in

the most hectic times in the last days before the submission to my committee will remain as a very precious memory for me. İclal Ergenç from the very beginning to the end of my PhD, gave me moral support and made me believe that it would finish on time. It was very kind of Stavros Anestidis to provide me with the necessary sources in the library of the Center for Asia Minor Studies. I would like to thank my dear friend Pınar Besen who edited this study with great care and sincere interest, and communicated with me day and night about some details. Şefik Pekseven is another dear friend of mine who very generously offered me help from İstanbul when I was desperately in need of some sources in Athens.

When I moved from Toronto to İstanbul I made two life-long friendships; Bülent Erdoğan and Ekrem Özorbeyi became my dearest senior friends in İstanbul. When I went to İstanbul from Athens with many complaints and tiredness during the writing process, they sent me back to Athens with great encouragement to complete this study. Not only their affectionate and sincere moral support, but also their wisdom of life and sense of humor gave me relief and courage in the most difficult times. I am grateful to them to be there for me whenever I needed.

I have a great debt of gratitude to pay to my parents, Gönül and Tuncer Tansuğ, who always unconditionally supported me not only during my PhD years but also in all my educational journey. Their affectionate and endless support has been very uplifting in writing this dissertation. I also would like to thank my father for his help and patience in reading and discussing British consular reports with me. Providing unconditional support, my two best friends in İzmir, my grandmother, Suzan Kalakli, and cicianne, Muzaffer Ozgul, were always there for me during my studies. I am also grateful to my brother Kaan Tansuğ who took care of my parents in İzmir when unexpected illnesses emerged in the family during my absence.

I am equally grateful to Osman Köken, who from the beginning to the end, closely shared every stage of my PhD years with me. He provided continuous companionship during my PhD courses and research. Sometimes he accompanied me in the libraries, sometimes he listened

to my long discussions. As he promised at the beginning, Osman conducted all the technical requirements of this dissertation, which was the most complicated part for me. His affectionate and sincere interest sustained me throughout this study.

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## INTRODUCTION

### **Stating the Problem: Why Study Communal Relations In İzmir?**

The motivation behind this study originated from my concern about the conventional Turkish and Greek historical studies of İzmir in which Greeks and Turks are depicted as two “conflicting communities” or “nations.” Using ethno-religious criteria has engendered the commonly used categories of Greek versus Turkish populations, Muslims versus non-Muslims and Levantine versus Ottoman Muslims or non-Muslims. I believe that writing the history of cities according to ethnic and religious origins does not allow for a meaningful and complex analysis of the multi ethno-religious Ottoman society. I was interested to know exactly when this perception of conflicting Greco-Turkish communities first began to develop in the multi ethno-religious society of İzmir. I wondered whether it was a result of the oppressive policies of Mahmud II during the Greek revolt in the 1820s or of the Tanzimat, which caused unrest among both the Muslim and non-Muslim population in some other regions of the Empire. Challenging conventional approaches, I wanted to examine the society of İzmir, especially from the point of view of Greek-Turkish relations, by approaching the city as an organic whole without dividing it according to ethno-religious criteria during the period of Ottoman modernization.

Although I was aware of the identity problems in multi-cultural Ottoman cities, during my research in this study I once more realized how the people of İzmir interconnected and how it is misleading to look at the İzmir society as a society composed of clear cut layers of ethnicities, such as Turks, Levantines, Greeks, Jews, and Armenians. A wonderful surprise towards the end of this study also made me experience this fact: I read about a certain Baltazzi (Baltacı) family from İzmir which was one of the leading and much loved Ottoman Greek families in İzmir according to Greek newspapers of the period and some secondary sources. I learned from a much

senior friend of mine<sup>1</sup> while we were chatting in Samos that a member of the Baltazzi family, Alex Baltazzi,<sup>2</sup> lives in İzmir and owns one of the biggest travel agencies in Turkey. I was very surprised of course, because they ought to have left İzmir in accordance with the 1922 forced Greek and Turkish population exchange agreement of the Lausanne Treaty in 1922. I found his address. I asked for an appointment through e-mail, briefly explaining my interest in his family. But, in my e-mail I called his family a "Greek family" as my sources mentioned. In his brief reply he told me that "I am very interested in your study, and I definitely want to meet and talk with you because I am against classifying the Baltazzi family in any religious or communal category." I met with him in his office and we had a long conversation. He is 70 years old, a very nice and respectable gentleman. He speaks five languages, English, French, Greek, Italian and Turkish. He is very interested in history; he reads history books and historical journals. He told me that his family was a Levantine family, not a Greek one. They are the progeny of a mixture of Venetian and Chiot ancestors. He is Catholic from his mother's side so they were able to stay in İzmir in 1922 by receiving Austrian citizenship. His father was a Greek, an Orthodox Christian, but his mother was a religious Catholic and wanted her son to be brought up a Catholic. His father accepted this so Mr. Alex Baltazzi and his family are Catholic. I feel very lucky to have had the chance to meet with a grandson of one of the Baltazzis in İzmir. Talking to him made me realise how a superficial categorization of ethnic communities in the city makes it difficult to get a sense of the multiculturalism of İzmir.

This study examines the level of social and cultural interaction between the Greek and Turkish communities of İzmir and the relations of the communities with the state during the age of Ottoman modernization, specifically between 1826 and 1864. We don't know much about economic and social interactions between the Greek and Turkish communities of İzmir in the

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<sup>1</sup> At this point I would like to thank my dear friend Captain Adnan Şenol for letting me know that Alex Baltazzi lives in İzmir.

<sup>2</sup> I would like to thank to Mr. Alex Baltazzi for the long conversation we had and for sharing his knowledge with me.

period between the years 1826 and 1864. How did a growing market economy and the tension in society caused by the Greek revolt of 1821 affect social relations between the two communities? How were communal relations between the Greek and Turkish communities of İzmir affected by circumstances of economic development and social unrest in the Tanzimat Period? To what extent were the Tanzimat principles of equality across sectarian frontiers applied in İzmir? These were the questions I asked at the beginning of my research in this study. Answering such questions was not possible through considering İzmir only within the port city category in the eastern Mediterranean. I abandoned using “port city” category and its framework alone to study urban social history of İzmir between 1826 and 1864. Instead, I tried to examine various types of relations considering significant historical events.<sup>3</sup> Studying İzmir within the category of the “port city” would lead to basically focusing on economic relations in the city. Examining a city giving priority to its port city characteristic requires consideration of the economic logic, which was the primary factor for the existence of the port cities. The modernization paradigm ignored this point and focused on values, norms and culture and consumption patterns in analyzing the diffusion process in the urban development of the port cities.<sup>4</sup> Such an approach basically focuses on the elements of the incorporation process of the Ottoman Empire into the capitalist expansion of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore it viewed port cities as the clearest manifestations of the incorporation into the capitalist world economy.<sup>5</sup> Although focusing on the transformations that this incorporation process led to reveal important economic relations, this approach curtailed other social, cultural and political dynamics of the multi-ethno-religious Ottoman port cities. That is to say, using port city framework alone would not cover other dynamics of urban social

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<sup>3</sup> I agree with the critique of Edhem Eldem for the analysis of İstanbul only within the framework of port city, and his suggestion of considering various kinds of other relations under the concept of “contact” in its broader sense. Edhem Eldem, “İstanbul: from imperial to peripheralized capital,” in *The Ottoman City between East and West, Aleppo, İzmir, and İstanbul*, eds. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, & Bruce Masters, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1999, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 2000) 137-138. We can relatively apply what Edhem Eldem suggested for the study of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century of İstanbul, to the case of İzmir.

<sup>4</sup> Çağlar Keyder, Eyüp Özveren, Donald Quataert, “Port-Cities in the Ottoman Empire, Some Theoretical and Historical Perspectives,” *Review*, XVI, 4, Fall 1993, pp. 520-522.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 519-558.

relations. Edhem Eldem suggested the concept of “contact” in its broader sense in order to analyze overlapping and intricate economic, political and social relations and imperial features of İstanbul: contact of different cultures and ethno-religious groups, conflict between political aims and economic self-interests, and between beliefs and mentalities, and balance among the contradictory tendencies, and more importantly a period of mediation between East and West, center and periphery, Islam and Christianity, state and society, modernization and tradition, elite and masses, and empire and republic.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, in approaching the urban social history of İzmir I have tried to explore various types of relations: firstly, the impact of the Greek revolt on the Greek-Turkish communal relations in İzmir; secondly, the relation between the Ottoman state and the Greek community of İzmir during the Tanzimat period; thirdly, the relationship between the Greek state and the Greek community of İzmir; fourthly, the impact of the centralizing reforms on the Greek community of İzmir, and finally, the impact of the modernizing state regulations on communal life in İzmir, especially, on relations between the Greeks and Turks in the city. In examining these relations, the picture I drew from my primary sources also directed me to think about the nature of the social fabric of the city, which affected communal relations in the period of Ottoman modernization. Moreover, I also realized that I needed to think about the question of center-periphery politics and the internal socio-cultural dynamics of the city in order to understand İzmir society in its urban transformation during the centralizing Ottoman reforms.

The period of this study was chosen as the years 1826 to 1864, since they marked a turning point in the administrative history of the Ottoman Empire. 1826 was the year in which the Janissaries were destroyed, and during which the Greek revolt was in full swing.<sup>7</sup> The New

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<sup>6</sup> Eldem, 2000, 138. I did not intend to use the same categories for analyzing Ottoman capital for studying the urban history of İzmir. However, similar to Eldem’s approach, I preferred to analyze various kinds of relations in studying İzmir in the years 1826 to 1864.

<sup>7</sup> The abolition of the Janissaries not only led to military changes, but also significant administrative changes in the Empire. When the Janissary corps was abolished, the *kadı* lost his means (*kolluk kuvvetleri*) to carry out his duty of ensuring public order and fulfilling municipal responsibilities. Therefore, the office of *kadı* deteriorated, becoming responsible only for judiciary matters. Accordingly, the ministry of *ih̄tisab* [*ih̄tisab nazırlığı*], *ih̄tisab*: Office of the

Provincial Organization (*Vilayet Nizamnamesi*) was issued in 1864, after which the administrative organization of the Empire and specifically of the cities radically changed.<sup>8</sup> Within the given period of this study (1826-1864) İzmir was neither a province (it became province in 1866) nor had a municipality (it was founded in 1868). One of the points that I wanted to underline in my dissertation was that the urban modernization and transformation of İzmir began through its economic, administrative and social-cultural dynamics while the city even was not yet a province itself and did not benefit from the Provincial Organizations of 1864 and 1871.<sup>9</sup> There are a number of significant historical “moments” in the history of İzmir just before and in the middle of the 19th century that affected the nature of relations among the communities and their relations with the Ottoman state: The instigation of urban riot by the Janissaries in 1797 (when great Greek casualties occurred), the oppressive policies of the state during the initial years of the Greek revolt along the Aegean coastline and islands, the declaration of the Tanzimat (1839 and 1856 imperial edicts) and the continuing fires and

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superintendent of guilds and markets] was founded in the capital, and *ihtisab* directorates (*ihtisab müdürlükleri*) were founded in the provinces in 1826. The *ihtisab nazırı* replaced the *kadı's* municipal duties regarding social order and the collection of taxes, and the organization of urban life. However, in the following years police organization was founded in 1845, and the office of public security (*Zabtiye Müşirliği*), was founded in 1846 to carry out these duties of the *ihtisab nazırlığı* so that *ihtisab müdürü* became only responsible for controlling *narh* and *esnaf*. İlber Ortaylı, *Türkiye İdari Tarihi*, (Ankara: Türkiye ve Ortadoğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü, 1971) 203-204. However, the basic reason for the foundation of the *ihtisab nizamnamesi* in 1826 was to meet the expenses of the *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*, which was established after the abolishment of the Janissaries. The names of the tax that was collected according to the *ihtisab nizamnamesi* were of the likes of *rusüm-ı cihadiyye*. Mübahat Kütükoğlu, “1826 Düzenlenmesinden Sonra İzmir İhtisab Nezareti,” [Ministry of İhtisab of İzmir] in *İzmir Tarihi'nden Kesitler*, [Pieces from History of İzmir] ed. Mübahat Kütükoğlu, (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi, 2000, from now on 2000b) 62.

<sup>8</sup> According to the Provincial Reform Law of 1864 new provincial units, *vilayets*, replaced the traditional *eyalet* system. Each *vilayet* was divided into *livas* (*sancaks*), each *sancak* was composed of *kazas*, and a *kaza* was made up of *nahiyes*, which were divided into villages, *karyes*. This system aimed at increasing the authority of local governors, in contrast with the attempt of the Tanzimat to strengthen centralized power. Stanford J Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, 1808-1975*, (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1977) 88-89; İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Yerel Yönetim Geleneği* [The Tradition of the Local Administration from the Tanzimat to the Republic], (İstanbul: Hil, 1985) 61. However, the structure of the 1864 Provincial Law preserved the centralized administration, and led to an effective administration of the provinces by the center. İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devri'nde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri, (1840-1880)*, (Ankara: TTK, 2000) 54; Ortaylı, 1979, p. 290.

<sup>9</sup> In 1870s, another history started in İzmir when the Public Debt Administration became effective and led to isolation of the local bourgeoisie class in western Anatolia, and the change in the İzmir society continued with the Young Turk policies in 1910s).



epidemics in the middle of the 19th century might be “keyholes”<sup>10</sup> through which to understand the communal relations in the multi ethno-religious İzmir society in its urban transformation.

There is a vast literature about the urban socio-cultural histories of the Middle Eastern and Balkan cities and general social-cultural<sup>11</sup> and economic histories of İzmir.<sup>12</sup> The recent Middle Eastern<sup>13</sup> and Balkan urban histories<sup>14</sup> and urban histories of İzmir<sup>15</sup> explore social relations and communal interactions within the context of Ottoman modernity, and transcend the

<sup>10</sup> The term is used by Virginia Aksan in her “Theoretical Ottomans.” It will be published in *History and Theory*. She used the terminology in Tim Brook “Time and Global History,” a research paper presented to a multiyear project at McMasterUniversity, Globalization and Autonomy.

<http://www.humanities.mcmaster.ca/~global/ga/globalizationautonomy.htm>

<sup>11</sup> Raif Nezi, *İzmir'in Tarihi* [History of İzmir ], 1927; Adnan Bilget, *Son Yüzyılda İzmir Şehri*, (İzmir, n.p., 1949); Hakkı Gültekin, *İzmir Tarihi* [History of İzmir ], (İzmir: n.p., 1952); Tuncer Baykara, *İzmir Şehri Tarihi* [History of City of İzmir ], (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Matbaası, 1974); Necmi Ülker, *17. ve 18. Yüzyıllarda İzmir Şehri Tarihi* [The History of İzmir in the 17th and 18th centuries] (İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1994); Çınar Atay, *Tarih İçinde İzmir*, [İzmir in History], (İzmir: n.p., 1978); Rauf Beyru, *İzmir Şehri Üzerine Bir İnceleme* [An Analysis on the City of İzmir], (Ankara: ODTÜ, 1969), *18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda İzmir* [İzmir in the 18th and 19th Centuries], (İzmir: Teksir, 1973), *19. Yüzyılda İzmir'de Yaşam* [Life in the 19th Century İzmir], (İstanbul, 2000); Nedim Atilla, *İzmir Posta Tarihi, (1841-2001)* [Postal History of İzmir, 1841-2001], (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi, 2001).

<sup>12</sup> Daniel Goffman, *İzmir and Levantine World, 1550-1650*, (Seattle, 1990); “İzmir from Village to Colonial Port City,” in *The Ottoman City between East and West, Aleppo, İzmir, and İstanbul*, eds. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, & Bruce Masters, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1st ed. 1999, 2nd ed., 2000); Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and The World Economy, The Nineteenth Century*, (New York: State University of New York, 1988), “Was There a Compradore Bourgeoisie in Mid-Nineteenth Century Western Anatolia?,” *Review*, XL, 2, Spring, 1988, pp. 215-228, “İzmir”, *Review*, XVI, 4, Fall, 1993; Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century, 1700-1820*, (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992).

<sup>13</sup> Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siecle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Capital*, (Oxfors: Oxford University Press, 2005); Nora Lafi, *Municipalités Méditerranéennes : les réformes urbaines Ottomanes au miroir d'une histoire comparée*, (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 2005), *Une ville du Maghreb entre ancien régime et réformes ottomanes : genèse des institutions municipales à Tripoli de Barbarie, 1795-1911*, (Paris: L'Harmattan; Tunis: IRMC. Institut de recherche sur le Maghreb contemporain, 2002; Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism*, (Cambridge, UK., New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001; Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth Century Ottoman Lebanon*, (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2000); Beshara Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus 1700-1900*, (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1995); Leila Tarazi Fawaz, *An Occasion of war: civil conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860*, (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 1994, *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth Century Beirut*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983); Moshe Maoz, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine, 1840-1861: the impact of the Tanzimat on politics and society*, (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975).

<sup>14</sup> Mark Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts, Christians, Muslims and Jews 1430-1950*, (London, New York, Toronto and Sydney: Harper Perennial, 2nd ed., 2005, 1st ed. Harper Collins Publishers, 2004); Bülent Özdemir, *Ottoman Reforms and Social Life: Reflectons from Salonica, 1830-1850*, (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2003); Meropi Anastassadou, *Salonique 1830-1912*, (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Nikolai Todorov, *The Balkan City, 1400-1900*, (London: University of Washington Press, 1983).

<sup>15</sup> Sibel Zandi Sayek, *Public space and urban citizens: Ottoman İzmir in the remaking, 1840—1890*, unpublished PhD. Dissertation, (University of California, Berkeley, 2001); Marie Carmen Smyrnelis, *Une société hors de soi: Identités et relations sociales a Smyrne aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*, unpublished PhD. Dissertation, (Paris: Ecole des Hautes en sciences Sociales, 2000); Oliver J.Schmitt, *Levantiner, Lebenswelten und Identitäten einer etnokonnfessionellen Gruppe im osmanischen Reich in 'langen 19. Jahrhundert'* [Levantines: Life Worlds and Identities of an Ethno-Denominational Group in the Ottoman Empire during the Long 19th Century"] (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 122, München: r. Oldenbourg, 2005).

borders of local histories. The urban social histories of the multi-ethno-religious Middle Eastern cities are generally analyzed through considering two pivotal historical events in the region: the rule of Mehmed Ali Paşa between 1830 and 1840 and ethno-religious tension leading to sectarian violence under the intense European intervention from the years 1840s to 1860s.<sup>16</sup> As far as the histories of Balkan cities is considered, renouncing conventional ethnic or national “awakening” or resistance paradigms,<sup>17</sup> new urban Balkan histories have presented different approaches to analyzing urban histories. Rural uprisings, the foundation of the independent Greek state and the autonomous rule of Serbia were the crucial historical events that shaped the urban transformation of the Balkan cities. Administrative and social structures and relations in the Arab lands and

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<sup>16</sup> Ussama Makdisi approached sectarian conflict as an expression of Ottoman modernity that composed of conflict and contact between European colonialism, Ottoman Tanzimat policies or “Ottoman imperialism.” He mentioned the year 1841, when the first major violent events occurred, as the rise of the sectarianism and 1861 as the official end of it with the declaration of Réglement Organique. Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth Century Ottoman Lebanon*, (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2000). While Makdisi mainly focused on the power struggle among the Druze and Maronite Elites and the origins of sectarian violence, Farah Caesar more dealt with the diplomatic relations and international implications and role of the British and French in the Ottoman Lebanon. Farah Caesar, *The Politics of Interventionism in Ottoman Lebanon, 1831-1861*, (London: New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000). Engin Akarlı in his *The Long Peace, Mutasarrıfıyya Period*, also dealt with the origins, revisions of the events and the developments in the following period in the Mount Lebanon. Engin Deniz Akarlı, *The Long Peace: Ottoman Lebanon, 1861-1920*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). Leila Fawaz in her *An Occasion of War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860*, also focused on the origins of the sectarian violence in Mount Lebanon and Damascus mentioning the foreign impact, avoided from analyzing the issue only within the content of Muslim versus Christian conflict and Christian versus Druzes. She also touched upon the issues of importance of negotiation among the communities and mutual collaboration of the elites, as sometimes happened during the aggressive events. According to her, the weak Ottoman central authority, influential traditional and local powers together with the changing economic conditions in the region led to a gap that was filled by sectarian networks. Leila Tarazi Fawaz, *An Occasion of war: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860*, (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 1994). Among the studies on the Middle Eastern cities of the Ottoman Empire, the works of Jens Hanssen and Beshara Doumai provided a revisionist approach in dealing with the period of increased European penetration and centralizing Ottoman reforms. Hanssen mainly focusing on the Hamidian period of 1876-1908, analyzed the urban dynamics and its relations with various other factors, like foreign intervention, centralizing Ottoman policies and role of local notables and merchants, in Beirut. In his analysis of Ottoman Arab provinces from 1870s to 1908, what he called “the era of provincial capitals,” (p. 75), he stressed the dialectic relationship between center and periphery and simultaneity of the growing centralization and local character of the city. Hanssen, 2005. Doumani’s work, which covered two centuries of Ottoman Palestine (1700-1900), revealed the urban and rural dynamics of the region during the centralizing Ottoman reforms and growing European influence. His work demonstrated that before Ottoman reforms of the Tanzimat and Hamidian period, the urban and rural transformation of Jabal Nablus already started through commodization of the land, integration of urban area with rural regions and monetization of rural economy. Doumani, 1995.

<sup>17</sup> Pachalis Kitromilides, “Imagined Communities and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans,” in *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy, Studies in Culture and political thought of south-eastern Europe*, Great Britain: Variorum, 1994) 149-192; N. Pantazopoulos, “Community Laws and Customs of Western Macedonia under Ottoman Rule,” *Balkan Studies*, v.2, n.3 1961-1962, pp. 1-22; Stephen Xydis, “Medieval Origins of Modern Greek Nationalism,” *Balkan Studies*, n. 9, 1968, pp. 1-20; Konstandinos Vakalopoulos, *Modern History of Macedonia, 1830-1912*, (Thessaloniki, n.a, 1988).

Balkans were quite different from İzmir and in general western Anatolia, which did not experience even something similar to such civil violence as in the Arab lands and Balkans in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. İzmir experienced a similar ethnic violence between 1919 and 1923 in the age of nationalisms. The ethnic violence between 1840s and 1860s and overlapping and complex relations of civil war in the Arab cities made a big difference to the direction of the Arab cities. Similarly, ethno-religious clash among the Orthodox Christian communities and their conflict with the Ottoman state in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century affected political, economic and social developments of the Balkan cities, not just then, but later as well. That is to say, there were no such rigid historical events in the social and cultural history of İzmir and western Anatolia until 1908, which deeply affected the social-cultural and political developments of the future, as were in the Arab lands of the Empire and the Balkans in the given period of this study (1826-1864) –even until the 1908 Young Turk rule. The social-cultural history of İzmir did not attract the attention of scholars for a long time. İzmir, the commercial center in the Eastern Mediterranean and port city of Western Anatolia, which had maintained its ethnic diversity for centuries, experienced an upheaval in its ethnic composition beginning in the 1910s. By the middle of the 1920s it was transformed into an ethnically homogeneous Turkish city. The process of demographic change, not unique to the city, was shaped by a number of factors, including the incorporation of the region into the world capitalist economy, the modernization of the Ottoman state (Tanzimat reforms 1839-1876) and the birth of nationalist politics in 1910s; in a word, the onset of modernization. Some young scholars recently showed interest in the period of ethnic conflict in İzmir and Western Anatolia between 1908 and 1922 and wrote PhD dissertations on the subject,<sup>18</sup> and also Reşat Kasaba, as an expert on the region questioned the

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<sup>18</sup> Vangelis Kechriotis “*The Greeks at the End of the Empire, A non-Muslim Ottoman community between Autonomy and Patriotism*,” (University of Leiden, 2005); Biray Kırılı, *From the Ottoman Empire to Turkish Nation-State: Reconfiguring Spaces and Geo-Bodies*, unpublished PhD Dissertation, (New York: University of New York at Binghamton, 2002).

period of ethnic violence and examined its background.<sup>19</sup> Very little of the works on the social-cultural history of İzmir deals with the social relations and communal interaction within the period this study covers.<sup>20</sup> The urban social histories of İzmir that cover the period of this dissertation deal with communal relations from different angles. One such historical-architectural study examines how the relationship between the people of İzmir cut across ethno-religious lines by studying the physical organization of the city based mostly on French newspapers of the period and to some extent the Ottoman archival material.<sup>21</sup> Another study concentrates on the communal relations among the European and other ethno-religious communities of the city in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries using largely Ottoman historiography in French.<sup>22</sup> Lastly, another focuses on the Levantine identity and life in the Ottoman Empire with examples of the İzmir, Pera and Galata districts of Istanbul.<sup>23</sup> While this study renounces Eurocentric approaches like of the “decline thesis” and modernization or westernization, it makes a contribution to the recently written Ottoman urban social histories. What differentiates this study from the others is that it concentrates specifically on the Greek-Turkish communal relations (1826-1864).<sup>24</sup> These are usually examined as two “conflicting nations” by much of the conventional Turkish and Greek historiography of the post-WWI years.

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<sup>19</sup> Reşat Kasaba, “İzmir 1922: A Port City Unravels,” in *Culture and Modernity from Meditarrenean and to Indian Ocean*, eds. Leila Tarazi Fawaz, Christopher Alan Bayly, (New York: Colombia University Press, 2002, pp. 204-229).

<sup>20</sup> Sibel Zandi Sayek, *Public space and urban citizens: Ottoman İzmir in the remaking, 1840—1890*, unpublished PhD. Dissertation, (University of California, Berkeley, 2001); Marie Carmen Smyrnelis, *Une société hors de soi: Identités et relations sociales a Smyrne aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*, unpublished PhD. Dissertation, (Paris: Ecole des Hautes en sciences Sociales, 2000); Oliver J. Schmitt, *Levantiner, Lebenswelten und Identitäten einer ethnokonfessionellen Gruppe im osmanischen Reich in ‘langen 19. Jahrhundert’* [Levantines: Life Worlds and Identities of an Ethno-Denominational Group in the Ottoman Empire during the Long 19th Century] (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 122, München: r. Oldenbourg, 2005).

<sup>21</sup> Zandi Sayek, 2001, “Orchestrating Difference, Performing Identity: Urban Space and Public Rituals in Nineteenth Century İzmir,” in *Hybrid Urbanism: On the identity discourse and the built environment*, ed. Nezar Al Sayyad, (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2001).

<sup>22</sup> Smyrnelis, 2000.

<sup>23</sup> Schmitt, *Levantiner*, 2005.

<sup>24</sup> The Greek community of İzmir, and to some extent the change in Greco-Turkish relations in the 19<sup>th</sup> century İzmir, have been subject to investigation in the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century at the end of the Empire in the PhD. Dissertation of Vangelis Kechriotis “*The Greeks at the End of the Empire, A non-Muslim Ottoman community between Autonomy and Patriotism*,” (University of Leiden, 2005).

What this study also does to delve deep into Ottoman-Turkish material. In this respect, the aim of this study is to contribute to the urban social history as it is currently being written all over the Empire.

### **Sources**

In order to address communal relations in İzmir, I consulted archival material in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives in Istanbul and the Ottoman court registers of İzmir, some Greek newspapers of the period, British Consular reports and the observations of many travelers of the period.

#### **I. Şer'iyye Sicilleri (Court Registers):**

One of the main archival sources of my dissertation is evidence from the "court registers" (*şer'iyye sicilleri*) of İzmir, which provide a better insight into debates on the use of urban space and intercommunal interaction between the Greek and Turkish communities of the city. The type of information contained in the court registers tells us more than other official documents do. In these registers, the judicial case is described according to testimony of the parties concerned. The records do not include any interpretations of the law or actual decisions made. Rather, the parties came to court and testified as to the conflict between them. The reason they came to court was to record the decision and their agreement with it, whether it was the selling-buying of property or goods or inheritance. The purpose was to have a state document that would be recognized officially in case of need. In using court registers, I did not deal with the event itself or analyze the result of the cases in terms of jurisprudence. In studying these registers, I translated the data into historical information, which is possible by comprehending the terminology of these registers. Therefore, I based my analysis on *sicil* terminology. In the light of some basic concepts of Islamic law, I tried to analyze Greek and Turkish relations in İzmir in the

given period. *İcare-yi tavile* (a long term rental), *gedik* (the right to run a place without possessing its land and the right of practicing handicraft or making trade), *zilyet* (the right of possession of the land because of long term use of it) are some examples of such concepts.

## II. Ayniyat Defterleri, Meclis-i Vala'dan:

Ayniyat notebooks are the genuine registers of "orders" (*buyruldu*), and correspondence of the "office of the grand vizier" (*sadaret*). The *Meclis-i Vala* registers of the Ayniyat notebooks constitute the most important firsthand source material for my study because they reflect the implementation of the Tanzimat reforms. The minutes of the meetings (*meclis zabıtları*) of the *Meclis-i Vala* –written by the *katips*– are absent in the archives. Until today no researcher has found any of the minutes. However, the decisions and memos of the *Meclis-i Vala* are available in these Ayniyat Notebooks. Moreover, the decisions of the *Meclis-i Vala* were published in the official newspaper of the empire, *Takvim-i Vekayi*, in order to serve as a warning to others.<sup>25</sup> They are addressed to İzmir's "collector of funds" (*muhassıl*)<sup>26</sup>, the "district-chief" (*kaymakam*), the "provincial council" (*meclis*), and the "governor of İzmir" (*vali*), when it becomes a province in 1864), or "city magistrate" (*kadı*).

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<sup>25</sup> Musa Çadırcı, *Tanzimat Dönemi'nde Anadolu Kentlerinin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapıları*. (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1991) 190. After fifteen years of an overwhelming workload of issuing laws, the Supreme Council lost its functional effectiveness. In addition, the new leaders of the Tanzimat executives Ali and Fuat Pashas aimed to achieve rapid progress through efficient institutions. In 1854, because of political and administrative reasons the Supreme Council was left only with its judicial duties. A new legislative body was formed under the title High Council of Tanzimat, *Meclis-i Ali-yi Tanzimat*. The duties of the *Meclis-i Vala* were transferred to this new body, now responsible for completing and extending the Tanzimat reforms. *Ibid.*, p. 189; Shaw & Kural Shaw, 1977, p. 78 Roderic Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963) 52-53. After the formation of the *Meclis-i Ali-yi Tanzimat*, the *Meclis-i Vala* also continued to work along with it. *Meclis-i Ali-yi Tanzimat* continued to work until 1861, and then united with the *Meclis-i Vala*. Çadırcı, 1991, p. 189.

### **III. Bab-1 Ali Evrak Odası, Sadaret Evrakı Mektubi Kalemi (A.MKT):**

The *Mektubi Kalemi* was responsible for conducting all the correspondence for the "office of the grand vizier" (*sadaret*) with all the ministries, *kaymakam*, *muhassıl*, *meclis*, and *kadı* of the provinces and towns –including making summaries of the petitions and presenting them to the office of the grand vizier.

This classification includes the documents during and after the Tanzimat period, between the years 1840-1935. The quality of the documents in this classification is important in that it shows the running of the new institutions of the Tanzimat, to what extent the Tanzimat principles were applied in the provinces and districts, and furthermore what were the sources of conflict among the people and how they were solved by local authorities. Therefore, this classification is one of the best among the ones that served the purpose of this dissertation.

### **IV. Bab-1 Ali Evrak Odası, Sadaret Evrakı (A.DVN):**

The content of the documents in this classification is very similar to those in the A.MKT collection. Therefore, the A.DVN classification, too, is very beneficial in understanding the nature of conflict between and within the Muslim and Greek communities of İzmir and the attitude of the local officials in solving these disputes.

In both A.DVN and A.MKT registers, we see the petitions (*arzuhal*) of the Ottoman subjects to the office of the grand vizier and the replies to them as *kaime* (the order which is written on a long paper), *buyruldu* (“order or decree”), *berat* (“deed grant”) or informing letters to the *muhassıl*, *kaymakam*, *kadı* or provincial council. In examining these registers, one of my aims was to find examples of *meclis mazbataları*, “the records of İzmir's large representative

provincial council.”<sup>27</sup> These *meclis mazbataları* constitute a very good source for social history, since the provincial council had the authority to make decisions concerning the daily disputes among the people. These disputes are described in detail in the *meclis mazbataları*.

#### **V-VI. Cevdet Adliye (1711-1876) and Cevdet Zaptiye (1603-1882) classifications:**

The content of the documents in these two sections are almost the same. In the *Cevdet Adliye* classification, we mostly find the adjudication implementations (*yargı uygulamaları*) of the *Meclis-i Vala*. The documents used in this section are about the regulations of the Tanzimat in İzmir. There are plenty of documents in this section about all towns and cities in Western Anatolian coastline, even for the years that exceed the period of this study.

#### **VII. Zabtiye Nezareti Evrakı (1849-1909)**

No record of gendarmerie minutes, in which the officials describes the disputes between the parties in detail, was available for İzmir in this section. It would be such a good source to look at causes of dispute among ordinary people in daily life more closely. The only ones found were a few registers of the minutes taken in Ayvalık and Istanbul. Moreover, before the foundation of the “office of public security” (*Zabtiye Müşirliği*) in 1846 and the “Gendarme Ministry” (*Zabtiye Nezareti*) in 1879<sup>28</sup> there was the *çavuşbaşılık*, “chief of sergeants of gendarmerie” which carried out the functions of *Zabtiye* before 1846, which concerns this study.

Unfortunately, no *çavuşbaşılık* registers are available either in the archives. If these documents

<sup>27</sup> The “large representative provincial council” (*büyük meclis*), and the “small provincial council” (*küçük meclis*) were founded in 1840. The *Büyük Meclis* worked until 1868, when *Şura-yı Devlet* was formed. It served as a court in order to implement Tanzimat regulations and conduct the regulations of the 1840 penal code with the authority of making decisions except for the crimes of murder, theft and intentional harm. The Meclis had to refer the cases of these crimes to *Meclis-i Vala*. Ekrem Buğra Ekinci, *Osmanlı Mahkemeleri, Tanzimat ve Sonrası* [Ottoman Courts, Tanzimat and After], (Istanbul: Arı, 2004) 130.

<sup>28</sup> The office organization was founded in 1845, and the office of public security (*Zabtiye Müşirliği*), was founded in 1846 to carry out former duties of the *kadı*. Its name was changed to *Zabtiye Nezareti* "gendarmerie ministry" in 1879. *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi* [The Guide of Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives], (Istanbul, 2000) 249.



were found and made available for research, it would be a very beneficial source for social historians.

### VIII. Temettüat Defterleri

The *Temettüat* Notebooks are the registers of the "income tax" (*temettuat vergisi*), taken from merchants and tradesmen during the Tanzimat. These notebooks constitute one of the most important sources for the study of the economic history of the Ottoman Empire during the reform age. Although some Turkish historians have underlined the importance of *temettüat* notebooks for the economic histories of the Ottoman cities, they are not used very effectively by the scholars.<sup>29</sup> There are thirteen *temettü* notebooks available for İzmir. Nine of them belonged to the French (66 pages), Greek (*İlinoz*)<sup>30</sup> (70 pages), Danish (16 pages), Russian (44 pages), Tuscan (32 pages), Sardinia (8 pages), *Ana Polnan* (16 pages), Genoese (24 pages), Flanders 6 pages) communities of İzmir and the rest four notebooks belong to some small Muslim neighbourhoods of the city.

<sup>29</sup> Mübahat Kütükoğlu, "Osmanlı Siyasal ve Kültürel Tarihi Kaynaklarından Temettü Defterleri," [Temettü Notebooks from one of the Sources of the Ottoman Political and Cultural History], *Belleten*, v. 225, n. 59, 1995, p. 395-418; "İzmir Temettü Sayımları ve Yabancı Tebaa," *İzmir Tarihinden Kestiler*, (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi, 2000) 36-59; Demir, İsmet, "Temettü Defterlerinin Önemi ve Hazırlanış Sebepleri," *Yeni Türkiye Dergisi Osmanlı Özel Sayısı*, n. I-XII, 1999, pp. 315-326.; Tefik Güran, "Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıl Temettüat Tahrirleri," in *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bilgi ve İstatistik [Data and Statistics in the Ottoman Empire]*, eds. Şevket Pamuk ve Halil İnalçık, (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000) pp. 73-94; Said Öztürk, "Türkiye'de Temettüat Çalışmaları," in *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi, Türk İktisat Tarihi*, v. 2, n.3, 2003; Huricihan İslamoğlu, "Temettüat Registers as a System of Classification of the Ottoman Modern State," *Workshop on Land Records in the 19th Century Middle East*, 1-3 March 1996, Cambridge, Mass., Conference organized by Center for Middle East Studies at Harvard University; Musa Çadırcı used temettü notenooks in his study of the Anatolian cities. Musa Çadırcı, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentleri'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapıları* [The Social and Economic Structure of Anatolian Cities during the Tanzimat Period], (Ankara: TTK, 1991); Abdüllatif Şener partly dealt with the Temettü notebooks in his book *Tanzimat Dönemi'nde Osmanlı Vergi Sisemi*, [The Tax System in the Tanzimat Period], (İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 1990).

<sup>30</sup> The name of the *temettü* notebook for Greek community of İzmir titled as "*İlinoz Cematai'nin Emlak ve Gelir Defteridir*". The term *İlinoz* in Ottoman Turkish is a distorted form of the word "Hellen." Vizantinos Skarlatos, *Λεξικό της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* [Dictionary of Greek Language], v.I, (Athens, 1975) 408; Dimitrakos Dimitrios *Μεγά Λεξικόν της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* [Mega dictionary of Greek Language], v.3 (Athens, 1950) 2445.

## **IX. British Consular Reports**

I also used a limited number of British Consular Reports in the Public Record Office in British National Archives.

## **X. Greek Primary Sources:**

The Greek newspapers published in İzmir: *Amaltheia* (*Αμαλθεια*) 1845-1868, *Mnimosini* (*Μνημοσυννη*) 1835, *Melisiyenis* (*Μελησιγενις*) 1845, *Smyrni* (*Σμυρνη*) 1871.

## **XI. Secondary Sources**

The court registers and the above mentioned documents in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives' classifications helped me to examine center-periphery relations, the implementation of the reforms of the first half of the nineteenth century, and the social relations between the Greeks and Muslims. However, they did not much serve my purpose of understanding the social and cultural relations in daily life, the İzmir Greeks' perception of the nascent Greek state and the modernizing Ottoman state. Some Greek newspapers of the period helped me in filling this gap in my dissertation, but I still wanted to see the involvement of the Ottoman Turkish community in the dynamic economic activity of the city and economic relations between the İzmir Greeks and Muslims. I believe that not understanding the position of the Muslims in the urban economic life of the city leaves a gap in accounting for the factors that were decisive in shaping the socio-cultural and economic dynamics in İzmir that determined the nature of the communal relations. Just determining who was Greek or Turk in the cosmopolitan population of İzmir proved problematic.

## Conceptual and Terminological Issues

Throughout this study for the Orthodox Christian Greek Ottoman subjects in İzmir the term “Ottoman Greeks” or “Greek subjects” is used as equal to Turkish word “Rum” or “Reaya”. For the Greek citizens in the Greek state the terms “Greeks of the Greek state” or “Greeks of Greece” are used. However, to identify who was who in İzmir is a difficult issue. To identify non-Muslims –Greeks, Armenians and Jews– in İzmir became a complicated subject after the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century because of the flood of increasing number of people who were granted protection by the foreign consulates (*beratlı* merchants) in İzmir –and its surrounding regions– and the Ottoman Greeks’ change of their identities into Greek nationals. After the foundation of the Greek state in 1831, the identification issue of the Greek Orthodox Christians even became more complicated. It is known that the Greek consulate in İzmir was very active in selling Greek passports in 1860. To have a Greek passport was more advantageous for Orthodox Christians since it was easily exchanged for its Russian equivalents.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, Orthodox Christians, Armenians, and sometimes Jews, are seen in the first place as Greek, British, Russian, or French protected subjects or nationals. However, it is easy to differentiate who was who in the Ottoman-Turkish documents because for the protected non-Muslims and Europeans the terms like *beratlı* (“berat holder,” “patent holder”), *Avrupa taciri* (“European merchant”), *İngiltere Devletlii himayesinde bulunan* (“the one who is under the protection of the British State”), and *Rusya devlet teba'sından* (“The one who is a subject of the Russian State”) and for the Ottoman subjects *devlet-i 'aliyye teba'asından olan* (“the one who is a subject of the Ottoman State”) are used. As far as the Ottoman Greeks in İzmir are concerned, change of their identity cards does not indicate that they were not Ottoman Greeks who inhabited İzmir for centuries. Moreover, I consider the Greeks of Greece who migrated and settled in İzmir as İzmir Greeks. A group of merchants and tradesmen of Greeks of Greece migrated to İzmir and its surrounding region during the Tanzimat

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<sup>31</sup> Kasaba, 1888a, 71.

period. This group along with the Ottoman Greek subjects and protected Greeks played crucial role in the formation of middle bourgeoisie class in İzmir and Asia Minor,<sup>32</sup> which I will mention in section 2.1.1. Therefore, I identify three groups of Greeks –Ottoman Greeks, protected Greeks and migrants of Greeks of Greece as “İzmir Greeks.”

As far as Muslim Turks are considered in İzmir, I used the term “Muslim” or “Turk” interchangeably, since Muslim refers to Turk in the Empire. I preferred not to use the pair of the terms “Orthodox Christian” and “Muslim.” The two terms are religious categories, but an Orthodox Christian might be a Greek, a Bulgarian, a Serb or a Russian in İzmir. Therefore, instead of “Muslims and Orthodox Christians”, for the sake of this study I used terms “Ottoman Greeks and Muslims” or “Ottoman Greeks and Turks,” and “protected Greeks”, “Greek nationals,” and “Greeks of Greece.”

## **Literature Review**

Before turning to İzmir in the period 1826-64, it is worth reviewing the historiography of the city. I benefited from the extensive works of Reşat Kasaba, Elena Frangakis-Syrett and Daniel Goffman on İzmir that studied how this city grew and played an important role at different periods in the long history of the Ottoman Empire. I also used the publications of İzmir

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<sup>32</sup> Anagnostopoulou, 1998, p. 307. The Ottoman Greeks had the right of obtaining Greek citizenship easily by the Kanlıca Agreement (27 May 1855). This solved commercial and diplomatic problems between the Ottoman and Greek state, however, the identity problems of the Ottoman Greeks continued to exist. Citizenship law (19 July 1869) brought new regulations for this identity problem through interference of the big Western States: Before 1869, the Ottoman state used to recognize the Ottoman Greeks who obtained Greek citizenship as Greek nationals. After 1869, the Ottoman Greeks who obtained Greek citizenship through staying in Greece for three years, were not recognized as Greek citizens by the Ottoman state anymore, but recognized by the Greek state as Greek citizens. This made them to be subjected to the tax regulations of the Ottoman subjects in the Empire that they opposed to. As a result, the Ottoman state although did not recognize the Greek citizenship of the Ottoman Greeks sometimes winked at them to pay lesser taxes, however sometimes treated them as Ottoman subjects. This made them to search for ways to persuade the Ottoman state to accept them as foreign nationals. As result, this double identity of the Ottoman Greeks, on the one hand, made them to increase their wealth, on the other hand, led to confusion and disorder in their economic relations with the Ottoman state in terms of payment and amount of taxes. Therefore, this led tension between the Ottoman and Greek state. Ibid., pp. 310-312.

Municipality on İzmir. Of these İzmir series, I benefited the most from Mübahat Kütükoğlu's works on İzmir. Works of some other Turkish historians, like Adnan Bilget,<sup>33</sup> Çınar Atay,<sup>34</sup> and Rauf Beyru,<sup>35</sup> also give us clues with which to explore the communal relations in İzmir in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The İzmir series of Christos Sokratous Solomonidis, who was from İzmir, provide extensive and detailed knowledge about various aspects of 19<sup>th</sup> century İzmir. Solomonidis was born in İzmir in 1897 and died in Athens in 1976. His father published the most influential Greek Newspaper *Amalthia* in İzmir for many years (1838-1922). “The Hellenic Character of Smyrna, “1821-1922,”<sup>36</sup> “Journalism in Smyrna, 1821-1922,”<sup>37</sup> “Smyrna Trilogy: Smyrna during the awakening, Easter of the unredeemed Greeks, independent Smyrna,”<sup>38</sup> and “Theatre in Smyrna, 1657-1922”<sup>39</sup> are only some examples of Solomonidis’ series of books on İzmir, which I have used in this study. He did not use any archival material –he was not a professional historian– and dedicated his works to prove the Hellenic character of his hometown by extensively using traveler accounts and Greek books of the pre-1922 era. Although his works involve a lot information about the relationships among the communities of İzmir, he did not analyze Greek and Turkish relations in an objective manner.

Solomonidis represents the Eurocentric approach, where Ottoman history is examined through a comparison of Islamic civilization with Western civilization, which is always presented to the advantage of the latter by emphasizing Muslim backwardness. Some

<sup>33</sup> Adnan Bilget, *Son Yüzyılda İzmir Şehri*, [The History of the City of İzmir in the Last Century] (İzmir, n.p., 1949).

<sup>34</sup> Çınar Atay, *Tarih İçinde İzmir*, [İzmir in History], (İzmir: n.p.,1978).

<sup>35</sup> Rauf Beyru, *İzmir Şehri Üzerine Bir İnceleme* [An Analysis on the City of İzmir], (Ankara: ODTÜ, 1969), 18. ve 19.Yüzyıllarda İzmir [İzmir in 18th and 19th Centuries], (İzmir: Teksir, 1973).

<sup>36</sup> Christos Sokratous Solomonidis, *H Ellhnikotitha ths Smwrnhs*, [The Hellenic Character of İzmir], (Athens, n.p., 1972).

<sup>37</sup> Christos Sokratous Solomomidis, *H Demograpia sth Smwrnh (1821-1922)*, [ Journalism in İzmir, (1821-1922)], (Athens, n.p.,1959).

<sup>38</sup> Christos Sokratous Solomonidis, *Smwrnaiko Triptuxo: h Smwrnh sthn ethnegerasia, Pashka alutrwτων, h Smwrnh Eλευθερη* [İzmir Trilogy: İzmir During the Awakening, The easter of the unredeemed Greeks, Independent İzmir] (Athens, n.p.,1970).

<sup>39</sup> Christos Sokratous Solomonidis, *To Θεατρο στη Smwrnh (1657-1922)*, [Theatre in Smyrna (1657-1922)], (Athens, n.p.,1954).

professional and local amateur Turkish historians, by contrast, have contested this approach in writing the history of İzmir. They produced works which gave rise to the idea of the multiculturalism of İzmir, even though they themselves did not emphasize the multiculturalism of the city or approach İzmir as a multi-cultural Ottoman society.<sup>40</sup> Tuncer Baykara is among those who criticized conventional western approaches.<sup>41</sup> In rejecting the arguments of the Eurocentric approach, he emphasized the “Turkishness” of the city and the destructive influence of the non-Muslims over the “real” native Turkish inhabitants of the city.<sup>42</sup> General histories of İzmir, like that of Tuncer Baykara, who attempted to reveal the “Turkish İzmir”, strongly contradict the general perception that İzmir was an “infidel” (*gavur*) city, because of the presence of a considerable number of non-Muslim population.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, to view the Turkish population of İzmir as the “real owners” of the city is a mistaken and inaccurate starting point if one wants to begin to understand the multi-ethno-religious İzmir society. In addition to Baykara, Rauf Beyru calls the Turks of İzmir the “real owners of the city”, (*kentin asıl sahipleri*)<sup>44</sup> when discussing the communities and population of İzmir in his book *Life in the 19<sup>th</sup> century İzmir*.<sup>45</sup> Not only professional and amateur historians, but also travelers named the Turks of İzmir “the real owners of the city” or “of the country”.<sup>46</sup> Since they shared the same religion with the ruling Ottoman dynasty, the Turks might be seen as the representatives of the state and real owners of the city by the travelers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Ziya Somar, a Turkish literary figure, described intellectual and literary developments in the Turkish community of İzmir in the late 19th and

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<sup>40</sup> Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil. *Kırk Yıl*, [Forty Years] v.1-5, (İstanbul: İstanbul Matbaacılık ve Neşriyat, 1936); Dursun, M. Kamil. *İzmir Hatıraları* [Memoirs of İzmir]. ed. Şenel, Ünal (İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1994); Nail Moralı, *Mütarekede İzmir, Önceleri ve Sonraları* [İzmir During the Armistice, Before and After], (İstanbul: Tekin, 1976); Yaşar Aksoy, *Bir Kent, Bir İnsan: İzmir'in Son Yüzyılı, S. Ferit Eczacıbaşı'nın Yaşamı ve Anıları* [A City, A Person: The Last Century of İzmir, The Life and Memoirs of S. Ferit Eczacıbaşı] (İstanbul: Dr. Nejat Eczacıbaşı Vakfı, 1986).

<sup>41</sup> Tuncer Baykara, *İzmir Şehri Tarihi* [History of City of İzmir], (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Matbaası, 1974).

<sup>42</sup> Baykara, 1974, 63-64.

<sup>43</sup> Baykara, 1974, pp. V-VI, 21, 55, 63.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>45</sup> Rauf Beyru, *İzmir'de Yaşam*, [Life in İzmir in the 19<sup>th</sup> century İzmir], (İstanbul: Literatür Yayınları, 2000).

<sup>46</sup> Nassau, 1859, p. 190.

early 20th centuries.<sup>47</sup> Arkan called Somar's study a valuable and successful attempt to reveal cultural change in “Turkish İzmir,” in addition to *gavur* İzmir. In his memoirs of İzmir, Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, another Turkish literary figure, noted the influence of the missionary schools in İzmir, the culturally and intellectually advantageous position of the non-Muslims, and the Turkish community's absence in the economic, social and cultural life of the city.<sup>48</sup> Such studies divided İzmir into “Gavur İzmir” and “Turkish İzmir”. Hence, the presumed economic and social-cultural predominance of the non-Muslim and European communities in İzmir have motivated native historians and writers to seek out the “Turkish İzmir,” as they called it. Moreover, some amateur historians have also focused on demonstrating the Turkish character of the city.<sup>49</sup> However, they have not discussed the issue in the framework of a likely existence of multiculturalism or harmonious coexistence and interaction between the various ethno-religious communities of İzmir. It is true that the Eurocentric approach often ignores and silences the Muslim Turkish communities of the empire. However, I argue that without freeing ourselves from nationalist or nativist attachments, expressed in studies that try to demonstrate the Turkish or Hellenic character of the city, social histories cannot contribute to reveal a more accurate picture of the multi-ethno-religious Ottoman cities. Even in the studies that have dealt with the social history of İzmir, intercommunal relations have been neglected. In examining this issue, I prefer to view the society of İzmir as an organic whole, with both Muslims and non-Muslims populating one city, rather than dividing it into two parts: the *Gavur* and the Turkish.

İzmir's history gained considerable attention in last ten years through the publications of scholarly studies by the İzmir Municipality. Its publications of the series of İzmir books since the

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<sup>47</sup> Somar, 2001.

<sup>48</sup> Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil published one of the first Turkish journals of İzmir, *Nevruz* (1884) with Bıçakçızade Hakkı and Tefik Nevzat. He wrote in the first newspapers of İzmir, *Hizmet* (1886) and *Ahenk* (1895), in order to revive Turkish cultural life of the city.

<sup>49</sup> Melih Gürsoy, *Tarihi, Ekonomisi ve İnsanları ile Bizim İzmirimiz*, [Our İzmir with its History, Economy and People], (İzmir: 1993); Şakir Mehmet, *İmbatın Türküsü Gavur İzmir'den Güzel İzmir'e*, [The Folksong of Imbat, from Gavur İzmir to Beautiful İzmir], (İzmir, 1989); U.Olgaç, *Güzel İzmir ne idi ne oldu*, [How was the Beautiful İzmir and What Happened], (İzmir: 1939); Mehmet Okurer, *Kurtuluşun Kuruluşu İzmir*, [İzmir from Independence to Foundatin], (İzmir: 1970).

year 2000, revealed various unknown aspects in the history of İzmir.<sup>50</sup> In the present literature, the best known works on İzmir are about the economic history of İzmir in 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries: Relying exclusively on Ottoman archival material and some consular reports, Mübahat Kütükoğlu produced studies mostly on the economic histories of İzmir, for the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>51</sup> While she does not examine the data in terms of social and cultural history, her studies do enable us to understand the economic development of İzmir and demographic structure of the city from in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The other three basic studies on the city were carried out by Reşat Kasaba,<sup>52</sup> Elena Frangakis Syrett<sup>53</sup> and Daniel Goffman.<sup>54</sup> They commonly emphasized that the cosmopolitan population of İzmir served this city well. İzmir grew as a major commercial center and managed to resist or recover from external assaults and

<sup>50</sup> Besmi Nusret Kaygusuz, *Bir Roman Gibi*, [Like a Novel] (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi, 2<sup>nd</sup>. ed., 2002); Engin Berber, Rumeli'den İzmir'e Yitik Yaşamların İzinde [The Lost Lives from Rumelia to İzmir] (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı Yayınları, 2002); Nedim Atilla, *İzmir Posta Tarihi (1841-2001)* [Postal History of İzmir 1841-2001]. İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi, 2001; İlhan Pınar, *Hacılar, Seyyahlar, Misyonerler ve İzmir : Yabancıların Gözüyle Osmanlı Döneminde İzmir, 1608-1918*, [Pilgrims, Travellers and Missionaries and İzmir: İzmir from the eyes of foreigners, 1608-1918], (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi, 2001); *Fransız Seyahatnameleri ve Tarihin aynasında İzmir Kolokyumu*, (İzmir: İzmir Büyük Şehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi 2002); Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *İzmir Tarihinden Kesitler* [Notes from History of İzmir], (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi, 2000), *XV ve XVI. Asırlarda İzmir Kazasının Sosyal ve İktisadi Yapısı* [Social and Economic Structure of the District of İzmir in the 15th and 16th Centuries], (İzmir : İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi, 2000); Olaf Yaranga, *19. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Fransız Gezginlerin Anlatımlarında İzmir* [Izmir in the Accounts of the French Travelers in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century], (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 2000, 2<sup>nd</sup>. ed. 2002); Zeki Arıkan, *İzmir Basınından Seçmeler, 1872-1922*, [Selections from the İzmir Press, 1872-1922] (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi , 2001; Ziya Somar, *Yakın Çağların Fikir ve Edebiyat Tarihinde İzmir* [In Our History of Intellectual and Literature, İzmir], 1st. Ed. , 1944, 2nd. ed., İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi, 2001.

<sup>51</sup> Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda İzmir Kazasının Sosyal ve İktisadi Yapısı*, 2000, *İzmir Tarihinden Kesitler*, 2000), "İzmir Ticaret Odası İstatistiklerine Göre XX. Yüzyıl Başlarında İzmir Ticareti," in *Son Yüzyıllarda İzmir ve Batı Anadolu Uluslararası Sempozyumu Tebliğleri*, ed. Tuncer Baykara, İzmir: Akademi Kitapevi, 1993), "Yunan İsyanı Sırasında Anadolu ve Adalar Rumlarının Tutumları ve Sonuçları," in *Tarih Boyunca Türk-Yunan İlişkileri, Üçüncü Askeri Tarih Semineri Bildiriler*, (Ankara: Genel Kurmay Basımevi, 1986).

<sup>52</sup> Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and The World Economy, The Nineteenth Century*, (New York: State University of New York, 1988), "Was There a Compradore Bourgeoisie in Mid-Nineteenth Century Western Anatolia?," *Review*, XL, 2, Spring, 1988, pp. 215-228, "İzmir ", *Review*, XVI, 4, Fall, 1993, pp. 387-410.

<sup>53</sup> Elena Frangakis Syrett, *The Commerce of İzmir in The Eighteenth Century 1700-1820*, (Athens: The Center for Asia Minor Studies, 1992), "The Economic Activities of the Greek Community of İzmir in the Second half of the 19th and Early 20th Centuries" in *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism*, 1999, eds. Issawi and Gondicas, "Western and Local Entrepreneurs in İzmir in the 19th and early 20th Centuries," in *Son Yüzyıllarda İzmir ve Batı Anadolu Uluslararası Sempozyumu Tebliğleri*, ed. Tuncer Baykara, (İzmir: Akademi Kitapevi), 1993.

<sup>54</sup> Daniel Goffman, *İzmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650*, (Seattle: Washington University Press, 1990), "İzmir from Village to Colonial Port City," in *The Ottoman City between East and West, Aleppo, İzmir, and İstanbul*, eds. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, & Bruce Masters, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1st ed. 1999, 2nd ed., 2000).



natural disasters that visited the city persistently and regularly. They argued that that the economic wealth and the strength of local commercial networks played a key role in providing the people of the city to become the agents of a long term of growth. In their analyses, the political and economic sites of power worked in cross purposes; the latter trying to contain the former. They all agreed that the collaboration of the people of Izmir, especially Ottoman Greeks and Turks residents of the city was indispensable for the long term prosperity of the city. However, the nature of the communal relations among the people of the city was left unaddressed by them.

Trying to filling this lacuna, this dissertation has examined communal relations of the city through the window of the Greek-Turkish relations. In doing this, it challenges the current literature of the Ottoman reforms, and re-interprets Ottoman reforms. Rather than seeing them as a set of western imposed policies that led to a radical break with the pre-Tanzimat regulations and favored the empire's non-Muslim population, it argues that these reforms actually opened up new ways of co-existing and reinforcing each other to the people of different ethno-religious communities in Izmir. As this study argued, not interfering in the social and cultural relations among the people of İzmir and controlling social order and cohesion of the society by benefiting from both Tanzimat and pre-Tanzimat principles, the imperial government played an important role in generating the prosperity of the city.

Another comprehensive study on Asia Minor from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to 1919 was written by Sia Anagnostopoulou.<sup>55</sup> Examining various kinds of relations, she deals with the class issue, the formation of middle bourgeoisie, and the community organization and administration of the İzmir Greeks and the administration of the city itself, specifically after the years 1876, as the center of Asia Minor. Although in some places she mentioned the

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<sup>55</sup> Sia Anagnostopoulou, *Μικρα Ασια, 19<sup>ος</sup> αι-1919. Οι Ελληννορθοδεξες κοινοτητες Απο το Μιλλετ των Ρωμιων στο Ελληνικο Εθνος* [Asia Minor, 19th c.- 1919. The Greekorthodox Communities. From Millet-i rum to the Greek Nation] (Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 1998).

intercommunal interaction among the different community members, her focus is not directly on communal relations in the city, especially for the given period of this study.

Some recent studies have analyzed social interaction in the multi ethno-religious society of İzmir from different angles: Sibel Zandi-Sayek examines the characteristics of cultural plurality and coexistence in İzmir through the social and physical context of public events between 1840 and 1890. She contradicts the general idea of adversity between Muslim and non-Muslim communities. She demonstrates that "The Smyrniotes organized themselves across religious, ethnic, and national divides to confront, embrace, and act upon the Tanzimat changes."<sup>56</sup> Zandi-Sayek offers valuable insights into communal relations during the Ottoman reforms by using mostly the physical organization of the city, and the place of Muslims and non-Muslims in it. However, she does not directly deal with communal interaction at the social level among the communities. Similarly, Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis' dissertation also focuses on the inter-communal relations in the multi ethno-religious public sphere of İzmir.<sup>57</sup> Her study concentrates on the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries of İzmir. Having largely depended on Ottoman historiography in French, she proves the existence of communal interaction basically between the European and other ethno-religious communities of the city by analyzing century old dynamics of multi-cultural co-existence. Analyzing basically Europeans' relations with the Ottoman non-Muslims and Muslim communities and proving their interaction at various levels in the society, she did not focus on Greek-Turkish communal relations and use Ottoman-Turkish and Greek first hand sources. Oliver Schmitt's work on Levantine identity and life in the Ottoman Empire analyzed Levantine identity and life in the Ottoman Empire with the examples

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<sup>56</sup> Sibel Zandi Sayek, *Public space and urban citizens: Ottoman İzmir in the remaking, 1840—1890*, Unpublished Dissertation, (University of California, Berkeley, 2001), "Orchestrating Difference, Performing Identity: Urban Space and Public Rituals in Nineteenth Century İzmir," in *Hybrid Urbanism: On the identity discourse and the built environment*, ed. Nezar Al Sayyad, (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2001).

<sup>57</sup> Marie Carmen Smyrnelis, *Une société hors de soi: Identités et relations sociales a Smyrne aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, (Paris: Ecole des Hautes en sciences Sociales, 2000).

of İzmir and the Pera and Galata districts of İstanbul.<sup>58</sup> The focus of his work is not communal relations in the city, but the impact of the factors like the Tanzimat regulations, the influence of the Catholic Church and consuls, the special position of İzmir regarding its commercial relations, and a growing anti-Catholic sentiment in the West on the Levantine identity in İzmir. Challenging the conventional approaches of nation-building processes and their impact on the Ottoman Levantines' identity, he touches upon the issue of communal interaction, which is not the basic focus in his work.

This study specifically analyzes communal relations in İzmir from the perspective of Greek-Turkish relations. The places of interaction manifested themselves in the urban organization of the city: commonly shared neighbourhoods, bazaars and working places in the khans, and festivities, and Islamic and commercial courts were the main places of social interaction among people of İzmir with different ethno-religious background. Examining the interstices of the Ottoman Greek and Muslim communities of İzmir during the transformation of Ottoman society from 1826 to 1864, this study aims to contribute to recently written urban social histories of the Ottoman cities.

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<sup>58</sup> Oliver J. Schmitt, *Levantine, Lebenswelten und Identitäten einer ethnokonfessionellen Gruppe im osmanischen Reich in 'langen 19. Jahrhundert'* [Levantines: Life Worlds and Identities of an Ethno-Denominational Group in the Ottoman Empire during the 'Long 19th Century'] (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 122, München: r. Oldenbourg, 2005).

## Chapter 1. İzmir 1826-64

### Introduction

İzmir was neither a province (it became province in 1866) nor had a municipality (it was founded in 1868) within the given period of this study (1826-1864). The years of 1826 and 1864 marked a turning point in the administrative history of the Ottoman Empire: 1826 was the year in which the Janissaries were destroyed, and during which the Greek revolt was in full swing, and 1864 was the year when New Provincial Organization was issued.

The Greek revolt led to a change in Sultan's perception of the non-Muslims Ottoman subjects as he became suspicious of their loyalty to the state. This played a crucial role in the military and administrative re-organization of the Empire, which, in turn, led to the change in the economic and social relations in the Ottoman society.

The administrative organization of the cities changed after the destruction of the Janissaries in 1826. Their elimination was not simply a change in the military structure of the Empire: When Mahmud II abolished the Janissary corps, the *kadı* lost his means (*kolluk kuvvetleri*), which were the Janissaries, to carry out his municipal responsibilities, from ensuring social order and controlling market prices. The ministry of *ihtisab*<sup>59</sup> (*ihtisab nazırlığı*) was founded in İstanbul, and *ihtisab nazırı* (*the minister of ihtisab*) replaced *kadı*'s municipal duties regarding social order and the collection of taxes, and the organization of urban life, but only until the police organization (1845), and the office of public security (*Zabtiye Müşirliği*, 1846) was founded to carry out these duties of the *ihtisab nazırlığı*.<sup>60</sup> As far as the 1864 New Provincial Organization is considered, it accelerated the urban transformation of all cities and provinces of the Empire: New provincial units, *vilayets*, replaced the traditional *eyalet* system. Although this new organization aimed at increasing the authority of local governors, ironically, it preserved the

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<sup>59</sup> İhtisab: Office of the superintendent of guilds and markets. Redhouse, *Türkçe-İngilizce Sözlüğü* [Redhouse, Turkish-english Dictionary], 13<sup>th</sup> ed., İstanbul: Redhouse Yayınevi, 1993.

<sup>60</sup> See FN 7.

centralized administration, and led to an effective administration of the provinces by the center.<sup>61</sup>

This dissertation aims to highlight that the urban modernization and transformation of İzmir began through its economic, administrative and social-cultural dynamics while the city even was not yet a province itself and did not benefit from the Provincial Organizations of 1864 and 1871.

The basic idea of the Tanzimat reforms evolved during the transition from the rule of Selim III to Mahmud II. The latter managed to initiate Westernization efforts of the former. After the experience of Selim III's conflict with the *ayans*, who led the execution of him, Mahmud II carefully dealt with them in the following years. Although the imperial government of Mahmud II ratified *Sened-i İttifak* (the Deed of agreement) with the leading *ayans* in 1808, he was quick to attempt to restore central authority over them after the 1820s. Moreover, Selim III's unsuccessful attempt of replacing Janissaries with the *Nizam-ı Cedid Army* (The Army of New Order) was accomplished by Mahmud II as well. However, Mahmud II went further and also abolished the Bektashi order that was closely associated with the Janissaries, and implemented strict policies in the capital to control public opinion and impose the central character of the sultanate over the society. That is to say, Mahmud II effectively implemented control mechanisms in the state apparatus and society. He was more radical or had enough time to be more radical than Selim III to take necessary precautions in restoring the centralization of the sultanate. Hence, he was able to get ulema and some leading bureaucrats to prepare the basic principles of the 1839 imperial edict without deviating from the Islamic tradition of the Empire. That is to say, (as it will be discussed in the section of "Ottoman Modernization") the period of the Westernization reforms of the sultanate, which Selim III pioneered, was the transformation period in the Empire. In other words, the imperial center began to struggle to adapt itself to the changing military, economic, political and social relations in the West.

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<sup>61</sup> See FN 8.

In the pages that follow the impact of the 1839 and 1856 imperial edicts on İzmir's communal relations will be discussed. But during this transformation period some pivotal events also occurred in İzmir: destructive earthquakes of 1817, 1834, and the big fire of 1845, and re-occurrence of the epidemics of plague and cholera in the city until the 1840s that led to a serious decimal of the population; the outbreak of the Greek Revolt in Morea in 1821, which negatively affected İzmir's society in economic and social terms. However, this did not last a long time, the efforts of the center and local authorities managed to control social tensions in the city by 1823;

### **The General Image of İzmir in the 1800s from the gaze of outsiders**

Traveler and missionary accounts of İzmir exist in abundance, especially in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>62</sup> Considering their Eurocentric biases in their accounts, I did not use travelers' observations in analyzing communal relations in İzmir. I used their accounts in order to gather factual information about the location of the neighborhoods and the events during the turbulent times in the city such as the 1797 Janissary instigated revolt and the years of the Greek revolt. Travelers stayed in the cities they visited only for a limited period of time and in a certain place – and usually in the Frank district of İzmir. Therefore, they did not have the chance to see and observe every part of the city. They were not residents of the cities they visited, unlike the missionaries, who became residents who observed the economic, social and cultural situation of the city. Therefore, missionary accounts provide more accurate evaluations of the social and cultural life of the cities they lived in.

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<sup>62</sup> Weber, S.H., *Voyages and Travels in the Near-East Made During the 19th Century*, (Princeton, n.p., 1952), this book is a collection of essays of travellers who visited İzmir in the 19th century; İlhan Pınar, *Hacılar, Seyyahlar, Misyonerler ve İzmir: Yabancıların Gözüyle Osmanlı Döneminde İzmir, 1608-1918*, [*Pilgrims, Travellers and Missionaries and İzmir: İzmir from the eyes of foreigners, 1608-1918*], (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı Yayınları, 2001); *Fransız Seyahatnameleri ve Tarihin aynasında İzmir Kolokyumu*, (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Şehir Belediyesi, 2002); Olaf Yaranga, *19. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Fransız Gezginlerin Anlatımlarında İzmir* [İzmir in the Accounts of the French Travelers in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century], (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 2000, 2<sup>nd</sup>. ed. 2002).

Rauf Beyru explored the social and cultural life in the city by extensive use of travelers' writings.<sup>63</sup> Through the use of travelers' accounts Beyru gave direct quotations as much as possible for every aspect of social life in the city. Quoting various positive and negative accounts of travelers made his work the most reliable among others which also depended on traveler accounts.

British and American missionaries stressed the cosmopolitan structure and influence of the European community in the city.<sup>64</sup> Both missionaries and travelers made note of the liberal and tolerant social life in İzmir. Some travelers explained the reason for this tolerance and peaceful life in İzmir by saying that it was a product of the blend of Asian and Western traditions. These mixtures combined with commercial relations in the city softened intercommunal relations so that the general religious conservatism of the Ottoman Empire lost its effect.<sup>65</sup> Almost none of the travelers perceived the coexistence of various ethno-religious communities in İzmir with a positive denotation, such as indication of a peaceful and tolerant cosmopolitan city. For example, Michaud Poujoulat, defined the society of İzmir as a juxtaposition of different ethno-religious groups of caravans, in his accounts when he traveled to the East between 1830 and 1831. While presenting the multi-cultural character of İzmir, travelers also noted the diversity of spoken languages in this city. In 1830, Michaud wrote that the language the Franks used the most was a kind of Italian slung. According to him, Turkish, Italian and Greek were the most frequently used languages in İzmir. He also mentioned that in the

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<sup>63</sup> Rauf Beyru, *19.yy'da İzmir'de Yaşam*, [Life in the 19th century İzmir], (İstanbul: Literatür Yay., 2000).

<sup>64</sup> Esra Danacıoğlu, "Anglo Sakson Misyoner Kaynaklarına Göre 19. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında İzmir ve Batı Anadolu DemografikYapı, Eğitim Kurumları [İzmir and Western Anatolia According to Anglo-Saxon Missionary Resouces in the First Half of the 19th Century, Demographic Structure and Education Institutions], *Son Yüzyılda İzmir ve Batı Anadolu* [İzmir and Western Anatolia in the Last Century], ed. Tuncer Baykara, (İzmir: Akademi Kitapevi, 1993) 267-268, Esra Danacıoğlu quotes O.Cooks's letter, from Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, in 1826, Williamson's reports to AB in 1820, from American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (AB), the letters of representative of Aegean region of the London Jews Society, British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), Mr. Leeves, in 1823, Barker's letter, from BFBS in 1825 in *ibid*, pp. 263-279. However, Frankis Vyvan Jago Arundel, a priest worked in the British consulate in İzmir in 1822, notes the insecure social life and societal unrest in the city after the Greek revolution. Francis Vyvan Jago Arundel'in İzmir: 1822," Pınar, 2001, p. 124.

<sup>65</sup> Quoted from J.B. Eyriés, *Voyage Pittoresque en Asie et an Afrique*, 1839 in Beyru, 2000, p. 143, FN. 385.

earlier years French was the most commonly used language among the Franks of the city, but it began to lose its influence as commercial relations deteriorated at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>66</sup> Another traveler, Francis Hervé, noted in 1837 the broken Greek of the Levantines. He also mentioned the pretentious attitudes of the Levantines, who, for example, pretended to know many languages, but spoke none of them fluently.<sup>67</sup> Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Charles de Scherzer, the Austro-Hungarian consul to İzmir, expressed his impressions of İzmir in a strictly Eurocentric approach: He described European culture as the source of the tolerant and peaceful character of the city. In 1880 he wrote that “It is very pleasing to see the progress İzmir is making in achieving standards similar to those of the European culture and tolerance. Western civilization has been embedded in all layers of society so that İzmir enlightens the other provinces of the Empire like a lantern.”<sup>68</sup>

Almost all travelers noted the invisibility of the Turks in the vital commercial activity of the city. Turks were depicted as a separate community of the city. Charles Reynaud stated that their isolated position in the urban organization of the city, on the hills of mount Pagos, which is called Kadifekale, also proved this. According to him, since they were annoyed by non-Muslims and Europeans they isolated themselves by withdrawing to one corner of the city.<sup>69</sup> An İzmir guide of 1844 also wrote that the Turks lived apart from the other communities in the city and they were like foreigners in their own country.<sup>70</sup> Some travelers wrote that there was no interaction among Jews, Armenians, Greeks, Turks and Levantines in İzmir. They had nothing in common to unite them, although they shared the common city.<sup>71</sup> Almost all travelers mentioned

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<sup>66</sup> Beyru, 2000, p. 141, FN. 380, quoted from M. Michaud, M. Paujoulat, “Correspondance d’Orient (1830-1831),” (Tome I, Brüksel: N.J.Gregoir, V.Wouters et Cie, Imprimeur Libraires, Rue Assault, 8, 1841).

<sup>67</sup> Beyru, 2000, p. 74.

<sup>68</sup> Charles de Scherzer, *Smyrne (Considérée au point de vue Géographique, Economique et Intellectuel)*, (Leipzig, G. Knapp, Libraire, 1880) quoted in Beyru, 2000, p. 144, FN. 387.

<sup>69</sup> Charles Reynaud, *From Athens to Baalbec* (Paris: Furme, 1846) 58 quoted in Yaranga, 2002, p. 31, FN. 76.

<sup>70</sup> Yaranga, 2002, p. 32.

<sup>71</sup> quoted from M.Michaud, M.Paujoulat, “Correspondance d’Orient (1830-1831),” (Tome I, Brüksel: N..J. Gregoir, V. Wouters et Cie, Imprimeur Libraires, Rue Assault, 8, 1841) in Beyru, 2000, p. 142, FN. 381; Quoted from Francis Hervé, *A Residence in Greece and Turkey, 1837*, v. I, p. 378 in Beyru, 2000, p. 143, FN. 382.



the vital commercial character and general wealth of the city, foreign trade, and the rich market bazaar which was full of various eastern and western products. While stressing the multi-cultural character of İzmir and the active role of the Levantines in the economy of the city, they used clichés and likened it to some other European cities, like Amsterdam or Bordeaux,<sup>72</sup> “another Palmira,”<sup>73</sup> “Pera of İstanbul,” “Pera of the Levant,”<sup>74</sup> “the flower of the Levant,”<sup>75</sup> and “Paris of the East.”<sup>76</sup> This European character of the city was in fact an image they created according to the particular part of the city they lived in. They mostly lived in the Frank district of the city and joined the entertainment and social activities of the Levantines. Therefore they could not see the Eastern characteristics of the city in other parts and did not experience the life and activities of other communities. As Olaf Yaranga mentioned, this depended on the place they stayed at in the city: They arrived at İzmir’s port which was in front of Frank Street, and generally stayed in the Frank district and spent time with the consulate members and European residents of the city. They did not leave the Frank district and visit other parts of the city, since they were not eager to explore the East side of İzmir.<sup>77</sup> This explains why İzmir was the “Paris of the East” or “the flower of the Levant” in the eyes of travelers and why its Eastern character and Turkish community remained absent in travelers’ accounts. However, the *Journal de Smyrne* in 1834 published a reader’s letter, who complained about Frank Street: The reader noted that almost every day a fight or an accident would occur in Frank Street, because it was full of barrels, wooden cases, baskets filled with goods which left no room to move, that it was difficult to walk and shop in the narrow Frank Street. The reader also complained of the unhealthy physical

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<sup>72</sup> Quoted from Choiseul-Gouffer, *Voyage pittoresque de l’Empire Ottoman, en Grece, dans la Troade, Les Iles de l’Archipel et sur les cotes de l’Asie-Mineure*, by Hasan Zorlusoy, “Gezi Anılarında ve Günlüklerde 18. ve 19.Yüzyıllarda İzmir’de Yaşam,” in *Fransız Seyahatnameleri ve Tarihin Aynasında İzmir*, (İzmir:İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi, 2002), p. 114, FN. 1.

<sup>73</sup> Quoted from Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris a Jerusalem*, by Zorlusoy, 2002) p. 114, FN. 2.

<sup>74</sup> Charles Mac-Farlane, *Constantinople et la Turquie en 1828*, quoted in Zorlusoy, 2002, p.114, FN. 3. He wrote that “when you compare the city to other cities of the Ottoman Empire it carried the name of ‘little Pera of Levant’ with honor.

<sup>75</sup> Gaston Deschamps, *Sur les routes d’Asie*, by Zorlusoy, 2002, p. 115, FN. 8.

<sup>76</sup> Yaranga, 2002, pp. 33-36,

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

conditions of the street and urged the local authorities to take the necessary precautions to raise İzmir's standard of living to the level of other European cities.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, there are some travelers who noted the dirtiness and narrow streets of the city and even complained about the unsanitary conditions in Frank Street and likened it to other streets of the city. For example Alexis de Valon in 1850 wrote that although Frank Street was known to be the most beautiful and European part of the city, he criticized this fame of Frank Street. He described Frank Street as a narrow, dirty street lined with unorganized buildings, vegetable remains on the ground around which donkeys wandered, the porters who pushed people, the donkeys whose packsaddles knocked people around and the camels passing by one behind the other.<sup>79</sup> Maxime Du Camp's description of the Eastern bazaars in 1844, and Alex de Valon's description of Frank Street in 1850 show similarities: The shops on Frank street, instead of a roof, were covered with a huge white fabric, which protected people from the powerful sun and heat like a canopy.<sup>80</sup> The shops in the Eastern bazaars were similarly without a roof, and protected one from the sun by various pieces of fabric and timber.<sup>81</sup> Therefore, Frank Street and its bazaar was not different from the other bazaars and streets of the Turkish quarters.<sup>82</sup> Moreover, in the writings of these two different travelers, continuity, rather than differentiation, is seen between the two arteries of trade in the city, Frank Street, and the Eastern bazaar. There was no order in the market of Frank Street either. In both market streets shops sold all types of products, Eastern or European, and different kinds of sellers or shops were located next to each other: European fabrics were sold in front of groceries, a textile seller exhibited new hats from Paris next to a Turkish tobacco seller and a perfume store of a Jew lay side by side to a butcher who skinned his sheep in the middle of

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<sup>78</sup> *Journal de Smyrne*, 30 January 1834, quoted in Yaranga, 2002, pp.72-73.

<sup>79</sup> Alexis de Valon, *Une année dans le Levant, Voyage en Sicile, en Grèce an Turquie*, (Paris : Dauvin et Fountaines, libraries, 1850), quoted in Olaf Yaranga, 2002, p. 71.

<sup>80</sup> Alex de Valon, *Unne année dans le Levant, Voyage en Sicile, en Grèce et en Turquie*, (Paris: Dauvin et Fontaines libraries, L:O., 1850), pp. 47-48 quoted in *ibid*, 2002, pp. 71-72, FN. 147.

<sup>81</sup> Maxime du Camp, *Souvenirs et paysages d'Orient*, (Paris: Arthur Bertrand, B.N.P, 1848), p. 32 quoted in *ibid*, p. 73, FN. 148.

<sup>82</sup> Yaranga, 2002, p. 73.

the street.<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, in spite of what its name indicated, Frank Street was not only composed of European shops, but also included shops owned by Jews, Greeks and Turks.<sup>84</sup> As a result, most travelers promoted the European character of İzmir through examples such as Frank Street and the entertainment events of the Levantines while at the same time staying silent its Eastern features. Such exceptional traveler accounts motivate us into exploring less known sides of İzmir and viewing the city as a whole without differentiating it according to ethno-religious characters or so-called spatial borders, as did the some European travelers and the historians with nationalist and nativist tendencies.

Selecting positive or negative aspects of travelers' accounts completely depends on the choice of the researcher. Therefore, The extensive use of travelers' accounts in historical studies also constitutes an important problem concerning the reliability of the academic studies. The article of a Turkish scholar Hasan Zorlusoy is a good example of such an attitude.<sup>85</sup> Zorlusoy deliberately overlooked the shortcomings of İzmir mentioned in some travelers' accounts that were negative about the city while at the same time presenting all the positive comments on the city's communal life made by some French travelers. His article, in exaggerated language attempts to demonstrate the Europeanised and tolerant nature of İzmir together with its beauty, while ignoring the negatively biased writings of their accounts.

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<sup>83</sup> Valon, 1850, p. 48 quoted in Yaranga, 2002, p. 74, FN. 150.

<sup>84</sup> Sibel Zandi Sayek, *Public Space and Urban Citizens, Ottoman İzmir in the Remaking, 1840-1890*, unpublished dissertation, (Berkeley: University of California, 2001a) 64; Yaranga, 2002, pp. 73-74.

<sup>85</sup> Hasan Zorlusoy, "Gezi Anılarında ve Günlüklerde 18. ve 19.Yüzyıllarda İzmir'de Yaşam," in *Fransız Seyahatnameleri ve Tarihin Aynasında İzmir*, (İzmir:İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi, 2002).

## The Early History of İzmir & Emerging Center-Periphery Relationships

Before the domination of the Ottomans in İzmir, in the first centuries A.D. the city was inhabited by Romans, Byzantines, Seljuks, Crusaders, and Aydınoğulları Principality. It came under the definitive Ottoman rule during the reign of Murad II in 1426.<sup>86</sup> When the Ottoman imperial government secured its rule in İzmir, it saw İzmir and its hinterland simply as a granary to feed the capital. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century people of İzmir struggled to conduct commercial activities through their own means without any support of the center. Even, it implemented restrictive policies for the economic development of the city in international terms, in order to secure the need of food for the capital. However, it did not place importance on the city's economic or social-cultural development.<sup>87</sup> Therefore, the emergence of the city as an international port city in Eastern Mediterranean in the 17<sup>th</sup> century owed little to Ottoman policies.<sup>88</sup> However, state changed its policies towards İzmir in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. İzmir began to gain prominence as a Mediterranean port city in the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>89</sup> and it was İzmir, not İstanbul, that developed into a center of a promising commercial network, in spite of the restrictive policies and frequent interference from the center in earlier centuries.<sup>90</sup> Features peculiar to İzmir generated the city's economic development through its networks so that it became a pioneering port city providing trade for the empire with Western Europe by the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The reasons for this economic growth, which played significant role for the interaction of the people of the city with different ethno-religious backgrounds, can be summarized as follows: Firstly, a significant commercial community –Dutch, English, French, and Venetian– that settled in the city in the earlier century

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<sup>86</sup> Daniel Goffman, "İzmir from Village to Colonial Port City," in *The Ottoman City between East and West, Aleppo, İzmir, and İstanbul*, eds. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, & Bruce Masters, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1st ed. 1999, 2nd ed., 2000), p. 81, 86; Reşat Kasaba, "İzmir," *Review*, v. XVI, n.4, Fall 1993, p. 389.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>89</sup> Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and The World Economy, The Nineteenth Century*, (Albany: The State University of New York, 1988a) 97.

<sup>90</sup> Goffman, 2000, p.90.

provided strong ties with commercial centers and other parts of the Mediterranean.<sup>91</sup> Dutch, English, French, and Venetian merchants wanted to conduct their commercial activities in a port city in the Eastern Mediterranean, which did not have strict rules and regulations similar to Aleppo.<sup>92</sup> The dangerous conditions and unrest, resulting from the Ottoman-Safavid wars (1588-1628), made the trade route to and from Aleppo insecure in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. Thus European merchants were forced to search for a new more secure port in the region.<sup>93</sup> As a result, western European consulates were established in the port of İzmir in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>94</sup> These European merchants formed small companies that sold textiles or bought raisins, dried figs, cotton, and wool, and even grains both through legal purchasing or smuggling. The decline of central authority in Western Anatolia at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century because of the *Celali* revolts, also provided European merchants with profitable deals made with the local rulers concerning customs and other regulations.<sup>95</sup> Secondly, İzmir became an important center for the cotton and silk trade, which played an important role in its economic growth. European merchants were basically in search of cotton, which was available in good quality in the hinterland of İzmir. The high demand for cotton, silk and –at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century– mohair yarn played a crucial role in the development of the international trade of the city. The insecure conditions in Aleppo and the high import taxes levied on Persian silk in Bursa led to the transfer of the Persian silk caravan trade route to İzmir. Persian Silk traders began to come to İzmir, instead of Bursa, which was a significant center of silk production, to avoid the high taxes in Bursa. Hence, İzmir became one of the most important silk trade centers in the Empire.<sup>96</sup> High profits led to greater investments and larger organizations so that an intricate

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<sup>91</sup> Kasaba, 1993, p. 389; Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century, 1700-1820*, (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992) 41.

<sup>92</sup> Daniel Goffman, *İzmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650*, (Seattle: Washington University Press, 1990).

<sup>93</sup> Frangakis Syrett, 1992, p. 25.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 1992, p. 24.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 1992, p. 24.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 1992, pp. 24-25.

commercial network connected western Anatolian towns and drew goods and people to the port city of Western Anatolia by the 1640s.<sup>97</sup> İzmir was part of this commercial web in five ways: first, it was luring to gigantic commercial agents of western Europe, that were represented by the consuls and merchants from Amsterdam, London, Marseilles, and Venice; second, it provided a food supply to these gigantic agents mostly through the Ottoman non-Muslims. The main innovation in these transactions was the accumulation and shipment of goods to western Europe and not to İstanbul.<sup>98</sup> In the 1650s and 1660s the internal commercial growth of İzmir increased due to an influx of merchants from the Atlantic, Armenian Christians, Orthodox Greeks and Jewish people to the region to have a share in the wealth of the city.<sup>99</sup> Thirdly, the change in imperial policy also played a role in the economic development of the city, which in turn affected its social and cultural development. The Ottoman state ceased to discourage the development of an international commercial network in İzmir at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as it had done in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Instead, it started to view the city as an additional source of income for the treasury and army. Therefore, after the 1660s, the central authority began to encourage international commerce in the city and to re-integrate it into the empire's economic and administrative structure to be able to benefit from its wealth.<sup>100</sup> So much so that it implemented policies making İzmir the only influential port in Western Anatolia to conduct trade with the international market. In order to implement this policy *Sancağ Kalesi* was built to provide security for the ships, and necessary infrastructure was also developed, such as customs houses, khans, docks and warehouses, for commercial activity.<sup>101</sup> Furthermore, trade in smaller ports of other Aegean coastal towns was forbidden by an imperial decree so that the Kuşadası and Çeşme ports had to conduct their trade activities via the port of İzmir (their products, grain,

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<sup>97</sup> Goffman, 2000, p. 90.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Goffman, 2000, p. 90.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., pp. 90, 105.

<sup>101</sup> Frangakis Syrett, 1992, p. 26.

fruit, wine, raisins and figs were exported to Europe exclusively through the İzmir port). Moreover, the center also restricted trade in Chios with Europe in favor of İzmir, in spite of the abundance of local products in Chios. (Thus, many people in Chios migrated to İzmir and gradually became greatly involved in the trade.)<sup>102</sup> İzmir began to flourish economically through encouraging imperial policy in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The secure natural port of İzmir with its deep water, which provided a safe anchorage, was also another reason why European merchants were attracted to İzmir. The port of İzmir was one of the best ones in the world as well as in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>103</sup> The relative proximity of İzmir to the capital rendered the emergence of great rebellions and social conflict compared to others compared other distant regions of the Empire. This also turned the city into a secure commercial spot in the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>104</sup> Fourthly, the most important institutional arrangements, which played a crucial role in the city's economic development involving those concerning land possession: the land in and around İzmir was assigned as *hass-ı padişahi* in the 16th century. *Hass-ı padişahi* was a *dirlik* whose tax revenues and administration belonged directly to the sultan. In the Ottoman tımar system there was principle of “*mefruzü'l-kalem ve maktu'u'l-kadem.*”<sup>105</sup> According to this rule, the governor of province or *sancakbeyi* could not interfere in the administration of the *dirliks* that were allocated to the sultan and high official authorities. These *dirliks* were administrated by the owners of *dirliks* and these *dirliks* were called “*serbest*

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 1992, pp. 26-27.

<sup>103</sup> Frangakis Syret, 1992, p. 29.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 1992, p. 28.

<sup>105</sup> *Mefruzü'l-kalem ve maktu'u'l-kadem*: A phrase used to recognize autonomous status to a peoprtly or to guarantee freedom from outside interference to the possessor of a treasury stipend or allowance. Freely translated it means “separated from the treasury accounts.” [Kalem: an item in a financial register, and “off limits to all trespass” (literally “cut off (from the entry of) the foot”), Rhoads Murphy, *The functioning of the Ottoman Army under Murad IV (1623-1639/ 1032-1042), Understanding of the relationship between center and Periphery in 17<sup>th</sup> century Turkey*, Unpublished dissertation, (Chiago, Illinois: University of Chicago, 1979) 316; *Mefruzü'l-kalem ve maktu'u'l-kadem*: Separated from the pen and cut off from the foot (and) given. Dariuse Kolodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca. 1681), Defter-i Mufassal-ı Eyalet-i Kamañçe, Copies of Privileges Concerning Kara Mustafa's Vakif in Studenjeja*, Part I, Appendix v.3, (Harvard: Distrubuted by Harvard University press for the Harvard Ukrainian Reseach Institute, n.a) 279.

*timar*.”<sup>106</sup> Thus, inhabitants of İzmir in this system could keep their cultivation types by not being subject to the classic *timar* system that was controlled by the center. This gave inhabitants of İzmir a relative freedom to earn their subsistence and conduct trade, and also contributed to the preservation a special character of the city not only as a natural secure port, but also a safe place for refugees with different ethnic and religious backgrounds.<sup>107</sup> Fifthly, the nature of the relationship between the center and its Western periphery is an important factor to understand city’s social and political background: The Ottoman center did not turn İzmir into a center of a separate province until in 1841, when it became the center of the Aydın Province.<sup>108</sup> In earlier centuries reserved the city as *hassa-ı padişahi*.<sup>109</sup> Therefore, *kadı* was the city's highest administrator, not a high-ranking pasha.<sup>110</sup> This provided inhabitants of the city with more flexibility in conducting business.<sup>111</sup> Unlike the other towns and cities of the Empire, in İzmir, there was little restriction on the power of the *kadı*, who had the privilege of interfering in the affairs of foreign nations.<sup>112</sup> Moreover, there was a *voyvoda*<sup>113</sup> who was responsible for the collection of the taxes from the land called *hassa-ı padişahi* for the imperial household.<sup>114</sup> Hence, weak administrative ties of İzmir with the center provided communities of İzmir with

<sup>106</sup> *Mefruzü'l-kalem ve maktu'u'l-kadem*, BOA. MAD. 7589, p. 118-119. Also see Bayram Kodaman, Sultan II. Abdülhamit Devri Doğu Anadolu Politikası [Eastern Anatolia Politics in the period of Sultan Abdülhamid II], (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1987), pp. 5-20; and Mehmet Öz, “IV. Murad Devrine Ait Gelenekçi Bir İslahat Teklifi,” [A Traditionalist Reform suggestion in the period of Murad IV], *Türkiye Günlüğü*, 24 (1993), pp. 80-85.

<sup>107</sup> Kasaba, 1993, p. 389.

<sup>108</sup> Tuncer Baykara, *İzmir Şehri Tarihi* [History of City of İzmir] (İzmir: EÜ Matbaası, 1974) 54. Between 1843-1850, the center of the Aydın Province had been changed, that it became Aydın itself, then in 1850 İzmir again became the center of the Aydın Province. Ibid. İzmir became a separate province in 1866. Özer Ergenç, *Osmanlı Klasik Dönemi Kent Tarihçiliğine Katkı, 16.yy'da Ankara ve Konya*, [A Contribution to the Urban History, Ankara and Konya in the 16<sup>th</sup> century], (Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı Yayınları, 1995) 142.

<sup>109</sup> See section 1.1., p. 4; Baykara, 1974, p. 53.

<sup>110</sup> Reşat Kasaba, "İzmir", *Review*, XVI, 4, Fall, 1993, 389.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 1993, p. 390.

<sup>112</sup> Daniel Goffman, "İzmir from village to colonial port city" in *The Ottoman City Between East and West, Aleppo, İzmir, and İstanbul*, eds. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, Bruce Masters, (Cambridge University Press, 1999) 85; Kasaba, 1993, p. 389; Baykara, 1974, p. 53.

<sup>113</sup> *Voyvoda* was governmental officer, who was responsible of collecting *has* and treasury revenues in the districts. Musa Çadircı, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentleri'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapıları* [The Social and Economic Structure of Anatolian Cities during the Tanzimat Period], (Ankara:TTK, 1991) 29-30.

<sup>114</sup> Kasaba, 1993, p. 390.



relative freedom in developing their connection with the Mediterranean.<sup>115</sup> However, not only the weak administrative relations with the center, but also encouraging imperial policy to develop economy of İzmir in the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>116</sup> should be considered as a factor in the economic development of the port city towards Europe and Mediterranean. As far as the administrative relationship between the center and İzmir is considered, the registers of *Meclis-i Vala* suggest a close relationship between them. Local governors of İzmir, *-zaptiye memuru, muhassıl, müşir, mutasarrıf-* had numerous correspondences with the *Meclis-i Vala* in the center. This indicates the close contact between the center and local rulers of İzmir during the era of the reforms. In order to understand İzmir's peculiar condition vis-à-vis the Ottoman state, I suggest that we should think of social-cultural and economic dynamics of İzmir, which the city produced with its multi ethno-religious society. This will be examined in chapters 4 and 5. Finally, customs dues were one of the most important sources of revenue for the state. The collection of the revenues was not administrated by the center. Instead it was given as an *iltizam*<sup>117</sup> (with virtually autonomous status) to other institutions. And, in providing for these needs of the center, no single governmental office had control of the organization of the city's relations with the outside world or other Ottoman ports.<sup>118</sup> All these factors played significant role in the formation of social cohesion and interaction of the city in which Ottoman non-Muslims, Muslims and Europeans generated in collaboration.

Having discussed the factors in the economic development of İzmir, Kasaba comes to the conclusion that “all this means that under the Ottomans the ties between İzmir and the imperial

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Goffman, 2000, pp. 90, 105; Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, pp. 26-27.

<sup>117</sup> *İltizam* meant selling a source of revenue for a specific period of time to a private person, called *mültezim*. *Mültezims* entered into such a contract under the obligation of collecting of the revenue and payment of it to the state on an established sum. This system of *iltizam* provided cash supply to the state treasury that was urgently in need of cash payment for the upkeep of the military. Therefore, from the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman state expanded the *iltizam* system. *İltizam* system formed the backbone of the administrative and financial structure of the state. Halil İnalcık, “Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700,” *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History*, (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985), pp. 327-328.

<sup>118</sup> Kasaba, 1993, p. 390.

center in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries did not become very strong and, consequently, the inhabitants of the city continued to enjoy considerable freedom in maintaining and strengthening their links with the wider Mediterranean.”<sup>119</sup> As this study will argue in the following chapters, the people of İzmir paved their own way in forming economic and social relations, which resulted in economic progress and social cohesion, and maintained them until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, this did not occur independently from the policies of the center, in other words, it did not occur because of the weak bonds between the city of İzmir and center. On the contrary, the residents of İzmir began to form their wide international network with the supporting policies of the center in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. An already mentioned example of these policies was to make the port of İzmir a unique venue for the conduct of international trade in the Aegean region at the expense of the ports of Kuşadası, Çeşme and Chios. The people of İzmir benefited from the encouraging policies of the center directed towards their town. As a result, this vital economic activity affected the nature of the communal relations in the multi-ethno-religious society of İzmir. İzmir did not have weak relations with the center in economic terms, but in social and cultural terms. The Ottoman center did not leave İzmir alone and free in forming its economic relations, whereas it left, even if it was unintentionally, its societal organization and cultural development relatively free. Nevertheless, during the Tanzimat period it was interested in the maintenance of the city’s social order and integration into the center through its control mechanisms. Since the central authorities were not interested in the social-cultural development of İzmir, but only in its economy, the people of İzmir were relatively free to construct their own kind of social relations. This produced a social cohesion in the multi ethno-religious society of İzmir so much so that the people of İzmir managed to get through the social tension caused by sporadic conflicts in the last three decades

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and during the years of the Greek revolt -until the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Within its growing commercial network and wealth, İzmir, generally, had a peaceful social life, until the arrival of pirates from the Barbary Coast. They disturbed the social order of the city in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. These North African pirates, who got drunk when ashore, annoyed people with their aggressive attitudes and attacked people with knives. Shopkeepers were obliged to close their shops. The state was unable to subdue them effectively, so this unrest continued until the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>120</sup> Although there is no information about these incidents and the end of these pirates, mischiefs in the writings of travelers of the period, it was very probable that it was the leading ayan family of the *Karaosmanoğlu*, in İzmir that managed to subdue them with its effective rule and control of order in the city.<sup>121</sup>

### **The Long Eighteenth Century and the Importance of İzmir**

By the 18<sup>th</sup> century İzmir became the main port city for providing the empire's external trade. İzmir began to play an important role in the commercial network of western Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but the major expansion in production for the European market started in İzmir in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and continued until the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The active involvement of the non-Muslim Ottomans, "intermediaries,"<sup>122</sup> and foreigners –Dutch, English, French and Venetian– inaugurated this process of economic development. İzmir continued to be the export center for the silk trade in that the silk from Bursa and mohair yarn of Ankara were mainly exported from İzmir. The state implemented policies to secure İzmir as the main center of

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<sup>120</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, pp. 57-58; Rauf Beyru, *19.yy'da İzmir'de Yaşam*, [Life in the 19<sup>th</sup> century İzmir], (İstanbul: Literatür Yay., 2000) 38.

<sup>121</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, p. 58.

<sup>122</sup> Kasaba, 1993, p. 395; Kasaba, 1988a, pp. 75-85. Local merchants or an individual merchant, whether non-Muslim or Muslim, either engaging in trade, tax farming, and money landing, is named by Kasaba "intermediaries." Ibid.

export of these raw materials in the 18th century.<sup>123</sup> Further to its growth as an international trade center, the city also gained importance in meeting the military needs of the Empire. İzmir was responsible for providing the necessary supplies and soldiers to the ships of the North African provinces of Algeria, Tunis, and Tripolitania and to the imperial navy. It also continued to feed the capital with products such as olive oil and fruits.<sup>124</sup> Furthermore, its extensive caravan route with a secure *kervensaray* network provided a connection between the closer or more distant places in Anatolia. Thus İzmir's hinterland was integrated into the growing international trade of the city. Finally, not only the city of İzmir, but also the whole of the Aegean region and to some extent some distant places in Anatolia took place in the international economic activity.<sup>125</sup> Hence, such trade and commercial network of people of İzmir to interact first in economic terms, which also resulted in development of

While its economic growth continued, plagues, earthquakes, fires, riots and social disorder in İzmir characterized the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The city was often contaminated by the plague, which reached İzmir both from sea and land, roughly between 1754 and 1837.<sup>126</sup> The most destructive plague epidemics, which occurred between 1734-1744, 1783-1792, and 1795-1801, affected the economy and the demography of the city in a negative way.<sup>127</sup> Earthquakes and following them, big fires, led to the material losses and destruction as well as to the rebuilding of the city's trade infrastructure, warehouses, khans and marketplaces (*bedestan*).<sup>128</sup> Such events also affected the economy of the city negatively. The rising risk factor in investments required a greater capital, which led to a higher cost of living in the city as food and housing became more valuable and sparse. From the 17<sup>th</sup> century until the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the cost of living in the city increased sevenfold. However, the rising prices were not a result of increased demand,

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<sup>123</sup> Frangakis Syrett, 1992, pp. 31-32.

<sup>124</sup> Kasaba 1993, p. 390.

<sup>125</sup> Frangakis Syrett, 1992, p. 30.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45; Baykara, 1974, p. 84.

<sup>127</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, p. 47.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 52-57; Baykara, 1974, pp. 85-86.

but of the devaluation of the Ottoman currency.<sup>129</sup> All these, natural disasters and following them the deteriorated economic life in the city, must not HAVE affected the inter-communal relations that people of İzmir continued to exist in social cohesion and be the main actors of the prosperity of the city in the following centuries.

### **Local Notables and the Question of Governance in İzmir**

The problems of the growing state sanctioned the relatively legitimate power of the land notables over the central authority was evident in western Anatolian towns, too, as it was in the Balkan and Arab lands. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Aydın Province had three sancaks, Saruhan, Aydın and Suğla, and İzmir was a district (*kaza*) of Suğla.<sup>130</sup> The lack of stable administration in İzmir also contributed to the growing authority of the ayan families in İzmir. The Araboğulları family of Pergamum, the Karaosmanoğulları of Manisa, the Sarıbeyoğlu Mustafa of Denizli, and the Katipoğlu, were the most influential *ayan* families of western Anatolia. They dominated political and economic relations in this area in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>131</sup> Among the *ayans* of western Anatolia, the most powerful one was the Karasosmanoğlu<sup>132</sup> family, which preserved its local power until the first decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>133</sup> By the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, social order had so much deteriorated that because of a lack of stable administration and strong central authority, members of the Karaosmanoğlu family were appointed by the center to secure social order in the city. The son of Kara Osman, Mustafa Karaosmanoğlu was very powerful in the

<sup>129</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, p. 57.

<sup>130</sup> Özer Ergenç, "Salnamelerde İzmir," [İzmir in the Salnames], in *İzmir Ticaret Odası 1885-1995, Türkiye Ekonomisinin 100 Yılı İzmir ve İzmir Ticaret Odası Sempozyumu, 21-23 November 1985*, (İzmir, 1985) 142; Baykara, 1974, p. 53.

<sup>131</sup> Goffman, 2000, p. 121. Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, pp. 58-61

<sup>132</sup> After the death of Kara Osman, his family was named as Karaosmanoğlu. Kara Osman served in the state as *sipahi* and *kethüda* to the mütesellim and controlled the imperial mukataa revenues. Moreover, the state ordered him to seize the property of zeamet and timar holders who did not help the state during its campaign with Vienna. Frangakis Syrett, 1992, p. 38.

<sup>133</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, pp. 37-39.

region in 1730s and 1740s, since he had good relations with the Porte. The state allowed him to wipe out banditry in western Anatolia and to extend his power over the less powerful *ayans* as well as control the tax farming system. He cleared all bandits from western Anatolia by 1739 and became *emin* (“chief cashier”) of Manisa and *mütesellim* of Saruhan in 1743. However, when people complained about Mustafa Karaosmanoğlu’s abuse of power in İzmir in 1744, the state executed him. His son Ata Allah Karaosmanoğlu succeeded him as *mütesellim* in Saruhan, but was dismissed in 1761, because of rumors in the Porte about his plan to take revenge of his father.<sup>134</sup> Secondary sources on the 18<sup>th</sup> century İzmir do not indicate the presence of any disorder in the communal relations in the city because of the *ayan* conflicts. As the discussion below will show, however, the state could not restore social order in İzmir without the involvement of the Karaosmanoğlu family during the aggressive events of 1770 and 1797.

### **The Social Order Disrupted 1770-1820s**

As far as social order in İzmir is concerned in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, except for the 1770 and 1797 aggressions of janissaries and some group of fanatic Turks, non-Muslim and Muslim communities lived in generally peaceful terms, and a greater religious toleration existed in İzmir towards Ottoman non-Muslims and Europeans compared to the other regions of the Empire.<sup>135</sup> However, some occasional disturbances occurred: In 1730s, the Zantiots, who were expelled from Zante, intimidated İzmir’s society with their robberies and attacks in the urban area.<sup>136</sup> Moreover, occasionally some rebellious groups emerged which comprised of members of *ayan* families going against the state or *ayans* themselves falling into conflict with each other either because of the collection of taxes or commercial power. From the *ayans* of the Sarıbeyoğlu

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>135</sup> Frangakis Syrett, 1992, p. 35.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., p. 58; Beyru, 2000, p. 39.

family, a revolt of economic nature was sparked: As was typical of their attitude, the ayans would take advantage of the peasants' discontent because of the over taxation and their landlessness, Mustafa Sarıbeyoğlu gained their support and generated a revolt. His followers headed towards inner western Anatolian cities of Denizli, Saruhan, Manisa and Aydın to plunder. By 14 March 1738 he marched into İzmir to announce himself Pasha of the city.<sup>137</sup> Mustafa Karaosmanoğlu, who was ordered by the state to defend the city, hastily built a wall around it in the limited time he had, but could not prevent Sarıbeyoğlu's attack. Eventually, Mustafa Karaosmanoğlu convinced Sarıbeyoğlu to withdraw by bribing him. Afterwards, the European communities in İzmir, who feared his possible return, built new gates in their districts, namely Frank Street. After this event, the city was not attacked again, but the city environs were repeatedly exposed to bandit attacks.<sup>138</sup> Although after 1760 the state needed powerful and efficient rulers such as the Karaosmanoğlu in order to prevent similar uprisings, the state exiled Mustafa Karaosmanoğlu, and executed him in 1744.<sup>139</sup>

Furthermore, towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the non-Muslims and Europeans of İzmir suffered from the aggressiveness of some of the local rulers and a group of fanatic Turks. Many small uprisings broke out in the city following 1750. One of the most important of these was the revolt of 1770: The destruction of the Ottoman fleet by the Russians in the battle of Çeşme and following this, the initial Greek riots in Morea, humiliated some Turks in İzmir and this led to severe tension in the city. The French consul noted that the customs official İbrahim Ağa murdered all the Greeks in the customs house. Following this event some Turks went out of control and massacred one thousand five hundred Ottoman Greeks in İzmir, two Europeans and the Dutch dragoman, while the Europeans took refuge in the ships of their respective

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<sup>137</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, pp. 58-59.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid, pp. 4, 38.

countries.<sup>140</sup> Social order could only be restored by the intervention of the Janissaries. Ata Allah Karaosmanoğlu's successor, his brother Ahmed Ağa, was so weak that he could not intervene in order to punish the rebels. In spite of the need of the center to restore peace in İzmir, the state still insisted on getting rid of the Karaosmanoğlu family. Aivas Ağa, who was a landowner and ağa from the Bornova district of İzmir, came to the city in 1772, to get rid of the Karaosmanoğlu influence. The battle between them ended in 1775 with the victory of Ahmed Karaosmanoğlu who obtained the support of all the ağas of his region including that of the Kapudan Pasha.<sup>141</sup>

Unfortunately, when the center re-discharged the Karaosmanoğlu from İzmir during the big urban riot of 1797, the growing inter-communal conflict reached a point where it could not be controlled. The 1797 riot in İzmir is a good example for the Janissary instigated revolts in the Ottoman Empire during a period when a weakened central authority could not control the

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<sup>140</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, pp. 59-60; Beyru, 2000, pp. 40-41; James Dallaway, "James Dallaway'in İzmir:1795" [James Dallaway's İzmir:1795], in *Hacılar, Seyyahlar Misyonerler ve İzmir, Yabancıların Gözüyle Osmanlı Dönemi'nde İzmir, 1608-1918*, [Pilgrims, Travellers and Missionaries and İzmir: İzmir from the eyes of foreigners, 1608-1918], İlhan Pınar, *Hacılar, Seyyahlar, Misyonerler ve İzmir: Yabancıların Gözüyle Osmanlı Döneminde İzmir, 1608-1918*, [Pilgrims, Travellers and Missionaries and İzmir : İzmir from the eyes of foreigners, 1608-1918], (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi, 2001) 97. The battle of Çeşme and this violent event was mentioned by Rauf Beyru by quoting from James Dallaway, by Pınar's translation of Jams Dallaway, who had written by referring to Charles-Claude de Peyssonnel, and it is also cited in Elena Frangakis-Syrett by quoting from Charles-Claude de Peyssonnel, *Lettre de M. de Peyssonnel, ancien consul general a Smyrne, content quelques observations relatives aux memories qui ont paru sous le nom de Baron Tott* (Amsterdam, 1785), pp. 78-80. The number of the Greeks slain is different in these three sources: in Pınar's translation it is 1500, in Beyru's quotation of Dallaway it is 1000, and in Frangakis-Syrett mentioned it as 5000. Beyru, 2000, p. 41, FN. 115; Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, pp. 59-.60, FN. 94; Pınar, 2001, p. 97. I made a cross check from the original letter of De Peyssonnel. He wrote that "...İbrahim Ağa, gave the example, and fame Sunday, at five o'clock in the morning, began with caufing to be inhumanly killed all the Greeks, workmen of fervants, belonging to the Cuftomm Houfe. This example was followed in the markets, fquares, crofsways, and quays in the city; in less than four hours there were fifteen hundred Greeks butchered; two Europeans, Mr. Gargani, a Tufcan Merchant, and Mr. Gallo, interpreter to the Dutch, likewife fell victims to the rage of this unruly populace..." Peyssonnel, M. de Charles, *An appendix to the memoirs of Baron de Tott; being a Letter from Mr. De Peyssonnel, ...to the Marquis of N*, (London: printed for T. Hookham, 1786), 96-97. Nevertheless, whether one thousand, one thousand five hundred or five thousand, these numbers are so high that it is enough to show the level of violence occurred within four hours. Tuncer Baykara, without going into details, also mentioned that some offensive actions occurred against the Greeks of İzmir, but at the beginning precautions were taken and nothing happened. According to Baykara the reason of these actions was the Greeks' cooperation with the Russians in the battle of Çeşme. Baykara, 1974, p. 83. During these violent events, the governor of İzmir was a successor of Karaosmanoğlu, whose weak administration could not prevent the massacres; even he was so weak that could not attempt to punish the responsables of this violence. Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, p. 60.

<sup>141</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, p. 61.



disorder in the cities.<sup>142</sup> The reappearance of the Zantiots<sup>143</sup> in the city as well played an important role in the breaking out of the most destructive uprising in İzmir on 15 March 1797. In order to prevent the Zantiots' unsociable and aggressive behavior in the city, the European consuls requested from the Venetian consul, which extended its protection over the Zantiots, to restrict their numbers in the city. The councils' actions were not effective and during the Muslim religious month of the Ramadan as a result of an argument between Zantiots and Janissaries, a janissary was killed outside the door of the exhibition of robe dancers. The hostilities instigated by an *ağa* from the Bornova district, Mehmed, and the *kadı* of İzmir, Hacı Osman Bolancı, against the prosperous non-Muslim communities of İzmir accompanied the Janissary instigations. Janissaries marched into the streets with the bloodstained shirt of the deceased member of their corps and asked the Ottoman officials to hand the delinquents over to them. Officials refused. Then, they asked the consuls to turn over the Venetian consul in order to question him on 14 March 1797. He had already taken refuge on his ship. This enraged the Janissaries even more. Finally, they announced an ultimatum to the European consuls: if in an hour the guilty were not handed over to them, they would not be responsible for the consequences.<sup>144</sup> Therefore, on 14 March 1797, the Janissaries began to massacre Europeans and non-Muslims and destroy their properties. During this riot, a fanatic Turkish mob also joined the Janissary group and set fire to the Chian Han (*Sakız Hanı*).<sup>145</sup> The flame spread to the rest of the city. In addition to *Sakız Han*, many houses and shops, and all the houses of the British

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<sup>142</sup> Richard Clogg, "The Smyrna 'Rebellion' of 1797: Some Documents from the British Archives," in *I Kath'imas Anatoli: studies in Ottoman Greek History*, (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2004) 63.

<sup>143</sup> The Zantiots who reappeared in İzmir are mentioned "Greek Zantiots" (*Zanteli Rumlar*) in Rauf Beyru's discussion.

<sup>144</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, p.62; Beyru, 2000, pp. 41-42; Baykara, 1974, p. 83.

<sup>145</sup> *Sakız Han* was located in the Frank district of İzmir. We know from the tax registers of 1840 (*temettü defterleri*) that many İzmir Greeks, (but mainly those who were from İstendil) either migrants from the islands or native Greeks of İzmir settled in the Frank district of İzmir. In the notebook, the location of some houses or shops of the residents are described by referring to Sakız Han. Therefore, we know that Sakız Han was in the Frank neighbourhood. *Nefs-i İzmir kazasının mahallatının İlinoz ahalisinin, emlak, arazi ve temettuatını mübeyyin defter*, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, *İzmir Temettü Defteri*, [İzmir Temettü Notebook], n. 2104, 1256 (1840), pp. 41-42, 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> registers.

merchants were completely destroyed in the Frank district.<sup>146</sup> According to one figure, almost one thousand five hundred houses, around three hundred shops, and nine consulate buildings were destroyed in the Frank district.<sup>147</sup> According to British documents the number of Greek victims in the 1797 revolt was 1500.<sup>148</sup> Despite the heavy Greek casualties, few Turks and no Europeans had been killed.<sup>149</sup> During this turmoil, the Zantiots, Slavonians, Croats and other non-Muslims, took advantage of their protected status by the European states and plundered the remains of the European and non-Muslim properties.<sup>150</sup> This extensive destruction of the city affected its economy enormously. A serious housing shortage occurred, which caused the skyrocketing of rents, and in turn the general cost of living and inflation increased so much so that two years later inflation in the city was still on the increase.<sup>151</sup> As for the delinquents of the 1797 events, the Europeans blamed the Ottoman authorities for not intervening effectively to prevent such violence and destruction in the city. In the following days, the kadı of İzmir, Hacı Osman Bolancı, the highest administrator of the city, did not hesitate to continue his threatening attitude towards the Ottoman non-Muslims and Europeans because of his secure position at the Porte.<sup>152</sup> His aggressive attitude towards the Ottoman non-Muslims and Levantines in İzmir might be explained not only due to his close relations with the Porte, but also due to the importance of the office of kadı itself in İzmir as the highest level administrator of the city. The state attributed much of the wrongdoings to the Zantiots and Cephaliniots, and avoided punishing the group of fanatic Turks, who joined the aggression of the Janissaries, in fear of provoking the Janissaries once again.<sup>153</sup> To be able to restore law and order in the city after the events of 1797, ironically, the Ottoman center reinstated a member of the Karaosmanoğlu, Hacı Hüseyin

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<sup>146</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, p.63; Beyru, 2000, pp. 41-42; Baykara, 1974, p. 83.

<sup>147</sup> Beyru, 2000, p. 42.

<sup>148</sup> Clogg, 2004, p. 63.

<sup>149</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, p. 63.

<sup>150</sup> Clogg, 2004, p. 66; Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, p.63; Beyru, 2000, p. 42.

<sup>151</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, p. 64.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

Karaosmanoğlu, who was suggested by the European consuls as well. As *mütesellim* of Manisa and governor of Aydın he was also appointed as head of all the officials in İzmir (8 April 1797).<sup>154</sup> İzmir had commenced the 19<sup>th</sup> century under the powerful rule of the ayan families following the turbulent events of 1770 and 1797, accompanied by destructive earthquakes, fires and loss of population as a result of the epidemics, and the turbulent years of the Greek revolt.

### **Mahmud II, the Greek Revolt and the Impact on İzmir**

Mahmud II (r.1808-1839) showed his immediate reaction against the Greek revolt in the early 1820s as soon as the Greek revolt broke out in 1821 in Moldavia. He eliminated influential power groups, like the Phanariots,<sup>155</sup> later the Janissaries, and, related to them, Bektashis.<sup>156</sup> This was the first step of the centralizing Ottoman reforms, which affected relations of the state with its non-Muslim subjects, as it is discussed in chapter 4. The Phanariots dismissal from governmental posts through which they played a crucial role in the making of foreign policies of the Ottoman state negatively affected foreign relations. After the 1820s the state made no diplomatic appointments, and struggled to fill the vacuum by Muslims.<sup>157</sup> That is to say, Mahmud II concentrated on forming his new cadres with Muslims not only at the military level

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 64. Such revolts were not peculiar to İzmir. Other cities, whose their the worsening economic condition resembled to İzmir, also experienced such kind of riots. For example, when the news of the events of 1797 in İzmir reached to Alexandria, a series of attacks occurred against non-Muslims and Europeans there too. When the Greeks were massacred in the city, the fear of the Europeans increased so much that they had to lock themselves in their houses as precaution, until the British council obtained the guarantee of the Ottoman state for their safety. Ibid., p. 65.

<sup>155</sup> Christine M. Philliou, *Worlds, Old and New: Phanariot Networks and the Remaking of Ottoman Governance in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, (Princeton University, 2004). The diplomatic contacts of the Ottoman state with the European states, which were paralyzed by the elimination of the Phanariot network in 1820-1821, revived with the promulgation of the 1839 *Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu* and the solution of the Egypt issue in 1840. Ibid., chapter 3.

<sup>156</sup> Hakan Erdem, "Recruitment for the 'Victorious Soldiers of Muhammed' the Arab Provinces, 1826-1828," in *Histories of the Modern Middle East. New Directions*, eds. Israel Gershoni et al., (Boulder, 2002) pp. 189-206; Butrus Abu Manneh, "The Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi and the Bektashi Orders in 1826," in *Studies on Islam and the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, 1826-1976*, (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2001).

<sup>157</sup> Philliou, 2004, pp. 162-164, 171-181.

by establishing *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* (“The Victorious Soldiers of Muhammed”), but also at the administrative level.<sup>158</sup> In the year 1826, in the middle of the Greek revolt, after a long siege Mahmud II managed to gain centralized control of the Empire when he succeeded to take back Missolonghi on 23 April 1826. The Missolonghi victory gave Mahmud II courage to abolish the Janissary corps that he planned since the execution of Halet Efendi in 1822.<sup>159</sup> Later, the Ottomans seized Athens within a year in June 1827.<sup>160</sup> These were the successes of Ottoman-Egypt navy, namely İbrahim Paşa, to whom Mahmud II appealed to suppress the rebellions in Morea. However, these achievements annoyed Britain, France and Russia to the extent that they gave up conflicts among themselves regarding the power politics in the Near and Middle East and allied to get rid of the Ottomans in Morea and supported the establishment of the Greek state. Hence, they negotiated among themselves without the involvement of the Ottoman state about two major problems: the Greek issue and the Eastern Question, and as a first step they defeated the Ottoman-Egyptian navy at Navarion in 20 October 1827.<sup>161</sup> The allies in October 1828 forced Mehmed Ali Paşa of Egypt to remove his forces from Morea and turned the key administrative posts to the nascent Greek government.<sup>162</sup> While the Ottoman Empire felt the big financial burden because of the reform attempts, Russia declared war against the Empire. It moved into Wallachia and reached Edirne, and in the east it seized the region between Erzurum and Trabzon. Mahmud II had to ask for help from Britain and France to mediate with Russia that Edirne Treaty was signed on 14 September 1829 under harsh conditions for the Ottomans: Russia gained full control of Caucasus, including Georgia, Nahcevan and Erivan, while returning Erzurum, Kars and Beyazıt to the Ottomans. The Ottoman state officially accepted the

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<sup>158</sup> Virginia Aksan, “The Ottoman Military and State Transformation in a Globalizing World,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia and Middle East*, v. 27, n.2, 2007, pp. 24-25.

<sup>159</sup> Caroline Finkel, *Rüyadan İmparatorluğa Osmanlı, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Öyküsü 1300-1923*, [Osman's Dream, The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1923], (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2007) 385.

<sup>160</sup> Stanford J Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, 1808-1975*, (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1977, reprinted 1988) 19, 30.

<sup>161</sup> Shaw & Shaw, 1988, p. 30; Finkel, 2007, p. 384.

<sup>162</sup> Shaw & Shaw, 1988, p. 31.

establishment of the new Greek state and autonomy of Serbia, and granted Russian subjects the same capitulatory rights that European subjects had.<sup>163</sup> In spite of the stipulations of the Edirne Treaty and waned prestige of the Ottoman Empire, Mahmud II continued to struggle to implement his centralizing reform program mainly to increase the revenues of the Empire and to provide military recovery. The control of another influential group in the state apparatus, the *ulema*, for Mahmud II was important in terms of providing legitimization for his plans for the destruction of the Janissaries and other reform measures.<sup>164</sup> However, according to low level *ulema* this defeat of the Ottomans in 1829 by the Russians was the proof for the incompatibility of the Western originated reforms with the Islamic structure of the state. This provided opportunity for the old Janissaries to cooperate with them and initiate revolts all over Anatolia between 1829 and 1830.<sup>165</sup> The troubles of the Empire continued in the 1830s, too. The Ottoman Empire had to deal, and even battle with Mehmed Ali Paşa, the governor of Egypt between 1831-1833 and 1838-1839. While İbrahim Paşa moved into Anatolia and defeated the Ottoman army near Konya, and reached until Kütahya in 1833, Mehmed Ali Paşa captured Aleppo, Damascus, Tripoli, Acre, Haifa, Crete, Beirut, Jerusalem and Nablus. As a result, to be able to cope with Mehmed Ali Paşa, the sultan had to ask for help from one of its adversaries, Russia and the Hünkâr İskelesi Treaty was signed on 8 July 1833 between the Ottomans and the Russians: the Ottoman state assured Russia to close straits against foreign ships so that Black Sea coast of Russia would be secured from the attacks of Britain and France.<sup>166</sup> When Mehmed Ali Paşa declared his independence in 1838, the Ottoman army moved into Syria and İbrahim Paşa very badly defeated the Ottoman army in Nizip (in south of Gaziantep) on 24 June 1838.<sup>167</sup> A week after the death of Mahmud II, Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia interfered to solve the

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>164</sup> Shaw & Shaw, 1988, p. 19, 28.

<sup>165</sup> Finkel, 2007, p. 391.

<sup>166</sup> Shaw & Shaw, 1988, pp. 33- 34.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., p. 50.

Mehmed Ali Paşa problem. While France refused to ally with them against Mehmed Ali Paşa, and the rest and the Ottomans signed the convention to provide peace in Levant in July 1840. According to conditions of this peace convention, while loosing the provinces he captured, Mehmed Ali Paşa and his family was recognized as the hereditary ruler of Egypt by the Ottoman state.<sup>168</sup>

All these events of the 1820s and 1830s were clear indication of the political, administrative and economic infirmity that Ottoman political legitimacy internally and externally was at stake. They not only shaped the centralizing reforms and policy making of the Ottoman Empire, but also balance of European and Russian politics. Britain and France were highly annoyed by Russian involvement into Ottoman internal affairs. In reality, the three allies of the past, Britain, France and Russia, were interested in the Eastern question: each of them suspected the other's motives, none of them wanted the other to gain economic, strategic, military or territorial advantage in the Ottoman Empire.

The weak Ottoman political control was also apparent in İzmir, too. The social disorder originated from the ayan and state conflict continued to dominate life in the city in the first two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Mahmud II's attempts to get rid of the powerful ayans manifested itself in the second decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in İzmir, too. The Porte ordered Kapudan Pasha to eliminate Katipoğlu Hacı Mehmed Ağa, who was the *voyvoda* of İzmir and was loved by both Europeans and Ottoman non-Muslims and Muslims. He used to collect relatively lower taxes than his predecessors<sup>169</sup> and was in good terms with the Levantines in the city.<sup>170</sup> His relations with the Janissaries made him suspicious in the eyes of the sultan, who was planning to eliminate the Janissary corps. Eliminating Katipoğlu's influence in the region would be a great task. The Porte appointed Kapudan Pasha Derya Hüsrev, who had to fight against fifteen thousand

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<sup>168</sup> Finkel, 2007, 396.

<sup>169</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, p. 65.

<sup>170</sup> Beyru, 2000, p. 42.

supporters of Katipoğlu.<sup>171</sup> Finally, Kapudan Pasha killed Katipoğlu in July 1816.<sup>172</sup> This was not the end of the chaos in the local administration of the city because riots against the local administrators of the city continued in 1820 and 1821, during which many of the local rulers, including the kadı, were killed.<sup>173</sup> Such conflicts began to disappear in İzmir after a barrack was built in 1830,<sup>174</sup> when the centralizing reforms had already begun. The destruction of the Janissary corps in 1826 might also be one of the reasons for the eclipse of such conflicts in the city. During its struggle to eliminate the power of the ayans in western Anatolia the Ottoman state naturally did not neglect the most important ayan family, the Karaosmanoğlu. The state took away the administration of the Aydın and Saruhan region from the Karaosmanoğlu in 1816. However, after having abolished the Janissary corps and eliminated almost all of the ayan families in the empire, a member of the Karaosmanoğlu family was reinstated into the local administration in 1829 (as it did in the course of the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century). He was in charge as the *muhassıl* of Aydın and the *mütesellim* of Saruhan.<sup>175</sup>

In spite of attempts of Mahmud II to eliminate the ayan families, members of the Karaosmanoğlu were so influential in İzmir that in 1833 Karaosmanoğlu Yakup Pasha was appointed as *muhassıl* of İzmir according to the new administrative organization of the Empire. İzmir became the center of the Aydın Province between 1841 and 1843. Later, between 1843 and 1850 the city of Aydın was the center of the Aydın province, after which in 1850 İzmir finally became center of the Aydın province, before becoming a province itself in 1866-67.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, p. 65.

<sup>172</sup> Baykara, 1974, p. 83; Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, p. 65.

<sup>173</sup> Baykara, 1974, p. 82.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>175</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, pp. 37-38.

<sup>176</sup> Ergenç, 1985, p. 142; Baykara, 1974, p.54;

## Natural Disasters & Their Impact on the Communities of İzmir

In spite of the great destruction caused by the earthquakes of 1688, 1788, 1801, and the big fires of 1742, 1763, 1817, 1834, 1841 and 1845, and huge mortality rates due to epidemics of plague and cholera during the 17th and 18th centuries, the city recovered and continued its economic development in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. During the first two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, İzmir continued to be a plague-ridden city. It is estimated that the population of İzmir according to the data available was decimated by the loss of roughly one hundred thousand people, when the plague wiped through the city and western Anatolia in 1830.<sup>177</sup> However, a new disease, cholera, appeared in the city in the summer of 1831, and affected its population by the death of almost six thousand people, especially Jews. In 1840 again almost four thousand people died because of cholera. The decrease in population affected the city's economy in such a way that it prevented the growth of the domestic market, which contributed to the reproduction of merchant capitalism and it also hindered the development of industrial capitalism.<sup>178</sup> However, natural disasters and epidemics, which were a constant of the city, could be considered one of the factors that encouraged the collaboration of the ethno-religious communities.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, eight big destructive fires occurred in İzmir. The first one was in 1817, during which fifteen hundred houses were destroyed. The second one was in 1825, destroying two thousand houses and leading to the displacement of ten thousand people. The third fire occurred in 1834 destroying almost the entire Frank district.<sup>179</sup> Another fire in 1841 damaged the Turkish quarters mostly and destroyed almost all of the Jewish quarter of the city, (about ten thousand houses were destroyed during this fire).<sup>180</sup> On July the 5<sup>th</sup> 1845, a fire destroyed 95% of the Armenian quarter, (except for 34 houses, all houses and workshops in the Armenian quarter were destroyed). One out of three of the Greek and Frank neighborhoods,

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<sup>177</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, p. 46.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>179</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, p.57; Baykara, 1974, pp. 86-87.

<sup>180</sup> Baykara, 1974, p. 87.



about two to three hundred houses in the Turkish quarter, many houses in the Jewish quarter, and Greek and Armenian churches were destroyed bringing the estimated number of destroyed houses to about six thousand.<sup>181</sup> The other three big fires occurred in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century -1857, 1861, and 1882. During the last one two thousand houses were destroyed.<sup>182</sup> In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, especially after the 1845 fire, the local authorities considered taking precautions to prevent destructive fires in the new urban planning of the city. In addition, the fire teams of the insurance companies struggled to prevent fires, and after the foundation of the İzmir municipality in 1868, the fire department of the municipality also began to participate in putting out the fires. Therefore, fires did not lead to serious damage in the second half of the century in İzmir. İzmir suffered from destructive earthquakes in 1828, 1846, and 1880. The 1880 earthquake especially led to serious damages in Chios and Çeşme.<sup>183</sup>

As a result, İzmir had grown from a small town of 1,300 residents in the 16<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>184</sup> to a prominent eastern Mediterranean port city with a population of 155,000 in 1878,<sup>185</sup> and of 200,000, at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>186</sup> In spite of the destructive fires and earthquakes of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and all the financial and political problems of the Empire, İzmir continued to be a significant center of trade in the international market with an extensive commercial network through the empire during the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>187</sup> along with other port cities, like Beirut, Salonica and Trabzon.

The port cities of the Empire experienced an economic boost in two periods, the first was between 1840 and 1870s, the other was at the turn of the century. In the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup>

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., p. 87; Kemalettin Kuzucu, "Büyük İzmir Yangını," [Big İzmir Fire], *Toplumsal Tarih*, n. 62, İstanbul, 1999.

<sup>182</sup> Baykara, 1974, p. 87.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid; Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, p.55.

<sup>184</sup> Mübahat Kütükoğlu, "İzmir Şehri Nüfusu Üzerine Bazı Tesbitler," in *İzmir Tarihi'nden Kesitler*, Ed. Mübahat Kütükoğlu, (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi, 2000a) 11.

<sup>185</sup> Kemal Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914, Demographic and Social Characteristics*, (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1982a) 119.

<sup>186</sup> *Annuaire Oriental*, 1883, 1885, 1896-97, 1893-94. Population of İzmir, including both females and males regardless of religion, reached to 423,000 according to 1881-82 Census. Karpat, 1982a, p. 122.

<sup>187</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, p. 55.

century, 75 % of the British export to the Middle East, including Egypt, was mainly conducted from İzmir. After western Anatolia, the volume of trade of the Arab provinces increased rapidly by 1914. According to official registers, by the end of the 19th century 46% of the total Ottoman trade was performed in these four port cities: The total volume of shipping increased from 100 tons to 2200 tons and its value increased 22 fold in İzmir; in Beirut, shipping activity increased from 40 tons to 1700 tons from the years 1800 to 1914, while its value rose to eight-fold between the years 1820 and 1910: The development of shipping in Trabzon increased from 15 tons to 500 tons, while its value increased seven-folds between 1814 and 1914.<sup>188</sup> Although the wars with Russia at the beginning of the 19th century disturbed the commercial activity of the Trabzon port, the Edirne Treaty positively affected the economic activity of the port city in the Black Sea. Its export and imports rate began to increase considerably in 1830s and its increase was three folds by the beginning of the 20th century. The working of steam ships lines in Black Sea also contributed to the economic development of the city, which continued until 1869: the opening of Suez Canal in 1869, which enabled a short cut connection to India, and the completion of the railway line between Poti and Tiflis at the end of 1872, which allowed the Russians to direct the Europe-Iran transit trade route towards Russia, elicited dilution of the economic activity of the Trabzon port.<sup>189</sup> Therefore, it would be interesting to make a comparative study between İzmir and Trabzon, and other port cities of the Empire that experienced an economic boost between the Hamidian period and the rule of the Committee of Union and Progress, until 1914.

By the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century western merchant communities had entrenched themselves very well in the social fabric of İzmir along with the Ottoman non-Muslim and Muslims. However, unexpected Greek massacres in 1770, which were accompanied by the initial Greek revolt in Morea, large scale Greek casualties in the 1797 Janissary uprising and the Greek

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<sup>188</sup> Çağlar Keyder, Eyüp Özveren, Donal Quataert, "Port-Cities in the Ottoman Empire, Some Theoretical and Historical Perspectives," *Review*, XVI, 4, Fall 1993, pp. 530-531.

<sup>189</sup> Üner Turgay, "Trabzon," in *Doğu Akdeniz'de Liman Kentleri* [Port Cities of the Eastern Mediterranean] eds. Çağlar Keyder, Eyüp Özveren, Donal Quataert, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994) 49, 51, 55, 61

revolt of 1821-1829, that ended with the declaration of an independent Greek Kingdom in Morea (1832), would affect the perception of the Ottoman state by the Greek subjects of the empire and vice versa. These developments shaped the premises of the 1839 imperial reform edict as well. Before dealing with the impact of the Tanzimat reforms in the communal relations in İzmir, it is useful to understand the socio-economic networks and organizations that allowed people of İzmir to interact in economic and social terms.

## Chapter 2. Socio-Economic Networks in İzmir in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

Non-Muslims' prominent role in the educational, social and cultural activities in the city prominently began in the early 1830s, when the political atmosphere calmed down after the turbulent years of the Greek Revolt. The relatively late participation of Muslim in these sectors in 1870s does not indicate that they did not interact with their Ottoman non-Muslim fellows in daily life. People of the city regardless of the ethno-religious background were the main actors for the increasing prosperity of İzmir in the earlier centuries. Such a flourishing economy could not occur in a multi-ethno-religious society where each community lived in isolation. As the last two chapters of this study demonstrate Ottoman reforms opened new channels for further social interaction between Muslim and non-Muslim communities. However, before discussing this, it is important to understand the nature of the Ottoman modernization and how it manifested itself in İzmir.

Since the middle of the 17th century, İzmir had some characteristics peculiar to its economic development that provided for the empire's trade with the West while its hinterland met the agricultural needs of the capital. Throughout this period, a significant European commercial community remained in İzmir that maintained strong ties with other commercial centers in other parts of the Mediterranean. Until the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the French dominated in trade business in İzmir and in its hinterland. However, because of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, the French had to end their commercial activities in the Near East.<sup>190</sup> The French Trade in the Mediterranean was depleted so much so that French merchants in İzmir and Istanbul had to flee when France declared itself hostile towards the

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<sup>190</sup> Reşat Kasaba, "İzmir," *Review*, v. XVI, n.4, Fall 1993, p.395; Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century, 1700-1820*, (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992) 69.

Ottoman Empire.<sup>191</sup> This situation provided an opportunity for Britain to take France's place in its trade dealings with the Ottoman Empire.<sup>192</sup> It also provided an opportunity for the local merchants in Western Anatolia to expand their activities in the foreign trade of the region and accordingly to strengthen their already powerful position.<sup>193</sup> In addition to trade, the British also engaged in maritime transportation, piracy, arbitrage, and privateering during the forty years preceding the end of the Napoleonic wars. As peace was restored in Europe, the economy of İzmir continued to grow, and Britain became its most prominent trade partner.<sup>194</sup> The volume of trade transactions between Smyrna and Britain indicates that the economy of the city began to recover in the 1830s, after the troubling years of the Greek revolt (Figure-1).

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<sup>191</sup> Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy 1800-1914*, (London, New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1993) p. 83.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid., p. 84. About one third of French trade with the Near East was carried out from the İzmir port in the 18th century. Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and The World Economy, The Nineteenth Century*, (Albany: The State University of New York, 1988a) 61; France dominated the empire's trade with Western Europe in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and especially became the important trade partner of İzmir, *ibid.*, p. 121 and see chapter 5 for İzmir's trade with France between 1700-1820.

<sup>193</sup> Kasaba, 1993, pp.395-396.

<sup>194</sup> Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "The Economic Activities of the Greek Community of İzmir in the Second Half of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism*, eds. Dimitri Gondicas & Charles Issawi, (Princeton, New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1999) 18.

**RETURN OF BRITISH TRADE, PORT OF SMYRNA, 1835<sup>195</sup>**

	ARRIVED	DEPARTED	ARRIVED	DEPARTED
	Vessels	Tons	Vessels	Tons
British	114	16.140	115	16.526
British, Ionian	37	2.272	37	2.272
British Maltese	7	1.510	7	1,510
British, Hanoverian	1	90	1	90
Turkish	None	None	None	None
American	27	4,448	27	4.448
Austrian	166	30.980	160	29.246
Dutch	7	970	7	970
French	53	7768	37	5175
Greek	770	44.430	751	42.956
Russian	44	5.118	41	4.638
Sardian	29	5139	27	4992
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1.225</b>	<b>118.865</b>	<b>1.210</b>	<b>112.823</b>

**Figure-1** British Trade in the İzmir Port in 1835

In spite of the negative impact of the Greek revolt on the economic activity of the city and Mehmed Ali Pasha's attempts to control Anatolia in the 1830s, İzmir continued to be an important port city for the Empire's trade with Europe. The absence of a strict trade policy, even though the sultan had the monopoly of certain products, (especially in the silk trade), made İzmir almost a free port during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>196</sup>

In Europe, due to the industrial revolution, various changes occurred in crop patterns and technology, which substantially in turn increased production and the need for new markets. The

<sup>195</sup> Brant to Board of Trade n.6, 6 February 1836 quoted in Frank Edgar Bailey, *British Policy and The Turkish Reform Movement*, (London: Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1942) 99.

<sup>196</sup> Bailey, 1942, p. 98.

rising urbanization and industrialization of Europe meant a greater need for food, which required external sources. Hence, the Ottoman Empire became a very suitable market. Accordingly, the Empire attempted to integrate itself into the changing economic conditions of Europe. The general change in the economic structure of the Ottoman Empire affected Western Anatolia and its port city İzmir as well. The disintegration of the Ottoman Empire was not a gradual process of decline as soon as the first contacts with the European economy were made, as conventional assumptions argue. Instead, western Anatolia was first integrated into the core areas of the world capitalist economy by the 1870s, mainly, through the extensive network of the non-Muslims, especially the Ottoman Greeks, the “intermediaries” in western Anatolia.<sup>197</sup> The 1838 British-Ottoman Trade Convention, which reduced customs taxes and weakened governmental control, made foreigners –European citizens resident in the Ottoman lands– and non-Muslims eager to take a more active part in the commercial life of İzmir. Moreover, non-Muslim Ottomans benefited from the export boom in the mid-19th century thanks to the influential positions they already had in commercial networks in western Anatolia at the end of the 18th century. Furthermore, they had also benefited from the Tanzimat reforms which eased tax burdens, introduced security of property and made acquiring, transferring and inheriting property easier. In addition, under the prosperous conditions of the 19th century, non-Muslim intermediaries enlarged and increased their connections in and outside of western Anatolia, by exploiting their informal links with their co-religionists in Europe and America, and within the Empire.<sup>198</sup> In the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Crimean war also contributed to the increase of economic vitality in İzmir. After the war, foreign investments, which initiated the construction of railroads to connect İzmir with inner Western Anatolia for the efficient transportation of the products,

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<sup>197</sup> Kasaba, 1988a; Kasaba, 1993.

<sup>198</sup> Kasaba, 1988a, pp. 100-101.

increased in İzmir.<sup>199</sup> In western Anatolia, roads and communication networks were not adequate for effective trade. In 1863 the construction of the İzmir-Manisa railway route<sup>200</sup> and of the Aydın-Kasaba one in 1865, made by British investment, led to the increase of volume of trade of the region.<sup>201</sup> However, railroad companies did not organize the circulation of goods, they only provided their transportation.<sup>202</sup> Besides, the reconstruction of the quay using largely French capital between 1868 and 1876 also played an important role in the increase of economic vitality in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>203</sup> In Salonica, too, the construction of greater quays in 1870s was crucial for the city's increasing rate of economic growth. After the completion of this railway network, the volume of trade began to increase in the port of Salonica in the 1880s. While the volume of shipping was 900.000 tons in 1870s, it exceeded 1.5 million from the years 1890 to 1907.<sup>204</sup> Nevertheless, railroad networks were not so widespread in western Anatolia in order to completely replace the traditional means of transport, the camel caravans, which were always useful to transfer goods to terminals.<sup>205</sup> Having said that, the İzmir-Aydın Railway line, which opened in 1860 and reached 612 km by 1912, the İzmir-Kasaba Railway, which opened in 1865 and reached 701 km. by 1912, and the new quay, whose construction was completed in 1868, provided a new type of transportation network for İzmir: These railways headed in a straight (going down vertically) line towards the Aegean sea along side the valleys of the fertile Big and Small Menderes Rivers and connected İzmir to these regions. In other words, the railways were constructed parallel to the rivers. Therefore, extrovert network transportation was provided, instead of an introvert one. This extrovert network not only provided transportation of

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<sup>199</sup> Doğan Kuban, *Türkiye'de Kentsel Koruma, Kent Tarihleri ve Koruma Yöntemleri* [Urban Protection in Turkey, The City Histories and Protection Methods], (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001) 74.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> Kasaba, 1988a, p.73.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., Kuban, 2001, p. 74.

<sup>204</sup> Basil Gounaris, "Salonica" [Selanik], in *Doğu Akdeniz'de Liman Kentleri* [Port Cities of the Eastern Mediterranean] eds. Çağlar Keyder, Eyüp Özveren, Donal Quataert, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994) 106-108.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., Kasaba, 1988a, pp.73, 99.



larger amounts of products to İzmir, but also made the influx of more people to the city easier.<sup>206</sup> Ottoman Christians constituted 30% of the total population of İzmir, and together with foreigners constituted the dominant population in İzmir by 1880s. İzmir attracted considerable number of Greek population from Aegean islands and inner western Anatolia.<sup>207</sup> As a result, the railways along with the traditional means of transportation carried both product and people to the export-import center of Western Anatolia.<sup>208</sup> The main reason of the attraction to the port cities was mainly economic vitality that the construction of the railroad networks and quays played crucial role in the development of economic prosperity. İzmir had been pioneer for constructing railway networks with the hinterlands for other eastern Mediterranean port cities like Salonica and Beirut. Salonica's commercial growth remarkably began in the middle of the 19th century through the construction of the railroad system in the 1870s –and construction of telegraph line in 1860s, which provided communication with centers in its hinterland and Europe. Connecting the city to inner Balkans until to Serbia, the new railroad network provided city's direct connection with Europe. The new line of Manastır, which was the biggest center of Macedonia, was completed by 1894 and the Alexandropolis line was completed in 1896 that connected the city to İstanbul.<sup>209</sup> Beirut provided its connection with Damascus through road linkage in 1860 and with railroad in the middle of 1890s. The railroads directly stretched into the ports in İzmir and Salonica, however in Beirut the terminal ended one mile away from the port area, which led to additional transportation cost. When the depth of the port of Beirut and other facilities were improved by the foreign investment in the 1880s, the economic growth of the city gradually

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<sup>206</sup> Özer Ergenç, "Salnamelerde İzmir" in *İzmir Ticaret Odası 1885-1985 Türkiye Ekonomisi'nin 100. Yılı ve İzmir Ticaret Odası Sempozyumu*, (İzmir, 1985) 147.

<sup>207</sup> Keyder, Özveren, Quataert, 1993, p. 538

<sup>208</sup> Ergenç, 19985, pp. 148-149.

<sup>209</sup> Basil Gounaris, "Salonica" [Selanik], in *Doğu Akdeniz'de Liman Kentleri* [Port Cities of the Eastern Mediterranean] eds. Çağlar Keyder, Eyüp Özveren, Donal Quataert, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994) 107.

continued.<sup>210</sup> However, before the 1880s, the economic activity of Beirut began to increase in 1830s when steam engine ships began to take part in the eastern Mediterranean trade.<sup>211</sup> Population growth together with the predominance of Ottoman Christians and foreigners in the commercial and trade of the cities were two of the common points of the ports cities in the Ottoman Empire. The population of Salonica and Beirut, like İzmir, increased gradually throughout the 19th century and the Ottoman Christians and foreigners predominately took part in the economic activity in İzmir and Beirut, and Jews in Salonica. While the population of Beirut was less than 10,000 in 1800, it reached to around 150,000 in 1914. Similarly, the population of Salonica tripled between 1800 and 1912, rising to 150,000.<sup>212</sup> Moreover, like in Salonica and Beirut, in İzmir, too, the commercial activity and trade of the city were predominantly conducted by Ottoman Christians and foreigners.

By demonstrating the interrelatedness sustained between western Anatolia and the core areas of the capitalist world economy, and the growth in production and trade in the region, Reşat Kasaba argued that the economic development of the Ottoman Empire in the middle of the 19th century was peripheral and that non-Muslim intermediaries were the main brokers and beneficiaries of the peripheralization of the Empire by 1860s in Western Anatolia.<sup>213</sup> During the first half of the 19th century, non-Muslim intermediaries could obtain profits mostly from tax farming, usury, and arbitrage. They were less interested in trade, since they found trade risky and full of uncertainties due to, basically, monetary anarchy in the empire and the difficulties of reaching the hinterland in the absence of appropriate transportation means, such as railways.<sup>214</sup> The Tanzimat reforms provided non-Muslims with a greater access to the judicial system, which in turn enabled them to benefit from the new regulations of land property. Their exclusion from

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<sup>210</sup> Keyder, Özveren, Quataert, 1993, pp. 531-532.

<sup>211</sup> Eyüp Özveren, "Beyrut," [Beirut] *Doğu Akdeniz'de Liman Kentleri* [Port Cities of the Eastern Mediterranean] eds. Çağlar Keyder, Eyüp Özveren, Donal Quataert, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994) 79.

<sup>212</sup> Keyder, Özveren, Quataert, 1993, pp. 537-538.

<sup>213</sup> Kasaba, 1988a, pp.100-106, 114.

<sup>214</sup> Kasaba, 1988b, p. 218.

military service was also an advantage to them. Hence, the Greeks (and Armenians) had a larger share in the commercial agricultural work.<sup>215</sup> The Ottoman reform attempts at re-centralizing the administration of the provinces led to the transformation of western Anatolia's agriculture in such a way that non-Muslim Ottomans became influential as tax collectors.<sup>216</sup> The intermediaries were not in favor of the centralizing Ottoman reforms and foreign investment, especially that of Britain in the coastline of Western Anatolia.<sup>217</sup> Among the non-Muslim intermediaries, Greek merchants had particularly extensive shipping and financial interests in Istanbul. At the same time, they also had powerful relations with the Sublime Port through which they could quickly curb the renewed authority of the Ottoman Empire in the provinces and step into commercial and political vacuums left by the submission of local notables to governmental control.<sup>218</sup> Kasaba mentions that in the long run, the intermediaries succeeded in curbing some of the reform measures since the Ottoman state could neither reconstruct the local economies nor raise sufficient revenue to use in its growing administrative tasks.<sup>219</sup> They eventually dominated the revenue collection and money lending activities in western Anatolia, in the same way as they coordinated commercial relations in linking other provincial centers to İzmir and also investing in the emerging industrial manufacturing of western Anatolia. This period was an “‘economic renaissance’ for the intermediaries, especially for the Greeks, which coincided with a growing disengagement from the hierarchy of the Ottoman bureaucracy.”<sup>220</sup> As this study demonstrates in the following chapters, this disengagement occurred during the strengthening of the local character of İzmir, which made this “‘economic renaissance’” possible. And, the reinforcement of

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<sup>215</sup> Charles Issawi, “Introduction,” in “Economic Foundations of a Civil Society: Greeks in the Trade of Western Anatolia, 1840-1876, *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism*, eds. Charles Issawi and Dimitri Gondicas, (The Darwin Press: Princeton, New Jersey, 1999) 9.

<sup>216</sup> Daniel Goffman, “İzmir from Village to Colonial Port City,” in *The Ottoman City between East and West, Aleppo, İzmir, and Istanbul*, eds. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, & Bruce Masters, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1st ed. 1999, 2nd ed., 2000) 127.

<sup>217</sup> Kasaba, 1988a, p. 85

<sup>218</sup> Goffman, 1999, p. 127.

<sup>219</sup> Kasaba, 1993, p. 403. Reşat Kasaba does not mention how they curbed the reform measures and what kind of strategies they used against the state.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 402.

the local character of İzmir, ironically, occurred under the centralizing Ottoman reforms, which were influential in İzmir, too. As it is argued in this study, the Ottoman Empire did not attempt to reconstruct either the local economy or the social-cultural character of İzmir. In contrast, it preferred to benefit from the status quo in İzmir, which constituted a good example of a multi-cultural society for the Empire's modernization program.

Consequently, the economic development, which began in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, transformed the city into the most important port city for export trade, and the second most important one after the capital in imports by the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, the ideological and political conditions of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were different from earlier centuries, affecting the cities of the Empire in social-cultural, political and economic terms. How was İzmir going to adapt itself to the newly emerging economic and political organization of the Empire and how would the new conditions affect communal relations in the city? In other words, how would the multi ethno-religious society of İzmir respond to the Ottoman reforms during the transition period of the Empire? To be able to answer these questions, we need to see the nature of this society in general economic and social-cultural terms from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until the 1860s.

### **The role of the Greek and Turkish communities in the economic activity of the city**

İzmir's hinterland had expanded considerably alongside the network of the non-Muslim intermediaries up to the last quarter of the 19th century so much so that the city-port had come to dominate the Ottoman Empire's trade with the West.<sup>221</sup> Commercial centers became the centers of wealth accumulation, and non-Muslim bankers, merchants, usurers and tax farmers increased their incomes and social influence at the expense of Muslims.<sup>222</sup> The prevailing scholarly view

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<sup>221</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1999, p.17.

<sup>222</sup> Kasaba, 1988a, pp. 100-105.

about the role of the non-Muslim and Muslim populations in the economic life of the Ottoman Empire is that while non-Muslims dealt with commercial activities and trade, Muslims earned their subsistence from agriculture and governmental works, including the military.<sup>223</sup> Muslims controlled the countryside's agricultural activity while the Christian (Greek and Armenian) and Jewish communities monopolized commerce and industry,<sup>224</sup> therefore, non-Muslims formed the origins of the Ottoman commercial bourgeoisie.<sup>225</sup> As far as İzmir is concerned, non-Muslim intermediaries constituted "a genuine bourgeois class" in the Ottoman Empire<sup>226</sup> that provided that integration of the local networks in western Anatolia into the core areas of the world market economy.<sup>227</sup> In this process, the Greeks, whether as Ottoman citizens, European-protected subjects, or Greek citizens, dominated all sectors of trade.<sup>228</sup> The Greek community of İzmir had already become prominent in certain sectors of the economy ever since the age of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars.<sup>229</sup> They always successfully competed with other Ottoman intermediaries and merchants, Muslims and Non-Muslims, inside and outside the Empire, such as Armenians, Turks, and Jews, as well as the British.<sup>230</sup> The reason for the economic rise of the Ottoman Greeks was not their cooperation with foreign capitalists and the continuing good relations between them and foreigners as a "comprador business class." On the contrary, non-Muslim intermediaries were not "a comprador business class," but were an economically active group that developed through obtaining power from controlling the sources outside of the control of the Ottoman bureaucracy.<sup>231</sup> As for the Greek community of İzmir, we already know of their

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<sup>223</sup> Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey: 1800-1914* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1980); Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, (New York: Oxford UP, 1996).

<sup>224</sup> Charles Issawi, 1982, pp. 261-285.

<sup>225</sup> Göçek, 1996.

<sup>226</sup> Kasaba, 1993, 406-7; 1986b, p. 124.

<sup>227</sup> Kasaba, 1988a, p. 85.

<sup>228</sup> Frangakis Syrett, 1999, p.18.

<sup>229</sup> Kasaba, 1993, p.395; Frangakis-Syrett, 1999, p.18.

<sup>230</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1999, p. 18.

<sup>231</sup> Reşat Kasaba, "Was There a Comprador Bourgeoisie in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Western Anatolia," *Review*, XL. 2, Spring 1988, pp. 215-228. "The intermediaries were not enthusiastic about European (especially Britain)

active economic involvement and considerable contribution to the city's economic development in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>232</sup> The reasons for the commercial success of the Greeks of İzmir can be summarized as follows: an organization based on tight kinship bonds, linking Greek commercial houses to each other; a knowledge of the European market provided to the prominent Greek families through their own international trading networks; the transfer of capital from the Greeks in Europe to the Greeks in İzmir; the close cooperation between İzmir Greeks and their compatriots in western Anatolia and in the capital; an easy acquisition of the European citizenship through the Greek state; having both Ottoman Greek and Hellenic Greek identities, the former provided to bypass some regulations, the latter provided them with European protection in case of commercial conflict; their intimate knowledge of the Anatolian market; the hire of Greek merchants by Westerns firms, especially by the British, as their agents in İzmir (besides, Greeks also worked as brokers for Western import-export companies)<sup>233</sup> and the international prominence of the Greek language.<sup>234</sup> Significant growth of trade in İzmir in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century led to development of a non-Muslim middle class, which absorbed urban western values more quickly.<sup>235</sup> The Greeks flood to the Aegean coastline and its capital city İzmir from Greek state during the Tanzimat reforms. The Greeks of Greece who migrated to İzmir and its surrounding regions were merchants and tradesmen. These merchants and guildsmen together with the Ottoman Greek subjects and protected Greeks played a crucial

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plans to install European financial institutions and set up new production and trading systems in western Anatolia. In fact, they were occasionally more successful in resisting the European efforts of penetration than they were contesting Ottoman policies of reorganization," Kasaba, 1993, p. 403.

<sup>232</sup> Kasaba, 1988a; Frangakis-Syrett, 1999; Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey: 1800-1914*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1980, "The Transformation of the Economic Position of the Millets in the Nineteenth Century," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, eds. B. Lewis & B. Braude, v.I, (New York, London: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982, pp. 261-285, "Introduction" in *Greeks in the Age of Nationalism*, eds. Charles Issawi & Dimitri Gondicas, (Princeton, New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1999).

<sup>233</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1999., pp. 19-23.

<sup>234</sup> Issawi, 1992, p. 3.

<sup>235</sup> Reşat Kasaba, "Was There a Compradore Bourgeoisie in Mid-Nineteenth Century Western Anatolia?," *Review*, XL, 2, Spring, 1988b, pp. 215-228; Themopoulou, n.d., p. 102.

role in the formation of middle bourgeoisie class in İzmir.<sup>236</sup> However, the Greek community of İzmir was in disorder in terms of administration and organization of the community during the Tanzimat. Religious clergy of the Orthodox Church, affluent Ottoman Greeks and Greek nationals were in contest to dominate the organization and educational facilities of the community. Moreover, Tanzimat regulations disturbed the political and economic power of the religious clergy in the Orthodox Church, and this led to confusion and disorder within the community. However, this disorder within the Greek community did not occur only because of the Tanzimat regulations. Its origins trace back to 1819. A crisis broke out between Ottoman Greek guildsmen and merchants, and affluent Ottoman Greek merchants and church in 1819. Strengthening economically, these tradesmen and merchants wanted to participate in the internal affairs of the community, from administration, education to organization. Affluent Ottoman Greek merchants did not want to share their political and cultural power over the community with this class of merchants and guildsmen. Although they could not penetrate into community organizations (this would happen in 1905), merchants and tradesmen gained more active role in community organization in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>237</sup>

As a result, in spite of their internal conflicts and disorder, İzmir Greeks dominated sectors of shipping, mining, commercial agriculture, tax farming, banking and finance, light industry and the wine, cloth, and liquor trade in İzmir by the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> Anagnostopoulou, 1998, p. 307. The Ottoman Greeks had the right of obtaining Greek citizenship easily by the Kanlıca Agreement (27 May 1855). This solved commercial and diplomatic problems between the Ottoman and Greek state, however, the identity problems of the Ottoman Greeks continued to exist. Citizenship law (19 July 1869) brought new regulations for this identity problem through interference of the big Western states: Before 1869, the Ottoman state used to recognize the Ottoman Greeks who obtained Greek citizenship as Greek nationals. After 1869, the Ottoman Greeks who obtained Greek citizenship through staying in Greece for three years, were not recognized as Greek citizens by the Ottoman state anymore, but recognized by the Greek state as Greek citizens. This made them to be subjected to the tax regulations of the Ottoman subjects in the Empire that they opposed to. As a result, the Ottoman state although did not recognize the Greek citizenship of the Ottoman Greeks sometimes winked at them to pay lesser taxes, however sometimes treated them as Ottoman subjects. This made them to search for ways to persuade the Ottoman state to accept them as foreign nationals. As result, this double identity of the Ottoman Greeks, on the one hand, made them to increase their wealth, on the other hand, led to confusion and disorder in their economic relations with the Ottoman state in terms of payment and amount of taxes. Moreover, this also led tension between the Ottoman and Greek state. *Ibid.*, pp. 310-312.

<sup>237</sup> Anagnostopoulou, 198, p. 339.

century.<sup>238</sup> Ottoman Greek and protected Greek merchants made up between 40-50% of the city's merchants at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and in the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>239</sup> In sum, their diverse economic activities and demographic advantage over the other communities in the 19<sup>th</sup> century aided the Greek community into becoming pioneers in the economic predominance of İzmir. This in return made them leaders in the modernization of social and cultural life of the city.

From the above discussion, we have already seen the İzmir Greeks' highly active role in the process of the economic development of İzmir. The tax register defter (*temettü defter*) of the Greek community of İzmir gives us more specific information about their professions and location of their residences in the city in 1840.<sup>240</sup> The Greeks of İzmir occupied the highest number of households compared to other communities and foreigners. The proportion of the population according to their citizenship in İzmir in 1841 was listed as follows: 1. Greek 2. British 3. French, Austrian, 4. Russian, 5. Genovese-Tuscan, and 6. Napolitan-Sardinian.<sup>241</sup> Among them, the Greeks were the greatest in number but not the richest community in İzmir. For example, their properties amounted to only 19% of the British properties, because the Greeks were mostly shopkeepers (*esnaf*), which was not a very profitable occupation.<sup>242</sup> The citizens of four big states –Britain, France, Russia and Austria– were employed in brokerage and trade, which involved high profits.<sup>243</sup>

Without understanding the part played by the Muslims in the economic life of the city, it is not possible to understand the factors that were decisive in shaping the social-cultural and economic dynamics in İzmir and the communal relations between Greeks and Turks, which gave the city such a special identity compared to other Ottoman cities. However, with the available

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<sup>238</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1999, pp. 19-34.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, 1999, p. 19.

<sup>240</sup> *İlinoz Cemaati'nin Emlak ve Gelir Defteridir* [property and Income Notebook of Greek (*İlinoz*) community], BOA, *İzmir Temettü Defteri*, [İzmir Temettü Notebook], n. 2104, (TMT), n. 2104, 1256, (1841).

<sup>241</sup> Kütükoğlu, 2000, p. 53.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*



archival material we are, as yet, unable to make a sufficient analysis of the Ottoman Turkish community of İzmir regarding their occupations and involvement in the dynamic economic activity of the city. In spite of this lack of factual information, it is useful to examine the activities in which the Muslims of the city took part using whatever existing literature and data we have at hand.

Travelers' writings of İzmir support the well known assumption about the Muslims' economic role in the Empire. That is that they were generally occupied in agricultural and governmental jobs, and also employed in handicrafts and small trade activities, such as being small shopkeepers in the urban area. They stated that the non-Muslim Ottomans and Europeans conducted the important commercial and trade activities of the city.<sup>244</sup> When asked to evaluate the reform measures and their impact on the Turkish community of İzmir, an English physician, who had settled in İzmir in 1857, did not omit to refer to the Turks' role in the economy of the city:

"It is a fact that while their institutions have improved, their wealth and population have diminished. Many causes have contributed to this deterioration. The first and great one is that they are not producers. They did not have diligence, intelligence, and forethought. No Turk is an improving landlord or even a repairing landlord. When he has money, he spends it on objects of immediate gratification. His most permanent investment is a timber palace, to last about as long as its builder. His professions are shop-keeping and service. He cannot engage in foreign commerce, as he speaks no language but his own. No one ever heard of a Turkish housed business, or of a Turkish banker, or merchant, or manufacturer. If he has lands or houses, he lives or rent. If he has money, he spends it, or employs it in stocking a shop, in which he can smoke and gossip all day long. The only considerable enterprise in which he ever engages is the farming some branch of the public revenue. His great source is service, either that of the private person or of that of the sultan."<sup>245</sup>

<sup>244</sup> Ritter von Karl Scherzer, *İzmir, 1873*, (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi, 2001) 26-27.

<sup>245</sup> Nassau William Senior, *A Journal Kept in Turkey and Greece in the Autumn of 1857 and The Beginning of 1858*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859) 210-211.

This depiction of the Turks by the English physician constitutes not only a good example of the typical Eurocentric idea about the characteristics of the Turks, but also supports the assumption that the Turks generally dealt in agriculture and shop keeping, and occupied governmental posts. Whereas, we know that the ayan families of İzmir held a crucial place in the commerce of the city with their wide networks in the 18<sup>th</sup> century until the 1820s, when Mahmud II destroyed the local land notables all across the Empire. Throughout 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Turks dominated the trade network among Syria, Egypt, Tripoli, and also as landowners, and they were more independent than the non-Muslim merchants vis-à-vis the European merchants in İzmir. The Turks, as landowners and producers of cotton and wheat, played a crucial role in the economy of the city.<sup>246</sup> Some local notable families –like the Araboğlu, Karaosmanoğlu, Saribeyoğlu Mustafa, Katipoğlu– were the most important cotton and wheat producers in western Anatolia and exercised great influence on the region not only as tax collectors, but also as rulers of the region who held significant administrative and military responsibilities. These ayan families were in competition with each other, and in favor of close commercial relations with the Europeans.<sup>247</sup> However, as far as the 19th century İzmir is concerned, we do not know much about the role of the Muslims in the economic life of the city, and their relations with the non-Muslim Ottoman and European merchants. Regarding the professions of the Muslim Turkish community of İzmir, according to Baykara, Turks preferred to be employed in the civil service so that the handicrafts, which were in the hands of the Turks in İzmir, were taken over by Greeks, especially, in the 19th century. By the middle of the 19th century, Greeks had dominated all trade activities in the urban area.<sup>248</sup> Turks in İzmir were depicted as being either government officials or big land owners. The poorer Turks were employed in agricultural jobs, which did not

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<sup>246</sup> Frangakis Syrett, 1992, p. 115.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid., pp. 115-116; Reşat Kasaba, 1993, p. 396.

<sup>248</sup> Tuncer Baykara, *İzmir Şehri Tarihi* [History of City of İzmir], (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Matbaası, 1974) 63-64.

require much skill, for example, picking and sorting.<sup>249</sup> In Kordelio, for instance, generally Muslims dealt with agriculture, stockbreeding, and artisanship, and a small number of Greeks dealt with these sectors. İzmir Greeks mostly worked in the transportation of agricultural products throughout the Empire. Generally, Turks were not employed in very profitable sectors.<sup>250</sup> However, some travelers referred to the Turks as being manufacturers, contrary to this general idea. Many Turks worked as drum, nail, and lock manufacturers in İzmir. They also worked as porters in the city; the portage, which required no skill or capital, was almost completely conducted by Turks, who came from the hinterland to İzmir.<sup>251</sup> Turkish women also played a role to some extent in the economic activity of İzmir. They not only made fine silk and linen textiles for their own use and their houses, but also carried out most of the production of the delicate and richly embroidered carpets in İzmir.<sup>252</sup> The role of conscription should be considered as a reason for the growing poor class of Turks and their little involvement in the urban economic sectors in İzmir.<sup>253</sup> Notwithstanding the low profile of the Turks in the urban economy, it is possible to configure that the Muslims of İzmir were not excluded from the economic activity of the city, which also required participation in urban social life. We know that Muslims began to participate in the social and cultural life of the city more actively after 1880s, when newspapers and journals were published in Ottoman Turkish and more schools were opened in the city.<sup>254</sup> However, the late development of the social and cultural activities of the Muslims compared to non-Muslim communities did not prevent them from developing communication with their Ottoman Greek or other non-Muslim fellows. The long-lasting property relations, the exchange of loans between them, or Ottoman Greeks' appointments of

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<sup>249</sup> Rolleston George, Report on Smyrna, (London: George & William Spottwoode for Her Stationery Office, 1856) 21-22.

<sup>250</sup> G. Pimenopoulos, *το Κορδελιο της Σμυρνης, το χειρογραφο*, (“Kordelio of İzmir, Handwriting”), (Thessaloniki: Ekdotiki Seira, 1995) 25.

<sup>251</sup> George, 1856, pp., 22-23.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>254</sup> For the education and printed press of the Muslims of İzmir see sections 2.4.1.1 and 2.4.1.2.

Muslim friends as their representatives in court in property conflicts, demonstrate the interaction between the Ottoman Greeks and Turks of İzmir in economic terms. Within the period of this study, the participation of Muslims in the printed press and social activities, seemed to be restricted. However, this does not indicate their absence in the urban economic sectors. Although the available primary sources do not support this argument at the moment, we can make a rough estimate using the population percentages of the Muslims in the center of İzmir regarding their role in urban life of the city during the Tanzimat years. The urban population of İzmir was in total 21,837 according to 1831 census; of these, 9,430 Muslims, 6,637 *reaya* (Ottoman Greeks), 35 gypsies, 3,530 Jews, and 2,205 were Armenians.<sup>255</sup> We also have demographic figures for the number of male population in the Turkish neighborhoods in and around the urban area: The total number of the Muslim male population in the big Muslim districts in the urban center (Cami'i Atik, Kefevi, Hatuniye, Kasab Hızır) and in the old İzmir districts around the Basmahane region (which was not in the urban center, but, close to it) was 5,731 in 1844. Of these, 35% (2,005) were young, 32% (1833) old men, and 6% (343) were military officials.<sup>256</sup> If we accept these 2,005 young males as being part of the working population, not of the military, it is impossible that most of these 2,005 males were employed in governmental jobs in the city in 1840s. The number of available administrative posts could not employ (have sufficed for) 2,000 men in İzmir in the absence of the municipality and the provincial units in the 1840s. (After the İzmir municipality was founded in 1868 and after the city became a province in 1866, the administrative jobs must have increased). Moreover, we should also consider that the flow of Muslims from Morea and Athens to İzmir, during the years of the Greek revolt, may have created a residence problem in İzmir. During these years the number of the Muslim male

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<sup>255</sup> Kemal Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914, Demographic and Social Characteristics*, (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982) 111.

<sup>256</sup> Mübahat Küçüköğlü, "İzmir Nüfusu Üzerine Bazı Tesbitler," in *İzmir Tarihinden Kesitler*, (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2000a), 15. A notebook of the Muslim and Jewish population of İzmir for the year of 1844 is available in the archives in Maliye Ceride Kalemi Defterleri section, ML.VRD, n. 832. Ibid., 13, FN. 14.

population of İzmir increased, although it is not possible to determine the exact number of Muslim newcomers to İzmir.<sup>257</sup> Besides, if we consider the low education levels of Muslims, which did not allow for taking up of positions in restricted governmental jobs, we might guess that the male population of İzmir participated in the urban economic life as tradesmen and artisans, and the rest were recruited in the military. Furthermore, thousands of pages of court registers of İzmir between 1845 and 1913 include thousands of descriptions of Muslims' workplaces in the urban area of İzmir that indicate a Muslim presence in the economic sectors in the urban space of the city. The stereotyped idea of the travelers that the Turks in İzmir were either government employees or land owners, and that they rarely took part in trade or commerce in the city cannot be correct if we consider the estimated number of male Muslims in İzmir itself. High commercial activity brought port cities a vital urban life. It is not possible to contemplate that the Turks of İzmir were not part of this vital commercial and urban life but were just passive receivers of modernization during the urban transformation of İzmir.

### **Demographic structure in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

The demographic structure of İzmir has been a debated subject among both Turkish and Greek scholars. Depending mainly on travelers' accounts each party has tried to prove either the "Turkish" or "Hellenic" or "Greek" character of the city. Therefore, such shortcomings of the present literature and the shortage of accurate demographic data for the given period of this study (1826-1864), will not lead us to reliable and beneficial results with which to discuss the demographic character of the city. For that reason, I will have to be content with giving the general figures of the demographic structure, in order to give an idea of the components of the

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<sup>257</sup> Nedim İpek, "Türk-Yunan Nüfus Meselesi," [The Issue of Turkish-Greek Population], in *XII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara 4-8 Ekim 1999 Kongre'ye sunulan bildiriler*, v.3., part I, (Ankara: TTK, 20002) 472, 474-475.

general population of the city. B.F. Slaars in his translation of Iconomos' history of İzmir, which is based on travelers' and some newspapers' accounts, gave the following figures for the population of İzmir between 1817 and 1868:<sup>258</sup>

Date	Source	Turkish	Greek	Armenian	Jewish	European	TOTAL
1812	Tancoigne	60.000	25.000	10.000	5000	6000	<b>106.000</b>
1817	Iconomos	-	60.000	-	-	-	<b>150.000</b>
1836	Ch. Texier	75.000	40.000	10.000	15.000	10.000	<b>150.000</b>
1837	<i>İzmir</i> , (newspaper)	58.000	48.000	6.000	8.000	10.000	<b>130.000</b>
1840	Joseph Bargili	45.000	55.000	5.000	13.000	12.000	<b>130.000</b>
1854	Storari	-	-	-	-	-	<b>132.000</b>
1857	Stephard	85.000	60.000	10.000	20.000	5000	<b>180.000</b>
1861	<i>Imperial</i> (newspaper)	42.000	46.500	7000	14.000	14.287	<b>123.787</b>
1868	B.Slaars	40.000	75.000	12.000	40.000	20.000	<b>187.000</b>

**Figure-2** Population of İzmir in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

In addition to the above mentioned statistics of Bargili and Slaars, Solominidis estimated that in 1844 the population of İzmir was 150,000. Of these 65,000 were Greeks, 40,000 Turks, 10,000 Armenians, 10,000 Jews and 25,000 were Europeans.<sup>259</sup> Another source estimates that İzmir's population after the 1841 fire as 100,000.<sup>260</sup> Apart from this, an increase in population was observed between 1840 and 1857, which could be explained by the establishment of a quarantine region to prevent the spread of epidemics<sup>261</sup> and the influx of the population from the Aegean islands and Europe to benefit from the new commercial and financial regulations of the Tanzimat. Between 1850 and 1870 various figures were mentioned for the total population of the

<sup>258</sup> Bonavanteür F. Slaars and Kostantin Iconomos, *İzmir Hakkında Tetkikat*, [A Research about İzmir], tr. Arapzade Cevdet, (İzmir: Marifet Matbaası, 1932) 332.

<sup>259</sup> Hristos Sokratous Solomonidis, *H Eλληνικοτητα της Σμυρνης*, [The Hellenic Character of İzmir], (Athens, 1972) 6-7.

<sup>260</sup> Baykara, 1974, p. 58, quotes Ler. Marmier and M. İs de Massol.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid., 1974, p. 58.

city. Although, generally, it was said to be around 150,000, some sources noted the population of city as being 180,000.<sup>262</sup> In the Aydın Yearbook of 1879, the total population of İzmir is given as 119,944, and of this number 41,282 were registered as *nüfus-ı mukayyede* 9,068 as *nüfus-ı gayr-ı mukayyede*, 29,064 as foreigner, and 40,000 as *teba'a-i ecnebiyye*. In 1884 the total population of İzmir was registered as 146.409.<sup>263</sup> Consequently, neither travelers' figures nor tax registers provide reliable estimated of the population of İzmir for the given period of this study. More reliable figures are not available until the 1881-82 census.<sup>264</sup> Moreover, the Greek revolt of 1821 to some extent affected the demographic structure of the Ottoman Empire in that the Muslims in Morea and Athens migrated or took refuge in the neighboring cities of the Empire, like Istanbul, İzmir and Aydın. Although it is not possible to determine the exact number of Muslim newcomers to İzmir, we know from the correspondence of the local authorities that by 1838 there was no further room available to accommodate the Muslim migrants in İzmir and Kuşadası. Therefore, the İzmir and Kuşadası guards demanded from the state that the newcomers be settled in other regions of western Anatolia, like Manisa, Hüdavendigâr, Menteşe and Kütahya.<sup>265</sup> We can have a look at the origin and number of the Greek protected residents in İzmir's *temettü* notebook of 1840: 716 migrant Greeks were registered, 136 of them were from İstendil, 47 from Andre, 36 from İzmir, 28 from Manyot, 25 from Nakşa, 14 from Chios, 10 from other islands, 6 from Rumeli, 51 of them were from some other places, 331 of them not known, and also 5 Jews were registered as being protected Greek.<sup>266</sup> Since the data in the *temettü* registers is not complete, it does not reflect the real number of migrant Greeks, but gives us an idea of where the Greeks who emigrated to İzmir came from. Therefore, by excluding the discussion about the

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<sup>262</sup> Perthes, Carlise, Fliedner, and Senior showed the population of the city as 180.000 in Baykara, 1974, p. 58.

<sup>263</sup> Ergenç, 1985, p. 146.

<sup>264</sup> Kemal Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

<sup>265</sup> İpek, pp. 472, 474-475.

<sup>266</sup> Mübahat Kütükoğlu, "İzmir Temettü Sayımları ve Yabancı Tebaa," *İzmir Tarihinden Kestiler*, (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 2000) 39.

proportions of the population according to ethno-religious criteria, I approach the multi-ethno-religious metropole of western Anatolia as an organic whole, with a population of almost 150,000 by the 1860s. Discussing the question of how these multi-ethno-religious communities of İzmir shared urban space in the city might be useful to understand the relations among these communities.

### **Spatial organization of the city**

Ottoman society was seen generally as an entity that was divided by religious and ethnic affiliation. The reason for this perception is the organization of the districts of the Ottoman cities in the registers according to religious and ethnic affiliation. The division of urban space into districts according to religion and ethnicity was a common feature of Islamic cities.<sup>267</sup> Unlike Ottoman cities, in Islamic cities, in order to provide security, huge walls or gates divided neighborhoods from each other.<sup>268</sup> In Islamic Arab cities, neighborhoods were places where the hostilities among the communities or power struggles of tribes against the state became explicit.<sup>269</sup> This physical division of neighborhoods did not exist in Anatolian cities, since there was no strict segregation among different ethnic and religious communities. Besides, the strength of the center, which could provide security and order in Anatolia, prevented the formation of other local defensive systems.<sup>270</sup> I agree with those who argue that there was no typical Islamic city, but different types of cities in the Near and Middle Eastern region. In some cities, the religious character was more pronounced than the secular one, in some others commerce was

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<sup>267</sup> Özer Ergenç, *Osmanlı Klasik Dönemi Kent Tarihçiliğine Katkı, 16.yy'da Ankara ve Konya*, [A Contribution to the Urban History, Ankara and Konya in the 16<sup>th</sup> century], (Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı Yayınları, 1995) 49.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid.

<sup>269</sup> Stefan Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine," [About Urbanization Reforms of the Tanzimat], in *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, [Ottoman Cities during the Process of Modernization], eds. Paul Dumont, François Georgeon, (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1<sup>st</sup> ed, 1996, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1999) 14-15.

<sup>270</sup> Ergenç, 1995, p. 51.



more important than administration, and some neighborhoods were centered around markets and town squares. Some dominant characteristics of cities do not imply that typical Islamic, Arab or Ottoman cities existed.<sup>271</sup> This approach rejects the definition of an Arab or European city as a norm based on which one can analyze urban civilizations. However, as Stefan Yerasimos underlined we should consider Islamic law and its implications on urban organization. Since Islamic law organizes individuals' behaviors and their relations with the community, this has some consequences over a city's organization.<sup>272</sup> Therefore, to some extent we should consider the concept of the "Islamic city," to be able to understand its effects on the urban fabric of Ottoman cities, without neglecting the common features of Anatolian and Mediterranean cities.

From travelers' descriptions and tax register notebooks of İzmir, we understand that spatial separation existed in the city's urban organization.<sup>273</sup> There were clearly defined boundaries among the Turkish, Greek, Armenian, (Appendix-2 Picture 01-03), Jewish, and Frank neighborhoods. The city was also divided by obvious sanitary differences. All travelers noted the cleanliness, modernity and the peaceful environment of the Frank neighborhood, in which mostly European Christians used to live at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the general dirtiness of İzmir with its narrow streets, especially those in the Muslim and Jewish neighborhoods.<sup>274</sup> Caravan Bridge Road (*Kervanlar Köprüsü*, Appendix-2 Picture 04) was the main entrance to İzmir from inner western Anatolia. The bridge comprised the two banks of the Meles River,

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<sup>271</sup> "Introduction" in Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, *The Ottoman City between East and West, Aleppo, İzmir, and Istanbul*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000) 15.

<sup>272</sup> Yerasimos, 1999, p.10.

<sup>273</sup> Luigi Storari, *Pianta Della Citta di Smirne 1854-1856*.

<sup>274</sup> Idda Pfeiffer, "Ida Pfeiffer'in İzmirli: Mayıs 1842, [İzmir of Oda Pfeiffer] in İlhan Pınar, *Hacılar, Seyyahlar, Misyonerler ve İzmir: Yabancıların Gözüyle Osmanlı Döneminde İzmir, 1608-1918*, [Pilgrims, Travellers and Missionaries and İzmir: İzmir from the eyes of foreigners, 1608-1918], (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı Yayınları, 2001) 201-202; Julius Heinrich Petermann, "Julius Heinrich Petermann'ın İzmirli: Temmuz 1852," [İzmir of Julius Heinrich Petermann: July 1852] in *ibid.*, p. 220; Mortiz Busch, "Mortiz Busch'un İzmirli: 1859," [İzmir of Mortiz Busch: 1859] in *ibid.*, pp. 228-230; Hermann Scherer, "Herman Scherer'in İzmirli: 1860," [İzmir of Hermann Scherer: 1860] in *ibid.*, pp. 234-236; Karl Von Haller, "Karl Von Haller'in İzmirli: 1864," [İzmir of Karl Von Haller] in *ibid.*, pp. 251-254.

where Homer had been born according to tradition.<sup>275</sup> Two major roads, Megalon Travernon and Rodon, lead to the Caravan Bridge. They began vertically from Frank Street. The Armenian district was in the south and to the east the Greek districts of Yaladia, Agia Fotini and Agios Georgios (Appendix-2 Picture 05-06) with the cathedral of Agios Stephanos.<sup>276</sup> The Greek quarters were concentrated in the north of the city and behind the Frank quarter, (Appendix-2 Picture 07) which was situated on the shore. The four biggest residential quarters of the Muslims –Cami’i Atik, Kefevi, Hatuniye and Kasab Hızır– which were established after 16<sup>th</sup> century, were located on the hillside of the Kadifekale (Appendix-2 Picture 08). Other Turkish neighborhoods, which existed since 16<sup>th</sup> century, were in the Basmahane region.<sup>277</sup> Next to the Muslim quarters on the slopes of Kadifekale, lay the Jewish neighborhoods which extended down to the plain. The Armenian quarter lay between the Jewish neighborhood and the Caravan Bridge Road (*Kervanlar Köprüsü*). That is to say, the residential districts of the Turks surrounded the non-Muslim quarters in a large semi-circle. In the earlier periods many churches were built in the city, in spite of the restrictions according to Islamic rule, and many consuls had built illegal private docks behind their houses apparently for pleasure boating, but in reality to conduct contraband trade.<sup>278</sup> Hence, the early growth of the city in the earlier centuries prevented the development of a strong central rule in İzmir in which urban space developed chaotically under the coexistence of religious, commercial and private buildings of Christianity, Islam and Judaism.<sup>279</sup> However, urban planning was initiated in İzmir as a result of the three destructive fires of the 19<sup>th</sup> century –1834, 1841, and 1845– during the age of the Ottoman reforms.<sup>280</sup> Within a decade almost all residential quarters and bazaars of the city had been burned and

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<sup>275</sup> Georgios A. Yiannakopoulos, “Smyrna before the Disaster,” in *Smyrna, Metropolis of the Asia Minor Greeks*, (Alimos: Ephesus Publishing, n.d.), 71; Baykara, 1974, pp. 43-44.

<sup>276</sup> Yiannakopoulos, n.d. p. 72.

<sup>277</sup> Kütükoğlu, 2000a, p. 15.

<sup>278</sup> Goffman, 2000, p. 104.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid.

<sup>280</sup> Kemalettin Kuzucu, “1845 İzmir Yangını,” [The 1845 Fire in İzmir], in *Toplumsal Tarih*, n. 62, 1999, p. 23.

thousands of people had to live in the streets for a while. The reasons for such destructive fires were that the houses were made of timber and were adjacent to each other, the narrow streets, and the inefficiency of the fire department of the city. After this date, a remarkable change began to occur in the urban planning of İzmir. The 1845 fire constituted a turning point in the urban history of the city in that the new regulation in the capital applied in İzmir too: houses were to be built with mud bricks, a construction of stone or brick walls between every three or four houses would have to be built and the streets were to be enlarged.<sup>281</sup>

Hence, a new understanding of urban planning and transportation of the Tanzimat age began was inaugurated first in Istanbul and İzmir, which suffered the most from destructive fires. Regulations in the urban area indicated that the Ottomans were not behind in modern urban planning considerations. Ottoman planning strategies did not overlook long term strategies. In 1849, 1863, and 1882 important regulations were made through the "building regulation" (*ebniye nizamnamesi*) in 1848-1849, that was relevant only to İstanbul, later, in 1863 the "Roads and Buildings Regulations" (*Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi*) and the "Law of Buildings" (*Ebniye Kanunu*) in 1882 that was issued for all cities.<sup>282</sup> However, they were aware of the fact that they also needed short-term strategies for dealing with immediate problems, such as fires, which required immediate action and new planning. For the case of İzmir, we see that even before the official regulations of the center in 1849, 1863 and 1882, the local administration attempted to take necessary precautions regarding the city plan after the big destructive fire of 1845. After this big flame, the provincial council of İzmir issued an official report, (*mazbata*) submitting the important points in preventing damage caused by fires and stressed the reasons for such

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<sup>281</sup> Ibid., 22-23.

<sup>282</sup> İlhan Tekeli, "19. Yüzyılda İstanbul Metropol Alanının Dönüşümü," [Transformation of the Metropole Area of Istanbul], in *Modernleşme Süreci'nde Osmanlı Kentleri*, [Ottoman Cities during the Process of Modernization], eds. Paul Domont, François Georgeon, (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2nd. ed., 1999) 24. The cities of Kavala, Iannina, Volos, and Salonica were reconstructed according to these new regulations. For the urban transformation of the Northern cities of Greece under the Ottoman rule see Alexandra Yerolympos, "Tanzimat Dönemi'nde Kuzey Yunanistan'da Şehircilik ve Modernleşme," [Urbanization and Modernization in Northern Greece in the Tanzimat] in *Modernleşme Süreci'nde Osmanlı Kentleri*, [Ottoman Cities During The Process of Modernization] eds. Paul Domont, François Georgeon, (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2nd. ed., 1999) 31-60.

destructiveness, i.e., the narrow streets, the closeness of the houses, etc.<sup>283</sup> Following the big fire, the director of *ebniye-yi hassa* (“imperial buildings”) and a master builder came to İzmir in 1845 from the capital to run the new city planning project. The first ever maps for the development plan were drawn in this period. The maps of the burned areas were drawn and the affluent families of the city were urged to begin constructing their new houses immediately according to the new regulations and loans were given to the poor to begin construction. It was also decided that the avenues whose width was between 1,5 and 4 meters would become 6 meters, and the width of the streets would become 4 meters. In other words, the burned down areas became part of the pilot project in the application of the new urban plan.<sup>284</sup> According to the new planning regulations, most of the residents had to renounce 9% of their lands. Some resisted renouncing this amount from their lands, but their opposition was ignored. The Armenian community accepted to renounce this amount happily for the sake of the new urban plan – it sent a thanking petition to the capital for the new urban plan, which was designated to save the lives and houses of all the communities-<sup>285</sup> Archival evidence reveals that the provincial council of İzmir worked actively<sup>286</sup> not only to implement the new urban planning project but also to overcome difficulties caused by disputes among people. For example, a *mazbata* of the provincial council of İzmir dating back to 1846 indicates how a land dispute between two Armenians was resolved during the reconstruction of the Armenian neighborhood.<sup>287</sup> After the big fire of 1845, the Armenian district was constructed again as part of the new urban project and became the first neighborhood of the city where conscious planning was completely applied. As a result of the

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<sup>283</sup> BAO, A.MKT., 57/67, 1262.Z.29 (18 October 1845). Mazbata of İzmir council defined necessary precautions to prevent big flames, which originated from narrow streets and adhering houses and continued for seventeen hours. (The date of the mazbata was not written in the document, but predicted according to the year of the big fire).

<sup>284</sup> Kuzucu, 1999, pp. 23-24.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>286</sup> See section 4.4 and 4.4.1.

<sup>287</sup> BOA, A.MKT, 82/21, 1263.6.6, İzmir Meclis Mazbatası.

new planning of the city after 1845, İzmir had lost its Turkish-Islamic city characteristics and became a more European looking city.<sup>288</sup>

The most famous thoroughfare of İzmir was Frank Street or the Frank Quarter, where foreign consulates, houses and shops of the European merchants were situated. However, as its name implies, not only Europeans, but also Ottoman Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Muslims owned shops in this street.<sup>289</sup> Although Frank Street was mostly occupied by European merchants until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, by the early 19<sup>th</sup> century Armenians, Greeks and Jews set up shops on it since more recent regulations abolished restrictions about location and residences.<sup>290</sup> Therefore, by the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century strict physical separation of the quarters according to ethnic and religious lines did not exist. What constituted the proper Frank quarter of the earlier period had changed. The street kept the name “Frank Street,” in which Greeks and Europeans also owned shops and its residential area was also occupied by a mixed population.<sup>291</sup> Not only in the center, like in the Frank Quarter, but in some other districts of İzmir, different community members also owned shops in the same bazaar. For example, in Bornova, the bazaar was divided into the Turkish and the Greek parts. Both bazaars had their own coffee houses, shopkeepers, butchers, hairdressers, grocers, bakeries, and blacksmiths.<sup>292</sup> In the Turkish part of the bazaar there was the grocery store of Vasilis Andonopulos and in front of it the barbershop of Petro’s father, in which a watch bench (*saatçi tezgahı*) belonging to Yorgos Stefano existed. In the Greek part, some Turks and a couple of Jews also had shops. This differentiation did not mean that the Greeks did not shop from the Turks or the vice a versa.<sup>293</sup> In the agora of Bornova three khans existed. In the Turkish Khan there was a common steelyard,

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<sup>288</sup> Kuzucu, 1999, pp. 23-24.

<sup>289</sup> Traveler Charles Reynaud talked about the variety of goods which were sold by Jews, Europeans, and Muslims, quoted in Yaranga, 2002, p. 74; Sibel Zandi Sayek, *Public Space and Urban Citizens, Ottoman İzmir in the Remaking, 1840-1890*, unpublished dissertation, (Berkeley: University of California, 2001a) 64.

<sup>290</sup> Sayek, 2001a, p. 49.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid.

<sup>292</sup> Nikos Kararas, *Μπορνοβας, Ιστορικά Αναμνησεις*, [Bornova, History and Memoirs] (Athens: Stefanos Tzaneti, 1955) 75-76.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid., p. 76.

which every one came to use. The rooms in the Turkish khan were rented out for the agricultural workers who came to İzmir from other towns. In the middle of the Agora, a Greek, Nikolaki Gavurkuli owned a khan.<sup>294</sup> On the left side of the agora Rüştü Bey had baths, which were reserved five days for women and two days for men. Fridays were for the Ottoman Muslims and Sundays for the Ottoman non-Muslims.<sup>295</sup> In addition to Frank Street, two other important streets of the city were rue Paralléle (*ikinci kordon*), which came into existence after the quay, and Rıhtım Avenue, which existed after the construction of quay.<sup>296</sup> The quay was divided into two sections: One was the commercial zone: from the passport bureau (*Koumerkaki*) at the inner harbor down to the barracks, in which platforms, shipping, real estate offices, and agencies were to be found. The other section was the center of social and cultural life with luxury houses, public shops, coffee shops, hotels, theatres (the Theatre of Smyrna), banks (the Banks of Anatolia) and clubs. This section extended from the customs building to the baths at Pounta (*Pasaport*).<sup>297</sup> Other important streets where commercial activity and European shops could be found were the “Street of Roses,” called *Rue de Roses*, stretching from north to south and joining the quay to the bazaar, Madamachan Street, Hacı Staman Street of the Armenian quarter, and Elmas and Saint Demetler streets of Saint Nicolas districts.<sup>298</sup> Kordelia (*Karşıyaka*), Çiğli (*Çili*), Bornova, Buca (*Bovios*), Seydiköy, Bozyaka, Hacılar (*Inoude*), Pınarbaşı, Kokluca (*Coryphacion*, *Opean*) were some well known suburbs, and Urla (*Clazomene*), Karaburun, and

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<sup>294</sup> Ibid.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>296</sup> Çınar Atay, *Tarih İçinde İzmir*, [İzmir in History] (İzmir: n.p., 1978) 32. By 1834 the old port of İzmir almost was plated by constructions, which it almost disappeared. In the English maps, the old port of the city was seen only as a narrow channel. The reconstruction of the port and quay carried out between 1868 and 1872. Kuban, 2001, p. 74. However, the most influential factor that led to a serious change in the urban planning of İzmir happened after the widening of the new port and quay in 1890s. The earthworks in the harbor became the new center of social life. Europe and non-Muslim Ottomans leaving Frank neighborhood began to move to the quay regions and suburbs of Buca and Bornova, which became residential districts of middle class people in İzmir. Emilia Themopoulou, “The Urbanization of an Asia Minor City, the example of Smyrna,” in *Smyrna, Metropolis of the Asia Minor Greeks*, (Alimos: Ephesus Publishing, n.d.) 106.

<sup>297</sup> Georgios A. Yiannakopoulos, “Smyrna before the Disaster,” in *Smyrna, Metropolis of the Asia Minor Greeks*, (Alimos: Ephesus Publishing, n.d.) 67-68.

<sup>298</sup> Atay, 1978, pp. 30-31.

Çeşme, Alaçatı, Kuşadası, Şirince, Söke, Aksaray (*Aksarion*) were some distant districts İzmir. (see Appendix-1).

Travelers and historians with nationalist tendencies generally do not acknowledge coexistence and ethno-religious diversity in İzmir as a harmonious unity. The ethnically and religiously diverse communities of İzmir were not perceived as the natural elements that made up the city. Because of the spatial separation in the city, travelers, generally, made false judgments and wrote about a non-existence of social interaction among the members of different communities of İzmir. However, some scholarly studies demonstrate that the spatial distinction in the Ottoman cities was not necessarily a sign of separate living as it was argued by Eurocentric approaches.<sup>299</sup> As Chapter 4 of this study suggests, people might have lived in their own neighborhoods in İzmir, but this did not mean that they did not interact. Quarters were subdivided into smaller units, which were named after churches, mosques or synagogues. For example, in the middle of the Muslim quarters, small Greek neighborhoods existed, like Apano Mahalle, which was centered around the Greek Orthodox Church of St. John, and the *Panagia Mahalle*, which was located around the church of St. Mary.<sup>300</sup> Many Jewish families lived in the Muslim neighborhoods, too.<sup>301</sup> However, in spite of the official registers of the neighborhoods according to religious and ethnic affiliation, court registers demonstrate that in practice people of different religions and ethnicities used to live in the same neighborhoods. This shows that the neighborhoods in İzmir were not homogeneous as might have been imagined. For example,

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<sup>299</sup> Özer Ergenç, *Osmanlı Klasik Dönemi Kent Tarihçiliğine Katkı, 16.yy'da Ankara ve Konya*, [A Contribution to the Urban History, Ankara and Konya in the 16<sup>th</sup> century], (Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı Yayınları, 1995); Sibel Zandi Sayek, *Public Space and Urban Citizens, Ottoman İzmir in the Remaking, 1840-1890*, (Berkeley: University of California, 2001), "Orchestrating Difference, Performing Identity: Urban Space and Public Rituals in Nineteenth Century İzmir," in *Hybrid Urbanism: On the identity discourse and the built environment*, ed. Nezar Al Sayyad, (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2001); Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth Century Ankara and Kayseri* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

<sup>300</sup> Rolleston, 1856, p. 12.

<sup>301</sup> Kütükoğlu, 2000a, pp. 13, 16-17. Kütükoğlu based her study of the population of İzmir on the notebook found in the Ottoman Archives, in the Maliye Ceride Kalemi section. This notebook, which includes the registers of Muslims and Jews of the city in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, is an important source for the demographic structure of İzmir, since the population notebooks are not yet open to research.

Andoryaki, who resided in the Kasab Hızır district, a Muslim neighborhood, owned a house in this neighborhood and in defining the location of his house in court mentioned that it was registered at number thirty three of the Koltuklar street. One side of his house was bounded by *Sipahi Bazirganı*, the other side with the house of Angili, the third side was adjacent to the coffeeshouse of Andol, and the fourth side faced the public road (*tarik-i amm*).<sup>302</sup> In the same neighborhood, a non-Muslim woman defined her property in şer'i court as follows, “the property that I own through inheritance is registered in the property notebook (*emlak defteri*) as number twenty one house in Elma street, which is bounded by butcher Yorgi, the house of Marnikola on the other, the land of Yorgi from Foça on the other, and the fourth side faces the public road...”<sup>303</sup> From another non-Muslim woman’s description of the borders of her property in the same neighborhood we learn that her house, which was registered in the property notebook in *Nihadiye* Street with number two and three, bordered with the head grocery (*bakkalbaşı*) Dimitri, the house of Baraklı, and İstinaki, and the other side faced the public road.<sup>304</sup> In another register we learn that different Greek women rented the land of a Muslim vakf to each other in the Kasab Hızır neighborhood for more than twenty five years.<sup>305</sup> In 1858, a representative of a Muslim woman Asiye, mentioned in the court that her land in the Hatuniye neighborhood, another Muslim district, bordered with the place of tanner İbrahim, a Jewish house (*yehudhane*), the land

<sup>302</sup> “Medine-yi İzmir’de Kassan Hızır Mahallesiinde sakin bakkal oğlu Andoryaki veled-i Angili...mülk ve hakkım olan mahalle-yi mezburede koltuklar sokağında kain emlak defterinde otuz üç numeroda mukayyed bir tarafı Sipai Bazirganı angili menzili ve bir tarafı Mihaliki bağçesi ve bir tarafı Andol kahvesi ve taraf-ı rabi’ tarik-i ‘amm ile mahdud...”, *İzmir Şer’iyye Sicilleri* (from know İS), no:9, p.1, 6 Zi’l-hicce 1273 (28 July 1856).

<sup>303</sup> “Medineyi İzmir’de Kasab Hızır Mahallesiinde...Harolanbo zevcesi Mariko...ırsen ve şer’an yedimizde mülk bi’lmünasafa hakkımız olan mahelle-yi mezburede Elma sokağında ka’in, defter-I emlakda yigirmi bir numeroda mukayyed bir tarafı Kasab Yorgi menzili ve bir tarafı Marnikola menzili ve bir tarafa Foçalı Yorgi arsası ve taraf-ı rabi’ ile mahdud...”, sicil, n.12, p. 1, 10 Rebiü’l-evvel 1274 (29 October 1857).

<sup>304</sup> “Medine-yi İzmir’de Kasab Hızır Mahallesiinde mütemekkin Adlina... Atena namat nasraniyeler...’akd-ı atü’l-beyanı tasdikde Pavlo veled-i Manol muvacehesinde ıkrar-ı tam ve takrir-i kelam idüb...yedimde mülk ve haklarım olub mahelle-yi mezburda Nihadiye sokağında vakı’ ve emlak defterinde ik ve üç numeroda mukayyed bir tarafı bakkal başı Dimitri Baraklı menzilleri ve bir tarafı İstilanaki menzili ve bir tarafı zikr-i ati malik olduğunu arsa-yı haliye ve bir tarafı tarik-i ‘amm ile mahdud...” 8 Şevval 1270 (5 Zilkade 1853), İS, n.2., p.1.

<sup>305</sup> İS, n. 4., p. 28, 17 Şevval 1275 (23 April 1858).



of a vakf and the public road.<sup>306</sup> In another Muslim quarter, Kefeli Mahallesi, Ottoman Greek Yako had a house, which bordered with the house of translator Uramacu, the two other sides of his house were adjacent to Hacı Yanako and the forth side faced public road.<sup>307</sup> These examples can be easily amplified with thousands of court registers of İzmir, which are available for the years after 1845. Furthermore, in the *Temettü* Notebook of the Greek community of İzmir (*İlinoz Cemaati*, 1841) we can see in which neighborhoods İzmir Greeks had workshops and how many:<sup>308</sup>

<sup>306</sup> “İzmir’de Hatuniye Mahallesinde sakine Asiye binti Elhac mehmed nam hatun...yedinde mülk ve hakkım olan mahalle-yi mezburede vaki etraf-ı erba’adan bir tarafı debbağ elhac İbrahim menzili ve bir tarafı vakf-ı yehudahane ve bir tarafı arsa ve taraf-ı rabi’i tarik-i has ile mahsus...”, İS, no:2., p. 1, 15 Şevval 1269 (22 July 1852).

<sup>307</sup> “...Yako veled-i Santo tarafından bey’-i atüü’l-zikri tasdike vekili Mehmed Efendi muvacehesinde bi’l vekale ikrar-ı tam ve takrir-i kelam idüb mahelle-yi mezburede (Kefeli mahallesi) ka’in bir tarafı tercüman Uramacu menzili ve tarafeyni Hacı Yanako menzili --- ve bir tarafı tarik-i ‘amm ile mahdud bir bab menzilin...”, 29 Şevval 1265 (17 August 1848). İS, n.1, p. 32. The title “hacı” were used by people of book who went to Jerusalem. Its usage also implied having of a high status in society. *Εγκυκλοπαιδικό Λεξικό* [Encyclopaedic Dictionary] v.12, (Athens, Eleftheroudakis, 1929) 854; Georgios Babiniotis, *Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* [Dictionary of Modern Greek Language], 2nd. Ed. (Athens, Kentro Leksikologias, 2002) 1942. 1942.

<sup>308</sup> In the temettü notebook of the Greek community, the Greeks were registered according to their place of origin, like İstendilli, Adalı, Moralı, Andreli, Manyotlu, Nakşalı, Rumelili, Sakızlı, Yahudi and İzmirli, with their apprentices, servants or brothers. This table, regardless of their place of origin and population, indicates their distribution in different neighborhoods in İzmir. The total number of the registered working male İzmir Greeks in urban area is around 700. BOA, *İzmir Temettü Defteri*, [İzmir Temettü Notebook], n. 2104., (TMT) 2104, 1256, (1840).

<u>Quarters/ Mahalles</u>	<u>Number of Ilinoz Units</u>
Frank Quarter, 5 <sup>th</sup> District (Gül Mahallesi)	93
Frank Quarter, Ada District	20
Frank Quarter, 8 <sup>th</sup> District, Hacı Kiranti Mahallesi	19
Frank Quarter, 4 <sup>th</sup> Mahalle	76
Kasab Hızır Mahallesi, Peştamalçılar District	14
Mimar Hacı İstefani (Aya Dimitri Kenisası Kurbunda)	10
Kasab Hızır Mahallesi, Hacı Kuranti Mahallesi	22
Kasab Hızır Mahallesi, Yeni Mahalle (Around Sıtma Pınarı)	18
Kasab Hızır Mahallesi, Ayazma Mahallesi (Around Agia Dimitri)	5
Kasab Hızır Mahallesi, Agia Anton & Çanakçıbaşı Streets	11
Kasab Hızır Mahallesi, (İngiliz Konağı pişgahından duze yodan nam mahalle varıncaya dek)	152
Pazaryeri Mahallesi	1 (Jewish belong to Greek community)
Kefe Mahallesi	1
Efrenc Mahallesi, 2 <sup>nd</sup> District	4
Efrenc Mahallesi, 3 <sup>rd</sup> District	7
Köprülüoğlu Bedestan Kapusu haricinde canib-i şimalde vakı 1. numero ile mukayyed adada. (Greeks from İstendil)	39
Takil/ Takula Mahallesi	-
Cami-i Atik Mahallesi	1 (Jewish belong to Greek community)
Küfus Mahallesi	1 (Jewish belong to Greek community)
Galazu Mahallesi	2
Mimaroğlu Mahallesi	12
Hatuniye Mahallesi	1(Jewish belong to Greek community)

**Figure -3** Distribution of İzmir Greeks' Units According to Quarters and Districts

As the above table indicates İzmir Greeks settled in both Muslim quarters, Kasab Hızır, Cami-i Atik, Hatuniye, and the Frank quarter, in which the Ottoman Muslims and European residents were supposed to live separately as the names of the districts imply. Moreover, we also know that work places and shops in İzmir were organized according to the type of artisanship or profession, not according to ethno-religious lines. The names of the streets originated according to the profession conducted in that street, like stonecutters' (*Taşçılar*), steelyard makers' (*kantarçılar*), coppersmiths' (*bakırcılar*), maker of waistcloths (*peştamalçılar*), chest makers' (*sandıkçılar*), candy makers' (*şekerciler*), and tinsmith (*tenekeciler*), or the dye house street (*Boyahane Sokağı*) and tannery street (*Tabakhane Sokağı*).<sup>309</sup> This proves that people with different professions and religious affiliation shared common districts in İzmir. This demonstrates that the communities of İzmir lived in unity, rather than as separate units.

Political Philosophers, like Machiavelli, Montesquieu, Marx and Weber, described Ottoman rule as having an arbitrary and despotic character, which did not permit the development of any autonomous, unique character or identity in Ottoman Cities.<sup>310</sup> This enduring representation was not appropriate for İzmir, as it is not suitable for the other Ottoman cities in the Balkans, Arab lands and Western Anatolia. Contrary to conventional opinion, Ottoman rule could not establish strict central control –although in theory it attempted to do so– but constructed a decentralized political order with a blend of Islamic, imperial, local laws and provincial officials.<sup>311</sup> This decentralization of power manifested itself in İzmir's urban organization and social relations among the communities. As the previous examples demonstrate, the houses and work places of people with different religions co-existed in the different neighborhoods whether the name of the district was Frank, Greek, Armenian or Muslim.

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<sup>309</sup> Atay, 1978, p. 30.

<sup>310</sup> Eldem, Goffman & Masters, 2000, p. 11.

<sup>311</sup> Ibid.

## Social and Cultural Life in the 19<sup>th</sup> century:

### The role of the communities in the social-cultural life of the city

#### Printing Presses

In accordance with the multi-cultural characteristics of the city, various newspapers, journals, theatres, celebrations, rituals, social and sports clubs, coffee houses, taverns, beerhouses and outdoor cafes existed in İzmir. The first printing press of İzmir belonged to the Jewish community. Around 1646, or at an earlier date the Jews of İzmir printed the first books of the city in Spanish with their own printing press.<sup>312</sup> The newspapers of *La Buena Esperansa*, published in 1842 and *Chaare Mizrah* (“The Gate of the East”), in 1846<sup>313</sup> were the first Jewish newspapers of İzmir.<sup>314</sup> Armenians also founded their printing press in 1762 and published the first book of İzmir, *Yesnig*.<sup>315</sup> The first Armenian newspaper, *İstemaran Bidani Kidelyats* was published in 1839.<sup>316</sup> The first Greek newspaper of the city was “*Filos Ton Neon*” (“Friend of the youth”) which was published in September 1831 and which ceased to be printed within three months, on 28 December 1831.<sup>317</sup> Another newspaper that followed *Filos ton Neon* was *Astir en ti Anatoli* (“the Star of Anatolia”), which was published in both Greek and English by a missionar.<sup>318</sup> In 1833, The Star of Anatolia became an Anglo-Greek newspaper, which was titled “the star of Anatolia-Filos ton neon.” This Anglo-Greek newspaper became only English after

<sup>312</sup> Baykara, 1974, p.107; Erkan Serçe, *İzmir’de Kitap, Kitapçılık, 1839-1928, Kitaplar, Kitapçılar, Matbaalar ve Kütüphaneler* [Book and Bookselling in İzmir, Books, Bookstores, Printing Presses and Libraries], (İzmir: Akademi, 1996) 2.

<sup>313</sup> Henri Naum, *İzmir Yahudileri*, [Juifs de Smyrne, XIX.e-Xxe siècle], tr. Estreya Seval Vali, (İstanbul : İletişim Yayınları., 2000) 157.

<sup>314</sup> Nesim Benbanaste, *Örneklerle Türk Musevi Basınının Tarihçesi*, [Through Examples the History of the Press of the Jews of Turkey], (İstanbul: Sümül Basımevi, 1988) 61. The Jewish newspapers flourished in the following years. For the list of these newspapers see *ibid.*, pp. 61-62; Serçe, 1996, p.13.

<sup>315</sup> Serçe, 1996, pp. 12-13.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>317</sup> Hristos Sokratous Solomonidis, *H Δημογραφία στη Σμύρνη (1821-1922)*, [ Journalism in İzmir, (1821-1922)], (Athens, 1959) 10-11; Ali Arslan, *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Rum Basını*, [Greek Press from Ottoman to Republic], (İstanbul:Truva Yayınları, 2005) 77-78.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14; Arslan, 2005, p. 78.

1836 with the title of “The Star in the East-New Series.”<sup>319</sup> *Minimosini* (1833-13 September 1835), and “Observer of Ionia” (1837-1840) were among the first published Greek newspapers of İzmir.<sup>320</sup> The most long lasting Greek newspaper in İzmir was *Amaltheia* (1838-1922).<sup>321</sup> Apart from the publications of the leading three Ottoman non-Muslim communities of the Empire, Bulgarians also were effective in the press. They had their own printing press in which they published a Bulgarian newspaper, *Ljuboslewija*, and various pamphlets.<sup>322</sup> The first French newspaper of the city, *Le Spectateur Oriental*, was published on 24 March 1821 by a French citizen called Charles Tricon. In 1823, Tricon published *Le Smyrnéen*, which was closed down by the Porte. Tricon was influenced by the premises of the French Revolution and supported the Greek revolt in both newspapers since he saw it as a struggle for independence. Therefore, the French consulate as a result of the Porte’s complaints banned both newspapers.<sup>323</sup> After the ban of *Le Smyrnéen*, he published *Spectateur Oriental* in 1826, and gave up supporting the Greek revolt. Instead, the newspaper began to emphasize the worsening condition of the tradesmen and merchants in İzmir, whose economic activities were badly affected by the revolt. Moreover, he strictly criticized England’s support of the Greek revolt.<sup>324</sup> Alexandre Blacque, whose father had fallen into conflict with the French political powers after the French Revolution, and fled to İzmir in 1795, began to publish *Courrier de Smyrne* between 1828 and 1831. Because of his political ideas he became a trusted journalist for the Porte. In 1831, Blacque was appointed by the Porte to publish the first official newspaper of the empire, *takvim-i vakayi* in Istanbul in French entitled “Moniteur Ottoman.”<sup>325</sup> He was a strong defender of the original aims of the

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<sup>319</sup> Solomonidis, 1959, pp.14-15.

<sup>320</sup> Ibid., pp. 15, 22, 24; Arslan, 2005, p. 79.

<sup>321</sup> Solomonidis, 1959, p. 26.

<sup>322</sup> Serçe, 1996, p.13.

<sup>323</sup> Orhan Koloğlu, “İlk İzmirli Gazeteciden İzmir Haberleri,” [News from the First Smyranean Journalist of Smyrna], in *Son Yüzyılda İzmir ve Batı Anadolu* [İzmir and western Anatolia in the last century], ed. Tuncer Baykara, (İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1993) 137-138.

<sup>324</sup> Ibid., p. 138.

<sup>325</sup> Baykara, 1974, p.110; Koloğlu, pp.137- 140.

French Revolution, therefore he was against the repressive policies of the French state.<sup>326</sup> After his death, his successors published *Journal de Smyrne* supporting the same political ideas.<sup>327</sup> *Courrier de Smyrne* became a fervent supporter of the Ottoman reforms when the Janissaries were abolished. It not only began to publicize the importance of the Ottoman reforms after 1826, but also stressed the weakening economic position of the Greeks, who had begun to disturb the social order on the Western coastline. The newspaper underlined the economic difficulties of the Greek bandits who attacked İzmir by coming from the Aegean islands, because, before the revolt these bandits used to conduct commercial activities with the coast of western Anatolia for their subsistence. In the following years it also supported the Tanzimat, since Blacque likened it to the French Revolution. Therefore, *Courrier de Smyrne* became one of the most trustable organs in the press in the eyes of the state.<sup>328</sup> The French consul also published a French newspaper, *l'Echo de l'orient*, in İzmir. Another newspaper was published with the title *L'imperial de Smyrna* first in English, later in French.<sup>329</sup> The printing press of the American Board of Missionaries also worked effectively in the city. It published almost 200 books and various journals in Armenian, Turkish with Armenian alphabet, Greek, Turkish in the Greek alphabet, Bulgarian and Hebrew (Ladino) between 1833 and 1853.<sup>330</sup> The foundation of the paper factory in the city in also contributed to the increase in the number of newspapers published in İzmir.<sup>331</sup> The abundance of Greek, Jewish, Armenian, Bulgarian and French newspapers in İzmir indicate that the non-Muslim Ottomans and Europeans pioneered in the development of the printing press.<sup>332</sup> Ottoman-Turkish newspapers began to be published after 1869, when the printing press

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<sup>326</sup> Koloğlu, 1993, p. 138

<sup>327</sup> Baykara, 1974, pp.110-111; Sadiye Tutsak, *İzmir'de Eğitim ve Eğitimciler, 1850-1950*, [Education and Teachers in İzmir, 1850-1950], (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2002) 57.

<sup>328</sup> Koloğlu, 1993, pp. 140-141.

<sup>329</sup> Tutsak, 2002, pp. 57-58.

<sup>330</sup> Serçe, 1996, p. 12.

<sup>331</sup> Baykara, 1974, p. 110.

<sup>332</sup> Between the years 1826 and 1864, including the above mentioned ones, total 19 Greek newspapers were published in İzmir. The number of the Greek newspapers in the following years gradually increased in the city as well. Solomonidis, 1959; Arslan, 2005.

of the Aydın Province was founded in 1868.<sup>333</sup> The first Turkish newspaper of İzmir, *Aydın*, was published in 1869 in the Aydın province as a bilingual newspaper both in Turkish and Greek.<sup>334</sup> The other Turkish newspapers, *Devir* (Epoch), 1872-1873, (initially it was published by Mehmed Salim, later by Yanko Rasim), *İntibah* (Awakening), 1873-1875, *İzmir* (published by Karadi between 1877 and 878), *Hizmet* (Service) ,1886, *Ahenk* (Harmony), 1894, *Haftalık İzmir* (Weekly Smyrna), 1897, *Yevmi İzmir* [(Daily İzmir), in Turkish and Greek], 1898, *İttihat* (Union), 1909, *Anadolu* (Anatolia), 1911, and *Köylü*, (Peasant), 1908, followed *Aydın*.<sup>335</sup> The first Turkish literary journal published in İzmir was *Nevruz* (1884-1885), but before *Nevruz* (the Persian New Year's day) a satire magazine, *Kara Sinan* (Dark Sinan), was published between 3 June 1875 and 16 March 1876 in the Smyrni printing press of the Baltacı Frankhouse.<sup>336</sup> The journals of *Şule-i Edeb* (Flame of Modesty), 6 February 1897-30 October 1897, *Muktebes* (Quotation), 13 January 1898-August 1898), *Gencine-i Edeb* (Treasury of Customs), 21 November 1908-9 September 1910, are some examples of Turkish journals, which were published in İzmir in the last two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>337</sup>

## Education

İzmir was not only a significant commercial center but also an important education center in Western Anatolia, especially for the Greeks. The Greeks who experienced great difficulties in reaching educational facilities in the inner regions of Asia Minor came to İzmir.<sup>338</sup> Because of the lack of teachers and necessary educational material, especially during the years following the

<sup>333</sup> Serçe, 1996, p.20; Baykara, 1974, p. 110.

<sup>334</sup> Tutsak, 2002, p. 60.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid., pp. 61-65.

<sup>336</sup> Tutsak, 2002, p.61; Baykara, 1974, p. 110.

<sup>337</sup> Tutsak, 2002, pp. 65-67.

<sup>338</sup> Augustinos Gerasimos, *Küçük Asya Rumları, 19.yy'da İnanç, Cemaat ve Etnisite*, [The Greeks of Asia Minor, Confession, Community, and Ethnicity in the Nineteenth Century] (İstanbul: Ayraç Yayınları, 1997) 253.

Greek revolt, Greek families sent their children to the schools of the protestant missionaries.<sup>339</sup>

Although the Orthodox Church disapproved of attending missionary schools, eventually it had to consent for the benefit of the children on condition that these schools would adopt the Greek educational system.<sup>340</sup> However, Protestant influence on the cultural environment of İzmir and especially on Greek culture was obvious and natural because the European merchant communities were present in the city since the age of Enlightenment. The library of the Levant Company in İzmir with its choice collections constituted a channel that transmitted Protestant ideas to the city's local intelligentsia.<sup>341</sup> Protestant ideas, which were the base of Enlightenment thinking, was the main reason for the emergence of ideological and political conflict between the Orthodox church and the emerging Greek education in İzmir. Therefore, the cultural, and related to this educational, environment of the city was highly influenced by the forces of commerce, cultural change and religious dispute in İzmir.<sup>342</sup> In the Greek pre-independence (1770-1821) years, there was ideological conflict in Greek culture:<sup>343</sup> the tradition of religious learning, supported by the church, and scholastic learning, supported by evangelical Orthodoxy. The latter provided an ideological legitimization of anticlericalism, of civic humanism, of the ideas of Enlightenment, and it was effectuated by the foundation of a new school of sciences in İzmir. The teaching of modern philosophy and science in the Chios and Ayvalık (*Kydonies*) academies constituted an example for İzmir. Thus a new school of sciences was founded in İzmir as a substitute for the old Evangelical School (*Ευαγγελικη Σχολη*). The school of sciences became the main target of the church and the local clergy attempted to instigate opposition against it from

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<sup>339</sup> Ibid., pp. 253, 255.

<sup>340</sup> Ibid., p.255.

<sup>341</sup> Paschalis M. Kitromilides, "Religious Criticism Between Orthodoxy and Protestantism, Ideological Consequences of Social Conflict in Smyrna," in *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy, Studies in the culture and political thought of south-east Europe*, (Hampshire, Vermont: Variorum, 1994) 120.

<sup>342</sup> Ibid., pp. 120-121.

<sup>343</sup> Ibid., p. 115.



other fractions in the city.<sup>344</sup> İzmir was one of the most influential educational centers in Asia Minor in which the main centers of Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment existed: The Evangelical School was founded in İzmir in 1733 and had three branches in various districts of the city. It was the only Greek College of Asia Minor.<sup>345</sup> There were also the Filologikon Gymnasion (*Φιλολογικον Γυμνασιον*), founded in 1808, the Academy of Ayvalık and the well known academy of Chios which were recognized in 1792.<sup>346</sup> İzmir, including its hinterland, had one out of six of the primary schools and one out of four of the secondary schools in the whole of Anatolia. It also had the only high school in western Anatolia.<sup>347</sup> By the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, various Greek schools were founded in İzmir. Following the years of the Greek revolt, in every village and even in the villages where only three or four Greek households existed, schools were opened. Donations, inherited financial sources, and high revenues of some old schools financially supported the management of the new Greek schools.<sup>348</sup> The first girls' school, which was located in a room in the Greek hospital, was founded in 1830.<sup>349</sup> Seven boys' schools –free of charge– and three private Greek schools existed in İzmir.<sup>350</sup> In the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the increase in the number of Greek schools throughout the Empire was considerable, although most of these schools were at primary level.<sup>351</sup> By 1878, in Asia Minor

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<sup>344</sup> Ibid., pp. 115, 118-119.

<sup>345</sup> Stavros Th. Anestides, "Education and Culture," *Smyrna, Metropolis of the Asia Minor Greeks*, (Alimos: Ephesus Publishing, n.d.) 139-159. Its foundation traced back to the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century: A small school, which was established in 1707, constituted the nucleus of the Evangelic School. In those years Jesuit priests, who were trying to attract children to their Catholic schools, were influential in İzmir. Against this threat of Jesuits, four young Greeks, İeroteos Dendrinos, Panta İeon, Sevastopoulos, Jori Hammer and Jori Vitalis established Elliniki Scholi with the approval of church, and after changing a few names, the Greek patriarch gave its final name in 1808. Gerasimos, 1997, p. 260 ; Tutsak, 2002, p.48.

<sup>346</sup> Richard Clogg, "Two Accounts of the Academy of Ayvalık (Kydonies) in 1818-1819," in *I Kath'imas Anatoli: Studies in Ottoman Greek History*, Ed. Richard Clogg, (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2004) 135-136.

<sup>347</sup> Augustinos, 1997, p. 253.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid., Tutsak, 2002, p.48.

<sup>349</sup> Stavros Th. Anestides, n.d., p. 145.

<sup>350</sup> Aroni Trade School (1857), Renieri Private School (1860), Anastasiades Girls' Institute (1858). Tutsak, 2002, pp. 48-49. Another girls' school, Omirio Girls' School was founded in 1881, and it had two kindergarten classes, five middle school classes, and a five year secondary school. Anestides, n.d., p. 145.

<sup>351</sup> Augustinos, 1997, pp. 251-252.

571 schools of 665 community schools were all of primary level.<sup>352</sup> By the 1870s, the Greek schools of İzmir had 1.400 students.<sup>353</sup> The Greeks of İzmir also established a Teachers' Academy of young women students from various places of Asia Minor, who were supposed to spread education in their hometowns.<sup>354</sup> Among other non-Muslim communities, the Greek and Levantine community of İzmir were the leaders for the girls' education in the city. In total more than 20 private Greek and non-Greek girls' schools were indicators of the desire of the Ottoman Greek and Levantine communities to integrate their women into every sphere of communal life.<sup>355</sup> The newly founded Independent Greek Kingdom giving too much importance to education initiated new education programs to serve the needs of the nation state, through which they would have loyal and literate citizens.<sup>356</sup> The education campaign of the Greek state began to be influential among the Ottoman Greeks in the Empire, too. The Greek consuls, especially in the big cities of the Empire, worked like missionaries for spreading of Greek national education.<sup>357</sup> Missionary letters in 1830s also mentioned the increased need for education in and around İzmir.<sup>358</sup> The Orthodox Church and the Greek communities cooperated to establish schools all through the empire. İzmir was the main target with its huge Greek population and developed commerce, in which Greeks played a crucial role, since the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>359</sup> The Armenian community was the second largest non-Muslim community of İzmir after the Greek community, which had many schools. Gregorian Armenians had two big schools: The Saint-Mesrob School for boys, which was founded in 1799 and enlarged in 1823, and Saint Horopsima was the Armenian school for girls. Catholic Armenians had three schools for basic

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<sup>352</sup> Ibid., p. 252.

<sup>353</sup> Ibid., pp. 254, 260.

<sup>354</sup> Anestides, n.d., 145.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid., 145.

<sup>356</sup> Gerasimos, 1997, 244-245.

<sup>357</sup> Ibid., p. 249.

<sup>358</sup> Esra Dancıoğlu, "Anglo-Sakson Misyoner Kaynaklarına Göre 19. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında İzmir ve Batı Anadolu, (Demografik Yapı, Eğitim Kurumları)," [İzmir and Western Anatolia in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century according to Anglo-Sakson Missionary Sources, (demographic structure and education institutions)], in *Son Yüzyılda İzmir ve Batı Anadolu*, Ed. Tuncer Baykara, (İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1993) 273.

<sup>359</sup> Augustinos, 1997, pp. 251, 253.

education, two for boys and one for girls.<sup>360</sup> Armenian students, unlike Greek ones, ceased to attend school after attending the basic courses and learning the basics in mathematics. They would generally learn a trade in a tradesman's shop or worked in an administrative post. They, rarely, went to England to master a trade with the rich Armenians in England. Greek students generally used to go to France to continue their education.<sup>361</sup> In the given period of this study, between 1826 and 1864, only two primary Jewish schools, Hevrot and Yeşivot, whose education level was very low and unsatisfactory, existed in İzmir.<sup>362</sup> Until the Alliance Israélite Universelle was founded in France in 1860 by French Jews inspired by the principles of the French Revolution, to liberate, educate and unite the Jews all over world, the education level of the Jewish communities remained very low. The Alliance Israélite Universelle opened a school for boys in 1873 and a school for girls in 1878 in İzmir.<sup>363</sup> Thus the number of educational institutions for Jews in İzmir began to increase after 1870s. The other biggest college of İzmir, apart from Evangelic School of the Greeks was the French Propaganda College, which was founded in 1837 and run by Lazarist priests.<sup>364</sup> In addition to the Propaganda College, the nuns of Saint Vincent De Paul Sect played a significant role in preserving and increasing the French presence and influence in the city.<sup>365</sup> These nuns founded a school in 1833 for the poor girls in the Frank quarter. They accepted students from the Armenian, Greek, Turkish and Jewish communities regardless of religion. They visited poor neighborhoods of the city and helped the poor and ill people.<sup>366</sup> This school became the school of Saint Vincent in 1848. In 1861 the French state turned this school into a French school with a French hospital, and left its administration to the Soeurs de la Charite, who also founded the Buca School in the same year in

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<sup>360</sup> Tutsak, 2002, p.49.

<sup>361</sup> Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>363</sup> Naum, 2000, pp. 102-104.

<sup>364</sup> Ibid.; Olaf Yaranga, *19.Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Fransız Gezginlerin Anlatımlarında İzmir*, [İzmir in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in the accounts of the French travelers], (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 2<sup>nd</sup>. ed, 2002) 48; Tutsak, 2002, p. 50.

<sup>365</sup> Yaranga, 2002, p. 47.

<sup>366</sup> Ibid; Tutsak, 2002, p.50.

the Buca district of the city.<sup>367</sup> Two other French schools, Saint Jean and Saint Andre, at elementary level, were founded in 1841 in Alsancak.<sup>368</sup> One of the Catholic denominations of Austria, P. Peres Mechitairses, opened a school in 1856 in İzmir. Before this school, Austria opened a Franciscan school in İzmir in 1704.<sup>369</sup> Italian schools in İzmir were directly funded and established by the Italian state.<sup>370</sup> In addition to these schools of Christians, there were also three Protestant schools of trade in İzmir that they were founded between in 1852 and 1859.<sup>371</sup> The schools of the ABCFM (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions), had an undeniable role in the educational life of the Ottoman cities from the 1830s. Missionary schools attracted too many students all over the Empire, especially from Greek and Armenian families.<sup>372</sup> From missionary accounts, we learn that, in 1830, Brewer's (agent of ABCFM) had two girls' schools, with 141 students,<sup>373</sup> and in 1863 an American Protestant school existed, which belonged to an Armenian group.<sup>374</sup> The influence of the missionaries in İzmir increased especially in 1833, when ABCFM's agent Temple moved the printing press from Malta to İzmir, and this printing press remained in the city until 1854.<sup>375</sup> ABCFM opened schools for the Greeks and Jews in İzmir between 1830 and 1850, whereas their mission remained unsuccessful, mainly because of the opposition of the Greek Orthodox Church. Besides, these missionaries did not have the expected results from the Greek and Jewish community of the city. Therefore, they abandoned their activities in the region both towards Greeks and Jews, and their mission in the Ottoman lands turned out to be only the Armenian mission.<sup>376</sup> In the given period of this study,

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<sup>367</sup> Tutsak, 2002, p.50.

<sup>368</sup> Ibid., p.51.

<sup>369</sup> Ibid.

<sup>370</sup> Ibid. p. 52.

<sup>371</sup> Ibid.

<sup>372</sup> It was basically because of two reasons: They used the Lancaster system, which was designed according to the Regions where limited resources of education, like limited number of staff and educational equipment, existed and they were opened to every one regardless of religion. Augustinos, 1997, p. 255, 263.

<sup>373</sup> Danacıoğlu, 1993, p. 273.

<sup>374</sup> Tutsak, 2002, p.52.

<sup>375</sup> Danacıoğlu, 1993, p. 266.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid. p. 267.

1826-1864, the number of non-Muslim and Muslim modern schools increased gradually, and flourished rapidly especially during the Hamidian period of 1876-1908.

As far as education of the Muslims is considered, we should look at the *medreses* and the influential denominations or sects in the city. The traditional Quran schools (*sıbyan mektebi*) at elementary level and *medreses* at higher level under the control of the *ulema*, were the two main traditional civil educational institutions for the Muslims.<sup>377</sup> These traditional Quran schools constituted the base of the Ottoman public education until the foundation of the “Regulation of Public Education” in 1869.<sup>378</sup> Evliya Çelebi, who visited İzmir in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, noted forty *sıbyan* schools in the city.<sup>379</sup> As a result of the fires, by 1870s, fifteen *sıbyan* schools remained in İzmir.<sup>380</sup> The Muslims who wanted to acquire practical and worldly knowledge had to educate themselves or to join in the circles of educated people. In the next *medrese* stage, students had education in deeper religious learning. The instruction of reading and writing and the transmission of utilitarian-practical knowledge was not the main purpose of *medrese* education.<sup>381</sup> Between 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries a total of 33 *medreses* existed in İzmir.<sup>382</sup> *Medreses* were built as additional parts of mosques, not as separate buildings in İzmir.<sup>383</sup> The number of the *medreses* diminished through time so that in 1878, 19 and by 1891, 15 *medreses* remained in İzmir.<sup>384</sup> The notion of public school system emerged in the Empire in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century through the initiative of the Tanzimat bureaucrats, who believed in the necessity

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<sup>377</sup> Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908, Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline*, (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001) 15, 17.

<sup>378</sup> *Ibid.*, p.15.

<sup>379</sup> Noted in Tutsak, 2002, p. 27.

<sup>380</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>381</sup> Somel, 2001, pp. 18-19.

<sup>382</sup> Münir Aktepe described in detail the construction dates, locations and who had them build as a result of his survey of vakf notebooks of İzmir. Münir Aktepe, “İzmir Şehri, Osmanlı Devri Medreseleri Hakkında Ön Bilgi,” [Information about the Medreses of the Ottoman Period in İzmir], in *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, v. 26, March 1972.

<sup>383</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>384</sup> Tutsak, 2002, p. 35.

of secularizing education.<sup>385</sup> In İzmir the educational reform attempts of the Tanzimat in favor of Muslims began in 1872.<sup>386</sup> The first *iptidai mektep* of İzmir was founded in 1873/ *Teshiliye Mektepi*, and its branches were opened in 1880, 1881, 1887 and 1890.<sup>387</sup> The second primary school of İzmir functioned as a girls' school, *Namazgah İnas İptidai Mektepi*, in 1874, and had 160 students in 1891.<sup>388</sup> In 1856, the establishment of a secondary school, *rüşdiye mektepi*, was permitted with a *ferman*, which stated that since the number of Muslims was high in İzmir and since the other millets (referring to the non-Muslim communities) had their own schools, a secondary school would open for Muslims, too.<sup>389</sup> Since its construction could not be completed, the first secondary school of İzmir started to function in 1858 in the building of one of the *sıbyan mekteps*. Even by 1877 the building of the first secondary school of İzmir was still to be completed.<sup>390</sup> When it began to work in 1858, the demand was so low it had only 25 students by 1862.<sup>391</sup> In the following decades, in the 1870s and 1880s, other secondary schools were established in inner Western Anatolia.<sup>392</sup> However, a remarkable activity in the area of educational reform began in İzmir only after 1893 when *Tahrirat-ı Umumiye* and *Tarifname* were prepared. After this, many new public schools flourished in İzmir.<sup>393</sup> The first high school (*idadi mektepi*) of İzmir was planned to open in 1846, but this could not be achieved so that it opened in 1882.<sup>394</sup> As these figures illustrate, and Tuncer Baykara also mentions, the level of education life of the Turkish community of İzmir was behind the non-Muslim communities'

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<sup>385</sup> "Directorate of Rüşdiye Schools" was founded in 1838; the Regulation of Public Education in 1869 (*1869 Maarif Nizamnamesi*) was issued. 1869 Regulation envisioned reform in the sıbyan schools and the opening of the primary schools with the name of *İptidai Mektepleri*. Somel, 2001, p. 15.

<sup>386</sup> Tutsak, 2002, p. 28.

<sup>387</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>388</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>389</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>390</sup> Baykara, 1974, p. 108.

<sup>391</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>392</sup> Tutsak, 2002, p. 138.

<sup>393</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>394</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

education. Turkish public schools were not comparable to non-Muslim schools, where education quality and quantity of schools and students were much higher.<sup>395</sup>

### **Social Clubs**

The most popular and famous casinos and social clubs were founded by the Levantines of İzmir. The most famous social club of the city was the Frank Casino (also known as European Casino, Cercle Européan or just Casino) which was founded in 1785.<sup>396</sup> To be a member of these clubs was a sign of prestigiousness in society and only Levantines could become members of them. At the beginning of the 19th century, the Greeks wanted to become members of the Casino, too. They were not accepted so they founded their own Casino in 1818. The Greek Casino was situated in the most vital part of the city, in front of the Agia Fotini church on Frank Street.<sup>397</sup> A traveler noted in 1835 that Armenians, Turks, Jews and Greeks were not accepted at these European clubs, since their presence was seen as something degrading. But, he also added that towards the end of his trip in İzmir in 1835 he heard that some Greeks and Armenians were also going to be accepted to these clubs.<sup>398</sup> The same traveler also noted that the most interesting event (he says “development”) he witnessed in 1835 in İzmir was the presence of the Turkish gendarmerie commander with two young Turks in the Frank Casino. It was the first time that people joined in the casino entertainment without wearing European dress.<sup>399</sup> Some other travelers also noted that in the following years leading members of the non-Muslim communities

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<sup>395</sup> Baykara, 1974, p. 108. For example, the Boys’ Evangelic School of Greeks was opened in 1733 and by 1890s had 1023 students, while the first high school (*idadi*) of İzmir was founded in 1882 with only 248 students. Ibid.

<sup>396</sup> Rauf Beyru, *19. yy’da İzmir’de Yaşam* [Life in the 19th Century İzmir], (Literatür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2000) 122, 128.

<sup>397</sup> Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>398</sup> Charles G. Addison, *Damascus and Palmyra, A Journey to the East*, (London:Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1838, vol. I, 344-45 quoted Beyru, 2000, pp. 121-122, FN. 295.

<sup>399</sup> Ibid.

and –although not often– other Turks also joined in the balls of the Levantines.<sup>400</sup> Travelers also noted the presence of an Armenian Club without giving much information about it.<sup>401</sup> Casinos used to give a three month membership opportunity for visitors and foreigners in the city. Reading and gambling saloons existed in the Casinos and regularly balls were organized. Dancing was the main part of these balls in İzmir.<sup>402</sup> However, Sporting Club (Appendix-2, Pictures 09), which was founded in 1895, became the most popular social club of the city at the end of the century. Cultural activities were organized in a separate saloon which was preserved only for theatre plays and concerts.<sup>403</sup> In İzmir, balls, concerts, theatre plays, and balls were not only organized for entertainment purpose, but also in order to raise funds. For example a *kermes* (bazaar) was organized by the European women for the Armenians who suffered most after the big fire of 1845. A concert was organized for the families of the deceased people in the 1897 Greek-Turkish war. Another concert was held for the improvement of the Agia Fotini School of Greeks in 1879, and a ball was organized for the benefit of the schools of the Alliance Universelle Israelite in 1884.<sup>404</sup> This active social life, which was mostly organized by the Levanten and non-Muslim communities of İzmir, demonstrates how strongly entrenched they were into the social and cultural fabric of the city. Another indication of the deep entrenchment of Ottoman non-Muslims into the social fabric of İzmir was the presence of their hospitals since 18<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>400</sup> Beyru, 2000, 122-123.

<sup>401</sup> Ibid., pp. 131, 134.

<sup>402</sup> Ibid. 126-127, 131

<sup>403</sup> Ibid., p. 133.

<sup>404</sup> Ibid., pp. 250-251.



## Hospitals

The Foreign and Greek communities had also founded their own hospitals in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The oldest Greek hospital, which functioned until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, was founded in 1748. The Catholics' hospital was St. Antoine, which was founded in 1710, functioned under the control of Austria. The Armenian hospital was founded in 1831 and renovated in 1863. The Jewish Hospital was founded in 1831. Two Turkish civil hospitals were founded in 1846, and a military hospital was founded in later years. In addition to these, the English, the French, and the Dutch also had their hospitals in İzmir.<sup>405</sup> The presence of various hospitals for each community also indicates their assimilation into the social structure of the city.

The economic development and close interaction with western culture –through the Levantine community of the city– made the non-Muslim communities of İzmir, especially the Greeks, become pioneers not only in the economic activities of the city, but also in the development of social and cultural life. Muslims could reach the level of non-Muslims in their active role in social and cultural life in 1890s, when their role became important all over the Empire in every term in accordance with the Pan-Islamic policy of Abdülhamid II. However, the Muslims' participation in İzmir's modern social and cultural life coincided with the growing ethnic nationalist struggles in the Balkans in the 1890s. These struggles had by the 1910s fermented into the rise of Turkish nationalism, which not only made the Muslims of İzmir perceive their Ottoman non-Muslim fellows as “others.” They also began to perceive their ethnic identities as “Turks” against non-Muslims' ethnicity. Before this process began to work, how did this multi-cultural society respond to Ottoman modernization? In order to analyze this question, it is important to understand the nature of the Tanzimat reforms and institutions. The following chapter provides a base to examine the relations of the Greek-Turkish communities with the state and communal relations among themselves.

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<sup>405</sup> Atay, 1978, pp. 63-64.

## Chapter 3. Ottoman Reforms

### Ottoman Modernization

Examining the multi-ethno-religious İzmir society in the given period of this study (1826-1864) requires recognizing the changing perception of “the state”, “the cities” and “subjects” or “citizens” during the period of Ottoman modernization. Centralization was the crucial element for the Ottoman sultans in maintaining and strengthening arbitrary use of political power. Sultans of the both pre-modern and the modernizing Ottoman Empire arbitrarily used means of political power when they saw it necessary. A new European educated class of bureaucrats challenged the arbitrary political power of the Ottoman sultan in ruling periods of Abdülmecid (1839-1861) and Abdülaziz (1861-1876). However, the rise of this new bureaucratic class did not aim to challenge the centralized administration of the Empire. The centralization tendency of the 1864 Provincial Reform Law is a good example of this.<sup>406</sup> Therefore, challenging the arbitrary power of the Ottoman sultan did not lead to the emergence of decentralized regulations in the Empire during the Tanzimat period. Ottoman centralization was seriously at stake in the 18<sup>th</sup> century as the growing political power of the land notables (*ayan*) challenged centralized administration. However, Mahmud II's strict measures aimed at the re-centralization and re-acquisition of the control of the imperial government in the late 1820s.<sup>407</sup>

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<sup>406</sup> For the discussion about the Provincial Reform Regulation of 1864 see section 3.3.

<sup>407</sup> The development of local notables (*ayans*) can be likened to the land-owning aristocrats of Western Europe, however, their attempt to take place in the rule of the country with the Ottoman sultan was terminated by Mahmud II in early 1820s. The local notables had reached to the point that Mahmud II had to ratify *sened-i ittifak* ('Deed of Agreement') in October 1808, which outlined relationship between the sultan and his local notables. Through this pact for the first time in the Ottoman Empire's history a sultan had to ratify an agreement negotiated between the grand vizier and the *ayans*. Zürcher finds the term "Ottoman Magna Carta" as a suitable term for the agreement instead of viewing it as a first attempt for constitutionalism, since this pact was not the codification of the rights of citizens. It shows the extent of the *ayan* influence in the Empire that they were officially recognized as partners in government. Therefore, since the pact was in contradiction with the Ottoman traditional political system, document was never signed by the sultan Mahmud II himself. Zürcher, 1993, p. 31. Historians, while presenting Mahmud's reformist actions, also stated his attempts to re-gain central power of the Ottoman sultans in order to execute the reforms. Among them, İnalcık called the rule of Mahmud II as "autocracy" (*istibdad*). However, he also adds that if Mahmud II did not make radical reforms and did obey the principles of the *Sened-i İttifak* of 1808 this would lead to division of Anatolia under separate local Muslim principalities as in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Halil İnalcık, "Tanzimat'ın Uygulanması ve Sosyal Tepkileri," *Belleten* XXVIII:112, 1964 (from now on 1964b) 608-609. In contrast to Halil İnalcık, according to Şerif Mardin the deed was far from being a magna carta, one of the initial steps for the

Sultan's visits in Rumeli and the elimination of clothing regulations for the non-Muslims by the 1829 clothing code, which abolished the visible distinctions between non-Muslim and Muslim communities,<sup>408</sup> were not only some attempts to gain loyalty of the non-Muslim subjects to prevent other possible separatist movements, but also his means to restore central power of the imperial government. New clothing law of 1829 abolished clothing regulations for the non-Muslims, but enacted new codes on state level. It re-defined the dress code of civil, religious, military state officials in order to consolidate his personal power over the administration.<sup>409</sup> I contemplate that all these were undertaken to repair the oppressive image of sultan Mahmud II –after his harsh treatment of the Greek population at the beginning of the Greek revolt<sup>410</sup>– both within the public and among the European states and Russia that interfered in the Greek issue. Securing centralized control with the arbitrary use of means of control, Mahmud II attempted to provide social order and legitimacy in the Empire. All of the following was made possible as Mahmud II used civil and military as his personal instruments of his arbitrary power: his suppression of *ayans*; his bloody elimination of the Janissaries and abolishment of the Bektashi order; increasing control mechanisms over the population, for example, giving exemplary punishment through arbitrary closing downs of the coffeehouses in İstanbul in which inconvenient political discussions were held; and more importantly forming a spy network in the capital to control people;<sup>411</sup> and the issue of the 1829 clothing law, and not to mention his orders

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transformation of the Empire into a modern centralized state. Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of the Young Turk Thought*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1962), 148.

<sup>408</sup> Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman State, 1720-1829," *IJMES*, n. 29, 1997, 406-407, 413, 419-420.

<sup>409</sup> Quataert, 1997, pp. 412-413.

<sup>410</sup> When the Greek revolt broke out in 1821, the Ottoman state declared that the condition of war would be applied. In other words, it justified the Chios massacres and the strict measures of exile and sometimes murders of the suspicious Greeks in the Aegean islands or towns, the hanging of the Greek patriarch at the front gate of the patriarchate in Istanbul, the dismissal of the Greeks from bureaucracy through the application of principle of *harbi*. For the discussion on principle of *harbi* and perception of the Greek revolt by the Ottoman state see chapter 4.1.

<sup>411</sup> Cengiz Kırılı, narrating from *Cabi Tarihi: Tarih-i Sultan Selim-i Salis ve Mahmud-ı Sani*, discussed in detail the spy reports which were mostly conducted in the coffeehouses. As he mentioned, "one day several coffeehouses would be closed and then there would not be any closings for several weeks. Personal contacts of the informer and the police with the coffeehouse owner seem to have largely determined which coffeehouses were to be closed and which to remain open." Cengiz Kırılı, *The Struggle Over Space: coffeehouses of Ottoman İstanbul, 1780-1845*,

to execute non-rebellious Ottoman Greeks during the Greek revolt. I argue that the autocratic rule of the Ottomans continued to exist in the period of Mahmud II in that he aimed to re-store the centralized power of the Ottoman imperial government. For example, Mahmud II ordered *şeyh ül islam* Yasincizade Abdülvehab *Efendi* to write a book in the which theory of absolute obedience to the sultan could be justified by the sharia. Therefore, the *Şeyh ül islam* wrote a book (*Hulasat el-burhan fi ita'at el Sultan*) by compiling twenty five prophetic traditions and stressed the absolute necessity of obeying rulers.<sup>412</sup>

The attempts of the imperial government through initiating new regulations peculiar to the problematic regions in order to calm down the violent events might be seen as decentralization attempts of the state in the first place. The reorganization document for Lebanon, after the aggressive events between Druzeds and Maronites in 1845, and for Crete in 1866, when the Greek population rebelled and violent conflict emerged mostly between Greek merchants and Muslim land owners were the typical examples to such attitude of the Ottoman state. However, in reality, they remained as quick interventions to provide social order and secure Ottoman rule in these regions. The state immediately after issuing such reorganization documents, applied policies to re-store the central Ottoman political power.<sup>413</sup> The reigns of Abdülmecid (1839-1861) and Abdülaziz (1861-1876) indicated the beginning of a different era regarding the possession of the political power in the Empire. The emergence of a class of Western educated bureaucrats (men of Tanzimat) gave the signs of challenging arbitrary power of the Ottoman sultan. These bureaucrats wanted to have loyalty to the state –Porte– more than to the Sultan himself, which put them into contest with the sultan. The already started Porte and palace competition could initiate a process towards constitutional regime in the Empire if it was not

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unpublished dissertation, (Binghamton: Binghamton University, 2000) 248. He also noted how ordinary people defied against the monitoring of the coffeehouses and other public places. These “personal contacts”, that means a cooperation of different community members against state. This resistance against state authority also indicates the social dynamic in the capital.

<sup>412</sup> Mardin, 1962, p. 149.

<sup>413</sup> İber Ortaylı,, *Tanzimat Devri'nde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri, (1840-1880)*, (Ankara: TTK, 2000) 51-53, 66-67.

suspended. The despotic rule of Abülhamid II wiped out the very initial steps towards a constitutional regime and the arbitrary political power of the Ottoman sultan was firmly restored during his reign. Except for the 37 years rule of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz, arbitrary political power of the Ottoman sultan was not challenged during the rule of Mahmud II and Abdülhamid II, instead, re-entrenched in politics and society. However, this does not mean that Tanzimat reforms were smoothly and successfully applied all over the Empire and sultans Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz sincerely supported and encouraged reformist statesmen. There was constant opposition of anti-reformists in the government circles. Despite the continuous opposition of the conservative statesmen in the administrative cadres, the reform regulations were applied under the leadership of Mustafa Reşid Pasha as foreign minister (1837-1841, 1845-1846, 1853-1854) and grand vizier (1846-1848, 1848-1852, 1852, 1854-1855, 1856-1857, 1857-1858), Ali Pasha (grand vizier, 1852-1853, 1855-1856, 1858-1859, 1867-1871) and Fuat Pasha (foreign minister, 1852-1853, 1855-1856, 1858-1860, 1867-1871, grand vizier, 1861-1863 and 1863-1866) when they were in charge as successors of Mustafa Reşid Pasha. The instability in the office of grand vizier alone already indicates the ambivalent and unpredictable attitude of the sultans about the Tanzimat reforms. There were always opponents of the reforms, and sultans of the Tanzimat period were quite often caught between two opposing groups, as I mention below. Regarding the intention of the state about modernizing reforms, neither the Ottoman sultans nor the Tanzimat bureaucrats aimed to construct a modern state in the sense of Western parliamentary regimes, but they wanted to construct a well running bureaucracy with a strong central authority. A closer analysis of the 1839 and 1856 imperial edicts also indicate the aim of constructing an efficient bureaucratic empire with a strong centralized power, and in doing this the former edict stressed the significance of sharia rules to achieve this aim.

The principle of the rule of law of the Tanzimat period may be considered the most important principle that had a direct impact in the communal relations of the Ottoman society. The

Ottoman Empire struggled to apply it basically in order to regain its legitimacy in its internal and external affairs. As the discussion below will show, 1839 reform edict without contradicting with Islamic law –sharia– stressed the sovereignty of law for the well being of the subjects, and in return of the Empire. In 1839 edict, law was described as superior to administrators and even sultans.<sup>414</sup> Although sultan Abdülmecid took the oath to obey to the 1839 reform edict, he and his successors always knew that the edicts were prepared by depending on his imperial sovereign power that they could change them if they wanted so. Therefore, in reality, the premises of the reform edicts did not have power to restrict sultans' political power, as did the constitutional systems of the modern Western states.

There is no evidence that the ideas of the Gülhane Rescript of 1839 were formulated under the Western influence, unlike the reform edict of 1856<sup>415</sup>. The conventional idea in the Ottoman historiography of the 19<sup>th</sup> century has been argued that the 1839 reform edict was prepared according to Western ideal.<sup>416</sup> However, the text of *Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane* suggests that it was formulated according to sharia.<sup>417</sup> A closer analysis of the *hatt* proves this:

“All the world knows that since the first days of the Ottoman State, the lofty principles of the Kuran and the rules of the Şeriat were always perfectly observed. Our mighty Sultanate reached the highest degree of

<sup>414</sup> Halil İnalçık, “Sened-i İttifak ve Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu,” *Bellekten* XXVIII:112, p. 620.

<sup>415</sup> Butrus Abu Manneh, “The Islamic Roots of The Gülhane Rescript,” in *Studies on Islam and the Ottoman Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century 1826-1876* (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2001) 74-75, (from know on 2001a). Before Abu Manneh, Roderic Davison also mentioned the Islamic feature of the Gülhane rescript. Davison, 1990, p. 114.

<sup>416</sup> For example, Niyazi Berkes states with no doubt that “The formalization of Mahmud’s concept of justice, (the administration of justice in terms of equality before the law) as the basis for the Charter’s Fundamentals was bound to create the difficulty of reconciling statute laws with a number of practices derived from sharia and perpetuated through the millet system.” Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964) 147. According to İnalçık, in the Gülhane, the priority was the sovereignty of the law (*kanun hakimiyeti*); law was described as superior to everything, to people, administrators, and even sultans. İnalçık, 1964a, p. 620. This was the new Western inspired principle of equality Ibid., p. 621. The idea of equality, which originated from the West, meant the equality of the citizens, in the Ottoman Empire it meant equality between communities and subjects. Ibid. In the conventional writing of history of the Ottoman reforms, the appropriation of the principle of equality between the non-Muslim and Muslims of the Empire is perceived as contrary to Islam and as if it was inspired by the Western model.

<sup>417</sup> Manneh, 2001a, pp. 85-93.

strength and power, and all its subjects (the highest degree) of ease and prosperity but in the last one hundred and fifty years, because of a succession of difficulties and diverse causes the sacred şeriat was not obeyed nowhere the beneficent regulations followed; consequently the former strength and prosperity have changed in to weakness and poverty. It is evident the countries not governed by the law of the şeriat cannot survive. From the very first day of our accession to the throne, our thoughts have been devoted exclusively to the development of the empire and the promotion of the prosperity of the people..... Thus, from now on, every defendant shall be entitled to a public hearing according to the rules of the şeriat after inquiry and examinations; and without the pronouncement of a regular sentence no one may secretly or publicly put another to death by poison or by any other means....The Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of our lofty sultanate shall without exception, enjoy our imperial concessions. Therefore, we grant perfect security to all the populations of our empire in their lives, their honour and their properties, according to the sacred law.”<sup>418</sup>

It was the traditional duty of a Muslim ruler to avoid corruption, provide justice and take good care of his tax paying subjects.<sup>419</sup> The source of these ideas in the Gülhane Rescript originated from Ottoman memorialists and Islamic political thinkers of the middle Ages.<sup>420</sup> The 1839 imperial rescript was prepared by the Ottoman Council (*meclis-i şura*), whose half of the members was *ulema* and the rest were the high state officials.<sup>421</sup> It was not exclusively prepared by Mustafa Reşid Pasha, although he was presented by the conventional Ottoman

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<sup>418</sup> *Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane*, 3 November 1839, in J.C. Hurewitz, *The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics*, 2nd. ed., v. I (New Haven, 1975) 269-271.

<sup>419</sup> Halil İnalcık, “State and Ideology Under Süleyman I,” in *The Middle East and the Balkans Under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993a).

<sup>420</sup> Manneh, 2001a, pp. 90-93.

<sup>421</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.93, 87-88.

historiography as the “father of the Tanzimat.”<sup>422</sup> Sultan Abdülmecid issued a decree (*irade*), which was prepared basically by the *ulema* when Reşid Pasha was abroad.<sup>423</sup> This *irade* constituted the basic principles of the Gülhane. Therefore, none of the premises of the Gülhane Rescript deviates from the sharia. The premises of the Rescript about the security of life, honor, and property for all his subjects regardless of religion were entrusted to the Ottoman ruler, who guaranteed them “according to the sacred law.” Therefore, I do not agree with Ussama Makdisi who, by depending on the Tanzimat policies in the Arab lands of the Empire, argued that Tanzimat regulations including the Gülhane decree made a clear break with the past. He called the “intersection of modernization with imperial state building” as “Ottoman imperialism.”<sup>424</sup> which aimed to break with the “pre-modern past of the Empire.”<sup>425</sup> This argument might be accurate to some extent for the 1856 Islahat edict and for the reform policies of the Ali and Fuad Pashas in the 1860s. However, the early Tanzimat regulations of the 1839 edict did not aim to break with its “pre-modern” past. There was continuity of the pre-Tanzimat concepts and regulation in the Tanzimat peirod. Therefore, if there was an Ottoman imperialism, it not only included the “intersection of modernization with imperial state building” but also sharia (Islamic law). Therefore, defining Ottoman imperialism with the “intersection of modernization with imperial state building and sharia” seems to be more accurate. I believe that the politics of the

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<sup>422</sup> Stanford J Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, 1808-1975*, (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1977, reprinted 1988) 58-59. Bernard Lewis calls him as "real architect of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman reforms, “who were more important than any of other the men of the reform. Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*,” 1961, pp. 103-104. İnalcık also stresses the impact of Western notions on Mahmud II's thinking, which was reflected in 1839 Gülhane rescript. He mentions that although the nature of the rescript and its declaration was suitable to the Ottoman tradition, like issue of the old *adaletnames*, its main author Mustafa Reşid Pasha offered radical changes to the Ottoman system and put restrictions on the arbitrary use of power and palace despotism of Mahmud II, Halil İnalcık, “Sened-i İttifak ve Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu,” 1964a, pp. 611, 614-615. Abu Manneh aptly demonstrates that Mustafa Reşid Pasha was not exclusively the most significant author of the 1839 Gülhane Rescript, as the conventional historians wrote, Manneh, 2001a, pp. 87-89.

<sup>423</sup> Manneh, 2001a, pp. 86-87. In conventional Ottoman History Mustafa Reşid Pasha is regarded as "the father of the Tanzimat" or the "real architect of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman reforms," Shaw & Karal Shaw, 1977, p. 58; Lewis, 1963, pp. 103-104.

<sup>424</sup> Ussama Makdisi, “Rethinking Ottoman Imperialism,” in *The Empire in the City, Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, eds., Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philip, Stefan Weber, (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2002), 30-31.

<sup>425</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.



Ottoman Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was made up by overlapping legal practices, categories, and principles. That is to say, the modernizing Ottoman Empire had a very complex structure which can be analyzed by considering various types of relations and simultaneous events. As far as İzmir is concerned, as it will be discussed in section 4.2, archival evidence indicates that the state continued to apply pre-Tanzimat regulations to maintain social order and there was not any radical break with the pre-Tanzimat regulations. Moreover, while discussing 1839 imperial edict we should also consider the political conditions and international relations of the Ottoman Empire under which the two imperial edicts were organized. When the Gülhane Rescript was declared the Ottoman Empire was struggling with the Egypt problem. The state was in recurrent warfare with Mehmed Ali Pasha of Egypt, who terribly defeated the Ottoman army at Nizib. Therefore, it was also some part of the reality that the Gülhane rescript was declared to gain British support against Mehmed Ali Pasha.<sup>426</sup> Therefore, we might say that it was declared to gain British support, but its content and premises were prepared according to shaira and inherited most of the ideas of Mahmud II

While the Ottoman state reconfirming the principles of the equality of non-Muslims of the 1839 Gülhane Rescript in the 1856 imperial edict, it completely abolished the previous barriers of the *millet* system and nominated the reforms. While the reforms expanded and guaranteed the rights and freedoms of all people of the Empire regardless of religion, in fact the state entrusted these rights and freedoms to them; the 1856 edict "recognized implicitly that the government was the source of their rights and freedoms."<sup>427</sup> In the pre-Tanzimat Ottoman era, the rights and freedoms of the non-Muslim communities were inherent in the *millet* system itself and could not be restricted or changed at will and they were given in perpetuity and therefore "became inherent in the *millet* itself without being subject to renewal, abolition or limitation," as

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<sup>426</sup> Lewis, 1961, p. 162.

<sup>427</sup> Ibid., p. 164.

it had been since the time of the Mehmed II.<sup>428</sup> In other words, the sultan underlined that the *millet* would proceed with his high approval and the supervision of his high Porte:<sup>429</sup>

“...The guarantees promised on our part by the Hatt-ı Hümayun of Gülhane, and in conformity with the Tanzimat, to all the subjects of my empire, without distinction of classes or of religion, for the security of their persons and property, and the preservation of their honor, are to-day confirmed and consolidated, and efficacious measures shall be taken in order that they may have their full entire effect. All the privileges and spiritual minities granted by my ancestors ab antiquo, and at subsequent dates, to all Christian communities or other non-Mussulman persuasions established in my empire, under my protection, shall be confirmed and maintained.

Every Christian or other non-Mussulman community shall be bound within a fixed period, and with concurrence of a commission composed ad hoc of members of its own body, to proceed, with my high approbation and under the inspection of my Sublime Porte, to examine into its actual immunities and privileges, and to discuss and submit to my Sublime Porte the reforms required by the progress of civilization and of the age...”<sup>430</sup>

The sovereignty was entrusted to the Ottoman sultan himself, as it was re-stressed in the 1856 reform edict:

“...As all forms of religion are and shall be freely professed in my dominions...The nomination and choice of all functionaries and other employees of my empire being wholly dependent upon my sovereign will, all the subjects of my empire, without distinction of nationality, shall be admissible to public employments, and qualified to fill them according to their capacity and merit, and conformably with rules to be generally applied...”

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<sup>428</sup> Kemal Karpat, “Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, v. I, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, (New York, London: Holmes & Miller Publishers Inc. 1982) 145.

<sup>429</sup> Karpat, 1982 p. 164.

<sup>430</sup> “Islahat Fermanı, 18 February 1856” in Hurewitz, 1975, pp. 316-317.

“...The nomination and choice of all functionaries and other employes of my empire being wholly dependent upon my sovereign will, all the subjects of my empire, without distinction of nationality, shall be admissible to public employments...”<sup>431</sup>

As it is seen, in the 1856 reform edict, the Ottoman sultan presented itself as the only source of power in delegating freedoms and rights within the Ottoman land, and also in “inspecting” them.

When analyzing the Tanzimat Period and its impact on the Ottoman society, struggle between supporters and opponents of the reforms should be considered as well. Anti-reformist statesmen sometimes managed to manipulate Sultan Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz and to interrupt reform regulations in certain periods. The *Damads*, Damad Mehmed Seyyid,<sup>432</sup> Rıza, Mehmet Ali Pasha opposed to Mustafa Reşid Pasha’s rule and managed to dismiss him from his position on 31 March 1841. After Mustafa Reşit Pasha, anti-reformist Rıza Pasha was in charge to apply Tanzimat regulations.<sup>433</sup> Rıza and his group immediately abolished Tanzimat regulations: The office of *muhassıl* was eliminated and governors of the provinces became responsible for dealing with the economic matters in addition to their duties of providing security and social order in *vilayets* and *sancaks*, like in the pre-Tanzimat period. Moreover, they also send a promising imperial order to every province to convince the conservative people that Islamic principles still strongly existed in the new organization.<sup>434</sup> In sum, anti-reformist group eliminated the most radical reforms which Mustafa Reşid Pasha attempted to implement. Regarding the Sultan’s approach to reforms, although Abdülaziz had tendencies for restoring the arbitrary political

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<sup>431</sup> “Islahat Fermanı, 18 February 1856 ” in J.C. Hurewitz, *The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics*, 2nd. ed., v. I (New Haven, 1975) 316.

<sup>432</sup> Butrus Abu Manneh, “The Sultan and the Bureaucracy: The Anti-Tanzimat Concepts of Grand Vizier Mahmud Nedim Pasha,” *IJMES*, n. 22, 1990, p. 260.

<sup>433</sup> İnalçık, 1964b, p. 637-638.

<sup>434</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 638.

power of the Ottoman sultan, Ali Pasha was managed to control him.<sup>435</sup> Similarly, under the rule of Abdüzzaziz, Fuad Pasha tried to grant the same kind of autonomy which sultan Abdülmecid granted Ali Pasha.<sup>436</sup> Mahmud Nedim Pasha, who was secretly opposing to the reforms in the administrative circles since 1840s, managed to become two times grand vizier (from September 1871 to the end of July 1872 and between 1875 and 1876). He entered the service at the Porte in 1842 and even closely worked with Mustafa Reşid Pasha and his group on the recommendation of Ali and Fuat until 1854. Suppressing his own tendencies, he accommodated himself very well to the group of Mustafa Reşid Pasha but did not get influenced by him. He wrote a treatise in which he explained his ideas about the reasons of the Ottoman decline, the Tanzimat and presented suggestions for the revival of the Empire.<sup>437</sup> He believed that the absolute power of the Ottoman sultan should be restored for the revival of the Ottoman Empire, as it had been during the reign of Mahmud II. According to him, the main reason of the decline of the Empire was the renouncement the sharia principles in the state tradition in favour of the rise of the bureaucratic class. His background explains the origin of his opposition to the Tanzimat regulations: Mahmud Nedim Pasha, whose father belonged to Naqshbandi-Khalidi order, had Sunni Orthodox Islam education. During his grand vizierate, he dismissed all the followers of Ali and Fuat Pasha from their offices and replaced them with his followers. Despite the attempts of Mahmud Nedim Pasha to nullify Tanzimat regulations, the bureaucracy, which was established and strengthened by Ali and Fuat Pasha, resisted his policies.<sup>438</sup> Supported by the Sunni Orthodox Islam, anti-reformist tendencies constituted a base for the pan-Islamist policy of Abdülhamid II in the following years.

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<sup>435</sup> Abu Manneh,, 1990, pp. 260-265.

<sup>436</sup> Shaw&Shaw, 1998, p. 64.

<sup>437</sup> Abu Manneh, pp. 258, 260,-261.

<sup>438</sup> Ibid., pp. 263-267.

## Judicial Reforms

In the pre-modern Ottoman Empire, *meşveret*, "the consultation councils of the Porte" was crucial by tradition in the decision making process.<sup>439</sup> The most important change in the judicial system in the Tanzimat era was the replacement of the Consultation Council of the Porte with *Meclis-i Vala-yı Ahkam-ı Adliye*, "Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances" (also known as *Meclis-i Vala*, "council of justice"). It was set up in 1838,<sup>440</sup> but could not work properly until 1841 –because of the organization problems during the early years of the Tanzimat. The establishment of the "Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances" was a compromise between the Ottoman *meşveret* tradition and the Western legislature.<sup>441</sup> *Meclis-i Vala* worked for fifteen years as the main legislative organ. It was responsible for preparing the Tanzimat regulations and executing them.<sup>442</sup> In addition to the preparation of Tanzimat laws and regulations, *Meclis-i Vala* had also a judicial function: It worked as a special administrative court to adjudicate the administrative staff when they acted contrary to the Tanzimat regulations.<sup>443</sup> It also became a unit to execute the new penal code of 1840.<sup>444</sup> The penal code of 1840 reaffirmed the equality of all the people of the Empire, which was stressed in the Gülhane rescript.<sup>445</sup> For example, unfair collection of the taxes, which was a major problem, was also punished according to the new penal code of 1840.<sup>446</sup> The decisions of the *Meclis-i Vala* were published in the official

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<sup>439</sup> İnalçık, 1993, p. 12. According to the Islamic sources, *meşveret*, was even an obligation for the sultan. In the extra-ordinary or emergency cases to share the responsibility viziers, dignitaries, commanders, ulema gathered in meetings. Ibid.

<sup>440</sup> Davison, 1963, p. 28

<sup>441</sup> İnalçık, 1993, p. 13.

<sup>442</sup> *Meclis-i Vala-yı Ahkam-ı Adliye* was founded by the support of Mustafa Resid Pasha in 1838 as a part of the Tanzimat reforms with the idea that a special unit was needed to organize and apply reforms. It had experienced some organizational changes, it had been reorganized as *Şura-yı Devlet* in 1868. Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, *Tanzimat Devrinde Meclis-i Vala 1838-1868* [Meclis-i Vala During the Tanzimat], (Ankara: TTK, 1994) 35-37, Musa Çadircı, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentleri'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapıları* [The Social and Economic Structure of Anatolian Cities during the Tanzimat Period], (Ankara:TTK, 1991) 185-190.

<sup>443</sup> Musa Çadircı, 1991, p. 190; Shaw & Kural Shaw, 1977, p. 78.

<sup>444</sup> Ekrem Buğra Ekinci., *Osmanlı Mahkemeleri, Tanzimat ve Sonrası* [Ottoman Courts, Tanzimat and After], (İstanbul: Arı, 2004) 126.

<sup>445</sup> Davison, 1963, p. 44.

<sup>446</sup> İnalçık said that Ottoman Archives is full of with registers of 1840 and 1841, about the unfair tax collection of local administrators and orders for their punishment. İnalçık, 1964b, p. 630. An example *kaima* concerning this issue

newspaper of the Empire, *Takvim-i Vekayi*, in order to constitute a warning example for the others.<sup>447</sup> The mixed courts were established as a result of the 1856 edict, and non-Muslim testimony against Muslims was accepted in these courts. The religious courts remained although many of their functions transferred to the new mixed trade courts.

### **Administrative Reforms**

Without administrative reforms it was impossible to conduct economic, social, and judicial reforms. A significant change was concerned with the provincial government: calling of the delegates from the provinces to the capital to discuss the administrative conditions and possible improvements; sending inspectors from the capital to the provinces; and forming “a large provincial council” (*büyük meclis*), which was constituted by both Muslim and non-Muslim representatives under the provincial governor to represent local population.<sup>448</sup> The large provincial council and “small provincial council” (*küçük meclis*) were founded in the districts (*kaza*) in 1840. The former one served both as a unit in order to implement Tanzimat regulations and as a court to conduct the 1840 penal code with the authority of taking decisions, except for the crimes of murder and theft, which had to be referred to the capital, to the *Meclis-i Vala*.<sup>449</sup>

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in western Anatolia as follows: Müşir of Aydın was asked by the center to re-interrogate the petition about the beaten of Christians and taking of extra taxes from them in Ayasluğ district of Aydın Sancağı. A.MKT 65/86, 1846

<sup>447</sup> Çadircı, 1991, p. 190. *Meclis-i Vala* because of the overwhelming load of preparing legislation after fifteen years began to lose its effective functioning. In addition, the new leaders of the Tanzimat executives Ali and Fuat Pashas aimed to achieve rapid progress through more effectively functioning institutions. In 1854, because of the political and administrative reasons the Supreme Council was left only with its judicial duties, that a new legislative body was formed under the title High Council of Tanzimat, “*Meclis-i Ali-yi Tanzimat*.” The duties of the *Meclis-i Vala* were transferred to this new body, that now it was responsible from completing and extending the Tanzimat reforms. Ibid., p. 189; Shaw & Kural Shaw, 1977, p. 78; Davison, 1963, pp. 52-53.

After the formation of the *Meclis-i Ali-yi Tanzimat*, *Meclis-i Vala* also continued to work along with it. *Meclis-i Ali-yi Tanzimat* continued to work until 1861, then united with the *Meclis-i Vala*. Çadircı, 1991, p. 189.

<sup>448</sup> Davison, 1963, pp. 48-49; İnalçık, 1964b, p. 626. It was not unusual for the Ottoman state to have meetings with the notables in the time of need until the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This kind of general assembly was a custom and worked in the Empire in the pre-Tanzimat period, although it was not a representative body with selected delegates from each province, as created in the Tanzimat period, Davison, 1963, p. 47.

<sup>449</sup> İnalçık, 1964b, pp. 626-627; *Büyük Meclis* worked until 1868, when Şura-yı Devlet was formed. Ekinci, 2004, p.130.

However, common people could not involve in the large provincial councils and Muslim officials dominated them. Moreover, old *ayans* dominated both council under the name of *ağa ve viicuh-ı memleket* and the low level administration in many cities and towns. Furthermore, *ulema* who were the opponents of the Tanzimat sided with conservative *ağas* in these councils.<sup>450</sup> As far as the reaction of ecclesiastical authorities of the non-Muslim communities is considered, they opposed to the reforms since their *vakıfs* were also subjected to new taxes.<sup>451</sup> Not only was their source of income restricted, but also their social and political authorities among their people deteriorated, as the non-Muslims had right to benefit from the principle of the rule of law in equal terms with the Muslims. Large councils, generally, constituted by thirteen members, of whom seven were state officials (*muhassıl*), his subordinate, two *katibs* (scribes), *kadı*, *mufti*, *zaptiye memuru* (the police chief), four trustable Muslims, and two *kocabaş* and a metropolid of the given non-Muslim community in that province.<sup>452</sup> The small councils had five members, representative of *muhassıl* (*vekil*), *kadı*, the police chief, one Muslim local notable and the leader of the largest non-Muslim *millet* in the given district.<sup>453</sup> The representation of the non-Muslims was based on an equal basis in the districts, regardless of the proportion of the total population, the non-Muslims became under-represented in the regions where they constituted majority. They also had over-representation in the districts where they were out numbered by the Muslims.<sup>454</sup> *Muhassıls* were designed as salaried tax officials, replacing semi-independent tax farmers (*mültezims*), to provide direct tax collection. They were appointed by the center with large authority in order to get rid of abuses and influences of governor of districts and local

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<sup>450</sup> İnalçık, 1964b, pp. 635-636.

<sup>451</sup> Ibid., p. 632.

<sup>452</sup> İnalçık, 1964b, p. 626; Stanford Shaw, "Local Administration in the Tanzimat," in *150. Yılında Tanzimat*, [Tanzimat in its 150<sup>th</sup> Year], ed. Hakkı Dursun Yıldız (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, TTK, 1992) 34; Davison, 1963, pp. 48-49.

<sup>453</sup> Shaw, 1992, p. 34.

<sup>454</sup> Ibid., p.35; İnalçık, 1964b, p. 633.

notables.<sup>455</sup> Sometimes, unequal treatment of the non-Muslim council members by the Muslims was seen. For example, from a petition of the Rum Patriarchate in 1841 we learn that the suggestions of the non-Muslim members of the council met with humiliation. As a result of this petition, *Meclis-i Vala* sent out an issue warning the Muslim members of these councils to act respectfully towards the non-Muslim members.<sup>456</sup> Council deputies were treated unequally in the Syrian provinces between 1840 and 1861. In Syria, influential local Muslim landowners, in cooperation with the provincial governor, and local non-Muslim notables dominated these provincial councils, which could not perform their functions to implement the principle of equality designated initially by the 1839 reform measures.<sup>457</sup>

In 1826, when the Janissary corps was abolished, *kadı* lost his means (*kolluk kuvvetleri*) to carry out his functions of providing public order and municipal duties. The office of *kadı* was deteriorated that it became only responsible from the judiciary.<sup>458</sup> For a long period, since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the *kadı* was already not powerful enough to carry out his municipal duties: He was unable to collect taxes efficiently, inspect the market, and provide public order. In order to take over these duties “ministry of *ihtisab*”<sup>459</sup> (*ihtisab nazırlığı*) was founded in the capital in 1826 and “*ihtisab* directorates” (*ihtisab müdürlükleri*) were founded in the provinces that *ihtisab nazırı*<sup>460</sup> replaced economic duties of *kadı*. *İhtisab nazırlığı* was founded to collect taxes efficiently, to determine just market prices (*narh*)<sup>461</sup> and enable its proper application and provide public order, even through coercive means.<sup>462</sup> In the *ihtisab* system, *Mansure* soldiers

<sup>455</sup> İnalçık, 1964b, p. 628.

<sup>456</sup> Ortaylı, 2000, p. 40.

<sup>457</sup> Moshe Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine, 1840-1861; The Impact of Tanzimat on Politics and Society*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968) 198-199.

<sup>458</sup> Ortaylı, 1979, p. 203.

<sup>459</sup> *İhtisab nazırlığı*: Office of superintendent of guilds and markets. Redhouse, *Türkçe-İngilizce Sözlüğü* [Redhouse, Turkish-English Dictionary], 13<sup>th</sup> ed., İstanbul: Redhouse Yayınevi, 1993.

<sup>460</sup> *Nazır* is used with the meaning "spectator, superintendent" in the phrase *ihtisab nazırı*.

<sup>461</sup> *Narh*: officially fixed market prices. Redhouse, *Türkçe-İngilizce Sözlüğü*, 13<sup>th</sup> ed., İstanbul: Redhouse Yayınevi, 1993. After Tanzimat *narh* system was abolished in order to apply principles of liberal economy. Ortaylı, 1979, 215.

<sup>462</sup> Mübahat Kütükoğlu, “1826 Düzenlemesinde Sonra İzmir İhtisab Nezareti” [İzmir İhtisab Nezareti After the Regulation of 1826], in *İzmir Tarihinden Kesitler* [Notes from History of İzmir], (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir



replaced Janissaries to serve to *ihtisab nazırı* in carrying out his duties.<sup>463</sup> When the police organization (1845) and gendarme/public security office (*zaptiye müşirliği*) were founded (1846), the duty of *ihtisab nazırı* was limited to determine only market prices and supervise tradesmen in the market.<sup>464</sup> Hence, newly founded modern organizations took responsibility of the public order. In order to strengthen central authority on the provinces, the Sultan also began to initiate policies for the improvement of the communications through indication of postal system and construction of roads, although these were limited to the areas closest to the capital. With the same purpose the first Ottoman official newspaper was launched in 1831, “calendar of events” (*Takvim-i Vekai*). The first Ottoman census was conducted to provide efficient taxation. Male population of Anatolia and Rumelia were included, while females were excluded.<sup>465</sup> Regarding the centralizing regulations of the Tanzimat, the 1864 Provincial Reform Law constituted a turning point in the administration of the cities. The 1864 Provincial Law increased the authority of governors of the vilayets. In doing this, it distributed authority of the central power to the local governors by increasing authorities of local officials on the social, economic, security and political matters and assigning the right of execution of the laws to them.<sup>466</sup> However, in reality, this led to the effective administration of the provinces by the center, because a decentralized order in the Reform Law was balanced by other order which favouring centralization.<sup>467</sup> Administration of the cities, especially of the port cities, was in chaos during the Tanzimat period related to the implementation problems of the reform measures. Eastern Mediterranean port cities, which had close economic relations with commercial centers of Europe, had to replace the traditional city administration with a more effective and functional

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Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi, 2000b) 63-64. Ortaylı states that *ihtisab nazırlığı* did not become a useful institution, but instead, a despotic unit. Ortaylı, 1979, pp. 203-203; 1985, p. 116.

<sup>463</sup> Kütükoğlu, 2000b, p. 63.

<sup>464</sup> Ortaylı, 1979, p. 204.

<sup>465</sup> Zürcher, 1993, pp. 44-45.

<sup>466</sup> Shaw & Shaw, 1988, pp. 88-89; İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Yerel Yönetim Geleneği* [The Tradition of the Local Administration from the Tanzimat to the Republic], (İstanbul: Hil, 1985) 61.

<sup>467</sup> Ortaylı, 2000, p. 54; İlber Ortaylı, *Türkiye İdari Tarihi* [Administration History of Turkey], (Ankara: Türkiye ve Ortadoğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü, 1971) 290.

one in accordance with the needs of transportation and service activities of the 19<sup>th</sup> century's economic development.<sup>468</sup> Therefore, first municipalities of the Ottoman Empire were established in port cities like İzmir — among them, Salonica and Beirut — as a result of the general reform effort, and of the impact of European influence, which aimed at improvement in municipal services to facilitate their commercial activity under secure and sanitary conditions.<sup>469</sup> In İzmir, too, native and European merchants initiated for the foundation of the municipality,<sup>470</sup> and in 1868 the Municipality of İzmir was founded<sup>471</sup> by depending on the 1864 General Provincial Reform Law, before the issue of the 1877 Municipality Law.<sup>472</sup>

### **Economic Reforms**

Mahmud II was very well aware of that a modern army was not enough to control the large Ottoman domains. The new army cost money on an unprecedented scale. The necessary revenue was supposed to be gathered through more efficient taxation system, which required effectively working central bureaucracy. New education system was also needed to provide efficient cadres for the new army and administrative structure.<sup>473</sup> In order to achieve effective centralization, Mahmud II not only obtained the support of the *ulema*, but also curbed its power: he brought the holdings of the religious foundations (*evkaf*) under the government control by establishing a separate directorate (later ministry) of religious foundations and he turned *ulema* into a hierarchy headed by *şeyh ül islam*.<sup>474</sup> He provided centralizing control over *ulema* as a

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<sup>468</sup> Ortaylı, 2000, p. 123.

<sup>469</sup> Ortaylı, 1985, 111-12; Ortaylı, 2000, p. 123.

<sup>470</sup> Ortaylı, 2000 p. 123,

<sup>471</sup> Erkan Serçe, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e İzmir'de Belediye 1868-1945 [Municipality in İzmir, from the Tanzimat to the Republic 1868-1945]*, (İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları, 1998) 56.

<sup>472</sup> Ortaylı, 1971, pp. 295-296; Ortaylı, 1985, pp. 52-53.

<sup>473</sup> Zürcher, 1993, p. 41; Davison, 1963, pp. 6-7; Shaw & Kural Shaw, 1977, p. 35.

<sup>474</sup> Zürcher, 1993, p. 42.

religious institution, as he did with the army. Hence, he directed *vakıf* revenues, which was the main source of the income of *ulema* in pre-Tanzimat, to the treasury of the state.

From 1826 onwards the center attempted to increase state income basically in order to support military reforms.<sup>475</sup> The decline of the cavalry (*sipahi*) and replacement of the *timar* system with “tax farming” system (*iltizam*) were considered as the main causes of the Ottoman weakness. Mahmud II abolished the remnants of the old military fief (*timar* system) and cavalry (*sipahi*) in 1831.<sup>476</sup> In economic terms, the 1839 imperial edict, as the continuation of the policy of Mahmud II, abolished the tax farming system controlled by semi-independent tax farmers (*mültezims*) in order to provide direct taxation and effective central control.<sup>477</sup> Therefore, semi-independent tax farmers or *iltizam* holders (*mültezim*) were replaced by salaried tax collectors (*muhassıl*). The Ottoman center appointed them and they supposed to return all the collected taxes to state treasury.<sup>478</sup> Whereas, implementation of this system became a problem in the country side, since both there were no enough educated bureaucrats to be appointed as *muhassıl* and the available ones were not willing to become *muhassıl*, because it was not very profitable.<sup>479</sup> The state treasury revenues decreased already sharply between 1839-1840 and 1841 both because of the inability in the collection of taxes and the already ended destructive war with

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<sup>475</sup> More and more revenue was diverted to the treasury created for the army (*mansure hazinesi*) by the revenues of tax farms. Religious foundations were also brought under the government control, and new taxes were introduced with this purpose, like 'holy war taxes', (*rüşümat-ı cihadiyye*). The basic idea in the Ottoman Reforms was to increase government income to initiate military reform. For this aim, initially, Selim III formed the "New Treasury," (1793), *İrad-ı Cedid* - in addition to the Old Treasury- to finance Nizam-ı Cedid Army through controlling tax farms which used to be controlled by the Old Treasury. J Shaw and Kural Shaw, 1977, pp. 20, 37, 42-43.

<sup>476</sup> Lewis, 1961, pp. 89-90.

<sup>477</sup> "Tax assessment is also one of the most important matters to regulate. A state, for the defense of its territory, manifestly needs to maintain an army and provide other services, the costs of which can be defrayed only by taxes levied on its subjects. Although thank God, our Empire had already been relieved of the affliction of monopolies, he harmful practice of tax farming (*iltizam*), which never yielded any fruitful results, still prevails. This amounts to handing over the financial and political affairs of a country to the whims of an ordinary man and perhaps to the grasp of force and oppression, for if the tax farmer is not of good character he will be interested only his own profit and will behave oppressively. It is therefore necessary that from now on every subject of the Empire should be taxed according to his fortune and his means, and that he should be saved from and further exaction. It is also necessary that special laws should fix and limit the expenses of our land and sea forces." Hurewitz, 1975, p. 270.

<sup>478</sup> Shaw, 1992, p. 33, "The nineteenth Century Ottoman Tax Reforms and Revenue System," *IJMES*, v.6, 1-4, 1975, p. 422; İnalçık, 1964b, pp. 625-626; Ortaylı, 2000, p.32.

<sup>479</sup> Shaw, 1975, p. 422.

Mehmed Ali Pasha of Egypt.<sup>480</sup> Moreover, when the *iltizam* system was abolished the financial system of the Empire became into chaos. Mustafa Reşit Pasha's measures to cope with this financial crisis annoyed self-interested groups, like *mültezims*, *voyvodas* and *sarrafs* that their income and exploiting ways were closed by the abolishment of *iltizam* system. Benefiting from this chaos in the system and financial crisis, opponents of Mustafa Reşid Pasha played crucial role in manipulating the sultan to dismiss the Mustafa Reşid Paşa.<sup>481</sup> As a result, state had to restore the old *iltizam*, tax farming system, by giving two years permission for the collection of the taxes in the specific *mukata'as* to those who promised for the highest amount return to the state.<sup>482</sup> Since *muhassıls* were working independent of each other, it took very long time to return the taxes to the treasury. Moreover, *muhassıls* were selected from the people who were close to old *mültezims*. Hence, both old *mültezims*, land owners and *muhassıls* acted in cooperation and favoured their self interests. They did not obeyed to the rule of law in collection of the taxes.<sup>483</sup> Hence, the *muhassıllık* system, which was designated in the Gülhane Rescript to find a solution to the problems of the *iltizam* system, had to be removed.<sup>484</sup> Since the state could not succeed to eliminate the old tax farming system, it had to re-stress the abolition of it and direct taxation methods in 1856 edict, like the abolition of bribery and other abuses.<sup>485</sup> Indeed, the basic purpose of the Tanzimat regulations about the taxation was declared prior to the 1839 edict. An imperial order stated in 1828 the abolition of the all traditional taxes imposed in the name of sharia, with the exception of the sheep tax (*ağnam resmi*) and the head tax of the non-Muslims

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<sup>480</sup> İnalçık, 1964b, 637; Çadircı, 1991, p. 210.

<sup>481</sup> İnalçık, 1964b, pp. 632, 637.

<sup>482</sup> Shaw, 1975, p. 422.

<sup>483</sup> Çadircı, 1991, pp. 210-211; İnalçık, 1964b, p. 630.

<sup>484</sup> Shaw, 1975, pp. 422-423; Çadircı, 1991, p. 211; Ortaylı, 2000, pp. 32-33.

<sup>485</sup> "...The taxes are to be levied under the same denomination from all the subjects of my empire, without distinction of class or of religion. The most prompt and energetic means for remedying the abuses in collecting the taxes, and especially the tithes, shall be considered. The system of direct collections shall, gradually, and as soon as possible, be substituted for the plan of farming, in all the branches of the revenues of the state. As long as the present system remains in force all agents of the government and all members of the *meclis* shall be forbidden under the severest penalties...", "Islahat Fermanı, 18 February 1856," in Hurewitz, 1975, p. 318.

(*cizye*).<sup>486</sup> The regulation about the head tax was a significant point in the tax reform that the non-Muslims were most interested in. The head tax was imposed on the non-Muslims of the Empire in accordance with the *zimmi* pact of Islamic law for their protection. In the traditional system of collection of the head tax, the tax farmers (*mültezim*) or collector of head taxes (*cizyedar*) performed this duty. However, they were taking additional illegal taxes under various names. Therefore, with the promulgation of Tanzimat, the collection of the head tax was organized according to *maktu'* system: The amount of the tax was to be determined by the state, and sent to the *muhassıls*, who would inform *kocabaş* to collect this amount. This amount was classified into three types –rich, intermediate, poor (*a'la*, *evsat*, *edna*)– according to the ability to pay and wealth.<sup>487</sup> Hence, non-elimination of the head tax was the point that was criticized most by the European states, regarding the equality of the non-Muslims in all spheres. Finally, the Ottoman state declared the abolishment of the head tax completely in the 1856 reform edict. Thus, non-Muslim subjects became eligible for the military service, and the state replaced it with exemption tax of military service (*bedel-i askeri*).<sup>488</sup>

Registration of different taxes under the name of *temettü* or profit tax was another reorganization of the Tanzimat. Merchants and artisans were subjected to *temettü* tax according to their ability to pay. *Muhassıls* were responsible to collect it.<sup>489</sup> Only head of the households and male members of their family were registered in the *temettü* notebooks. They include detailed demographic information of the given town –number of household and children, type of the professions– and number and value of the real estates, like agricultural land, gardens, animals, houses and shops, and the amount of the tax paid by each household.<sup>490</sup> The inability to implement the financial measures of the Gülhane Rescript shows the lack of qualified

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<sup>486</sup> Shaw, 1975, p. 422.

<sup>487</sup> İnalçık, 1964b, p. 631.

<sup>488</sup> Ibid., p. 632; Lewis, 1961, p. 114; Davison, 1963, p. 53.

<sup>489</sup> Mübahat Kütükoğlu, "Osmanlı Sosyal ve İktisadi Tarihi Kaynaklarından Temettü Defterleri," *Bellekten*, v.225, n. 59, 1995, pp. 394, 397; Shaw, 1975, p. 422.

<sup>490</sup> Kütükoğlu, 1995.

bureaucrats and the power of the well-entrenched traditional institutions of the Empire. As a result, none of the new regulations could be the cure for the economic crisis of the Empire which reached its peak after the Crimean War (1853-1856).

## Social Reforms

In roughly speaking, there were basically four *millet*s in the Ottoman Empire defined according to their religious affiliations: the Orthodox Christian, Latin Catholic, Jewish and Muslim, and Protestant after 1837. Broadly speaking, *millet* meant a religiously defined people. The usage of the term *millet* is a well debated subject in the Ottoman historiography: whether the term *millet* denotes an autonomous protected community of the non-Muslim Ottoman communities, *dhimmis* or *zimmi*s, in all periods of the Ottoman Empire or not. Scholarly studies<sup>491</sup> demonstrated that term *millet* prior to the reform era of the Tanzimat-1839, was very rarely and unusually used to refer to the non-Muslims, but the term *millet* meant all religiously defined communities including the Muslims.<sup>492</sup> The term *millet* started to be referred to the non-Muslims in the official language of the Ottoman Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the reforming decrees of Mahmud II and Abdülmecid.<sup>493</sup> The *millet* system emphasized the universality of the faith and replaced ethnic and language differences without destroying them.<sup>494</sup> The *millet* system

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<sup>491</sup> Braude, 1982, pp. 69-88; Paraskevas Konartas, "From Taife to Millet: Ottoman Terms for the Ottoman Greek Orthodox Greek Community," in *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism* eds. Charles Issawi and Dimitri Gondicas, (The Darwin Press: Princeton, New Jersey, 1999) 169-179; Amnon Cohen, "On the Realities of the Millet System," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, v. I, in Braude and Lewis, v. II, 1982, pp. 7-19; Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: the roots of Sectarianism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2001; Kemal Karpat, *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State. From Social Estates to Classes, From Millets to Nations*, (Princeton: The Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University) 1973; Roderic Davison, "Nationalism as an Ottoman Problem and the Ottoman Response" in *Nationalism in a Non-National State*, eds. W.W. Haddad and W. Ochsenwald (Columbus, 1977).

<sup>492</sup> In the pre-Tanzimat period Ottoman documents, during the first period the Ottoman rule they were called *taifes* (groups), *Nasrani* (Nazoreans means Christians) in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, *Kefere* (means infidels) 16<sup>th</sup> -17<sup>th</sup> centuries, which transformed into *Rum milleti* in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Konartas, 1999; Braude, 1982; Masters, 2001.

<sup>493</sup> Braude, 1982, p. 73.

<sup>494</sup> Karpat, 1982, p. 143.

was a socio-cultural and communal framework, firstly, based on religion and secondly, on ethnicity which reflected linguistic differences. Religion supplied each community with a universal belief system, while ethnic and linguistic differences provided for divisions and subdivisions. Thus, the close affinity between religion and ethnicity was the landmark of the group identity in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>495</sup> Ironically, in spite of the attempts to create a sense of Ottomanism, Orthodox and non-Orthodox Christians all came to recognize their ethnic-cultural-linguistic differences as their differentiating identities. The relationship between ethnicity and religion was highly fluid in the Ottoman Empire, that religious identity itself becomes ethnicized.<sup>496</sup> In the pre-Tanzimat old *millet* system, social structure depended on unexpressed differentiation in terms of Muslim and non-Muslim communities.<sup>497</sup> This differentiation in the Ottoman society in the pre-Tanzimat era was maintained through various mechanisms.<sup>498</sup> The common Muslim view of the non-Muslims can be summed up with the term "infidel" (*gavur*), which implied the Muslim superiority.<sup>499</sup> However, the usage of this derogatory epithet for the non-Muslims were forbidden long before the Tanzimat era: At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, some Ottoman statesmen had realized the importance of satisfying some demands of the Christians to prevent the revolts, that was mentioned in the memorandum (*layiha*) of Kadiasker Tatarcık Abdullah Efendi to Selim III. In this *layiha* besides the need for the military reform, he also

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<sup>495</sup> Ibid, p. 142.

<sup>496</sup> Roshweld, 2001, pp. 28-33.

<sup>497</sup> This system of differentiation did not mean that Muslim subjects of the Empire lived apart in sharply divided and mutually impenetrable spatial areas, unlike Eurocentric historiography of the Ottoman Empire argued. For the urban organization of İzmir city see section 2.2. For example, Bernard Lewis noted that one of the main characteristics of the Turkish Islam was the strict social segregation. Although the Ottoman Empire was tolerant towards its Jewish and Christian communities, in accordance with the Islamic law, it favoured social segregation of the non-Muslim communities from the Muslims. Non-Muslims were unable to mix with the Muslims. Bernard Lewis, 1961, pp. 14-15.

<sup>498</sup> Clothing law was applied, by which religious community had to wear different attire with different color and had its own court, judge and legal principles. Muslim court remained superior to their courts, since Islam as a religion was accepted superior to Christianity. And, Christian testimony was not accepted against a Muslim in the Islamic court, they were not allowed to carry guns and to ride horse among the Muslims, which were formally abolished by the 1839 and 1856 charters. In the pre-Tanzimat era, non-Muslims were seen as second class people in that their religion was accepted inferior to Islam, since it had only partial revelation of the divine rule. Another reason for their subordinate position was that they were the conquered people in the Ottoman land. Davison, 1990, p. 120; Davison, 1963, p. 65.

<sup>499</sup> Davison, 1990, p. 120.

commented on the social unrest of the non-Muslim subjects of the empire.<sup>500</sup> Moreover, in 1804, Mustafa Alemdar Pasha, who held an influential political power in the Ottoman Empire between the reign of Selim III and early days of Mahmud II, forbid the use of the term *gavur* for the Christians, since any Christian served to the same God with the Muslims.<sup>501</sup> However, in legal terms, the 1839 *Gülhane* and the 1856 imperial rescripts were perceived then and now as proclamations of equality of Ottoman citizenship before the law.

The 1856 reform edict was more detailed in elaborating the principle of equality and announced complete abolition of the system of differentiation, *millet* system, and Muslim superiority. It not only reconfirmed promises of the 1839 edict on the equality of the non-Muslim subjects, but also attempted to provide a base for a common citizenship with the notion of Ottomanism for all people of the Empire regardless of religion and ethnicity.<sup>502</sup> As a result, development of autonomous confessional communities coexisted with the official policy of egalitarian Ottomanism and centralization so that a new period began in the Ottoman Empire. In addition to İzmir, some other Ottoman cities, like Beirut, Aleppo, Tripoli, and Thessaloniki also underwent significant transformations during the Tanzimat and Hamidian periods. As this study will demonstrate, İzmir had strong relations with the center during the Tanzimat period; interactive communal relations and urban locality of the city were consolidated during the centralizing reforms. Intercommunal relations in the special setting of İzmir in the Tanzimat were just as important to the city's development as the question of center-periphery politics. The Porte attempted to integrate its peripheries into the center in the Tanzimat period. The nature of the relation between the center and periphery, and the influence of the Tanzimat reforms on İzmir's multi-ethno-religious society will be examined in the following chapter, after a brief description of the impact of the Greek revolt on urban life.

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<sup>500</sup> Safrastjan, 1988, p. 73.

<sup>501</sup> Ibid., pp. 73-74.

<sup>502</sup> Davison, 1963, p. 56.



## Chapter 4. The Greek Revolt and Change

### The Impact of the Greek Revolt

The Ottoman Empire was confronted by many external and internal problems during the Greek revolt (1821-1830): the invasion of Egypt by Napoleon in 1798, which was followed by Mehmed Ali Pasha's semi-independent rule and successful reforms in Egypt; later, the threat of Mehmed Ali Pasha to occupy the capital and inner Anatolia; growing Wahabbi power in Arabia; the Serbian revolt (1805), which ended with semi-autonomy of Serbia, then full autonomy of Serbia (1830);<sup>503</sup> and the recurrent wars with Russia (1768-74, 1787-1792, 1806-12, 1828-29 ), the Eastern Question (how to share dissolving Ottoman Empire among the big Western powers and Russia); growing political and economic power of land notables (*ayan*), which was a clear indication of the weakness of the central authority; and finally the collapse of the Ottoman economy which manifested itself by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. When came to the throne, sultan Mahmud II (r.1808-1839) inherited all these problems. The immediate aim of the Sultan was to restore centralization to provide social order and prevent territorial losses of the empire. The first step in this process was to nullify the "Document of Agreement" (*Sened-i İttifak*) of 1808, which was ratified by the Ottoman state -not Sultan in person- and local land notables. *Sened-i İttifak* was a significant document that for the first time a group outside bureaucracy demanded restrictive power over the authority of the Ottoman sultan. In the document, local notables expressed their loyalty to the sultan and support for military reforms, and promised to defend him against any rebellion. However, both parties also agreed that the taxes would be justly

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<sup>503</sup> Before the Greek revolt of 1821, the Serbian revolt broke out in 1804 against the oppression of the Janissaries during the reign of Selim III (1789-1807). Especially, the massacre of Serbian notables by the Janissaries led to a reaction in the province and echoed in Europe. When Mahmud II mounted the throne, the Serbian forces were able to maintain control of the Serbian countryside. In 1815 Mahmud II issued a *ferman* confirming the semi-autonomy of Serbia. Full autonomy was reached during the reign of Mahmud II as well, in 1830, through continual Russian diplomatic pressure on the Porte as the protector of the entire Orthodox Christian subjects of the Empire since the 1774 Küçük Kaynarca Treaty. Roderic Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963) 25; Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey, A Modern History*, (London, New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 1993), pp. 33-41.

imposed by the state and collected by the local notables.<sup>504</sup> As it will be discussed in the below, another immediate action of Mahmud II was to re-store social order through providing loyalty of Orthodox Christians in the Balkans. In this context, the Greek revolt (1821-1830) played a crucial role in the political transformation of the Ottoman Empire. It negatively affected state's perception of its non-Muslim subjects. It caused Mahmud II to establish strict categories of loyal and disloyal subjects in his mind, and the elimination of disloyalty became the main aim of the Sultan. Moreover, this caused also to the mobilization of the Muslim public opinion against the disloyal subjects<sup>505</sup> and shaped the nature of the centralizing Ottoman reforms. However, in evaluating Mahmud II's reaction against the Greek revolt, in the first place, the social statuses of the non-Muslim subjects in the Ottoman Empire should be considered. It was organized by the principle of Islamic doctrine: In social terms, Ottoman community was made up according to Muslim and non-Muslim division. In this system Muslims were privileged and non-Muslims were protected subjects of the Empire as people of the book, *zimmis*.<sup>506</sup> Before the Tanzimat (1839-1876) the social structure of the Ottoman Empire depended on the *millet*<sup>507</sup> (community) system in which non-Muslims or *zimmis* were considered as religiously defined members of a

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<sup>504</sup> Halil İnalçık, "Sened-i İttifak ve Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu," *Belleten* XXVIII:112, pp. 603-621, 1964a, pp. 604-606; Zürcher, 1993, p. 31. İnalçık stated that when Mahmud II eliminated local notables and invalidated the Document of Agreement, there was not any power to restrict his authority that a period of autocracy had began. However, according to İnalçık, if Mahmud II did not restore political power in his hands, this would lead to division of Anatolia under separate local Muslim principalities as it happened in the 14th century, therefore Mahmud II's centralized and authoritarian attitude prevented to abolish the Turkish unity in Anatolia. Halil İnalçık, 1964a, p. 608-609.

<sup>505</sup> Hakan Erdem, " 'Do Not Think of the Greeks as Agricultural Labourers': Ottoman Responses to the Greek War of Independence," in *Citizenship and the Nation-State in Greece and Turkey*, eds Thalia G. Dragonas and Faruk Birtek, (London: Routledge, 2005) 75-78.

<sup>506</sup> Ottoman Empire inherited concept of *dhimma* from Islamic doctrine and applied it to its non-Muslim subjects. In the Ottoman Empire non-Muslims were regarded as "the people of the book", who received revelation of God before prophet Muhammed. Thus, they have God's message and religion but incompletely, therefore they are inherently inferior to Muslims.

<sup>507</sup> About the definition and usage of the term *millet* there are various views in the Ottoman scholarship, Benjamin Braude discuss these arguments in his "Foundation Myths of the Millet System" in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, (New York, London: Holmes & Miller Publishers Inc. 1982). He argues that the term *millet* prior to 1889 is very rarely and unusually used to refer to non-Muslims. In his study on registers and dictionaries of the period before the 19<sup>th</sup> century the terms *millet* did not occur to mean non-Muslims. The term *millet* which referred to non-Muslims started to be used in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the official language of the Ottoman Empire. Braude, 1982, p. 73. In this very preliminary summary, the term *millet* will be used to refer to the non-Muslim communities of the Ottoman Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

community, but not as individuals.<sup>508</sup> Having largely depended on tolerance and protection of the non-Muslim subjects, the *millet* system granted them autonomy in their private matters.<sup>509</sup> It was the sultan's traditional main duty to preserve order, *nizam*, and to prevent disorder by using every possible means. According to the Ottoman sultan, the rebellious Ottoman Greeks in Morea abolished the *zimmi* pact, which regulated their relationship with the state since 15<sup>th</sup> century. In this Ottoman ideology, neither the Serbian revolt (1804) nor or the Greek revolt in Morea and Aegean islands (1821) could not be tolerated. Furthermore, not only non-Muslims' revolt, but also any kind of revolt including the Muslims' cannot be tolerated in the empire. The suppression of revolts of the Kurds, Albanians, and Arabs in the 1840s is a good indication of the sultan's firm attitude in the face of a revolt.<sup>510</sup>

The Greek revolt became an international issue among the European states and resulted in the foundation of an independent Greek Kingdom in 1830 with the support of Britain, France and Russia. The first Greek revolt, which was initiated by the leadership of Alexander Ipsilanti, broke out in Walachia and Moldavia in 6 March 1821, and it was suppressed.<sup>511</sup> But, the organized Greek revolt in Morea officially began in 17 March 1821, and spread to the Aegean islands -Cyprus, Chios, Samos, İstanköy- and Crete as well.<sup>512</sup> The coastline of western Anatolia became open to the attacks of Greek bandit ships (*eşkiya tekneleri*, which were called as *izbandit*

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<sup>508</sup> Braude, 1982, p. 69.

<sup>509</sup> Lewis, 1961, p. 105.

<sup>510</sup> Virginia H. Aksan, *Ottoman Wars 1700-1870, an Empire Besieged*, (Harlow, England: Longman, 2007) pp. 385-377, 418-20, 366-67.

<sup>511</sup> Stanford & Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, v.2, (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977) 17; Mübahat Kütükoğlu, "Yunan İsyamı Sırasında Anadolu ve Adalar Rumlarının Tutumları ve Sonuçları," in *Tarih Boyunca Türk-Yunan İlişkileri, Üçüncü Askeri Tarih Semineri Bildiriler*, (Ankara: Genel Kurmay Basımevi, 1986), 133; Zeki Arıkan, "Ayvalık İsyamı," *Belleten*, v. 52, n. 203, 1988, pp. 574-575. Before Hakan Erdem's study about the Greek revolt, "Do Not Think of the Greeks as Agricultural Labourers': Ottoman Responses to the Greek War of Independence," in *Citizenship and the Nation-State in Greece and Turkey*, eds Thalia G. Dragonas and Faruk Birtek, (London: Routledge, 2005) 67-84. Mübahat Kütükoğlu in 1986 and Zeki Arıkan in 1988 dealt with the issue of the Greek revolt through largely exploring Ottoman archives. Mübahat Kütükoğlu, specifically uncovered the policies of Mahmud II during the revolt in the Western Anatolia and the Aegean islands through *Hatt-ı Hümayuns*, *hüküms* ("imperial orders") in *Mühimme Notebooks* and *Maliyeden Müdever Defterler*, and *tezkires* ("memorial") in *Cevdet Maliye* classifications in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives in İstanbul.

<sup>512</sup> Kütükoğlu, 1986, pp. 133-161.

in the documents).<sup>513</sup> Attacking the coastline of western Anatolia, they killed Muslims, and attempted to instigate Ottoman Greeks to rebel and support the revolt in Morea.<sup>514</sup> This threatened the general order in the Empire, especially in the areas where Greek subjects mostly settled. The harsh reaction of the Ottoman state against Greek rebels, especially massacres of the civilian population in Chios<sup>515</sup> shocked European states.<sup>516</sup> In Chios the metropolitans and representatives of villages, total 63 people, had been executed in the castle by obeying to the imperial rescript (*irade-i seniyye*).<sup>517</sup> In the following days 500 slaughtered heads and about 1000 ears were sent to the capital.<sup>518</sup> On 4 November 1821, the commander of Chios, Vahid Pasha, informed the Sultan about his victory over the infidels and wrote that “victorious soldiers had taken booty and slaves in quantities never seen and heard of before.”<sup>519</sup> Mahmud II perceived the Greek revolt as instigation (*fitne*) and a revolt against the state, instead of rising of an independent Christian nation.<sup>520</sup> According to the Ottoman Sultan, the Greek subjects violated the *zimmi* pact through which they lived in security in the Empire for centuries. Therefore, at the beginning of the revolt, state declared warfare and employed the traditional means of suppression, like the use of the Janissaries, killing of the rebels and confiscating their properties through issuing imperial orders. When first heard the Greek revolt, Mahmud II ordered the execution of the all Ottoman Greek subjects, so that the *fetva* of 24 Receb 1236 (26 April 1821) was issued. In the *fetva* it was mentioned that the principle of *harbi* (“warfare situation”) would be applied, that the rebels would be killed, their properties would be taken as booty, and women

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<sup>513</sup> Arıkan, 1988, p. 577

<sup>514</sup> Ibid., pp.577-578; Kütükoğlu, 1986, pp. 134-136.

<sup>515</sup> Kütükoğlu, 1986; Erdem, 2005.

<sup>516</sup> George Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, (London: George Eyre & William Spotwoode for HM Stationers Office, 1856) 144, 147; Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 68.

<sup>517</sup> Kütükoğlu, 1986, pp. 142. The list of the executed Greeks is available in the BOA, HH, n. 38209-A, 13 Şaban 1237 (5 Mayıs 1822), in *ibid.* FN. 58.

<sup>518</sup> Ibid., p. 143, HH, n. 38209-D, in *ibid.* FN. 59

<sup>519</sup> BOA, HH, n. 24277, 6 Safer 1237 (4 November 1821) in Erdem, 2005, p. 69.

<sup>520</sup> Virginia Aksan, “The Ottoman Military and State Transformation in a Globalizing World,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia and Middle East*, v.27, n.2, 2007, p. 26

and children would be considered as prisoners of war.<sup>521</sup> However, in a short time, some statesmen, the patriarch and some metropolitans interfered and convinced the Sultan to forgive the innocent Greek subjects so that an *irade* was issued stressing that no harm would be made to the innocent *reaya*.<sup>522</sup> However, the state not only punished rebels through executing them, confiscating their properties, exiling, but also took some precautions through gathering their guns and arms from their houses, controlling of the navigating ships through the Bosphorus regardless of their flags, and making compulsory for the Greeks to have a memorial (*tezkire*) to be able to travel within the Empire freely.<sup>523</sup> The first harsh reaction of the state against the Greek revolt was hanging the Patriarch Gregorios V on 10 April 1821, which was the Easter day of the Orthodox Christians.<sup>524</sup> This action also aimed to provide a warning example for all the Greek subjects of the Empire. Moreover, the death penalty was imposed on the rebels and on the ones who attempted to instigate the Greek community in all over the Empire. It was legalized in Islamic terms with the *fetva* of 24 Receb 1236 (26 April 1821).<sup>525</sup> The Greek subjects in the

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<sup>521</sup> Arıkan, 1988, p.576. “Rum taife-i şerifesinin hasabet encamları her taraftan davranub mazallahutaala millet-i Muhammediyeyi ayaklar altına almak ve ellerinden gelir ise külliye ortadan kaldurmak üzere müttehid ve müttefik oldukları şimdi tebeyün etmiş ve mukaddeme-i hıyanetleri bu vechle zuhur eylemiş olmaktan naşi bunca nan ve ni’mi saltanat-ı seniyyemle perverde olan ehl-i zimmet reayanın bu surete cesaretleri resm-i raiyete minküllil vücuh münafi ve o misüllü usat harbi kefere hükmünde olarak haklarında muamelesinin icrası lazım geldiği bedihi olduğuna mebni keyfiyet canib-i şeriat-ı garradan istifa olundukta biad-ı İslamiyye’den bir belde mütemekkin olan zimmiler itaatü’l-emirden bilkülliye huruç ve muharebeye tasaddi ve nice ehl-i İslami katl ile muharip oldukları zahir olsa ol taife hakkındaharbi ahkamı caiz olmağla taife-i mersume ile mukatele ve muharebe olunub emvalleri ganimet ve nisvan ve sebilleri seby ve istirkak şer’an caiz olur mu? El cevab: Olur, deyü fetva-yı şerife verilmiş ve mucibince ol makule isyan eden reayanın evlad ve iyalleri seby ve istirkak ile malları iğtinam olunması hususuna ruhsatı havi taraf evamir-i celile-i padişahanem neşr ve tısyar olunmuş olmağla bu vakit bir dakika ve bir an tevakkuf ve aram edecek günler olmadığını bilüb vusul-i emr-i şerifimde kangı mahalde bulunur isen heman der-an saat hareket ve iki konağı bir ederek bir an akdem ve bir dakika mukaddem...” BOA, *Mühimme Defteri*, n. 239, p. 47 quoted in Arıkan, 1988, p. 576, FN. 22..

<sup>522</sup> “Benim vezirim salb ve siyaset olunun papaslardan maada millet-i Rumdan bu fesadda methali olan saireleri dahi güzelce tecessüs olunarak siyaset olunub madde-i fesada vakıf olmayan esnaf ve aceze makulelerinin dahi alışverişleriyle meşgul olmaları için...”, BOA, *Hattı Hümayun* (HH) classification, n. 17530, quoted Zeki Arıkan, 1988, p. 576, FN. 23.

<sup>523</sup> Kütükoğlu, 1986, pp. 142-148.

<sup>524</sup> Orhan Türker, *Fanari’den Fener’e, Bir Haliç Hikayesi*, [From Phanari to Pahanar, A Story of The Golden Hore], (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2001) 30-34; Kütükoğlu, 1986, p. 142; Yüzel Özkaya, “1821 Yunan (Eflak-Buğdan) İsyancıları ve Avrupalıların İsyancı Karşısındaki Tutumları,” [1821 Greek, Wallachia and Moldavia revolts and The Attitudes of the Europeans Towards Them] in *Tarih Boyunca Türk-Yunan İlişkileri, Üçüncü Askeri Tarih Semineri Bildiriler*, [Turkish-Greek Relations Throughout History, Third Military Seminar Papers], (Ankara: Genel Kurmay Basımevi, 1986) 121-122.

<sup>525</sup> Kütükoğlu, 1986, p. 142.

governmental service, who were suspicious about supporting the revolt, were also killed, like the translator of the Porte, Yanko, his scribe, İstrefanaki, *çukadar*, and the moneychanger of the Imperial Mint (*Darbhane-i Amire ceyb-i hümayun sarrafi*).<sup>526</sup> The Egyptian commander Hüseyin Pasha executed some 400 and enslaved more than 3000 in Crete.<sup>527</sup> However, Grand Vezir Hacı Salih Pasha informed the Sultan about the illegal enslavement of the Greek subjects.<sup>528</sup> Not only in the rebellious regions, but also in the non-rebellious regions, such as Gelibolu and Çanakkale, the innocent harmless Greek subjects were exposed to illegal plundering and enslavement by the Ottoman soldiers. Condemnation of the Grand Vezir for illegal actions of the marines in Gelibolu and Çanakkale did not save harmless Ottoman Greeks.<sup>529</sup> Physical repression of the rebels was still continuing in 1826. In the same year the Governor General of Rumelia Reşid Mehmed Pasha wrote to the center that while most of the male were put to the sword, women and children were enslaved.<sup>530</sup> Implementing the physical repression, the state not only aimed to repress the revolt, but also to make the Ottoman Greeks to re-perceive and accept their statuses in the Empire as *zimmis*.<sup>531</sup> Nevertheless, Mahmud II could not understand the fact that some of the Greek subjects (*reaya*) did not want to become *zimmis* again.<sup>532</sup> It seems that Mahmud II could not realize historical background and intellectual reasons of the separatist movements of the Balkans, which were affected by the tenets of the French Revolution and Enlightenment.<sup>533</sup>

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<sup>526</sup> Ibid, pp. 142, 145.

<sup>527</sup> BOA, HH, n. 38285, 11 Rebiyy'ül-evvel 1239, (16 November 1823) in Erdem, 2005, p. 70, FN.7.

<sup>528</sup> Erdem, 2005, p. 70. The soldiers without title deeds called *pencik* were not allowed for taking slaves. These soldiers, who enslaved Greek subjects, had to prove to the state that they had paid the tax due and thus enslaved them legally. However this was not the case. Therefore, Hacı Salih Pasha attempted to interfere to cease the illegal enslavement of the Greek subjects, like taking the issue to the consultative consul and asking a *ferman* or *fetva* in order to prevent these illegal actions. Ibid.

<sup>529</sup> Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>530</sup> Ibid., p. 69, Reşid Mehmed's letter, FN. 5. Mehmed Reşid Pasha mentioned the number of the slain as 2750 in his detailed report. BOA, HH, n.38314, 21 Ramazan 1241-30 April 1826, in ibid, FN. 6.

<sup>531</sup> Erdem, 2005, p. 72.

<sup>532</sup> Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>533</sup> The main reason of the Balkan separatists movement was explained by the concepts of "national awakening" or "ethnic awakening" by Kemal Karpat. Kemal Karpat, *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in Ottoman State*, (Princeton: The Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, 1973), "Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, eds. B. Braude and B. Lewis, v. I, The Central Lands (New York and

He saw them as a *fitne* of the non-Muslims against the state that obeyed the *zimmi* pact for centuries in favor of the non-Muslims. One example for the perception of the Ottoman state of the Greek revolt is seen in an archival notebook titled with *Rum Fesadına Dair (1823)*, (“About the Greek Intrigue”). The name of the notebook alone, in fact, is a good clue of the perception of the Ottoman state of the Greek issue: it was malice" (*fesad*) towards the state and was not an independence war, as the Greeks called it. In this notebook, the Porte informed and strictly warned the local governors of the districts along the Aegean coastline about the possible attacks of the Greek bandits.<sup>534</sup> It also ordered that new military recruits should be made from Rumelia and Aydın Province, because the available Ottoman soldiers rebelled in Chios Island, even though their salaries were paid.<sup>535</sup>

Although it was difficult to differentiate the loyal and disloyal Greeks in the Empire, there was no unity among the Greeks of the Empire regarding their approach to the Greek revolt in Morea. Mahmud II dismissed almost all the Greeks from bureaucracy. This facilitated the rise of Armenians in bureaucracy.<sup>536</sup> However, some prominent Greek families continued to establish themselves in influential positions as civil servants and diplomats.<sup>537</sup> As the Greek revolt could not be suppressed efficiently and European states began to intervene in favor of the foundation of an independent Greek state, Mahmud II issued a manifesto in 1827 to the all diplomatic

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London: Holmes and Meier, 1983) 141-169. According to Paschalis Kitromilides it was not an ‘awakening’ but “cultivation of ethnic consciousness” in that the Greek intelligentsia cultivated ethnic consciousness, which gained national character by the formation of modern state. Paschalis Kitromilides, "Imagined Communities and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans," *European History Quarterly*, n. 19, 1989, 160. Roderic Davison also explains the motives behind the "Balkan separatist movements through assumptions of modern nationalism. According to Davison, those movements had a national ferment in it, which could not be comprehended by the Ottoman sultans. Roderic Davison, "Nationalism in a non-National State," in *Nationalism in a Non-National State* eds. W. Addad and W. Ochsenwald (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1977) 38.

<sup>534</sup> Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), *Rum Fesadı'na Dair, 7.9.1823-31.1.1824*, Ayniyat Defterleri, n. 1713, pp., 62, 91, 82. In this notebook, which was written before the Tanzimat, we see that the state freely used the term *gavur* for the Greek rebellions.

<sup>535</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62. The usage of the terms *eşkiya*, “brigands,” and *eterya* “committees” can also be seen in some other official state documents in the 1850s in the Irade-Hariciye section of the Basbakanlik Osmanli Arsivi. Ortaylı, 1999, p. 165, FN. 17.

<sup>536</sup> Charles Issawi, “Introduction,” in *Greeks in the Age of Nationalism*, eds. Charles Issawi & Dimitri Gondicas, (Princeton, New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1999) p. 3.

<sup>537</sup> Alexis Alexandris, *The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek and Turkish Relations 1918-1974*, Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992) 28.

representatives rejecting any kind of international intervention or mediation, and stressed the Ottoman concept of sovereignty.<sup>538</sup> After Navarin defeat of the Ottomans (20 October 1827), before the beginning of the war with Russia, Mahmud II declared *cihad* (“holy war”) on 20 December 1827 to justify another war with Russia.<sup>539</sup> Moreover, he also wanted to provide support of the Muslims in every possible term by accentuating *cihad* as being obligation for all of them. He called all the Muslims to “unite their hearts for the sake of *cihad* and *gaza*.”<sup>540</sup> This declaration of *cihad* attempted to provide sense of “us” as Muslims against disloyal non-Muslims.<sup>541</sup>

As a result, the Greek revolt affected the Ottoman political thought, which was reflected in the 1839 imperial edict. The 1839 reform edict was prepared basically by Ottoman *ulema* and to some extent by the involvement of Ottoman bureaucrats during the reign of Mahmud II. It stressed the Ottoman concept of sovereignty by depending on the significance of returning to original sharia principles. The sensibility of Mahmud II about sovereignty of the Ottoman sultan was reflected itself in the 1839 edict. Being under the influence of the non-Muslim revolts in the Balkans, Mahmud II not only obsessed with the enforcement of the absolute central authority of the Ottoman sultan through foundation of a new army, but also developed a suspicious attitude towards the non-Muslim subjects of the Empire. This Christian disloyalty resulted in reassertion of Ottoman-Muslim absolutism under the rule of Mahmud II. He began to replace both military and administrative cadres with Turkish-Muslims.<sup>542</sup>

Further to this point of the perception of the Ottoman Greeks by the state, we should consider the background of the impact of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddi lodges (*tekkes*) upon the ruling elite and the growing impact of Sunni-Orthodox trend on the Ottoman sultans in the 19<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>538</sup> Ibid.

<sup>539</sup> Aksan, “The Ottoman Military and State Transformation in a Globalizing World,” 2007, p. 15.

<sup>540</sup> BOA, Hattı Hümayun, n. 51356, 1240-1828 in Erdem, 2005, p. 77, FN. 27.

<sup>541</sup> Erdem, 2005, pp. 81-82.

<sup>542</sup> Aksan, “The Ottoman Military and State Transformation in a Globalizing World,” 2007, pp.14, 19, 30.



century.<sup>543</sup> For example, the Bektashis did not commit any act to require their abolishment because of the long association with the Janissaries. Hence, the impact of the Sunni-Orthodox trend and its great influence on government circles should be considered in examining the development of the intolerant attitude of the Ottoman state both towards the Bektashis and non-Muslims.<sup>544</sup> Growing influence of the Sunni-Orthodox trend might be considered as one of the factors which shaped the mentality of the Ottoman sultans and public aftermath of the Greek revolt.

The measures of Mahmud II were the sign of culmination of the old order, in which Christian and heterodox beliefs were tolerated. Bektashi order was an influential element in the Ottoman state till the revolt broke out. The Greek revolt provided the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi orders with good opportunity in order to penetrate into administrative mechanism.<sup>545</sup> Hence, when the atrocities conducted by the Greeks against the Muslims in Morea during the Greek revolt, the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi orders of the Sunni Orthodox Islam turned out to be right in nullifying the liberal and tolerant attitude of the Bektashi order towards the non-Muslims.<sup>546</sup> In other words, these atrocities provided justification for the intolerant and stern attitude of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi orders towards the non-Muslims and Bektashis in the Empire.<sup>547</sup>

Even though the Naqshbandi and Mujaddidi orders influenced policies of the Sultan towards the non-Muslims, Mahmud II showed some attempts to treat non-Muslim subjects equally within a few years during the Greek revolt. This reconciling attitude of Mahmud II

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<sup>543</sup> The impact of the Orthodox Sunni Islam spread from India to the Ottoman lands by the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi orders towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Butrus Abu Manneh, "The Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi and the Bektashi Orders in 1826," in *Studies on Islam and the Ottoman Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, 1826-1976*, (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2001) 70.

<sup>544</sup> Butrus Abu Manneh, "The Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi and the Bektashi Orders in 1826," in *Studies on Islam and the Ottoman Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, 1826-1976*, (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2001).

<sup>545</sup> Naqshbandi order was strictly orthodox, which followed sharia in performing Islamic duties. Abu Manneh, 2001, p. 70.

<sup>546</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67. Bektashi order was not only a heterodox order with a strong shi'i tendency, but also incorporated certain shamanistic and Christian beliefs. It did not follow strictly the sharia rules, in contrast to Naqshbandis. Therefore, the Bektashi order was regarded as the source of corruption and weakness for the Ottoman state and Muslim community by the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order. *Ibid.* p. 70.

<sup>547</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

towards Christians in the years following the revolt seems to be ironic when his well known cruelty towards Christian groups (his deportation of a group of Armenians in 1828, his hanging the Greek patriarch,<sup>548</sup> and Chios massacres) is considered. During his trips to the Balkans, he expressed equality of all of his subjects and underlined the necessity to treat Muslims and non-Muslims in equal terms.<sup>549</sup> In one of his public tours he stated that “it is our wish to ensure the peace and security of all inhabitants of our God-protected great states, both Muslim and *reaya*,” he reportedly said to mixed Muslim and non-Muslim audiences in the Balkans.<sup>550</sup> On another occasion, he was heard to refer to his subjects as his children whom he treated equally, “the only difference perceived among them being of a purely religious nature.”<sup>551</sup> And, in Shumla (Şumnu), he said that “Your faith is different, but all of you equally guard the law and my Emperor’s will. Pay the taxes I charge you with; they are employed to ensure your safety and welfare.”<sup>552</sup> While promising equality to all his subjects, Mahmud II treated them unfair in some specific points: He made his cash donations during his voyages and visits at the mosques and mausoleums according to the religious lines, that the Ottoman Muslims received the highest amount, the Greeks and Armenians and Jews followed them. Similarly, he made his cash endowments for schools in the capital, according to the same religious segregation.<sup>553</sup> Similarly, when he called the representatives from all provinces to the capital to hear their suggestions, while he met all the expenses of the Muslim representatives, Christians received only half of the amount of the Muslims.<sup>554</sup>

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<sup>548</sup> Harold Temperly, F.B.A., *The Crimea, England and Near East*, (London: Frank Cass and Company Ltd., 1964) 22.

<sup>549</sup> Davison, 1963, p. 27, "Christian-Muslim Equality," in *Essays in Ottoman and Turkish History 1774-1923* (Austin: University of Texas Press: 1990) 114.

<sup>550</sup> Reşat Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Tanzimat* [Mustafa Reshit Pasha and Tanzimat], (Ankara, 1954) 14-15; Safrastjan, 1988, pp. 74-75.

<sup>551</sup> Ibid.

<sup>552</sup> Cited in Safrastjan, 1988, p. 75, FN. 7.

<sup>553</sup> Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, (New York: Oxford UP, 1996) 114.

<sup>554</sup> Ibid.

In spite of the Sunni-Orthodox influence on the Ottoman sultans and negative reputations of the Greek subjects, the successors of Mahmud II continued to employ Ottoman Greeks in their private service as advisors, private tutors, doctors or diplomats in the following years of Mahmud II's death. The well-known influential Constantinopolitan Greek families in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were those of Mousouros, Aristarchis, Karathedoris and Vorgoridis. For example, Nicholas (1799-1866), Miltadis (1809-1993) and John Aristarchis (1811-1897) could gain access to governmental posts, despite the execution of their father, Stavros Aristarchis (1770-1822), who was the last dragoman of the Porte during the Greek revolt. Nicholas Aristarchis was the private tutor of the sultans, Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz. Miltadis Aristarchis became governor of Samos between 1861 and 1866. John Aristarchis had a distinguished place as a senior diplomat in the Porte. He worked for fifty years mainly as the Ottoman ambassador to Berlin. Other Ottoman Greek diplomat Alexander Karatheodoris (1833-1906) was Abdulhamid II's advisor to foreign affairs. He was ambassador to Rome in 1874, and in 1876 became undersecretary in the ministry of foreign affairs. In the Berlin Congress (1878) he showed an outstanding performance to protect Ottoman benefits. He also served as governor of Samos from 1885 to 1895, then became the first Christian governor of Crete (1895-1896). His father Stephan Karatheodoris was personal physician of the sultans, Mahmud II and Abdülmecid. Another influential Ottoman Greek diplomat was Constantine Mousouros. He served as an Ottoman ambassador to the Greek Kingdom (1840-1848). He strongly defended Ottoman benefits during his post so much so that he cut off the diplomatic relations with the Greek Kingdom in 1847 when the interests of the Empire were threatened. John Photiadis, another Constantinopolitan Greek, served as Ottoman ambassador to Athens during the Crete crisis. He left Athens to protest the Greek position on Crete in 1868. Constantine Mousouros served as ambassador to London between 1856 and 1891, and was succeeded by Constantine Anthopoulos (1891-1902), and Stephen Mousouros (1902-

1907).<sup>555</sup> These examples indicate that although the Ottoman Greeks were dismissed from the service of governmental jobs and army as the potential “disloyal” subjects of the Empire, they continued to be loyal individuals to the Ottoman sultans either in his personal service or in foreign affairs. For example, the nationality law of 1869 intended to form allegiance of non-Muslims first to the state, then to their specific communities or *millets*, but only non-Muslim diplomats could develop such allegiances by themselves before the initiation of the nationality law.<sup>556</sup> The loyal service of these Greek subjects in the Empire as diplomats indicates that they adapted the modern concept of allegiance to the state. Furthermore, during the reign of Mahmud II, the state attempted to initiate official policies as counter-measure to calm down Balkan separatist movements. For instance, the state’s grant of autonomy to the Samos Island in 1832 indicates a good example for such counter-measures to prevent further uprisings. Samos Island was named as *Sisam Emareti* in 1832 with a special concession decree (*imtiyaz fermanı*) and a native governor, *Sisam Beyi*, was appointed to the island.<sup>557</sup>

How did the Ottoman state treat İzmir Greeks during the Greek revolt? How did the revolt affect their social and economic position in the city? And, how did it affect the communal relations in İzmir? These questions should be discussed in order to understand the background of the social, cultural and economic dynamics of İzmir. This, in turn, would illuminate the nature of communal relations during the Ottoman reforms. As far as İzmir and its hinterland is concerned, neither the Greeks of İzmir attempted to initiate a separatist movement, like the Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgarians did in the Balkans, nor the Muslims in İzmir showed a hatred and aggressiveness towards non-Muslim subjects, like it happened in the Arab lands of the Empire in the 1860s.<sup>558</sup>

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<sup>555</sup> Alexandris, 1992, pp. 28-30.

<sup>556</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>557</sup> İlber Ortaylı, “Greeks in the Ottoman Administration,” in *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism*, eds. Dimitri Condicas & Charles Issawi, (Princeton, New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1999) 162.

<sup>558</sup> Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World, The Roots of Sectarianism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), ch.5; Usama Makdisi, *The Culture Of Sectarianism, Community, History, and*

However, as it will be mentioned in the below, suffice it to say here for now that a group of Ottoman Greeks in İzmir asked for settlement right in the new Greek state in 1827 that could not be effectuated.

Mr. Francis Werry, British consul to İzmir, reported to Mr. Lidel in the Levant Company that the Greeks of İzmir saw the unsafe atmosphere they were in, and left for the islands.<sup>559</sup> The scared and anxious Greeks in some cases were sheltered by the Muslims. However, sheltering in their houses for long period of time was not safe and possible for the İzmir Greeks, therefore they decided to flee from the city with foreign ships, which was also difficult.<sup>560</sup> The Ottoman authorities did not want the Greeks of İzmir leave the city by taking ships under European or Russian flags, since they believed that the Greeks of İzmir would support the revolt.<sup>561</sup> The newspaper *Le Spectateur* noted on 14 July 1821 that although the state forbade the take-off of the foreign ships from the port,<sup>562</sup> many of them left the city, either supporting the revolt or fearing for the tension in their home town. Ottoman Greek population suffered not only in the rebellious Aegean islands, but also in Thessalonica<sup>563</sup> and İzmir, which were not rebellious regions. The Ottoman state considered the İzmir Greeks' flight from the city as an offensive action that it confiscated their goods and houses as punishment,<sup>564</sup> and sold them in the following years.<sup>565</sup> The *fetva* of 26 April 1821 not only legalized the execution of the rebels, but also the

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*Violence in Nineteenth Century Ottoman Lebanon*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2000), ch. 7.

<sup>559</sup> Quoted in Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of İzmir in the Eighteenth Century 1700-1820*, (Athens: The Center for Asia Minor Studies, Athens, 1992), 67, FN. 125., RO, FO, 78/136, Consul Werry, Smyrna, 11 April 1821 to G. Liddel, Levant Company, London; Rauf Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir'de Yaşam* [The Life in İzmir in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century], (İstanbul: Güzel Sanatlar Eğitim Vakfı, 2000) 49.

<sup>560</sup> Stelios Seferiadis, *H Σμυρνη κατά την Επανάστασιν του 1821, μια μαυρι σελις* [İzmir during the 1821 Revolution, a dark page], (Athens: Tipo Mirtidi, 1938) 5.

<sup>561</sup> Solomonidis, 1970, 37.

<sup>562</sup> Quoted from *Le Spectateur* 14 July 1821 in Seferiadis, 1938, p. 5.

<sup>563</sup> Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos, *A History of Thessaloniki*, (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1963), p.p. 101-103.

<sup>564</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, 67, FN. 128; İzmir Muhafızı Hasan Paşa, İzmir Voyvodası vs.'ye İzmir'den Sisam'a kaçanların durumu ile ilgili olarak gönderilen Evahir-i Şaban 1236 (24 Mayıs- 2 Haziran 1821) tarihli hüküm, Imperial order of 1236 sent to the muhafız of İzmir Hasan Pasha, and the voyvoda of İzmir] BOA, Mühimme, n. 239, p. 104 in Mübahat Kütükoğlu, 1986, p. 143, FN. 60.

<sup>565</sup> Kütükoğlu, 1986, p. 144.

confiscation of their properties. Therefore, the properties of the rebels and those who escaped to the islands were confiscated by the state.<sup>566</sup> The confiscated properties, -houses, shops, vineyards, gardens, olive grove- were sold by auction to the Ottoman subjects regardless of religion, Muslim or non-Muslim.<sup>567</sup> In İzmir, 20 immovable properties, which were registered to *Darbhane-i Amire*, were sold in September 1828 with *muaccele*.<sup>568</sup> On April 1828, 63 confiscated properties of the migrated Greeks were sold with *muaccele* for 85.586 kuruş. 39 of this 63 property were sold to the Turks and 24 of them were sold to the non-Muslims.<sup>569</sup> Some of the confiscated properties were rented out, and their incomes were given to the treasury. In the first eight months of 1829, the revenues of rented houses, shops and underground storerooms (*mahzen*), and the earnings of vineyards and olive groves in the villages of İzmir were handed over to the imperial treasury by *ihtisab nazırı* Ömer Lütfi Efendi.<sup>570</sup> The belongings in the confiscated properties of the executed and escapee Greeks in İzmir were sealed and counted and their debts were calculated. For example, as a result of the inquiry in İzmir, it was understood that these İzmir Greeks were creditors with almost 10.500 *kese* from the Ottoman esnaf and with 3.400 *kese* from the European merchants.<sup>571</sup> These debts were collected by the state on behalf of the imperial treasury.<sup>572</sup> The state showed more reconciling attitude towards escapee Greeks of İzmir, so that they began to return to the city in 1823.<sup>573</sup> However, although they began to return in 1823, the selling of their properties still in 1825 and 1828 showed that all of them did not

<sup>566</sup> Ibid., p. 143.

<sup>567</sup> Ibid, pp. 143-144.

<sup>568</sup> Ibid, FN. 67, İzmir Muhafızı Vezir'e, İzmir Kadı'sına ve İzmir İhtisab Nazırı Ömer Lütfi Efendi'ye 25 Safer 1244 (6 Eylül 1828) tarihli hüküm, Defter-i Muhallefat Ahkamı 1238-39: BOA, Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler, (MAD), n. 9764, pp. 3-325.

In *muaccele* the price as a result of the conclusion of bargains was paid at once on the purchase of real property. *Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary*, (İstanbul: Redhouse Yayınevi, 13<sup>th</sup> ed., 1993).

<sup>569</sup> 26 Ramazan 1244 (1 Nisan 1829) tarihli tezkire suretleri, BOA, Cevdet Tasnifi Maliye (Cevdet-M), n. 31500 in Ibid., FN. 68.

<sup>570</sup> MAD, n.9774, p.98 in Ibid., p. 145, FN.71.

<sup>571</sup> İzmir muhafızı Hasan Paşa, İzmir Naibi, Mübaşir Katib-zade Ahmed ve muharrir yazıları 24 Rebilü'l-Evvel 1238 (9 Aralık 1822) tarihli hüküm: BA, MAD, n. 9774, pp. 69-70 in Ibid., p. 145, FN. 72.

<sup>572</sup> BOA, Cev-M, n.21256 .The correspondence between *Sakız muhafızı* Yusuf Pasha, his *şukka* of 13 Safer 1243 (5 Eylül 1827) and *arıza* 11 Muharrem 1244 (24 Temmuz 1828) of *İzmir İhtisab Nazırı* Ömer Lütfi Efendi of, BOA Cev-M, n.14505 in Ibid., p. 145, FN.73.

<sup>573</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, p. 687.

return and some of them were killed. Another punishment type that the state applied was exile. Although it was not very common, in some cases the suspected Greek subjects were exiled. The translator of the Porte, Yanko, his scribe and *çukadar*, for example, initially were exiled to Kayseri, then when their support in the revolt became certain they were executed.<sup>574</sup> Some unemployed Moreans, who came to Istanbul before the revolt broke out, attempted to return to Morea during the revolt. They were exiled to inner Anatolia to prevent them from communicating with rebels on the Aegean coastline.<sup>575</sup>

The social order of İzmir was negatively affected by the execution, confiscation and exile of rebels. Because of some Muslim attacks on the Greek subjects in İstanbul, (in the capital while the rebels were being executed, some young people attacked Greeks' houses and Eğrikapı church)<sup>576</sup> an imperial decree was issued in order to prevent such aggressive events towards innocent Greeks (*reaya*) and the unnecessary use of guns and arms.<sup>577</sup> However, this imperial decree could not prevent the unpleasant attitudes towards the Ottoman Greeks. Ottoman soldiers killed a few Greeks in the city, when they saw some Greek bandit ships in the İzmir bay. As a result of the irritation that this event created, foreigner communities and consuls applied to the Ottoman officials to ask for protection. The guard (*muhafız*) of İzmir informed the center about these events in İzmir, and two officials from the capital were sent to the city to remind the importance of the protection of innocent Ottoman Greeks.<sup>578</sup> However, the center could not prevent the mistreatment of the harmless Ottoman Greeks in the rebellious regions, like in Chios.<sup>579</sup> The conflicting situation calmed down within a year in İzmir that Ottoman Greek

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<sup>574</sup> Kütükoğlu, 1986, p. 145.

<sup>575</sup> Ibid., p. 146.

<sup>576</sup> Ibid., p. 151.

<sup>577</sup> Kütükoğlu, 1986, p. 151.

<sup>578</sup> The imperial orders which were sent to the *muhafız*, *voyvoda*, *naib*, and *turnacıbaşı* of İzmir and *eski kul kethudası* Mehmed Sadık Ağa. Evahir-i Şaban 1236 (23 Mayıs-1 Haziran 1821), Mühimme, No. 239, p. 88/1 ve 143/2 in *ibid.*, Kütükoğlu, 1986, p. 152, FN. 107.

<sup>579</sup> Ibid., p. 152. In Chios, despite the warnings and attempts of the Kapudan Pasha, the execution, the confiscation of properties of the harmless Greeks and the taking of the Greek women and children as captives by the permission of the guard of Chios, Muhafız Vahid Pasha, could not be prevented. The soldiers after they suppressed the revolt in

escapees asked permission to return from the Ottoman Empire through local authorities and their Ottoman Greek subject relatives.<sup>580</sup> The patriarch himself applied to the Porte to ask the pardon for the fugitive Greeks.<sup>581</sup> The British consul Viscount Strangford also asked the state to permit their return. In his letter he stressed that they escaped since they feared during the turmoil. Since they did not know how they would be treated if they return to their hometown, they had to accept to be dominated by another state. Besides, these İzmir Greeks owed considerable amount of loan to the British merchants, if they came back, they would be able to pay it back.<sup>582</sup> As a result of these attempts, the state decided to forgive those who ask for mercy and issued decree (*irade*) to allow their return. In November 1823, a first decree was sent to Ayvalık, where the biggest resurrection occurred in the Aegean coastline, in order to re-settle the incomers.<sup>583</sup> The Greeks of Çeşme, who left for Chios, explained their miserable life conditions on the island in a petition to the Kapudan Pasha on 3 October 1823. They were allowed to return.<sup>584</sup> But, we should not ignore the economic aspect of the issue, which might also be influential for the state to forgive and permit their return. For example, Ayvalık, whose population mostly composed of Greek subjects, had an economic significance in the Empire.<sup>585</sup> Thirty soaperies existed in the town and it was an important center for the olive and olive oil production as well. Ayvalık used to meet some of the soap and olive oil need of the capital, and it exported some amount of olive oil to Russia as well. Viniculture, wine and salt production were also important elements of the economic vitality in the town.<sup>586</sup> During the Ayvalık revolt, the entire town was almost emptied, and not only the houses, vineyards, gardens, but also olive groves were confiscated. The number

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Chios began to damage and loot the Greek houses. This was noted in the report of İbrahim Şerif Efendi, who was appointed to Chios as a civil servant to register the properties. *Ibid.*, p. 152, FN. 109.

<sup>580</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 152-153; Nedim İpek, "Türk Yunan Nüfusu Meselesi," [The Issue of Turkish-Greek Population], *Belleten*, v. 52, n. 203, 1988, p. 480.

<sup>581</sup> BOA, HH. N.39004 in Kütükoğlu, 1986, p. 153, FN. 115.

<sup>582</sup> BOA, HH, n. 39279-C in *ibid.* p. 153, FN. 112.; FO 78/136, Factory Meeting , Smyrna, 13 April 1821 Consul Werry, quoted in Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, p. 67.

<sup>583</sup> Kütükoğlu, 1986, pp. 143, 153.

<sup>584</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153.

<sup>585</sup> Arıkan, 1988, pp. 583, 585-586..

<sup>586</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 585-586.



of the confiscated olive trees was exceeding one million and the estimated amount of olive oil taken from these trees was 850.000 *okka*. However, mills were necessary to get olive oil, but they were deteriorated during the suppression of the revolt.<sup>587</sup> The authorities decided to give mills with *iltizam* to *voyvodas*. In addition, barley and wheat fields were left without harvest.<sup>588</sup> As a result, Mahmud II ordered either giving of these fields to someone as trustee or selling of them to the Muslims.<sup>589</sup> After the pardon of the Sultan, Greek subjects began to return to Ayvalık. 2000 people were expected to return within a year. In all over the Empire, 4134 Ottoman Greeks returned to their hometowns between 7 November 1827 and 11 January 1828 in Anatolia and Rumelia.<sup>590</sup> Moreover, return of fugitives was important not only to run the evacuated income sources, and but also to increase *cizye* revenues of the state. For escapees to re-obtain the status of Ottoman subject (*reaya*) was conditioned according to some prerequisites by the state: they should not have passport or protection (*berat*) of foreign states, if so, they had to renounce their foreign passports and protection documents. When they re-gained *reaya* status, they would automatically become *cizye* payers. However, they were exempted from *cizye* and *örfi* tax (extraordinary tax, based on common law) for a year as soon as they asked for mercy from the state.<sup>591</sup> As the number of the newcomers increased, the local authorities asked extra *cizye* papers from the center -as high, medium and low levels (*ala*, *evsat*, and *edna cizye*). Hence, the number of *cizye* papers indicated the amount of the new comers. For example, in İzmir in 1829 the total number of *cizye* papers the local authorities asked, including all three levels, was 900, and in 1830 was 420.<sup>592</sup> The Ottoman Sultan while applying harsh means for rebellious Greek population, it pardoned fugitives and allowed them to return. This was not because he felt

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<sup>587</sup> Kütükoğlu, 1986, p. 143.

<sup>588</sup> Arıkan, 1988, p. 593.

<sup>589</sup> Ibid., p. 593.

<sup>590</sup> Kütükoğlu, 1986, p. 154.

<sup>591</sup> HH. N. 38100-B in Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>592</sup> Ibid., p. 157.

compassion for them, but he wanted to compensate the economic stagnation occurred with their leave.

In the case of the suppression of the Greek revolt in Morea, a contemporary witness, Greek teacher Konstantinos Kumas from İzmir, wrote to his friend (Frederich Thiersch) in 1821:

A postman brought news from İzmir/Ephesus and Istanbul. The metropolitan of Ephesus was imprisoned and tortured, the patriarch was dismissed, important tradesmen and leading members of the Greeks, including the dragoman of the navy and representative of the church were killed. When this news reached İzmir panic began among the Greeks and Turks get armed and they were ready to attack. Under this atmosphere, I also had to leave the city. Many people were running towards the port to board on the ships, some of them were trying to carry some of their properties as well. However, in this panic no bang of arms was heard.<sup>593</sup>

We have some information from travelers' accounts regarding the situation in the society of İzmir in the years 1821 to 1836: Frankis Vyvan Jago Arundel, a priest worked in the British consulate in İzmir in 1822, noted the insecure social life and social unrest in the city.<sup>594</sup> Gotthilf Heinrich von Schubert, who visited the city after the foundation of the independent Greek state in 1836, talked about peaceful relations among Muslim, Greek and Jewish communities of İzmir.<sup>595</sup> Ernst Christoph Döbel, who stayed in İzmir between November 1832 and early 1833, compared İzmir with Edirne (a town in eastern Trace) where he spent some time. He noted that those traditional *millet* regulations were not strictly applied in İzmir, therefore the Ottoman Greeks were not forbidden carrying guns and knives in İzmir, in contrast to the Ottoman Greeks

<sup>593</sup> Polihronis Enepekidis, *Τραπεζούντα, Κωνσταντινούπολη, Σμύρνη, 1800-1923* [Trabzon, İstanbul, İzmir, 1800-1923], (Athens: Okeanida, 1989) 328-329.

<sup>594</sup> Frankis Vyvan Jago Arundel'in İzmir: 1822," [Frankis Vyvan Jago Arundel's İzmir: 1822], quoted in İlhan Pınar, *Hacılar, Seyyahlar, Misyonerler ve İzmir: Yabancıların Gözüyle Osmanlı Döneminde İzmir, 1608-1918*, [Pilgrims, Travellers and Missionaries and İzmir: İzmir from the Eyes of Foreigners, 1608-1918], (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi, 2001) 124.

<sup>595</sup> "Gotthilf Heinrich von Schubert'in İzmir: Ekim-Kasım 1836," [Gotthilf Heinrich von Schubert's İzmir: October-November 1836], quoted in Pınar, 2001, p. 170.

in Edirne. The Turks in İzmir did not forbid cutting of meat of wild boar either. Some Turks even hunted and sold it to the Franks in İzmir.<sup>596</sup> He found İzmir's communal relations more peaceful compared to Edirne's. For him the reason for this inter-communal tolerance in İzmir was the presence and activities of British missionaries.<sup>597</sup> However, Hermann von Pückle noted in 1839 a general hatred between Greeks and Turks in İzmir. He wrote an anecdote between the governor of İzmir and an Ottoman Greek man -probably a leading merchant. While the governor was humiliating the Greeks as “infidels” and “inferiors”, he tried to take revenge talking about Navarin defeat of the Ottomans in 1827 and foundation of the Greek independent state.<sup>598</sup> The Navarin defeat, which coincided with the last years of the Greek revolt, negatively affected the social order in İzmir. When the news of the defeat reached to İzmir, British vice consul Mr. Werry warned merchants to embark their goods to the quay and to be ready to leave by ships with their families in the case of a possible attack of some irritated Turks in October 1828.<sup>599</sup> A social disorder occurred in the city and lasted more than two months that both the Levantines and Muslims of the city were very annoyed. While the latter was scared by the probable bombardment of the Turkish quarter by the European ships in the bay, the former frightened to be attacked by the Turks, some of which already showed some aggressiveness:<sup>600</sup> In the most vital part of the city, on long Frank Street, a Turkish crowd was gathered in front of the Turkish guardhouse with arms and pistols. The head of the *çavuşbaşı*, Hacı Bey, immediately interfered and took them away. Both the governor of İzmir and Hacı Bey struggled to prevent any aggressive event between the Muslims and Europeans. They succeeded to maintain social order

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<sup>596</sup> Döbel (1832-33), quoted in Pinar, 2001, pp. 136-137.

<sup>597</sup> Ibid., pp.135-136.

<sup>598</sup> “Hermann von Puckler’in İzmirli: January-April 1839,” [Hermann von Puckler’s İzmir] quoted in Pinar, 2001, p. 185.

<sup>599</sup> Charles Mac Farlane, *Constantinople in 1828 and A Residence of sixteen Months in the Turkish Capital and Provinces with an account of the Present State of the Naval and Military Power and of the Resources of the Ottoman Empire*, v. I, (London: Saunders and Otleay, Conduit St, 1829), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 243-244.

<sup>600</sup> Ibid., pp. 246-248.

in the city.<sup>601</sup> Local authorities of İzmir struggled to preserve social order of the city during the unrest in the city after the Navarin defeat of Ottomans, just like as the local officials did during the extra ordinary times in the Tanzimat period.<sup>602</sup>

Math Werry, the vice consul of İzmir (1816-1825), (he was son of Francis Werry who was the consul of Smyrna between 1793 and 1825), mentioned growing “religious fanaticism.” He reported:

"The safety of British property and persons, in a country where fanaticism of religious zeal, have now been so outrageously called into play, by intriguing political agents frequently depends exclusively on that personal character of individual influence of the consular agents..."<sup>603</sup>

Regarding the social order in the city, the vice consul not only reported the disturbance and unsafe environment and the difficulties he experienced in the city, but also emphasized the ineffectiveness of the Ottoman government. It could not prevent massacres of *kadı* and chief customer.<sup>604</sup> Ottoman authorities were so ineffective that they even could not prevent the illegal actions of the Janissaries and *başıbozüks*.<sup>605</sup> Janissaries suspected the *molla*, *ulema*, *naib*, and head of the land notables (*ayan*) in that if they helped the Greeks who wanted to flee from the city in return for bribery. The Janissaries killed *molla*, *naib* and the head of the *ayan*. Later on, they attacked to the French consulate, in which 2000 İzmir Greeks took already refugee. The

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<sup>601</sup> Ibid., pp. 246-248, 254.

<sup>602</sup> See chapter 4 and 5 for the rule of the local authorities of İzmir during the Tanzimat.

<sup>603</sup> Embassy and Consular Archives, Public Record Office of Britain (PRO), 78/135: 278-279, 1825.

<sup>604</sup> "It is notorious fact that the part the British Consulate look on that revision, at least equalles, if not surpass that of our colleagues, both in giving --- to the Greeks, who were exposed to the destructive of an infuriated Turk populace, and in an efficacious manner, by personal infleunce contributing to win the chiefs of the Janissaries, to exert their authority, to stop the carnage and reconcile them with the Pasha in order to restore the government, which had not been able to prevent the massacre of *kadı* or judge, and the chief customer. We moreover remained on shore at our posts, during this rebellion, while not only French consul, but almost every European in the place fled for safety on board the vessels anchored in the Bay..." PRO, 78/135: 269-270, 1825.

<sup>605</sup> Hristos Sokratous Solomonidis, *Σμυρναικο Τριπτυχο: η Σμυρνη στην εθνεγερσια, Πασχα αλυτρωτων, η Σμυρνη Ελευθερη* [İzmir Trilogy: İzmir During the Awakening, The Easter of the unredeemed Greeks, Independent İzmir] (Athens: n.p, 1970) 37; *Başıbozuk*: irregular tribesmen, volunteers for military service. Shaw & Shaw, 1977, p. 472.

French consul convinced the Janissaries that they let women, children and the elderly to leave the city by ships. Pasha and *mütesellim* locked themselves in their houses because of their fear of the Janissaries.<sup>606</sup> Social order in the city reached to the point that only *serdar* had the courage to walk in the streets of the city. *Serdar* demanded from the consuls to control the Greek ship under the Russian flag, and he had the permission. He found out one hundred fifty Greeks in the ship, and wanted to take them out of the ship. British consul Werry convinced the Ottoman officials that they did not have the authority to take these Greeks out of the ship since they were not the Ottoman subjects, but they were Greeks from the Ionian Islands, Eptanisa, which was under the rule of England. In 20 April 1821 European consuls complained about the Greek massacres in the city and protested the atrocities conducted against İzmir Greeks. When they asked Ottoman authorities to end this situation immediately, the Ottoman officials demanded the following in return: European ships would not accept İzmir Greeks as refugees; the navigating ships in the İzmir port would be examined by Ottoman authorities and would be able to imprison them if they saw it necessary; the Greeks who sheltered in the consulate buildings should be expelled. European (England, France, Austria, Prussia) and Russian consuls refused these demands, since they found to expel sheltered Greeks as an inhuman action.<sup>607</sup> Hasan Pasha could not end the anarchy in İzmir as he was supposed to do so when he was appointed to İzmir.<sup>608</sup> French consul David was angry to Hasan Pasha since he could not provide social order in the city.<sup>609</sup> During the negotiations the Janissaries promised in front the consuls that they would protect the *reaya*, including the İzmir Greeks, and Hasan Pasha asked the consuls that the Greek *reaya* should leave the Frank houses, in which they sheltered, and return to their houses. The consuls accepted this

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<sup>606</sup> Solomonidis, 1970, p. 8. The rank of *Pasha* did not exist in the administrative hierarchy İzmir. What Solomonidis and some travelers named as Pasha refers to the governor of İzmir.

<sup>607</sup> Solomonidis, 1970, p.36.

<sup>608</sup> Hasan Pasha was appointed as the Commander in Chief of Asia, *αρχιστρατηγος*, *Asya Başkumandanı* and came to İzmir to end the anarchy in the city in 3 May 1821. Consuls visited him and expressed their hopes for the cease of the anarchy and gave him presents. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>609</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

demand of Hasan Pasha. However, they mentioned that since the Greeks in İzmir were extremely scared, Hasan Pasha should give them some relief with an official note. The *reaya* in the past believed in the reliability of the official letters of the Ottoman authorities, but now they did not believe in this, Hasan Pasha said to the consuls. Therefore, Hasan Pasha said that metropolitans and community leaders should convince İzmir Greeks to return to their houses, since their reliability was much higher than the Ottoman authorities.<sup>610</sup> All these arbitrary actions of the Janissaries and *başibozuks* indicate that Ottoman official authorities were not capable of controlling them. *Başibozuks* killed *molla* who refused to give permission to loot houses of the Greek subjects and also killed the chief of gendarme in İzmir.<sup>611</sup> The first three years of the revolt in İzmir was full of atrocities, lootings, and killings, which were conducted by the Ottoman *başibozuks* and Janissaries. The *başibozuks* initially settled around the city in order to prevent a possible Greek revolt in the city,<sup>612</sup> but their actions exceeded boundaries of controlling the city from a possible Greek uprising. The reason of the ill-treatment of the İzmir Greeks was not basically the state itself, but the arbitrary actions of the local powers. We do not have any information about the ill-treatment of the İzmir Greeks through orders directly coming from the center, but we know the existence of uncontrolled local powers. This was a clear indication of the weakness of the state authority in İzmir.

The foreign press depicted the situation of the Ottoman Greeks in İzmir, with prejudice, as the people who suffered, even murdered by the Turks under the suppressive the Ottoman regime.<sup>613</sup> The newspaper *Spectateur Oriental* noted that the İzmir Greeks had joined to the Greek rebels to support the Greek revolt, and “in İzmir square four or more İzmir Greeks

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<sup>610</sup> Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>611</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>612</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>613</sup> Beyru, 2000, 49-50, 78. In spite of the writings of foreign press about the murder of the Greeks in İzmir during the Greek Independence War, Beyru mentions the population increase of the Greek community of the city and decline in the Turkish population. Beyru, 2001, pp. 50-51. About the demographic situation of the city please see section 2.1.2.

were assassinated, since they cooperated with the Greek rebels secretly.”<sup>614</sup>; “Lots of Hellens were killed by drunk Turks;”<sup>615</sup> A Turkish military division (*bölük*), as soon as it arrived in İzmir, killed three and injured four Greeks;<sup>616</sup> in Pergamum, a maniac agha killed thousand Greeks with an unimaginable atrocity that could not be comparable with none of the earlier ones;<sup>617</sup> in Buca and Seydiköy, many Greek women were raped.”<sup>618</sup> “The Greek peasants in İzmir were in hopeless situation. In none of the cities of the Ottoman Empire such atrocities of the Turks were not seen, but in İzmir. Barbarian Janissaries wanted to kill all the Greeks in İzmir. The capital of Ionnia became a great theatre of assassinations.”<sup>619</sup> Considering biased approach of the European press, such news should be read with caution. In spite of the mistreatment of the İzmir Greeks by some local powers, no any tension or conflict was recorded between the Greek and Turkish communities of İzmir during the Greek revolt. In other words, neither the Greeks showed any aggressiveness in public whatever their private opinions were<sup>620</sup> nor the aggressiveness of some of the local powers and small group of fanatic Turks did negatively affect Muslims of the city towards their Ottoman Greek fellows. Some possible reasons of maintenance of this social cohesion among the communities during the time of a social unrest in the city will be discussed in chapter 5.

In spite of the turbulent times in the initial years of the Greek revolt, the commercial life and economic vitality of the city began to revive in 1830s. Greek population of the city did not decreased in the years following the Greek uprising; instead, a gradual migration began from Morea and Aegean islands to İzmir. While mentioning these migrations, the newspaper *Courier*

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<sup>614</sup> Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>615</sup> *Spectateur Oriental*, 28 February 1823, quoted in Solomonidis, 1970, p. 47.

<sup>616</sup> *Spectateur Oriental*, 1 May 1823, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>617</sup> *Spectateur Oriental*, 18 July 1823, quoted in *ibid.*

<sup>618</sup> *Spectateur Oriental*, 31 July 1824, quoted in *ibid.*

<sup>619</sup> Claud Raffanel, “Histoire complete des es enements de la Grece” quoted in Hristos Sokratous Solomonidis, 1970, p. 33.

<sup>620</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992, p. 67.

*de Smyrne* in 1830 criticized the European press, which presented the Ottoman country as the land of oppression during the years of the Greek revolt:

“Many Greeks from Morea and Aegean island are migrating to İzmir for almost two months, and they are trying to settle in the city. Just this week 50 people arrived. Most of the newcomers, who are young and powerful, want only to work. Everybody knows this...Now, we want to ask to the Greek friend of the Europe...Why people of a free country, which governed by successful rulers, take refugee as masses in a country where oppressed people live under the tyranic Turkish regime? And, again we ask them that why none of the İzmir Greeks left the city of İzmir, which the Europeans call the ‘city of captives,’ why they did not leave in order to benefit from the noble and generous institution of Greece?... even though the Greek president invited them.”<sup>621</sup>

*Courrier de Smyrne* not only emphasized the continuous migration from Greece to İzmir, but also stressed the social order in the city, which was also depicted as malfunctioning in the European press in the 1830s. In reviewing the book of Mac Farlane, the newspaper quoted his words about İzmir’s social order: “In İzmir you may bump into many Turks who have special love for Christians. The Ottomans, not only in Istanbul but in all over the Empire, do not differentiate the Christian *reaya* from the Turkish *reaya*.”<sup>622</sup> A writer in the *Courrier de Smyrne* called *Burnabatlı Münzevi* used to live in a village of İzmir with the Ottoman Turks. Thus he had more accurate information about the İzmir society and its Turkish population. He took attention to the well running social order in city in his articles.<sup>623</sup> In his report to the Marseille Commerce

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<sup>621</sup> *Courrier de Smyrne* (CdS), 29.4.1830 quoted in Koloğlu, Orhan Koloğlu, “İlk İzmirli Gazeteciden İzmir Haberleri,” [News from the First Smyranean Journalist of Smyrna], in *Son Yüzyılda İzmir ve Batı Anadolu* [İzmir and western Anatolia in the last century], ed. Tuncer Baykara, (İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1993) 141. Although the newspaper wrote in 1830 that none of the İzmir Greeks left the city, as the discussion above showed many İzmir Greeks left the city during the early years of the revolt, but returned in a few year.

<sup>622</sup> CdS 30.5.1830, quoted in *ibid.* However, Charles MacFarlane in his another book did not write positive things about Turks as a result of his journey in the years 1847 to 1848, Charles MacFarlane *Turkey and its Destiny: the results of journeys made in 1847 and 1848 to examine into the state of that country*, (Philadelphia. Lee & Blanchard, 1850). But, in Orhan Koloğlu’s quote of the French newspaper we see that he had positive ideas about Turks in the Empire.

<sup>623</sup> CdS 13.12.1828 and 7.6.1829 quoted in *ibid.*, p. 141.



Chamber, he also noted safety and good attitudes of security officials in İzmir.<sup>624</sup> The newspaper also mentioned that the Greeks of İzmir continued to make their entertainments and celebrate their bairams in peace during the years of turmoil.<sup>625</sup> It also criticized the attitudes of the Ottoman gendarme who did not prevent İzmir Greeks from using guns during their Easter celebrations, although it was forbidden.<sup>626</sup> The reviving commerce and trade of İzmir was demonstrated by the figures of navigating ships for the import and export trade in the newspaper.<sup>627</sup>

There was no homogeneity among the İzmir Greeks about the Greek revolt and the formation of an independent Greek state. A group of İzmir Greeks supported the Greek revolt, that they claimed some rights in the newly founded Greek state.<sup>628</sup> Explaining the ongoing commercial regulations in the region and making some suggestions about their situation, this group presented a report on 1 May 1827 to the newly emerging Greek state.<sup>629</sup> This report provides some information to understand their approach of the Greek independence and their expectations from the nascent Greek state. The main point they stressed in the report was that they presented themselves as “real” (*γνησιοι, gnisii*) Hellenes. They underlined that the concept “gnisii” had wider scope than the concept “native”, (*αυτοχθονες, aftohtones*). This meant that to be a real Hellen was more important than to be native in the land of the newly emerging Greece.

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<sup>624</sup> CdS 4.10.1828 and Spectateur Oriental 25.10.826 quoted in *ibid.*, p.142. In the newspaper the term “police” was used. Since there was no police organization in this period in the Empire, I used it either as security officials or gendarme.

<sup>625</sup> CdS 25.4.1828 quoted in *ibid.*

<sup>626</sup> CdS 3.10.1830 quoted in *ibid.*

<sup>627</sup> Koloğlu, pp. 144-147.

<sup>628</sup> Nikolaos Peandazapulos, *Αυτοχθονες και Ετεροχθονες, η πολιτικοκοινωνικη διαμαχη στην επαναστατημενη Ελλάδα (1827-1829), η περιπτωση της Σμυρνης*, (“Natives and Non-Natives, social-political struggle in revolutionary Greece: The case of İzmir”), (Νέα Σμυρνη, Εκδοση Δημοσ Νεας Σμυρνης, 1986) 28.

<sup>629</sup> In their report they stressed that regarding the commercial relations in Eastern Mediterranean there was a set of unwritten regulations, whose center was İzmir. They mentioned that those unwritten regulations depended on common benefit and cooperation, which gave İzmir a kind of unwritten autonomous status regarding trade. In the past, until the Greek revolt, the tradesmen who came from Continental Greece and islands benefited from the rights of the Greeks of İzmir. During the Greek revolt in 1827, the Greeks of İzmir presented these regulations as a report to the nascent Greek state (1 May 1827). *Ibid.*, p. 26.

They stressed that wherever Hellen exist, that place is “homeland” (*πατρις, patris*).<sup>630</sup> There was a conflict between the Ottoman İzmir Greeks, “non-native” (*ετεροχθονες, eterohtones*), and “native” Greeks of the newly emerging Greek state, *αυτοχθων*, “aftohton.” Greeks of the newly emerging Greek state annoyed with İzmir Greeks, because they thought that if Greeks of İzmir settled in the newly founded Greek state, they would disturb their order and regulations.<sup>631</sup> This group of İzmir Greeks wanted to have representatives in the newly forming Greek parliament and a permanent place of residence, which would be named *Νεα Σμυρνη*, “New Smyrni,” in the independent Greece.<sup>632</sup> None of these demands of the İzmir Greeks were accepted. They were told that since their population was below 15,000, they could not have the right of representation in the Greek parliament according to the regulations of the new parliament in Greece. When the Greeks of İzmir could not achieve the right of representation, a question raised: whether the İzmir Greeks were “real,” Hellen or not, and should they have the right to be represented and settled in independent Greece or not. In Trizinas,<sup>633</sup> it was decided that those who believed in Christ and want to escape and come to the free Greece would be accepted as real Hellen.<sup>634</sup> The actions and ideas of this group of İzmir Greeks were important for the nascent Greek state: During the Greek revolt and after it, their arguments and discussions altered those limited scopes of the native and non-native theories and contributed to the development of a new political idea and constituted an example for the redefinition of a prototype of being a Hellen.<sup>635</sup> The ideas of this fraction of İzmir Greeks indicate that all İzmir Greeks did not want to live under the Ottoman rule after the independent Greek state was founded. They wanted to develop a political loyalty to the independent Greek state. The Ottoman sultan forgave this group of İzmir Greeks

<sup>630</sup> “οπου αυτοι και οι ομογενεις αυτων εκει και η πατρις,” Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>631</sup> Ibid., pp. 32, 37.

<sup>632</sup> Ibid., p. 23. This idea of establishing a Nea Smyrni of the İzmir Greeks of 1830s would be possible only after the 1922 forced exchange of the Greek and Turkish populations as was agreed in the Lausanne Treaty.

<sup>633</sup> *Τροιζήνα*, “Trizina,” is the name of a region in Morea where the initial discussions were held for the Greek constitution.

<sup>634</sup> “οσοι πιστευοντες εις Χριστον προσελθουν αποφευγοντες τον αισχιστον ζυγονεις την ελευθεραν Ελλαδα δια να κατοικησουν εις αυτην,” Pantazopoulos, 1986, p.38.

<sup>635</sup> Ibid., p. 60.

who attempted to establish a new district called New Smyrni in Greece. Thus, they returned to İzmir according to the London protocol of 1836.<sup>636</sup>

Surely we cannot make a generalization regarding the ideas of the all İzmir Greeks by considering ideas of this group. Moreover, when we consider the gradual population growth and economic and social-cultural development of İzmir Greeks in the years following the Greek revolt, we can easily assume that the ideas of this fraction did not become popular.

International impact of the Greek revolt on İzmir paved the way for the growing commercial interests of Britain in the port-city. In the correspondences of the vice consul of İzmir, M.Werry, we see not only this, but also his degrading approach to the Ottoman Empire's presence in the Balkans and Asia Minor. In his reports, he discussed the necessities to entrench British industry in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire and in Asia Minor. From the viewpoint of the vice consul of İzmir, Great Britain constituted a powerful instrument to aid modern Greeks in overthrowing the Ottoman Empire from the Morea peninsula. However, to be able achieve this plan, there were two obstacles: one was the prejudices of the Ottoman government; the other was the active influence of the Russian agents, which contributed to development of Ottoman prejudices against England. He mentioned that in the early years of the Greek revolt, Baron de Strogonoff, M. de Dashkoff, and especially Halet Efendi were the main favorites of the Ottoman sultan.<sup>637</sup> They imposed him to get rid of his most powerful military

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<sup>636</sup> According to Anastasiadis, the reason why the nascent Greek state cancelled the foundation of a Nea Smyrni in Istmos in Greece was the sultan's permission of their return in 1836. Ibid., p. 60, FN 85. Pantazapulos mentioned that it was not proved that if Anastasiadis' claim was true or not.

<sup>637</sup> Halet Efendi favored the Greeks during the revolt and hid some necessary information from the state in trying to protect them. Şanizade and Cevdet Pasha attributed the reason of the big Ayvalık insurrection, which caused the destruction of Ayvalık, to the role of Halet Efendi. For the role of the Halet Efendi in the Greek revolt, see Arıkan, 1988, pp. 574, 586-587; Yücel Özkaya, "1821 Yunan (Eflak-Buğdan) İsyancıları ve Avrupalıların İsyancı Karşısındaki Tutumları," [1821 Greek, Wallachia and Moldavia revolts and The Attitudes of the Europeans Towards Them] in *Tarih Boyunca Türk-Yunan İlişkileri, Üçüncü Askeri Tarih Semineri Bildiriler*, (Ankara: Genel Kurmay Basımevi, 1986) 117.

chiefs, namely Tepedelenli Ali Pasha and Mehmet Ali Pasha, in order to provide a uniform rule in the Balkan provinces of the Empire.<sup>638</sup> As for Asia Minor, the vice consul recounted:

“Asia Minor offers an extensive field for almost every branch of human industry. Its productions are infinitely varied...the inhabitants of the interior, they have far greater facilities, than the Europeans possibly can possess, of bringing the varied resources of that rich country into exchange for our growing manufacturers and of thus increasing greatly the intercourse between Great Britain and those countries...It is indeed to commerce mainly that we may look for the civilization and future moral development of the present Mohammedan occupation of those fertile regions.”<sup>639</sup>

M. Werry made repeated suggestions about the effective policies in order to penetrate into the Ottoman lands. According to him, "the peace and safety at Smyrna, as of every city and town in the Ottoman Empire, depend on the mutual good understanding maintained between those chiefs and the officers nominated at Constantinople."<sup>640</sup> He stressed that the cooperation of the local authorities and consular agents could concert necessary proceedings in the port cities.<sup>641</sup> He also noted that the consul agents, -consul, vice consul, chancellor, interpreters and Janissaries or guard- were the people who were employed for the purpose of keeping requisite interaction with the Turks.<sup>642</sup> However, he was aware of the fact that the well-being of the British property and

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<sup>638</sup> “...Such a plan offered many political and commercial points coincidence with that more extensive scheme general civilization in which Great Britain forms powerful an instrument. In the combined development of any similiar project, the chief obstacles to be contended with were, the prejudices, on the one hand, of the Ottoman government itself, and on the other, the active influence adapted to those very prejudices by the Russian agents. It may be here worth while offering as a problem whether one of the great proximate casues of the Greek Revolution was not the overthrow by the Sultan's forces of the civil and military government excised over Albania and Greece by Tepedelenli Ali Pasha. This event appears to have been brought by the infleunce of Baron de Strogonoff and M. De Dashkoff with Halet Efendi at that time the sultan's favorites. The prejudices in the Sultan's mind on which Halet Efendi seems to have operated were those which he had long charished of submitting the European provinces to one uniform system of government, a system which from the period of the peace of Bucharest he had aimed as introducing into his dominions of Asia, with the view of concentrating all the resources of the Ottoman Empire in order to oppose with full effect the hostile power of Russia, so recently aggrandized by her triumphs over the French.” PRO 78/135:284-285.

<sup>639</sup> PRO 78/135:296.

<sup>640</sup> PRO 78/135: 295.

<sup>641</sup> Ibid.

<sup>642</sup> Ibid., p. 291.

interests were closely associated with good relations with the local government and leaders of the Janissaries. In the consular correspondence we see that the British interest to settle itself in the Ottoman economy had already begun during the Greek revolt<sup>643</sup> following the years of the French retreat from the Ottoman Empire and Eastern Mediterranean as a result of the Napoleonic Wars.

The Greek revolt affected the economic life of İzmir negatively, that it became in stagnation from 1820s on.<sup>644</sup> Port of İzmir was very active and vital until the Greek revolt broke out. The exile of the Greeks and the social unrest caused the city to lose its vividness in commercial life.<sup>645</sup> The sea trade of the city could begin to revive again effectively in 1844.<sup>646</sup> The trade of İzmir was badly affected by the leave of the İzmir Greeks to islands when the revolt broke out. When Greeks fled, especially those of Chiots, not only the trade of the city was paralyzed, but also Europeans who traded with them affected badly -Europeans neither could receive the loans that they gave to the Greeks or credits, nor could confiscate their properties as compensation.<sup>647</sup> The Greeks began to return to İzmir in 1823. Although their return did not immediately change the deteriorated position of the European merchants, it helped the economy of the city to revive. This was in favor of the Europeans as well.<sup>648</sup> It was said that the Levantine

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<sup>643</sup> Britain's attempts to shape the Ottoman political and economic structure could be crystallized in the 1860s and 1870s, and it was so successful that it could shape the Empire's jurisprudence system according to the convenience of European merchants and their Ottoman customers. Daniel Goffman, "İzmir from village to colonial port city" in *The Ottoman City between East and West, Aleppo, İzmir, and İstanbul*, eds. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, Bruce Masters, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 126.

<sup>644</sup> Frangkais-Syret, 1992, p. 67;

<sup>645</sup> Hristos Sokratous Solomonidis *To Θεατρο στη Σμυρνη (1657-1922)*, [Theatre in Smyrna (1657-1922)], (Athens: n.p., 1954) 48-49.

<sup>646</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49. In 1844, 1044 ships arrived at the İzmir port. Among them 314 were the Greek protected subjects, 147 of Ottoman Greeks, 140 English, 89 Turkis, 57 Austria, and 43 French.

<sup>647</sup> Quoted in Frangkais-Syret, 1992, p. 67, FN 128.

<sup>648</sup> *Ibid.*, PRO, 78/136, J. Cartwright, Consul General, Istanbul, 10 Jan 1823 to G. Liddel, Levant Company, London, FN. 131. Regarding the commercial relations of the British with the Levant, vice consul of Smyrna, M. Werry, reported in 1825 that it "have increased greatly since the breaking out of the Greek Revolution, since it led to the opening of the channels of commerce." PRO 78/135:295. M. Werry stated in detail "It is probable that the abolition of the Levant Company will be followed by a still further extension of that commerce. As long as the company existed, money-holders both on the Ottoman territory and in England were ignorant of the nature of the regulations and considering it as a monopoly they were afraid to adventure their capital, publicity having been given to the

merchants wanted to get rid of from the Greeks of İzmir so that they would dominate the trade in the city.<sup>649</sup>

The strict measures of Mahmud II towards the rebellious Ottoman Greeks, in the first years of the revolt, might be evaluated both as a response of the state in accordance with its political Islamic tradition and a modernizing absolutist empire. In other words, the Ottoman state seems to exhibit one of the characteristics of the modern state by using means of force and violence within its territory. However, if we consider this issue from the viewpoint of the Ottoman Empire, it is seen that the foremost idea that set the Porte into action about the Greek revolt was its political Islamic tradition: since the Ottoman Greeks abolished the *zimmi* pact, the state considered their attitude as an intrigue against the state under which for centuries they used to live in peace, therefore, it declared warfare against them. The main idea in suppressing them originated from the Islamic principles (the decision of applying *harbi* principles of Islamic law). The Ottoman Empire showed attempts to differentiate and protect the harmless Ottoman Greeks from the rebellious ones by issuing decrees and appointing state officials to the regions where the Greeks were mistreated, again, in accordance with its Islamic political tradition. It did not take very long time for Mahmud II to show a reconciling attitude towards his Greek subjects. In a few years Sultan himself began to re-stress that the non-Muslim subjects of the Empire were not different from the Muslim subjects, unless they pay their taxes and being loyal to their state. İzmir Greeks' situation as the natural economic, social and cultural elements of the Ottoman society and their relations with the Turks in the years following the Greek revolt shows that some peculiar dynamics of the city helped to recover the tensity between the Greek community and Ottoman state. Moreover, Tanzimat regulations provided them to entrench themselves more into

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abolition, excitement has been produced and it may be reasonably expected that new channels will be opened by the spirit of enterprise which characterized the present times." Ibid, PRO 78/135:295-296, 1825.

<sup>649</sup> Qouted from Pouqueville in Solomonidis, Athens, 1970, p. 41.

the society of İzmir by benefiting from the new regulations through their social-cultural and economic activities.

### **The Impact of the Reforms on the Greek Orthodox and Muslim Turkish Communities**

European councils were established in İzmir in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. The foundation of the French consulate in 1619 was followed by the foundation of the British and the Dutch consulates.<sup>650</sup> Consuls became influential elements in the administration of the city. This continued in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that they played both positive and negative role in the implementation of the Tanzimat reforms. When the French had to end their commercial activities in the Near East as a result of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars and hostility was declared between the Ottoman Empire and France, the influence of British consul began to increase at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century at the expense of the French consul. The British consul represented the British community before the Ottoman authorities and interfered to the matters related to the British merchants since late 1790s in İzmir. He was appointed by the Levant Company in which he had the most important status.<sup>651</sup> Regarding the authorities and positions of British merchants in İzmir, M. Werry stated that "the subjects of Great Britain are placed in all civil and criminal matters occurring between Europeans under the excessive jurisdiction of the British consuls" in one of his correspondences in 1825.<sup>652</sup> When the Greek revolt was still continuing in 1825, regarding the main duty of the consuls in İzmir, the vice consul himself stated that "the most important and difficult part of the consuls' duty consists in maintaining order and peace amongst much discordant elements"<sup>653</sup> in İzmir. Moreover, in reporting the social disturbance in the city, he underlined his precious efforts in that "uncivilized

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<sup>650</sup> Frangakis Syrett, 1992, p. 24.

<sup>651</sup> Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>652</sup> PRO 78/135: 292, 1825.

<sup>653</sup> PRO 78/135: 293-294, 1825.

country.”<sup>654</sup> Some travelers also pointed out influential and privileged position of the foreign consuls in the city's administration: a traveler stated in 1835 that the Ottoman gendarme could not dare to search the house of a consul to find a criminal without the permission of the consul, even though it was definitely known that that criminal was in his house;<sup>655</sup> other traveler noted in 1846 that consuls in İzmir had a very strong authority and acted authoritatively as if they wanted to remind their effective position;<sup>656</sup> another traveler noted in 1860 that consuls were the first in the hierarchy of İzmir.<sup>657</sup> Foreign merchants, by nature, benefited from the influence of consuls. Even, occasionally Ottoman Muslim merchants also sought help for them when they were in conflict with the Ottoman officials. For instance, they petitioned the British consul in 1840 for their 21,530 *kuruş*, the tax collector owed to them.<sup>658</sup> If we consider the Eastern Question, the willingness of European states to interfere in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire through their consuls -as supporters of the Ottoman reforms and protectors of the non-Muslim communities- was not surprising. But, sometimes their actions exceeded their authorities so much so that they could prevent the implementation of some of the Tanzimat regulations when economic interests of their merchants were at stake. For example, in 1855 the attempts to re-write profit tax (*temettü*) notebooks in İzmir were not successful because of the interference of

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<sup>654</sup> The typical biased Eurocentric account of the British vice consul is not surprising. M. Werry, in one his reports of 1825, to be able to express his devoted performance in Smyrna to his superiors during the Greek revolt, despite the all negative atmosphere in the city, described Smyrna as “uncivilized country:” “...During the greater part of the Greek insurrection up to the period that I obtained eight months of leave of absence I have performed nearly the whole duty of the consulate...The name of my father, Mr. Consul Francis Werry, and of our family, stand high in the Levant, it may be conducive to the benefit of the British interests in that uncivilized country that the Counlship may be -- on me particularly at a period of political difficulty when our personal influence in that quarter, a variety of difficulties attending the British interests both of a commercial and ? are adjusted by that influence, with the chiefs of the local government at Smyrna...the French consul received a mark of Royal Favor from his sovereign, to his conduct during the disturbances which occured at Smyrna where the Greek Revolution first broke out...” PRO 78/135, pp. 266-269, 1825.

<sup>655</sup> “Kontes Pauline Nostitz’in İzmirli: 1835 [Kontes Pauline Nostitz’s İzmir: 1835] quoted in Pınar, 2001, pp. 153-154. Kontes Pauline Nostitz came to İzmir with his husband, who was an insect specialist and worked in İzmir for a while before passed to India. Ibid, p. 374.

<sup>656</sup> Beyru, 2000, pp. 66-67.

<sup>657</sup> “Hermann Scherer’in İzmirli: 1860, [Hermann Scherer’ İzmir: 1860], quoted in Pınar, 2001, p. 237; Hermann Scherer was a German traveler. Ibid., p. 374.

<sup>658</sup> Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and The World Economy, The Nineteenth Century*, (New York: State University of New York, 1988a) 71-72.



the consuls. Ahmed Refik Pasha, who was responsible for the registers of the non-Muslims, could not complete writing the *temettü* notebook of İzmir. The reason for this incomplete *temettü* register was the consuls' claim that these people whom Ahmed Refik Pasha wanted to register were under their protection. Thus, Ahmed Refik Pasha refusing this interference of the consuls did not continue to register and left the city.<sup>659</sup> Since foreign minority communities directly under the jurisdiction of the consulates of their native countries, consuls' authority was almost equal to the authority of the governor of the city. Frank districts of İzmir, especially, were like a federative unit, which was constituted by various small states-<sup>660</sup> Austria, Genoise-Toscana, Denmark, Flanders, France, England, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia and Greece.<sup>661</sup> Documents of the Tanzimat period suggest that the influence of consuls continued in İzmir, that they dealt with issues from minor to major. The following example concerning a property problem of a non-Muslim Ottoman woman illustrates the effective position of the British consul in İzmir in the 1840s. Kolyince petitioned to the Porte about her sherbethouse (*şerbethane*), which ruined during the fire in İzmir. She inherited this *şerbethane* from her mother. Two Christian men, Andonaki, who was under the British protection, and Yorgi, an Ottoman Greek, interfered in her sherbethouse without any reason. She received an *ilam-ı şer'i* from the *kadı* of İzmir and an official report (*mazbata*) from the provincial council of İzmir three years before (in 1841). She also received an imperial order, which referred her complaint to the Islamic court. Since these non-Muslim men were under British protection, she also petitioned the British consulate, which ordered that her complaint should be listened in the Islamic court. The court initially decided forbiddance of the interference in her *şerbethane*. However, these two men did not obey this decision, that she was treated unequally. In spite of the decision of the court in her favor, she could not receive imperial order and the letter of the British consul re-stressing the forbiddance

<sup>659</sup> Kütükoğlu, 2000, pp. 36-37.

<sup>660</sup> Çınar Atay, *Tarih İçinde İzmir*, [İzmir in History], (İzmir: n.p.,1978) p. 27; Beyru, 2000, p. 69.

<sup>661</sup> Kütükoğlu, 2000, p.41.

of the interference. Moreover, by taking advantage of the lapse of time, these two men began to make a building on her ruined land of *şerbethane*. She applied to the center again telling that if these men did not have an ordering letter from the British consul, they would abandon from coming to the court. Therefore, to make them attend to the court she again requested an imperial order and a letter from the British consulate, and also a written document to forbid construction of that building on her ruined land, at least until the conflict was solved. She requested this decision to be written in a vizierial letter and given to her hand.<sup>662</sup> It is seen that this Christian woman insistently asked a letter from the British consulate in İzmir to protect her rights against these non-Muslim men. Another example, dating back to 1842, about a murder case in İzmir also provides evidence for the authority of the British consul in the city: The murder of a Dutch woman in İzmir on the 6<sup>th</sup> of July 1842 by a native of Malta was proved by two witnesses. Consul Brunt, the British consul in İzmir, in his correspondences wrote about this event and stated that although the crime was punished with the penalty of death, upon the report of the judge, it was commuted to transportation for life.<sup>663</sup> Since Malta was under the British rule, the consul was directly involved in the trial and decision of the punishment of the murderer. British consul was also interested in physical and sanitary conditions of the city for the sake of their

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<sup>662</sup> Ma'ruz ı Cariye-yi Keminleridir ki, İzmir'de Kassab Hızır Mahallesinde müteveffa-yı validemden müntakil irsen mutasarıfa olduğum şerbethaneyeye fi'l-asl İzmir sakinlerinde olub elan İngiltere devleti himayesinde bulunan Antonaki Kamari ve Yorgi Suva naman kimesneler fuzuli müdahaleden hali olmadıkları hasebiyle merkumlar ile mahallinde lede't-terafu ihkak-ı hak olunmak mazmununda bundan üç sene mukaddem İzmir hakimi ve meclis tarafından yed-i çakeraneme virilen i'lam-ı şer'i ve mazbata ve divan-ı hümayundan evrak-ı mezkureye çıkarılan derkenar mantukunca mahallinde mürafa'a olunmaklığımız babında bir kıt'a ferman-ı 'ali ile İngiltere sefaretinden dahi İzmir konsolosluğundan iktiza iden tembihatın tahrir ve i'tası nice kerre istid'a ve istirham olunmuş ise de elan derdest olamadığından bu cariyelerine gadr-ı külli olduğu ve mahaza şerbethane-yi mezkure İzmir harikinde muharrik olarak münaza'a-yi mezkure fas ve rü'yyet olunmaksızın 'arsasına tarafeynden kimesne müdahale eylememek üzere lede't-tembih karar virilmiş ise de şimdiye kadar hali pürme'alime merhameten liedli't-terafu gerek sefaret-i muma ileyhimanın konsolosa hitaben iktiza iden mektubu derdest olunamayarak imrar-ı vakt olunduğunu merkuman itihaz fırsat birle arsa-yı mezkureyi inşaya ibtidar itmekte oldukları bu def'a mesmu-ı abidnem olmak mülasebesiyle bu cariyelerini bu makule gadren vikayeye madem ki merkumlar sefaret-i muma ileyhimanın tembihi olmadıkça mürafadan ictinab eylemeleri cihetiyle li ecli't-terafu bir kıt'a ferman-ı 'ali ile sefaret-i muma ileyhimana mektubunun istihali ve hiç olmaz ise şimdilik madde-yi mezkure hitam-pezir oluncaya değin mahall-i mezkure vaz-i yedden ve imsa-yı ebniyeden men' olunmak mazmununda bir kıt'a emirname-yi sami-i hazret-i vekaletpenahinin şeref suduruyla yed-i çakeraneme i'ta ve ihsanı abında emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehül-emrindir, Ben de Kolyinca Nasraniye, BOA, A.DVN. 9/75 1844.

<sup>663</sup> PRO 78/532:173, 14 July 1843, 190, 28 January 1843.

commercial activities. For example, during one of the epidemic diseases, plague, in 1843, the consul had the authority to examine the surrendering districts and villages of Smyrna and to give orders to take necessary precautions, and put the ships coming from Egypt and Syria under quarantine in the port to prevent the spread of the disease in the city.<sup>664</sup>

Despite the effective role of the consuls in the administration of İzmir during the Tanzimat, we also see the attempts of the Ottoman Empire to limit their influential authority in the city. Mehmed Hamdi, the head official of İzmir (*kaymakam*), wrote in 1844 that he received a letter from the center ordering that the consuls should not give patent (license of citizenship) and exceed the boundaries of their duties. In this letter, it was ordered that if the consuls act contrary to these orders, they should be warned about their provoking actions.<sup>665</sup> Another archival document about the forbiddance of publishing an Armenian newspaper in İzmir in 1844 indicates both the influence of consuls in İzmir and local governor's unrest about the consul's interference in the issue. A subject of Russia, who was a resident of İzmir, attempted to publish an Armenian newspaper, like other French, English and Greek newspapers in the city. Its publishing was prohibited by the decision of the local governors of İzmir, because of the complaints of the Armenian *kocabaşes*: They argued that since this newspaper in an earlier time wrote against the Ottoman Armenians, they did not want it. They also mentioned that since there was already an Armenian newspaper in the city, there was no need for the second one. This issue was explained to the *mutasarrıf* of İzmir by a vizierial letter. It informed *mutasarrıf* of İzmir about the petition of the Russian consul to obtain permission to publish the newspaper and the reasons behind the prohibition of this newspaper. Russian consul asked permission by stating

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<sup>664</sup> PRO 78/522: 179, 12 July 1843.

<sup>665</sup> “İzmir'de bulunan düvel-i mütehabbe konsolosları tarafından --- sahihen devlet-i aliyyeye patenta virmemek ve umur-ı memurlarından haric ziyade maslahatlara karışmamak tenbihatını şamil sefareterleri tarafından alınan mekatib leffen taraf-ı çakerime gönderilmiş ve ba'zılarına dahi sefareterleri cannibinden doğrudan doğruya yazılmış olduğu --- aliyyeyle zikr olunan mektubların --- vusulunda mahallerinde bi'l-i'ta ahkam-ı mündericesinin hakimane istihsal, icrasına mübaderet ve konsoloslar tarafından muğayir hareket vuku'unda kendülere ihtar keyfiyetle...” BOA, Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası, Sadaret Evrakı Mektubi Kalemi (A.MKT), 16/24 1844.

that the newspaper would only write about commercial matters. *Mutasarrıf* in his reply to the capital asked decision of the Porte about re-publication of the newspaper, but emphasized the unrest of the Armenian community of İzmir about this issue.<sup>666</sup> Such documents indicate that local governors and state itself was not comfortable with the influential positions of the consuls in the administration of the city during the Tanzimat period. The center tried to control and limit consuls' authority in accordance with the centralizing reforms of the Tanzimat.

The registers of the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*Meclis-i Vala-yı Ahkam-i Adliye*) provide important information regarding the application of the Tanzimat regulations in İzmir. The new penal code was one of these new regulations that *Meclis-i Vala* registers contain many examples related to the implementation of it. In 1843, *Meclis-i Vala* issued an order of vizier (*buyruldu*) about a Muslim soldier from İzmir. He was in condemnation to the galleys (*kürek cezası*) for fifteen years because of a murdering suspicion (*katl töhmeti*). Explaining her desperate situation after her husband's and her daughter-in-law's death, his mother petitioned to the *Meclis-i Vala* to request her son's release. Her request was in accordance with the change in the 1840 penal code. His punishment was reduced to five years, which he already completed. Therefore, her request was accepted and ratified by the grand vizier.<sup>667</sup> Another example for the application of the new penal code was for the murdering case between two Ottoman Greeks in

<sup>666</sup> "Rusya devlet teb'asından İzmir'de mütemekkin Hacıdor Melekselamof nam şahs...gazetenin tab'ına şüru ideceği halde habhane-yi memleket taraflarından men' olunmuş olduğundan bahisle...mersum Hacıdor bundan akdem kendülüğünden edevat tedarikiyle ermeni lisamı üzre gazete tab' eylemekde imiş. Ermeni milleti hakkında baz'zı uygunsuz şeyler tab' eylemiş olduğundan ve İzmir'de o makule gazete tab'ının lüzumu olmadığını millet-i merkurum kocabashları ifade ve ihbar eylemiş idüğünden men' etdirilmiş Muahharan mersumun bundan böyle o makule uygunsuz mahalde birşey tab' eylememek üzere gazete tab' etmesine irade-yi ruhsat olunması hususu İzmir'de mukim --- müşarunileyh konsolosu tarafından iltimas ve ısdar olunmuş..." BOA, A.MKT 10/30, 1260 (1844).

<sup>667</sup> "İzmir'den müretteb topcu asakir-i neferatından Ahmed cünha-ı vak'asına mebni ellibeş senesinden berü mahbes ve prankadabulunmuş ve merkurum peder ve ayalı vefat iderek kendüsü sefalete duçar olmuş idüğünden merhameten tahliye-yi sebili hususu İzmir sakinlerinden merkurum validesi Şerife nam hatun tarafından rikab-ı hümayun-ı hazret-i şahaneye 'arzuhal takdimiyle niyaz ve istirahat olunmuş olduğundan keyfiyyetin meclis-i vala-yı ahkam-ı 'adliyyeye lede'l havale ihrac itdirilen kürek kaydına naz'aren merkurum mukaddema katl töhmetiyle der-sa'adete gönderilerek verese-i maktulün dem ve diyete dair 'amme-yi da'vadan merkurumun zımmetini ibra eylemeleri cihetiyle şer'an nesne lazım gelmeyüb fakat mücazeten elliyedi senesi evahir-i rebü'l-ahirinde on beş sene müddet için vaz'-ı pranka olunmuş ve muahharen kanunname-i hümayun zeyl-i irade buyurulan ahkam ta'diliyyeye tatbiken meclis-i vala-yı 'umumi kararı ve müte'allık buyurulan irade-yi seniyye mucibinde müddet-i mu'ayyenesi beş seneye tenzil ve ta'dil kılınmış..."fi 24 --- sene 1259 (1843). BOA, *Ayniyat Defterleri, Meclis-i Vala'dan*, no. 381, p.40.

1841. Since mother of the victim forgave the murderer, the punishment would not be applied. According to the penal code, the murderer was imprisoned for fifteen years, but he escaped from prison. *Meclis-i Vala* expressed its resentment to the provincial council of İzmir whose staff could not control the convict. It ordered that he should be found immediately and sent to İstanbul.<sup>668</sup> Another case was between two Muslim males. It was proved that one murdered the other purposely. The family of the victim forgave the murderer so that the retaliation (*kıyas*) punishment was not applied. However, according to the penal code, a person who kills someone purposely should be sentenced to galleys or *pranga* between 5-10 years in order to constitute a dissuasive example for the others. Therefore, the murderer was sentenced for six years with *pranga* punishment in İstanbul. *Meclis-i Vala* wrote to the provincial council and *Zabtiye Müşiri* of İzmir ordering that the murderer should be sent to İstanbul.<sup>669</sup> These examples demonstrate that the duty of *Meclis-i Vala* to adjudicate conflicts, which could not be solved in provincial councils as a final court of appeal for criminal cases, was applied in İzmir during the Tanzimat period.

<sup>668</sup> “İzmirli kunduracı İstan nam zimminin katl etmiş olduğu Yanni zimminin vereseşi dem ve diyetinden katil-i mersumun zımmetini ibra eylemiş idüğüne binean zuhur-ı irade-i seniyyeye kadar mahbese ilka olunduğu akdemce ba-mazbata inha olunmuş olduğundan maktul u mesfurun anası merkume katil-i mersumu bi'l vekale ve bi'l-asale kıstastan 'avf itmiş olmasıyla katil-i mersum ber-mantuk-I ceza kanunname-i hümayun on beş sene müddet vaz'-ı kürek olunmak üzere der-sa'adete gönderilmesi hususunu şamil irsal olunan tahriratımıza cevaben bu def'a vürud iden bir kıt'a mazbatada katil-i mersum mahbese ilka kılınmış ve levazım-ı tefahhuzun icrasından kusur olunmamış ise de mersum tuana cesur olduğundan ber-takrib prankayı şikest iderek habshanedan firar itmiş ve her ne kadar taharri ve tecessüs ise de buldurulamamış olduğundan bundan böyle dahi hafi ve celi taharri olunarak ele geçtiği anda Der-saadete gönderileceği inha ve iş'ar olunmuş olub memalik-i hazret-i padişahiye zabıta memurları ikamesinden murad zabt ve rabt-I memleket ve hilaf-ı rıza hareketinde bulunanların ahz habs ve hıfzı iden böyle bir zimminin mahbesden firar itirilerek sonra şöyle böyle idi deyyü inha olunması meclis dahi mazbata itmiş birzimmiyi zabt idemedik demek olub doğrusu ayıp ve fenn-I nesip olduğundan bu babda memurların tedib ve terbiyesi lazımeden ise de bu defalık sarf-ı nazar olunarak beher hal mersumu bulup bu tarafa irsal ile hakkında sadır olan emr ü irade-yi seniyyenin icrasına ibtidar olunması meclis-i vala-yı adliyede tezekkür olunmuş olmağla ol vechile katil-i mersum ber-hal taharri ve tecessüs olunarak her nerede ise buldurularak iktizası icra olunmak üzere Der-saadete tısyarına mübaderet ve fi maba'ad bu misüllü halat vukua getirüb muateb olduğundan kemal-i tevakki ve mücanebet eylemeniz siyakında kaime. Fi 13 Cemazü'l-evvel 1257 (3 July 1841). BOA, *Ayniyat Defterleri, Meclis-i Vala'dan*, no. 372, p. 192.

<sup>669</sup> “...müdde-i merkum bi'l asale katil-i merkumu kıstastan 'avf itmekle bu suretde fi'mabad katil-i merkum şer'en - -- lazım gelmeyeceği tahrir ve imla kılınmış ve bu makule katilin töhmen ve emsalini tarhiben beş seneden on beş seneye kadar ve der-sa'adete zabtiye mahallerinde vaz'-ı kürek ve prankaya olarak tesviye-i tarik ve --- be müsüllü hizmetlerde istihdamı kanun-ı ceza iktizasından baulunmuş olduğundan katil-I merkumun icra-i mücazat-ı zımmında --- bu tarafa irsaliyle mahallindeki habs tarihinden itibaren altı sene müddet prankaya bend olunması meclis-i vala-yı mezkurda --- ve tensib olunmuş olmağla...”BOA, *Ayniyat Defterleri, Meclis-iVala'dan*, Tarih, no. 405, 4.2.1847-18.3.1847, pp. 58-59.

The reform edicts of 1839 and 1856 made the non-Muslim communities became under closer scrutiny of the state. As a matter of fact, their employment in the public service or administration was depended on "sovereign will" of the Ottoman sultan.<sup>670</sup> The same applied to all those employed in education, be they teachers or other staff.

The 1856 imperial edict stressed the fact that their employment was determined only by his "sovereign command."<sup>671</sup> In the pre-Tanzimat Ottoman era, the rights and freedoms of the non-Muslim communities were inherent in the *millet* system itself and could not be restricted or changed at will. They were given in perpetuity and therefore "became inherent in the *millet* itself without being subject to renewal, abolition or limitation," as it had been since the time of Mehmed II.<sup>672</sup> In other words, the Sultan stated in the 1856 imperial edict that the *millet* should proceed with his high approval and the supervision of his high Porte.<sup>673</sup> Although, this closer control was clearly expressed in the 1856 imperial edict, archival evidence suggests that, in İzmir, just after the 1839 edict, such a close control of the Greek community had already begun. Some archival examples concerning this issue follow. A letter from the grand vizierate warned the *muhassıl* of İzmir in 1840 that Greek and Austrian merchants' activities and Greek theatre plays might lead to hostility and unrest in İzmir's society.<sup>674</sup> The grand vizierate ordered the *muhassıl* that these merchants and the Greek schools and theatres should be checked for their licenses. If they had no license, they had to be closed and such improper activities had to be

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<sup>670</sup> See ch. 2, p. 13, 17.

<sup>671</sup> The sovereignty was entrusted with the Ottoman sultan himself, as it was re-stressed in the 1856 reform edict: "...As all forms of religion are and shall be freely professed in my dominions...The nomination and choice of all functionaries and other employees of my empire being wholly dependent upon my sovereign will, all the subjects of my empire, without distinction of nationality, shall be admissible to public employments, and qualified to fill them according to their capacity and merit, and conformably with rules to be generally applied....The nomination and choice of all functionaries and other employees of my empire being wholly dependent upon my sovereign will, all the subjects of my empire, without distinction of nationality, shall be admissible to public employments..." J.C. Hurewitz, *Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane*, 3 November 1839, in J.C. Hurewitz, *The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics*, 2nd. ed., v. I (New Haven, 1975) 269-271.

<sup>672</sup> Kemal Karpat, "Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era" in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, v. I, Ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, (New York, London: Holmes & Miller Publishers Inc. 1982) 145.

<sup>673</sup> Karpat, 1982 p. 164.

<sup>674</sup> BOA, A.MKT, 10/10, 1840.

forbidden in the districts of İzmir either. Besides, he also warned the *muhassıl* that Greek tragedy theaters might cause to hatred and instigate unfavorable feelings among the people.<sup>675</sup> It gave as an example the Greek tragedy play of Marko Boçari who was one of the leaders in the Greek revolt. This indicates that the Ottoman state was sensitive to potential social unrest in the city, and concerned with the preservation of social order in the multi ethno-religious society of İzmir. We should also take into account the center's concerns about the impact of the nascent Greek state on the Ottoman Greeks of İzmir. Another document that shows the control of the center is a memorial (*tezkire*), which was written by the grand vizierate to the *kaymakam* of İzmir in 1844.<sup>676</sup> It concerned with the permission to re-publish the Greek newspaper *Amaltheia*. In earlier time, some of its articles were clearly against the Ottoman state that its publishing was forbidden. In 1844, the state re-allowed its publishing, on the condition that it would not contain articles or material unfavorable to the state. Moreover, regarding the state's control over the activities of the Greek community in İzmir, we learn that in 1847 an imperial decree was sent to the *muhassıl* of İzmir (Şakir Bey) ordering the close observation of Greeks in disguise in their churches and places where they came together (...*lisana aşına iki nefer kullarını tebdil-i came ile...*). The *muhassıl* of the city looked into the matter and reported back to the center that the Greeks expressed their blessings to the sultan in their prayers in the churches. He also mentioned that the Greeks, including the ones under the protection of Western states, submitted their *cizye* papers without any pressure, and that they were very happy with the state's stamp for the passports of their boats which was free of charge. Foreign consulates charged forty *kuruş* for the stamping (validation) of a passport (passport debit).<sup>677</sup> In this document we also see that although the old control practice of “disguise” (*tebdil-i kıyafet* or *tebdil-i came*) was abolished by an

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<sup>675</sup> BOA, A.MKT, 10/10, 1260.2.24, (1844)

<sup>676</sup> BOA, A.MKT, 12/67, 1260.5.5, (1844), Appendix-3, Plate 1

<sup>677</sup> BOA, A.MKT, 96/37, 1263.10.15 (1846), Appendix-3, Plate 2 & 3

imperial edict in 1829,<sup>678</sup> it was remained in use during the Tanzimat era in İzmir to control social conditions. Certain documents indicate that the Ottoman state attempted to prevent the formation of public opinion against the state through socio-cultural activities of İzmir Greeks and to maintain loyalty to the state through such controlling mechanisms.

The above mentioned documents, on the one hand, illustrate the attempt of the Ottoman state to express freedom of the non-Muslims become solely dependent on his personal sovereign will.<sup>679</sup> On the other hand, they assured their rights by both depending on the Tanzimat regulations and applying pre-Tanzimat principles. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, while İzmir played a crucial role in transmitting Western ideas and modernizing elements to the Empire, the central authority attempted to re-integrate İzmir into its administrative and political structure through reform regulations. In other words, Ottoman Empire pushed İzmir to re-adjust to its own principles.<sup>680</sup> The above mentioned archival examples also support this argument. The Ottoman central authority attempted to adjust İzmir to the re-organization through attempts to restrict influence of the consuls, through the application of the new penal code and closer scrutiny of the Greek community. As the documents below suggest, the state continued to use pre-Tanzimat principles in the case of a need either for the sake of social order or for the benefit of non-Muslims.

In the current historical literature, in general, Tanzimat reforms are evaluated in terms of how they were disliked by the ordinary Muslim population and how the non-Muslims benefited from them. It was the dislike of the Muslim population that led to societal problems in some

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<sup>678</sup> Cevdet Dahiliye, 14243, 7 March 1829 in Cengiz Kırılı, *The Struggle Over Space: Coffeehouses of Ottoman İstanbul, 1780-1845*, unpublished dissertation, (Binghamton: Binghamton University, 2000), 272, FN. 50.

<sup>679</sup> See ch. 2.1, p. 13.

<sup>680</sup> Sia Anagnostopoulou, "İzmir's 'National Historical Mission'" in *The Passage from the Ottoman Empire to the Nation States, A Long and Difficult Process: The Greek Case* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2004) 76. In İzmir from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Greek community of the city had been the main group who received this modernization, which was expressed by the cosmopolitanism of their schools and newspapers. *Ibid.*, p. 83.



other regions of the Ottoman Empire, such as in Niş and Vidin in the Balkans<sup>681</sup> and in the Arab lands.<sup>682</sup> Historical studies have suggested that this equality with the ‘inferior’ non-Muslims annoyed Muslim community, who considered such principles as against their religion and common will. As such, they considered Tanzimat reforms detrimental to their societal position.<sup>683</sup> As far as social and political conditions are concerned between 1839 and 1876, we see insecurity and public disorder in all over the Empire. Insecure environment and public disorder in western Anatolia showed itself as banditry activities of both Muslims and Greeks against the state. At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Sultan Mahmud II's centralization policies had not only broken the notables' monopoly over the economy of western Anatolia, but also sown seeds for the development of the banditry. This threatened social order in the region. Administrative and financial reforms of the Tanzimat did not provide justice among the social classes: inequalities in the taxation and tax collection system, reluctance of Ottoman peasants for conscription to the new army (*nizam-ı cedid*), need for the new conscription because of the continuing wars,<sup>684</sup> corruption in provincial administrations especially after 1864, and increasing social and economic inequality among the different classes of the society in western Anatolia led

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<sup>681</sup> The regulations about the taxation system was disliked by the prosperous Muslim and non-Muslim local land notables in the Balkans and many revolts broke out. In Niş, local affluent Muslim land notables opposed the new taxation system since they were obliged to pay according to their income level. But, their opposition was against the state –not to the non-Muslim *reaya*. Moreover, non-Muslim local notables also resisted the new tax system, because in the past they used to pay the same amount of tax as the poor *reaya* paid. In Vidin, a serious non-Muslim revolt occurred against Muslims. These land notables were exploiting the *reaya* in Vidin, including non-Muslim *reaya*. Halil İnalçık, 1964b, pp. 631, 641-649, Donald Quataert, “Main Problems of the Economy during the Tanzimat Period,” in *150. Yılında Tanzimat*, ed. Yıldız , Hakkı Dursun, Ankara: TTK, 1992) 215. After 1848, the peasantry in Moldavia and Wallachia became the real revolutionary forces, the peasantry revolt against the Ottoman state in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Albania in the last quarter of the century. Stephen Fischer-Galati, “The Peasantry as a Revolutionary Force in the Balkans,” *Journal of Central European Affairs* 23 (1963-1964) 17-19.

<sup>682</sup> Masters, 2001; Makdisi, 2000.

<sup>683</sup> Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, (London, New York, Toronto: Oxford UP, 1961) 105-106; Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, v. VI, (Ankara, TTK,1995); 9-10 Davison, 1963, p. 43.

<sup>684</sup> 1828-29 Otoman-Russia War, French occupation of Algeria in 1829, to where 15,000 soldiers were sent from western Anatolia, 1854 Crimean War, and 1877-78 Ottoman-Russian War, after which banditry activities started to increase rapidly. Sabri Yetkin, *Ege'de Eşkiyalar* ("Bandits in the Aegean"), (İzmir: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997) 51-64.

to the rise of banditry.<sup>685</sup> However, banditry not only belonged to the Ottoman Muslims, but also to the Ottoman Greeks and Greeks of Greek state.<sup>686</sup> The most famous Greek bandit group, *Katirciyani* threatened trade activities through its attacks against caravans and he also abducted big landowners and tradesmen to mountains to obtain ransom. A German traveler, who visited İzmir in 1852, noted dangerous environment in İzmir. He mentioned that because of a big banditry group, the people who came to İzmir from other towns had to carry guns and knives.<sup>687</sup> An archeologist, Charles Thomas, who stayed in İzmir from December 1852 to October 1854, also noted dangerous situation in the hinterland of İzmir because of banditry. According to him the reason for this insecure environment in İzmir was not only the ineffectiveness of the government, but also the cooperation of European merchants with bandits. He noted that many European merchants or their staffs were in cooperation with the leader of Greek banditry group, *Katirciyani*.<sup>688</sup> Talking about the most known Greek bandits *Katirciyani* and Simos, an observer in 1857 in İzmir mentioned Greeks' talent on such actions, which provided them success during the Greek revolt:

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<sup>685</sup> Sabri Yetkin, 1997, 26-37. In the Ottoman archives, there is abandonment of documents about banditry activities in the western Anatolia. Examples for the banditry can be seen in the correspondences of the provincial council of İzmir: *Muhassıl* of İzmir wrote that İzmir merchants sent a considerable amount of money (50.000 kuruş) to their partners, who were in Kırkağaç district of Tire Sancak. This money was usurped around Tahtaköprü by some armed people. A.MKT, 41/68, 1262.Ca.13 (8 June 1845); the *muhassıl* of İzmir in his another report to the capital wrote that fourteen bandits tread on the house of Hacı Mustafa and usurped his properties and killed his family. The *muhassıl* wrote to ask if the application of retaliation punishment is suitable or not. A.MKT, 92/44, 1263.8.23 (6 August 1846). In 1264 (1847-1848), the provincial council of İzmir wrote a *mazbata* about the judgement of these fourteen bandits. A.MKT, 92/42, 1263.8.23 (6 August 1846). The Provincial Council of İzmir wrote the details of the trial of these bandits and the judgement; A.MKT, 107/77, 1264.2.9 (15 January 1848); *muhassıl* of İzmir informed the center that there was a combat struggle between eighteen bandits and gendarmes in the Çeşme district of İzmir. Two bandits were killed and the rest escaped during the combat. A. MKT, 42/75, 1262.Ca.26 (21 June 1846); Jewish Hayim accused Bıçak Hüseyin and Mustafa of killing Osman Tatar and the cart's driver, who were carrying the post bag of İzmir. As a result of their trial in the sharia court, Bıçak Hüseyin and Mustafa were not found guilty. This decision was written in *fetvapehahi*. A.MKT, 2064/53/32, 1262.Za.6 (25 November 1845).

<sup>686</sup> In mountaneous Morea peninsula, because of the geographic and topographic difficulties, it was difficult to deal with agriculture to provide substance. People of Morea were mostly dealing with maritime activities. After Greeks established their independent states in Mora Island, they united with Greeks of islands and passed to Aegean coasts and conducted banditry activities to earn their livelihood. Therefore, they became to threat social security and order of western Anatolia in all 19<sup>th</sup> century, Yetkin, 1997, p. 52.

<sup>687</sup> "Julius Heinrich Peterman'in İzmirli: Temmuz 1852," (Julius Heinrich Peterman's İzmir: July 1852), quoted in Pınar, 1994, p. 219.

<sup>688</sup> "Charles Thoman Newton'in İzmirli: Aralık 1852 and 10 Ekim 1854," (Charles Thoman Newton's İzmir: December 1852 and 10 October 1854), quoted in Pınar, 1994, pp. 223-224.

“Greeks only have talent and combination enough for the arduous post of a robber chief...Katergee and Simos were not execrated by all Greeks as they were by the Europeans. It was by the klephtae that the insurrection in Greece began. That it was the klephtae, who were the nuclei of the guerilla bands who harassed, and at last, destroyed the troops of the sultan. All the Greeks in Smyrna delighted in Simos’ victory over the Turks.”<sup>689</sup>

The discussion below will examine if new regulations and newly founded institutions of the Tanzimat worked in İzmir and how the center and local authority dealt with the conflicts among people and how they treated the non-Muslim subjects during the age of the reforms.

The correspondence of the *Meclis-i Vala* with the provincial council, *muhassıl, kaymakam, mutasarrıf* and *zabtiye memuru* of İzmir provide evidence for both state's treatment of its subjects and the attempts of the state to implement the Tanzimat principles. The archival evidence suggests that the provincial council of İzmir was a working unit and it treated non-Muslims equally, that they could take back their rights by obtaining an official report (*mazbata*) from the provincial council of İzmir. In a document concerning a complaint of a Christian woman, Kolyince, from two Greek male residents of İzmir in 1844, we see that she applied to the central authority via the provincial council and *kadı* of İzmir. First, she petitioned to the state to protect her rights on her *şerbethane*, in which these two non-Muslim men interfered unnecessarily. She received an *ilam* from the *kadı*, and *mazbata*, from the provincial council, forbidding this interference.<sup>690</sup> Similarly, another Christian woman tried to obtain her right by applying to the state authorities in 1846. Adifola Barti Belifanti's sister had died without having children and left two houses as inheritance. Some people unnecessarily interfered in these houses. Belifanti asked local authorities to solve this problem through giving her a vizierial

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<sup>689</sup> Nassau William Senior, *A Journal Kept in Turkey and Greece in the Autumn of 1857 and the Beginning of 1858*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859) 203-204.

<sup>690</sup> The petition of Kolyince, 1260, BOA, A.DVN 9/75, 1844.

letter.<sup>691</sup> In a court register of 1858, we see another example of an Ottoman Greek woman's petition to the state. In 1858, Kali applied to the Islamic court when she reached to puberty, to sue her sister and the representative of her sister, their uncle. She wanted to take her share in the inherited property of her father. The inherited property was divided after her father's death according to the representative's wishes, when she was younger. The court accepted her request and cancelled her representatives' authority and decided to re-hear the case in accordance with her wish.<sup>692</sup> In another case dating back to 1843, the provincial council of İzmir wrote a *mazbata* for a Greek man's petition about a matter of a loan: Tanaş borrowed money from Nikola, who was a *beratlı* ("privileged" or "merchant with license") European merchant. Although initially they did not agree on any interest rate for this loan, Nikola, at the end of five years asked for an interest rate from Tanaş. He refused to pay it and applied to the council of İzmir. The council had to refer this case to İstanbul, to *Meclis-i Vala*, since one of the parties was a *beratlı* merchant.<sup>693</sup>

Such petitions of the non-Muslims to the state authorities not only indicate us the working of the

<sup>691</sup> BOA, A.DVN 20/78, 1262, Arzuhal.

<sup>692</sup> "...mezbur Andriya tarih-i salifüz-zikr Karacakoca'da meyhane derununda alet-i carihadan kama ta'bir olunur bıçak ile sol böğrü üzerinden amden ve bi-gayr-ı hakk darb ve cerh-i mezkurdan mütees'iren on yedi saat mürurunda babam mezbur Kalimi vefat itmekle tarih-i mezkurda ben sagire bulunmamla hala sagir olan mezburun Sokula ve Azmonala ve Atanaş'ın tesviye-yi emrimize kibel-i şer'idan anamız zevce-yi hazire-yi mezbure vasi-yi mansubemiz olmakla anamız mezbure tabiye tarih-i mezkurda tesviye-yi emr ümmü mezbure Kalye ile beraber husus-ı mazburun mucibini zikr -i mürür iden Karacakoca mahallesinde mezbur Andriya'dan inkarına mukarin bi'l-asale ve bi'l-vesaye da'va ve isbata kadireler olmayub ve mezburun dahi yemin edeceği mütehakkık ve ol vechle sülh-i hakkımızda enfa ve enla olduğuna binean beynlerine anamız hazıra-yı mezbure ile 'ümm-i mezbure Kalye'yi, mezbur Andriya ile husus-ı mezkurdan 'an-inkar on üç bin guruş bedel-i medfu ve makbuz sulh olmuşlar ise de elhalet-i hazihi ben bu def'a baliya olmamla sulh-i mezkura adem-i rıza ile diye-i recl olan on bin dirhem şer'idan kamilen hisse-yi irsiyemi tabel iderim deyyü da'va idüb ve mezbur Andriya dahi müteveffa-yı mezburu ber-vech- muharrer dar ve cerh eyledğini münkir olub ve husus-ı mezkure müdde-yi mezburenin şahidleri olmayub ve takrir-i meşruhu üzere sulh-i mezkuru bila-beyyine-yi fasihaya kadire olmadığı kendüye tefhim ve da'va-yı mezkuresinde mezbur Andriya'ya böylece şer'i mu'arazadan men' olduğu huzur-ı asitanelerine i'lam olundu, 9 Cemazü'l-ahir 1274 (25 January 1857), *İzmir Şer'iyye Sicilleri* (from know on İS), no: 9, p. 54.

<sup>693</sup> "İzmir mütemekkinlerinden etmekçi (ekmekçi) Tanaş nam zimmim Hekimoğlu Nikola nam zimmiden istikraz etylediği üçbin guruşu beher sene üzerine devr-i şer'i ve ilzam-ı ribh olunmuş değil iken mersum Nikola beş sene zarfında mersumdan ribh namıyla asl-ı maldan ziyade altı bin altı yüz guruş ahz itmekle mersum Tanaş ribh-i mezburun asl-ı mal mikdarını asla tutub ziyadesin taleb eyledikde virmeyüb gadr-I külli eylediği ve bu babda da'vasına muvafık canib-i şeyhü'l-islamiden feva-yı şerife verildiği beyanıyla mahallinde şer' ile rü'iyet ve ihkak-ı hakk olunmak babında ferman-ı 'alî sudurunu mersum Tanaş ba-arzuhal istid'a iderek mahallinde şer'ile rü'iyet olunmak babında bir kıt'a ferman-ı celilü'l-ünvan --- sudur itmiş ve mersuman meclie celb ve istintak olunmuş ise de mersum Hekimoğlu Nikola zimmi beratlu Avrpa tacirlerinden bulunmasıyle ba-irade-yi seniyye karargir olan nizamlar mucibince yüz elli guruşdan ziyade olan ahz ve i'talarında da'vaları zuhur ider ise nizamlarına tatbiken der-i 'aliyyede rü'iyet olunması icabından bulunmuş olmağla mersum Tanaş ol tarafa avdet eylemiş olduğunun 'arz ve inhası mu'arızında mazbata-yı çakeranemiz takdimine ictisar kılınmıştır ol-babda emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehü'l-emrindir." 1259.10.9 (3 October 1843), BOA, A.MKT, 9/10.

council of İzmir as a Tanzimat institution, but its predominance over their private courts the non-Muslims had the right to apply in order to solve their conflicts about matters of inheritance, marriage-divorce, or inter-communal loan. Therefore, to have an official state document was safer and more reliable in the case of a potential future conflict. Another document from 1841 is about the implementation of the *adet-i belde* principle of the pre-Tanzimat period. *Meclis-i Vala* wrote to the provincial council and the *zabtiye memuru* of İzmir ordering the arrest of five non-Muslim escapees from prison: Bekan Giriya and Marko, who killed a Muslim, a thief called Yanni, a jeweler called Aleksi who threatened his mother with a knife, and another Yanni who was accused of conducting fornication (*zina*) with a Muslim woman. They were all imprisoned in İzmir in 1841. In accordance with the *adet-i belde*, they were allowed to spend Easter at home with the guarantee (*kefalet*) of a Greek *kocabaş* Panako Todoriyo, who was a member of the provincial council of İzmir. But, they broke their *prangas* and escaped.<sup>694</sup> The negotiation among the members of the provincial council shows the mutual trust between the Muslim and non-Muslim members of the council, because if all the members had not ratified the guarantee of the Greek *kocabaş*, the criminals would not have been allowed to spend Easter at their home. The council of İzmir gave this permission, in spite of their serious crimes, which indicates that the pre-Tanzimat principle of *adet-i belde* was still in use. Another case which was registered in *Meclis-i Vala* notebook in 1842 was about an arrested Greek man. The *Meclis-i Vala* asked the *kaymakam* of İzmir to carry out an investigation to confirm his criminal act: veled-i Andoryan was arrested by a gendarme (*zaptiye*) of the town, and sent to İstanbul. Since no any register could be found referring to this criminal act in the *Meclis-i Vala* records, it asked the *kaymakam* of İzmir to confirm it.<sup>695</sup> In this case we see that the *Meclis-i Vala* did not immediately accept the decision of the local gendarme without proving the reason of his arrest with *pranga* in

<sup>694</sup> BOA, *Ayniyat Defterleri, Meclis-i Vala'dan*, no. 371, 1841, p. 8, Appendix-3, Plate 5

<sup>695</sup> BOA, *Ayniyat Defterleri, Meclis-i Vala'dan*, n. 376, 1842, p. 26, Appendix-3, Plate 6

accordance with the rule of law of the Tanzimat. In another case dating back to 1841, the *Meclis-i Vala* wrote about a *zimmi* called Kürdoğlu, who stole some amount of wheat, and carried it with a Muslim man vullğe Rus Cebeli oğlu Halil. He bumped into Halil and forced him to carry the wheat with him. When Kürdoğlu was caught, he said that Halil was his friend so that two of them were arrested. A woman from İzmir (probably Halil's relative) applied to the *Meclis-i Vala* for Halil to ask for his release since he was not a friend of Kürdoğlu and forced to do so by him. He was mistakenly imprisoned. She also asked the *Meclis-i Vala* the return of the money that was initially paid for his release. Positively responding to her request, the *Meclis-i Vala* wrote that it decided for his release since it was in accordance with the Tanzimat justice.<sup>696</sup> These examples indicate that the rule of law of the Tanzimat was applied to the non-Muslims, that no one could be punished without a public trial, as the 1839 Gülhane edict stated.<sup>697</sup> In another record dating back to 1841, the *Meclis-i Vala* notified the provincial council of İzmir about its decision regarding the punishment of three men, who were accused of being thieves: Arab Ahmed, Ali and Petros (Bedros). Arab Ahmed and Bedros stole some objects and gave them to Ali. They were caught, and the stolen objects were handed over to their owner. Ahmed and Bedros were arrested with *pranga*, and subjected to work in menial jobs. Since Ahmed was a previous criminal (*sabıkalı*), according to the penal code, he could not be punished in his home

<sup>696</sup> "İzmir sakinlerinden Kürdoğlu nam zımmi bir mikdar hinta sirkat idüb götürükten esna-yı tarikte Rus Cebeli oğlu Halil nam kimesneye tesadüf ve ibram iderek zikr olunan hintayı beraber götürmeğe razı olub ol-vehile birazını kendüsü alub gitmiş ise de sarik-i mersum burda ele getirilerek merkum Halil dahi refikim idi deyyü iftira eylediğinden meclise celb ile cümle muvacehesinde şer'an mürafa'a olunmuş ise de fuzuli mabese ilka olunarak salıverilmesi için iki bin guruş taleb olunmuş ve kavasbaşı ma'rifetiyle bin sekiz yüz guruş ahz olunub merkumun sebil-i taliye olunmamış olduğu beyanıyla ma'rifet-i şer'i ve mecli ma'rifetiyle meblağ-ı mezburun istirdadı ve merkumun tahliye'yi cebili hususu İzmir sakinelerinden Emine nam hatun tarafından ba-arzuhal inha ve istid'a olunmuş ve keyfiyet mukarin-i sıhhat olduğu halde rıza-yı 'alinin bi'l-vücut hilafı ve Tanzimat-ı Hayriyyeye usul-ı madelet şümülüne munafi görünmüş olduğundan olbabda meblağ-ı mezbur ise ma'rifet-i şer'i ve meclisce tahsili ve merkumun dahi sebilinin tahliyesi hususuna himmet eylemeniz siyakında şukka." 6 Safer 1257 (28 February 1841), BOA, *Ayniyat Defterleri, Meclis-i Vala'dan*, no. 370, p. 10, Appendix-3, Plate 7

<sup>697</sup> "...from now on, every defendant shall be entitled to a public hearing according to the rules of the şeriat after inquiry and examinations; and without the pronouncement of a regular sentence no one may secretly or publicly put another to death by poison or by any other means....The Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of our lofty sultanate shall without exception, enjoy our imperial concessions. Therefore, we grant perfect security to all the populations of our empire in their lives, their honour and their properties, according to the sacred law. *Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane*, in Hurewitz, 1975, pp. 269-271.

town. He should be sent to İstanbul with three years galleys punishment. As for Bedros, *pranga* punishment of three years and working in menial jobs were decided by the *Meclis-i Vala* in accordance with the new penal code. Since Ali did not directly involved in stealing, and the stolen objects were submitted to their owners, he was set free with a strict warning by the provincial council. The *Meclis-i Vala* asked the provincial council of İzmir that when Bedros completes his punishment, a memorial, *tezkire*, should be written to set him free.<sup>698</sup> This document is also an example for the implementation of the Tanzimat policy of the state in treating its ethnically diverse population. The *Meclis-i Vala* registers addressed to the local officials suggest also evidence for the cooperation and ongoing communication between the center and the local administration of İzmir, including its inner districts for the inauguration of the reforms. However, the important point was that whether the local administrative units and governors were capable of implementing reform principles or not. In the case of İzmir, the examples of the correspondences between central authority and local governors of İzmir suggest that they obeyed Tanzimat principles regarding the issues of equality on judicial matters.

However, as the documents below suggest during the integration process, the center continued to use pre-Tanzimat principles in the case of need either for the sake of social order or

<sup>698</sup> “Arab Ahmed ve ermeni ta’ifesinden Bedros nam şahısların sirkat töhmetiyle müttehem oldukları ve merkum ‘Arab Ahmed çaldığı eşyayı Tabzonlu ‘Ali bin Hasan nam kimesneye teslim eylemiş olduğu ıkrarlarıyla tebeyün itmiş olduğundan eşya-yı mehuze bi’l-istirdad sahibine teslim olunmuş ve bu makule sariklerin mahallinde pranka-bend olarak hıdmat-ı süfliyede istihdamları zeyl-i kanunname-i hümayun hükmü iktizasından ise de merkum ‘Arab Ahmed sabıka—olarak mahallinde mütenebbih olmayacağından vaz’-ı kürek olunmak üzere bu tarafa gönderülüb refik-i merkum ‘Ali sarik-i mersum Bedros ol tarafta tevkif kılınmış olduğu bu mazbata ve i’lam inha olunmuş idüğünden keyfiyet meclis-i ahkam-ı ‘adliyye lede’l-havale merkulardan ‘Arab Ahmed ve Bedros’un sirkatinin tebeyün idüb eşya-yı mehuze dahi sahiblerine teslim olunmuş ve bunlardan mersum ‘Arab Ahmed sabıkalı olduğundan bu tarafa gönderilmiş olmasıyla ceza kanunname-i hümayunu iktizasınca merkumun habs tarihinden i’tibaren üç sene müddet vaz’-ı kürek olunması ve sarik-i merkum eşyayı mesrukayı merkum ‘Ali’ye virmiş ise de bi’z-zat maddeyi sirkatte bulunmamış ve eşyayı merkum sahibine teslim olunmuş olduğuna binaen merkum ‘Ali’nin şimdiye kadar mahbusiyeti hakkında ceza olmak ba’dezin bu makule kabahatte bulunmamak üzere meclisce tembihat-ı ekidenin icrasıyla sebili tahliye kılınmak ve merkum Bedros dahi habs tarihinden i’tibaren mahallinde üç sene müddet pranka-bend üç olarak hıdmat-ı süfliyede istihdam ve yedine sahiha-yı vakı’a ve müddet mu’ayyenesini bi’l-ibraz sebilinin son bulduktan sonra tahliyesi için meclisce tezkire ita olunması hususu meclis-i vala-yı mezkurda tensib ve meclis-i ‘ali-yi ‘umumide dahi tecekkür ve tasvib olunmuş ve irade-yi seniyye-yi hazret-i padişahi dahi bu merkezde şeref-sunuh ve sudur buyrulmuş olunmağla ber-muceb-i vaz’ olduğundan merkum ‘Arab Ahmed küreğe vaz’ olduğundan merkum ‘Ali’nin tahliye-yi sebili ve mersum Bedros’un dahi mahallinde üç sene müddet ile pranka-bend olarak ol-vechile yedine tezkire i’tası hususuna mübaderet eylemeniz siyakında şukka” 14 Safer 1257 (5 February 1841), BOA, *Ayniyat Defterleri, Meclis-iVala’dan*, no. 370, 1841, p. 18, Appendix-3, Plate 8

for the benefit of non-Muslims and Muslims in accordance with the equality principle of the Tanzimat. For example, in 1847, two Greek men, Yorgi and his brother Argiri, attacked a man called Nikudis. They covered his eyes and stole his money and some of his belongings at Süleyman Paşa Tower in the Karantina district of İzmir. Nikudis did not see them in person during the attack, but claimed that he recognized them from their voices and words. The reason for their arrest was not because of the certainty of their guilt, but because they had records of their previous crimes (*sabıka*). They denied the accusation and asked for their release.<sup>699</sup> Since no one could prove that they were guilty, they were released by the presentation of a witness (*kefil*). In the pre-Tanzimat, the rule of *müteselsil kefalet* of Islamic law was applied in the trials.<sup>700</sup> In the system of *müteselsil kefalet*, each member of the society constituted a witness for another member and, that a testimony from the same neighborhood was enough for someone to be released.<sup>701</sup> This example shows that the *Meclis-i Vala* decided not only according to the new penal code of 1840, which forbade the imprisonment of any subject without a trial,<sup>702</sup> but also considered the *müteselsil kefalet* tradition of the earlier period. Another case dating back to 1848 is also about the rule of the *müteselsil kefalet*. It was applied for the banishment of an Armenian man from his neighborhood because of his unsuitable and threatening attitudes: An Armenian man disturbed his neighbors and threatened them by carrying gun. The *Meclis-i Vala* wrote to the *muhassıl* of İzmir and ordered his banishment until he corrects his misbehaviors. However, it also stated that if he corrects his attitudes and finds a trustable person to be his witness from his neighborhood, he should be pardoned and discharged.<sup>703</sup> This example also indicates the

<sup>699</sup> BOA, A.MKT, 60/67, 1263.1.13, (1846).

<sup>700</sup> Özer Ergenç, *Osmanlı Klasik Dönemi Kent Tarihçiliğine Katkı, 16.yy'da Ankara ve Konya*, [A Contribution to the Urban History, Ankara and Konya in the 16<sup>th</sup> century], (Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı Yayınları, 1995)147.

<sup>701</sup> Özer Ergenç, "Osmanlı Şehrindeki 'Mahallenin' İşlev ve Nitelikleri Üzerine," [About the functions and qualities of 'mahalle' in Ottoman Cities] in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, v. 4, İstanbul, 1984, 73.

<sup>702</sup> Ekrem Buğra Ekinci,, *Osmanlı Mahkemeleri, Tanzimat ve Sonrası* [Ottoman Courts, Tanzimat and After], (İstanbul: Arı, 2004) 126.

<sup>703</sup> "İzmir mütemekkinlerinden ve Ermeni milletinden Şamlı oğlu Ohanis nam zimminin silah taşımak ve şuna buna atale-i lisan itmek misüllü uygunsuzluğundan dolayı kaza-i mezburda mütemekkin ermenilerin külliye kendisinden emniyetleri tesebbüb olmuş idüğüne mebni mersumun bir münasib mahalle nefyi ve takribiyle icra-i te'dib ve



implementation of *müteselsil kefalet* tradition of the pre-Tanzimat period in the Tanzimat period. However, archival material also represents some sporadic examples that the pre-Tanzimat rules alone used in judicial matters: Three Greek men came to İzmir in 1847 for trade. They were arrested and penalized with condemnation for galleys because of a theft imputation (*töhmət*). Denying this imputation, they applied to the local officials to be released. When prison notebook (*zindan defteri*) was checked, it was seen that they were imprisoned by the theft imputation a year ago, and brought to İstanbul. This meant they were imprisoned not by a definite court decision, but only by imputation, and spent a year in prison. The head of the *Meclis-i Vala*, Halil Rıfat, wrote to the Provincial council of İzmir that they should be released.<sup>704</sup> In fact, according to the principle of the rule of law of the Tanzimat, no one could be imprisoned without public trial. In this case they were imprisoned by depending on an imputation as it happened in the pre-Tanzimat period.

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terbiyesi hususu millet-i merkuma tarafından ba-mahza niyaz ve istid'a kılınmış olduğu beyanıyla icra-yı icabı hususu tarafınızdan ba-tahrirat...keyfiyet meclis-i vala-yı ahkam-ı adliyyeye havale ile siyak-ı istida'ya nazaren...mersum bir sene müddetle nefy veyahud pranka-bend olunub müddeti içinde ıslah-ı nefis ider ve kavi kefil irae edebilir ise sebil-i tahliye ve idemediği takdirde müddet-i tahdid kılınmış kanun-ı ceza iktizasından bulunduğuna mebni istid'a olunduğu vechle mersumun bir sene müddetle derun-ı sancakda münasib mahale nefy ve tagrib olunub müddet-i merkum içinde kabul-i terbiye iderek ve kendüsünden emniyet hasıl itdirerek ahaliden kefil-i iraye edebilir ise 'afv ve ıtlakı hususu meclis-i vala'ya mezkurede müzakere ve tensib kılınmış olunmağla olvehile icra-yı iktizası hususuna hummet eylemeniz siyakında ka'ime." 16 Muharrem 1263 (4 December 1846), BOA, *Ayniyat Defterleri, Meclis-i Vala'dan*, İzmir Muhassılina, no. 405, p. 99.

<sup>704</sup> Selanikli Kostantin veled-i Vasil ve Tırhalalı İstirati veled-i Tanaş ve Yanyalı Nikola veled-i Dimitri nam zimmiler eclid ticare İzmir'de vakı Boz karyesinde buldukları halde ahz ve grift ile caninb-i tersane-yi amireye isal olunub vaz'-ı kürek olunduklarından bahisle sebillerin tahliyesi hususunu mersumun savb-ı alilerine arzuhal ittasıyla niyaz ve istirham eylemiş olduklarından mahbusiyetleri keyfiyeti zindan defterlerinden lede's-sual sirkat töhmetiyle ahz ve grift ile geçen sene donanma-yı hümayun ol tarafda bulunacağı esnada teslim olunarak der sa'adete muvasalatlarında selef-i acizi devletlü Paşa hazretlerinin şifahen vakı' olan ifadelerine mebni fi 24 Ramazan sene 63 tarihinde vaz'-ı kürek olundukları zindan-ı mezkur defterlerinde mukayyed olacağı 'arz- hali mezkur üzerine mahrec derkenarda izah ve beyan olunmuş ise de mersumların fi'l hakika sirkat töhmetiyle ahz ve grift olunub olunmadığına da'ir ol tarafdan henüz bir iş'ar vuku' bulmamış ve müddet-i habsleri dahi haylüce vakd olmuş olduğundan mersumun derece-yi töhmetlerine göre müddet-i habsleri mahalle meclisinde kararlaştırılmıştır ve bir güne iradesi var mıdır ve şimdiki halde haklarında ne mu'amele olunmak icab ider buralarının bi'l-etraf bilmesi lazım gelerek keyfiyyet-i İzmir muhassılı sa'adetlü efendinin bendeleri canibinden ba-tahrirat --- lede'l-isti'lam ol babda İzmir muhassılından tevarüt leffen takdim kılınan mazbata da mersumlar sarik ve eşkiya güruhundan oldukları tahrir ve beyan olunmuş olmağla bu babda ne vechile emir ve irade-yi aliyye-yi vekalet penahileri müte'allık buyurulur ise icra-yı savb-ı ibtidar olunmak üzere savb-ı çakeriye beyan ve iş'arı babında emr-ü ferman hazret-i men lehül emrindir. Fi 28 Zi'l-kaide 1263, Halil." 28 Zi'l-kaide 1263, BOA, *Meclis-i Vala Reisi Halil Rıfat'ın Yazısı* [The writing of the head of the Meclis-i Vala, Halil Rıfat], 1263.12.28 (2 November 1846), BOA, A.MKT, 103/40, Appendix-3, Plate 4

Consequently, such typical archival documents for the case of İzmir suggest that the Ottoman Empire struggled to integrate its western periphery to the center by applying Tanzimat regulations.<sup>705</sup> The archival evidence also indicates that during the period of transition in İzmir, no radical break from the pre-Tanzimat rules or habits of the government officials occurred. In other words, a dualism occurred during this period, it was a blend of both pre-Tanzimat and Tanzimat regulations in order to provide and maintain cohesion by entrenching the sense of Ottomanism. The example documents discussed in this section indicate not only genuine efforts of the Ottoman Empire to apply the principles of the Tanzimat, but also its attempt to combine its pre-Tanzimat regulations, originating from its traditional Islamic character, with the Western political and social notions. In other words, Tanzimat period might be seen as the struggle of the Ottoman Empire to integrate itself into Western world by forming its own value and political system. It attempted to provide this integration by re-gaining its strong centralization, which required integrating its peripheries into the center. While the state used both the pre-Tanzimat and Tanzimat premises in order to entrench the notion of Ottomanism for social unity and cohesion, it also increased its control mechanisms over its provinces. As far as İzmir is concerned, it attempted to do this through local officials. It regularly communicated with the local authorities and asked local rulers to check the social and cultural activities of the İzmir Greeks, to restrict influence of the consuls, and continuously sent warning letters (from *Meclis-i Vala-yi Divan-ı Adliye* to the local rulers in İzmir and in general in western Anatolia) stressing

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<sup>705</sup> Many vizierial letters or notes from the *Meclis-i Vala*, which were addressed to the governor of provinces or *mutasarrıfs*, are available in the Ottoman archives. They ordered prevention of any contrary actions against the Tanzimat regulations and attentive application of them, BOA, A.MKT, 213/2 1265.8.21 (12 June 1848), A.MKT, 235/93. Provincial council of Iannina, in responding to the center, stated in its *mazbata* that the Tanzimat rules and laws were strictly obeyed in Iannina, where people live in completely just environment. 1265.9.13 (30 July 1848), A.MKT, 217/8. *Meclis-i Vala* issued the regulations of the Tanzimat to the distant districts of the Empire (*taşra*). In this text, *Meclis-i Vala* warned the local officials in *taşra* that the new rules and regulations of the Tanzimat should be obeyed and necessary inspections should be made to see if the new regulations were obeyed. BOA, Cevdet Adliye section (C.ADL), n. 843, 2 Zi'l-kaide 1261 (2 November 1845); In another document, an official from *taşra* informed *Meclis-i Vala* that they received its orders about the formation of large and small provincial councils in accordance with the Tanzimat regulations and the premises of the new penal code. Ibid., C.ADL, n. 842, without date.

the importance of the implementation of the new regulations. İzmir integrated with the center but also kept its local character. This helped to maintain its social cohesion in spite of the all unfavorable events at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and in the second decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. İzmir came to represent the modern face of the Ottoman Empire with its well functioning multi ethno-religious society that was the ideal of the modernizing state. As the state applied its reform regulations, the local urban, social-cultural and economic characters of İzmir did not weaken, instead they strengthened. The working of this process of coexistence of strong locality and centralization will be discussed in chapter 5.

As far as the relations between economic and social order of İzmir is concerned in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it has been argued that the non-Muslim involvement in western Anatolian money-lending and industry aggravated the “severe tensions” which in a short period of time led to the disintegration of the Ottoman society.<sup>706</sup> Depending on Ottoman-Turkish archival material and Greek newspapers of the given period of this study (1826-1864), this study indicates that such severe tensions did not occur in İzmir during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, until the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, until 1912 when the CUP began to terrorize businesses of the Greeks along the western coastline in the name of national economy policies. İzmir Greeks had experienced hard times with the local powers and a few fanatic Turks during the Greek revolt, whereas we do not have any evidence for a widespread hostility between Greeks and Turks in the city. The Greek and Turkish communities of İzmir melted sporadic aggressive events within the cohesion they developed over the centuries. The scholarly<sup>707</sup> and some amateur social histories of the city<sup>708</sup> did not indicate any proof for existence of such “severe tensions” among the communities of

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<sup>706</sup> Goffman, 1999, p. 127.

<sup>707</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, 1992; Kasaba, 1988a; Tuncer Baykara, *İzmir Şehri Tarihi* [History of City of İzmir]. İzmir: EÜ Matbaası, 1974.

<sup>708</sup> Çınar Atay, *Tarih İçinde İzmir*, [İzmir in History], (İzmir: n.p.,1978); Rauf Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir'de Yaşam* [The Life in İzmir in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century]. (İstanbul: Güzel Sanatlar Eğitim Vakfı, 2000); Adnan Bilget, *Son Yüzyılda İzmir Şehri 1848-1949* [City of İzmir in the Last Century], (İzmir: n.p., 1945); Musa Çadırcı, "Tanzimat Dönemi'de İzmir [İzmir in the Tanzimat Era], *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* v.1, n..3 (1993); Raif Nezh, *İzmir'in Tarihi* ("History of İzmir"), 1927.

İzmir. However, some observers and diplomats noted the tension originated from the economic inequality between Ottoman Greek subjects and Greeks of İzmir under the protection of Greece or European states and Turks: In 1857, Herr Spiegelthal, who spend some time in Asia Minor, talked to Senior Nassau about the feelings of Christian population in İzmir: “Their hatred of the Turks increases as their (Greeks’) own wealth, intelligence, and numbers increase, and the Turkish rules becomes more and more corrupt and oppressive.”<sup>709</sup> In one of the reports of the British consulate it was mentioned that “The Christian races are buying up the Turks; the Turks, handicapped by conscription, fall into the hands of some Christian usurious bankers (Armenian, Greek, or occasionally European) to whom the whole property or estate is soon sacrificed.”<sup>710</sup>

Charles Eliot, a British diplomat, also noted this:

“But when force does not rule, when progress, commerce, finance and law give the mixed population of the Empire a chance of redistributing themselves according to their wits, the Turk and the Christian are not equal; the Christian is superior. He acquires the money and land of the Turk, and proves in a law court that he is right in so doing.”<sup>711</sup>

Mr.Homer, a Greek resident in İzmir, also commented on the impact of the reforms on the Greek subjects and Turks of İzmir:

“The increased security of life and property has enabled the Christians to oust the Turks from many of the employments which were formerly open to them. Our increasing wealth produces a more than proportionate expenditure on education. Whether there is a Greek village, there is a school. Small as our numbers are, there are then, perhaps twenty, perhaps fifty educated Greeks for one educated Turk. Every post requiring knowledge, diligence, or intelligence is filled by a Greek. Whenever a Turk borrows, the lender is a Greek. Whenever a Turk sells, the purchaser is a Greek, and seldom that a Turk borrows without

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<sup>709</sup> Senior, 1859, pp. 195-196.

<sup>710</sup> Report on Trade FO 78/96, Reply to Questionnaire FO 78/1525 quoted in Issawi, 1999, p. 9.

<sup>711</sup> Quoted in Issawi, 1999, p. 9.

having soon to sell. The proud Turks are thus becoming an inferior race in their own country. They appear still to retain its administration, they are the pashas, *beys*, *mollahs*, and *kadis*, but for the details of their administration they are forced to trust to Greeks; and those who managed the details of business, especially when a Turk is the superior, are the real administrators.”<sup>712</sup>

The subordinate position of the Muslims in economic terms compared to the Greeks was part of reality in İzmir, as it was in all over the Empire. Presence of such mutual unpleasant ideas of both communities should be regarded as a normal societal development in İzmir in the period of transformation. In the processes of social change and transformation emergence of different and conflicting ideas should be considered natural, especially in the multi ethno-religious societies. In other words, such conflicting ideas and some occasional aggressive events do not indicate us presence of a general communal conflict in İzmir. Travelers and diplomats noted a general unrest in the society of İzmir in the 1820s, but none of them noted serious widespread conflict between the Turks and Greeks in İzmir, neither during the Greek revolt nor in the years following it. As far as economic relations are considered, commercial competition caused a conflict between the Greek and Armenian communities in İzmir. However this never turned out to be a serious violent conflict.<sup>713</sup> Orthodox antagonism towards the Catholics was a well known issue in İzmir. İzmir Greeks even blamed them to side with the Turks in Chios massacres during the Greek revolt.<sup>714</sup> This hostility led to an aggressive event in İzmir in 1818 but it remained as a low level violence, when actual killings happened in the same year in Aleppo where eleven people were killed.<sup>715</sup> It

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<sup>712</sup> Nassau, 1859, p. 214.

<sup>713</sup> Beyru, 2000, p. 144.

<sup>714</sup> Ibid., p. 144, FN. 390. A traveler noted that son of one of the prominent Greek families of İzmir converted to Islam. His father was so sorry that a Greek priest was trying to comfort him with these words “I understand your sadness but you should find a good thing in every bad thing, what if your son converted to Catholic instead of Islam.” Quoted in Beyru, 2000, p. 145, FN.393.

<sup>715</sup> Richard Clogg, “The Greek Millet in the Ottoman Empire,” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, v.I, eds. Benjamin Braude & Bernard Lewis, (New York, London: Holmes & Meier Publishers Inc., 1982) 191. The origin of the Orthodox hatred of the Latin traced back to the declining period of the Byzantine Empire in that Latins tried to instigate the Orthodoxes for submission to the Rome in return for the assistance against the Ottoman threat. However, a high official declared that he would prefer to see Muslims’ turban instead of Latins’ mitre. Ibid.

is known that in the 1840s and 1870s some unfavourable events occurred between Greeks and Jews in İzmir. The newspaper *L'echole de l'orient* noted in 28 April 1843 that Greeks of İzmir disturbed and insulted Jews in the streets that the police should interfere in such insulting attitudes against innocent Jews.<sup>716</sup> The most well known conflict between Greeks and Jews occurred in 1870s in İzmir and it turned out to be attacks against the Jews. This did not originate from economic reasons or commercial competition between the two communities, but because of some religious prejudgements of each party: The Greeks believed that the Jews needed blood of a child in their religious days.<sup>717</sup> A suffocated Greek child was found at the seaside in İzmir. The Greeks accused the Jews of torturing and killing the child. As a result of this accusation, the İzmir Jews could not go out of their houses for several days. Some Greeks attacked Jews that two people died and twenty people were injured. The newspapers *La Turquie* (7 May 1872) and *New York Times* (31 May 1872) announced this event in detail, and foreign consuls also mentioned this event in their correspondence.<sup>718</sup> Similar events re-occurred in 1873 in the neighbouring regions, in Chios, Çeşme, Urla and Marmara Island, and<sup>719</sup> in Kirmaslı district of İzmir, where some Greek children were lost and Greeks again held the Jews to be responsible.<sup>720</sup> In 1872, in Karataş district of İzmir, and in Manisa, some news spread that the Jews kidnapped some children. In Manisa the kidnapped child was a Turkish child, and Greek and Armenian people joined with the Turks to attack the Jews.<sup>721</sup> As for the event in Karataş, a Greek woman blamed some Jewish fishermen for kidnapping her son. As a result of interrogation, it was understood that the lost child was not kidnapped. He hid himself in the house and he was found there. As a result, she was punished by imprisonment in the building of the English consulate (since she was

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<sup>716</sup> Quoted in Beyru, 2000, p. 151.

<sup>717</sup> Beyru, 2000, p. 150.

<sup>718</sup> Quoted in Beyru, 2000, FN. 411-416, pp. 151-152.

<sup>719</sup> London Times, 23 May 1872 quoted in Beyru, 2000, p. 153, FN. 420.

<sup>720</sup> London Times, 6 December 1873 quoted in *ibid.*, FN. 421.

<sup>721</sup> Beyru, 2000, p. 153.

from Malta).<sup>722</sup> Such kind of conflicts between communities does not indicate us the presence of a general “severe tension” which seriously threatened the general social order of the city. The conflict between Greeks and Jews and the commercial competition between Greeks and Catholics did not result in serious violent social conflict in İzmir. Moreover, the prominence of the non-Muslims in the economic life of İzmir did not cause Muslims’ violent reaction against the non-Muslim Ottomans and foreigners during the Tanzimat years. The possible reasons of this social cohesion and interaction between the Greek and Turkish communities of İzmir will be discussed in the following chapter.

In considering the impact of the Tanzimat on the Greek community of İzmir, the evidence presented here indicates that the prime concern of the authorities in Istanbul was to maintain social order which meant in reality that the community was given considerable freedom even as center tightened its control over the inhabitants of the city. Moreover, the Porte attempted to integrate its peripheries into the center in the Tanzimat period. To put in another way, it developed strategies during this process of integration to provide “an order of geographical homogeneity.”<sup>723</sup> This process of integration was constructed between the Porte and people of İzmir, between local rulers and people of the city, and between local administration and the imperial government. The following chapter will confirm that the central and local authorities encouraged rather than discourage harmony among the communities of İzmir.

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<sup>722</sup> Ibid., p. 153.

<sup>723</sup> Jens Hanssen, “Practices of Integration, Center-Periphery Relations in the Ottoman Empire,” in *The Empire in the City, Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, eds, Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, Stefan Weber, (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2002), 59.

## **Chapter 5. Communal Relations, Post 1840s**

By the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Ottoman non-Muslim and Muslims along with Western merchant communities had entrenched themselves very well into the social fabric of İzmir in peaceful terms. As it is indicated in the earlier chapters, İzmir overcame the negative effects and social unrest caused by the unexpected Greek massacres in 1770, which was accompanied by the initial Greek revolt in Morea, the big Greek casualties in the 1797 Janissary uprising, the Navarin defeat of the Ottomans, and the harsh treatment of İzmir Greeks by some local powers in the initial years of the Greek revolt (1821-1830). In spite of these unfavorable events, İzmir could stay away from the effects of the Western notions of nationalism and ethnicity through its dynamics and local character during the Tanzimat age. What were these peculiar dynamics that strengthened the locality of İzmir and provided social order and cohesion among various ethno-religious communities? Was there any interaction between Greek and Turkish communities? And, how did the Ottoman center respond to strong local character of İzmir during the centralizing reforms? These will be discussed in the below.

Driven by the evidence used in this study, I determined to use the following categories to organize the discussion of inter-communal relations: property agreements and social interaction drawn from court records; relations of the communities with the local authorities and their sense of belonging to the city, drawn largely from the Greek newspapers, and commercial relations drawn from diverse sources. As the following discussion indicates, there is enough evidence to argue that the people of İzmir lived together, collaborated and interacted.



### Greek-Turkish Property Relations:

Court registers of İzmir indicating property relations between Ottoman Greeks and Turks demonstrate the level of interaction between them during the Tanzimat years. In 1853, in the Hatuniye district of İzmir, a Muslim man, Mehmed, his mother and his sisters owned seven houses jointly. The houses were bordered by each other. He sold all these houses and their land to another Muslim man, Veliyü'd-din İbn-i Mustafa. In the court, in 1853, he described the location of the houses and assented to this sale. These seven houses were located among workshops of İzmir Greeks: the one side of the houses was adjoined to the shop of woodworker Dimitri, the other side to the ranch house of Andonaki, and the other side to the cellar of Andonaki, and the forth side faced the public road.<sup>724</sup> The buyer and seller were Muslims but we see that these Muslim houses were located in the middle of the properties of İzmir Greeks. This coexistence does not prove an intimate relationship, but the long duration of this relationship is important. Here I will deal with some very typical *sicil* examples mentioning such long lasting relations between Greeks and Muslims. In a case dating back to 1847, a man called Alexander, his siblings, and two representatives of a non-Muslim, Millaki were present in the court in order to conclude the rental of a Muslim man's land, Ahmed. His land was adjoined to the house of the Greek merchant, Millaki, and a French church on two sides. (The other two sides were public roads). Initially, the merchant Millaki rented this Muslim man's land and built a house on it. The

<sup>724</sup> “Medine-i İzmir’de Hatuniyye mahallesi ahalisinden nevsinden asıl validesi Ayşe bint-i İbrahim bin Abdullah ile karındaşı Hatice bint-i Hacı Hafız Mehmed ibn İbrahim nam hatunlar tarafından husus-ı atide vekilleri olduğu zat-ı mazburetanı arifan Ali Bey ibn-i Ömer ve Zeynel Abidin Efendi ibn-i Halil nam kimesneler şهادetleriyle mahzarihun hacette bir nehc-i şer’i lahık olan Ahmed ibne’l-merkum Hacı Hafız Mehmed meclis-i şer’de işbu bais’ül-kitab demirci veliyyü’d-din Bey ibn-I Mustafa mahzarında bi’l-asale ve bi’l vekale ikrar-ı tam ve takrir-i kelam idüb Sakız Hanı’nda ka’in bir tarafı bakkal Dimtri’nin doğramacı dükkanı ve bir tarafı Dandariyye Andonaki Frenkhanesi ve bir tarafı yine merkumun mahzeni ve taraf-ı rabi’i tarik-i ‘amm ile mahdud birbirine muttasıl yedi bab menzilin ebniyeleri aheri mülkü ve arsaları şuyuen mülkümüz olmağla salif’ül-beyan arsaları tarafeyneden icab ve kabulü havi şurut-ı müfsideden ari bey-i bati-i sahih-i şer’i ile dörtbinsekizyüz guruş senenin makbuz-ı merkum veliüd-din Bey’e bi’l-asale ve bi’l-mekale bey’ ve temlik ve teslim eylediğimde ol dahi bir vech-ş muharrer iştira ve temellük ve tesellüm ve kabz ve kabul idüb meb-i mezburun tahrir ve gybetine müteallıka da’vadan herbirimiz aherin zımmetini kabulü havi ibra ve ıskat eyledik Fimabad mezkur arsalarda bizim asla ve kat’a alaka ve medhalimiz kalmayub müşteri-yi merkumun mülk-i müşterası ve hakk-I sahi olmuştur didid de gibbet-I tasdik-I şer’i ma-vak’a bi’t-taleb ketb olundu fi’l-yevm yevmü’l-hamis aşer min Şevvali’l-mükerrerem sene tis’a ve sittin ve muyeteyn ve elf. İS, n.2, p. 3, 15 Şevval 1269, (22 July 1852).

Greek man, Alexander, and his siblings rented this land from Millaki, with *icare-yi tavile*, which meant a long term rental, and according to *örf-i belde*, a local custom, they built a Frank house on it and had a license from the state (*gedik*) to run this Frank house.<sup>725</sup> Here, we need to clarify three basic concepts, which will help us to understand the long lasting property relations between Greeks and Muslims. The first one is *icare-yi tavile*. In Islamic law, it is a long term form of rent between 49 and 99 years for the possession of the property or to construct a building on it.<sup>726</sup> This possession type indicates to us a relationship of almost a century. When someone possessed a piece of land with *icare-yi tavile*, he not only had the right to construct a building on it, but also the right to sell this building whose land was owned by someone else. Another term in this document to be explained is *örf-i belde gediği*. *Gedik* as a term alone means the right to run a place without possessing its land, like a long-term lease. At the same time, *gedik* was the right of practicing handicraft or making trade. This right was given by the state as a license. Those who had this license also had the right to put their possessions on this immovable property.<sup>727</sup> As we see in the above example, the Greeks sold their right to run the place (*gedik*) to the Greek merchant, Millaki. *Örf-i belde gediği* was a possession type (*tasarruf düzeni*) that had emerged as a tradition in western Anatolia, especially in İzmir, Bursa and Manisa as a result of the population increase in urban area and the demand of artisans and tradesmen for land.<sup>728</sup> In this example, the right of *örf-i belde gediği* belonged to the Greeks but the land itself belonged to a Muslim. In other words, on the same land we see two types of disposal. Another record, dating

<sup>725</sup> İS, n.2, p. 3, 29 Şevval 1263, (28 October 1846).

<sup>726</sup> Ömer Nasuhi Bilmen, *Hukuk-ı İslamiyye ve Istılahatı Fıkhiyye*, v.6 (İstanbul: Bilmen Yayınları, 1985) 58, 193; Ahmet Akgündüz, *İslam Hukuku ve Osmanlı Tatbikatında Vakıf Müessesesi*, (Ankara: TTK, 1988) 354-356; *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, (Leiden, 1971), v. III, 1017. In the sources related to *icare-i tavile* we see that *icare-i tavile* was a long term rental of *vakıf* properties and possessions. However, in the *sicils* of İzmir we see that it was also used as a long term rental of the land and possessions between the individuals' belongings. Ömer Nasuhi Bilmen also mentioned that individuals themselves could rent their possessions to others for a long period of time, which could also exceed their life period. Bilmen, 1985, p. 193.

<sup>727</sup> M. Tului Sönmez, *Osmanlıdan Günümüze Toprak Mülkiyeti, Açıklamalı Sözlük* (Ankara: Yayımevi, 1996), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1998, 64-65; Hilmi Ergüney, *Türk Hukunda Lügat ve Istılahlar*, (İstanbul: Yenilik Basımevi, 1973), 133-134; Ömer Hilmi Efendi, *İthaf-ül Ahlaf fi Ahkam-il Evkaf*, (Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1977), 17.

<sup>728</sup> Sönmez, 1998, p. 225.

back to 1857 serves as an example for the important economic relations between Muslims and Greeks in the period. A Muslim man, Ahmed Ağa, one of the land notables of İzmir had died, and his son inherited a considerable amount of money. His wife was the representative of his son. A Muslim man, Osman Efendi, represented the wife and son of the late Ahmet Ağa in court. The case involved a Greek man, Andonaki, as well, to whom Osman Efendi had made a sizable loan from the boy's inherited money [two hundreds Ottoman gold lira (*mecidiye*)]. The Greek man, Andonaki, used his house as a pledge for the loan to Osman Efendi. His house was quite big and it was located in a wealthy district in the Aya Dimitri neighbourhood. Andonaki had agreed with Osman Efendi that if he could not pay back his loan, Osman Efendi would sell his house in return for the loan, and would return the remaining amount to him.<sup>729</sup> The transaction was recorded in the court. This document constitutes a typical example not only regarding economic relations, but also long lasting social relations between the Greeks and Turks of İzmir. Moreover, the “*efendi*” title implies that Osman Efendi was from the *ulema* class (religious clergy) or a bureaucrat. Hence, his social position determined his reliability and ability to become a representative of both the Greek and Muslim parties. This also shows us that the relationship between them was not very formal, and that it depended on mutual trust. In addition

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<sup>729</sup> “Medine-i İzmir’de Kasab Hızır mahallesinde mütemekkin teba’a-yı devlet-i ‘aliyyeden mimar oğlu Andonaki veled-i Yorgi meclis-i şer’i-i hatır-i lazımu’t-tevkirde medine-i mezburede Cami’-i Atik mahallesinde sakin iken bundan akdem vefat iden Ağrıbozi Osman Ağa bib Halil’in sulbi sagir oğlu Ahmed Efendi’nin validesi ve vakt-ı rüşd ve sadadiyete değin tesviye-yi umuruna kible’ş-şer’iden vasi-i mansubesi ba’isü’l-küttab Fatme Hatun tarafından vekil-i müsecceli Osman Efendi bin Şerif ‘Ali mahzarında ıkrar-ı tam ve takrir-i kelam idüb muma ileyh ‘Osman Efendi sagir-i merkumun malinden bi’lvekalebana eda ve teslim ben dahi ve kabz ve umuruma sarfla itlaf eylediğim yalnız iki yüz adet mecidiye altunu değnim mukabelesinde hala taht-ı temellükümde olan Kasab Hızır Mahallesinde Aya Dimitri nam mahalde mekan kain Aya Kasu dimekle meşhur bir tarafı Hamamcı Nayaku ve bir tarafı Mariko menzilleri ve taraf-ı rabi’ tarik-i ‘amm ile mahdud fevkani bir bab ve tahtani dört bab oda ve bir miktar bağçe ve arsa ve müştemilatı saire-yi --- mül menzilimi rehn bade’t-tahliye-yi şer’iyyeye teslim eylediğimde ol dahi ber-vech-i muharrer irtihan ve tesellüm ve kabz itmekle değnim olan sabıkkü’z-zikr iki yüz adet yüzlük mecidiye altunun sagir-i merkumun mülkü merhumu olup semeni isbu tarih-i vesikadan bir seneye mü’eccel vekil-i mumaileyh yedinden işira ve kabz eylediğim bir darü’l-muhtar fetvası semeninden dahi yigirmi ‘aded yüzlük mecidiye altına --- iki yüzlük mecidiye altun deynimi işbu tarih-i hüccet-i şer’iyye sese tamamına değin eda ile fekk-i reh idemez isem menzil-i mezkuru semeni misliyle aharebey’e ve kabz-ı semene ve makbuzunda mesbü’z-zikr iki yüz yigirmi ‘aded yüzlük mecidiyemi müvekkile-yi merkumeye eda ve fazla kalur ise fazlasını bana teslim kulliyen ... ‘akd-ı rehinde meşruta vekalet-i devriye-yi sahiha-i şer’ ile tarafımdan muma ileyh ‘Osman Efendiye vekil ve na’ib-i menab nasb-ı ta’yin eylediğimde ol dahi vekalet-i mezbureyi kabul ve hıdmet-i lazimesini kemayanbayı edaye taahhüd ve iltizam eyledikde gibbe’t-tasdikü’ş-şer’I ma-vak’a bi’t-taleb ketb olundu. İS, n.9, p. 2, 1273 (1856).

to the concept of *icare-i tavile*, another concept that indicates long term property relations in the court registers is *müddet-i vafire*. The lands which were possessed by *müddet-i vafire* were rented at least for 30-40 years.<sup>730</sup> A case dating back to 1864 indicates such a long term rental by two Armenian men whose ownership of their properties was witnessed by three Muslims in the court.<sup>731</sup> This typical *sicil* example also indicates the long term property relations between non-Muslims, who constructed this long term property relations by benefiting from principles of *örf-i belde gediği* and *müddet-i vafire* of Islamic law.

Some *sicil* examples also indicate the relationship between the state and the communities. An example dated back to 1859 and about a complicated conflict over houses which changed hands among seven Greek women from İzmir for twenty five years. These houses were built on the land of a pious foundation (*Sultan Mustafa Han Vakfı*). *Vakıfs* were institutions which were built by members of the imperial house or leading community members, and they were supervised by *kadı* and run by a group of the trustee of pious foundation. In the document it was mentioned that the land of the pious foundation was rented to a Greek women in 1834. She sold it to another Greek woman, and the land continued to change hands till 1859.<sup>732</sup> There were 25

<sup>730</sup> BOA, Nâme-i Hümâyûn Defteri, 4/1 and BOA. Hatt-ı Hümâyûn , nr.7616; Şemseddin Sami, "vfr", *Kamus-i Türki* (Istanbul: İkdam Matbaası, 1317 AH), p. 1494."

<sup>731</sup> "...Medine-i İzmir'de Ermeni Mahallesi mütemekkinlerinden olup bundan akdem halik olan Hacı İstefan veled-i İzar nam zimminin sulbi kebir oğulları iş bu hamilü'r-rakim Mıgdırgıc ve Evanis nam zimmilerden istihbar-ı şer'i sudurundan sonra li-eclil ihbar meclis-i şer'e hazıran olan el-hacc 'Ali Efendi ibn-i İbrahim ve Aydınli Ahmet Ağa ibn-i Mehmed nam kimesneler istintak olunduklarında fi'l-hakıka medine-i mezbure haricinde Kemer kurbunda kain Kara Süleyman Paşa Kulesi yakınında dimekle meşhur bağçenin canibinden Keresteci başı Hacı Hasan Ağa'nın yirmibir zira yirmi parmak ...nihayet-i köşesinde Hurşid ağa bağçesi dimekle 'arif mimar Hristo yedinde olan müşterek --- nısfından Makbereci zade el-hac Ali Efendi'nin el Mehmed Said Efendi'nin köşkü hizasına gelince...sekiz parmak mahall müstakil vüruduna ve derun-ı bölgede kain mersum muma ileyhın hanam kulesi civarında kain dolapkuysu ve yulakları dut ve mahalli mezkurda bulunan eşcarları on sehım itibarıyla müstehberan-ı mersumanın bi'l-münasafa müddet-i vafireden berü taht-ı tasarruflarında olub kimsenin medhali olmadığı bizim her vechile malumumuzdur. Bizler bu hususa bu vech üzere şahitleriz ve lede'l-muhabere şahadet dahi ideriz deyyü her biri ala tarik-i istişhat ihbar etmeleriyle vakiü'l-hal ketb ve imla olundu. Hıfzen li'l-makal. Fi 25 Şevval 1271 (11 July 1854). İS, n. 6, p.88.

<sup>732</sup> "...Medine-i İzmir'de Kasab Hızır mahallesinde..... Sultan Mustafa Han hazretlerinin evkaf-ı şerifeleri musakkafatından mahalle-yi mezburede Kasuliye(?) çeşmesi kurbunda kain kırmızı rişde boya.... sa'ire-yi ma'lumeyi muhtevi bir bab-ı menzilin arsası mukaddema ba-temessük vakf-ı müşarun ileyhe müvekkile-yi mersume Marika nasraniyyenin bi'l-icareteyn taht-ı tasarrufunda iken mersume Marika nasraniyye işbu yedime olub muayyene olunan ikiyüz elli senesi şevval'ül-mükerremi guresi tarihiyle müverrah hamis-ü temessükü mezkur mucibinde mutasarrıfa olduğu arsa-yı mezkureyi onbeşbin guruş bedeli medfu ve makbuza müvekkilem mersum Kostandinanın anası ve müvekkile-yi mersumenin üveyi kızı gaibe-yi anil meclis şu an mahkemede bulunmayan

years of conflict among the parties about the possession right on the land of the *vakıf*. The significant point in this document is that it indicates long lasting relationship between a Muslim *vakıf* and Greek subjects in İzmir, because the rentals of the *vakıfs* had been for a long period of time, not for a couple of years.<sup>733</sup> The *vakıf* land, which was possessed by the state, could be rent out to individuals on the condition that it would not harm the public benefit (*maslahat-i amme*).<sup>734</sup> In this document it is seen that the state rented out its *vakıf* land to the non-Muslims by considering public benefit regardless of their religion. The other example also related to the principle of public benefit of the Islamic law is about an application made by the Greeks to the center to bring water to the Buca district in İzmir. We know that Buca was mostly populated by non-Muslims, and especially Greeks and Levantines.<sup>735</sup> A source of water had been found in the town. The non-Muslims of Buca wanted to bring this water to the town. But, the place of this water source was the private property of some Muslims. In 1863 these non-Muslims applied to the state to bring the water to the town. The state gave its permission on condition that they themselves would meet the expenses of this water transfer. And, since the place of this water source did not belong to the state treasury, the non-Muslims had to buy it from the Muslims. The state advised and encouraged these Muslims to sell their property to the non-Muslims, and if they did so, they would be exempt from some certain taxes for which they were liable.<sup>736</sup> The state did not prevent the non-Muslims from using this water although the ownership of the source of this water belonged to the Muslims. It acted in this way by depending on two points: first, it was

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Elize bin Cuvana veled-i atam nam nasraniyyeye ba-izni mütevellî ferag mukayyed-i kat'i ile ferag ve teviz eylediğinde ol dahi ber-vech-i muharrer teferru ve tefebbis ve kabul ve vakf-ı müşarunileyin mütevellisi dahi icareyi sabıkasıyle arsa-yı mezkureyi mersume Elize nasraniyyeye bi't-tevlite icar ve teslim ve teberruan üzerine ebniye inşasına izin virmekle...". İS, n. 4, p. 28, 17 Şevval 1275, (23 April 1858).

<sup>733</sup> Ahmet Akgündüz, *İslam Hukuku ve Osmanlı Tatbikatında Vakıf Müessesesi*, (Ankara: TTK, 1988) 354-356.

<sup>734</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 448; Halil Cin and Ahmed Akgündüz, *Türk-İslam Hukuk Tarihi*, vol. 1, pp. 156-8. Also see:

Dale F. Eickelman and Armando Salvatore, "Public Islam and the common Good," *Etnografica*, 10/1 (2006) p. 97-105. Murat Şen, "Osmanlı Hukukunun Yapısı," *Yeni Türkiye Dergisi*, 31 (2000), pp. 686-98.

<sup>735</sup> Nikou Karara, *Ο Μπουτζας, Το Λουλουδενιο Χωριο της Σμυρνης, η ιστορια του-η ζοη του*, [Buca, The joyful place of İzmir, its history-its life], (Αθηνα: Εκδοσεις Ενωσησως Σμυρνειων, 1962); Çınar Atay, *Tarih İçinde İzmir*, [İzmir in History], (İzmir: Tifset Basım ve Yayım, 1978) 57.

<sup>736</sup> BOA, A.MKT, 93/39, 1263 (1846).

the *maslahat-ı amme* or *menfaat-ı amme* principle of Islamic law. According to this principle, if something benefited the whole society, the state was responsible to support it without differentiating its subjects as Muslim or non-Muslim. This old pre-Tanzimat practice was still applied during the Tanzimat. This suggests that the old legal practice of the Ottoman Empire was not totally abolished with the promulgation of the Tanzimat. The state continued to keep its traditional mechanisms to maintain relations among the communities. Besides, such an attitude was also in accordance with the equality principle of the Tanzimat, i.e., that the state decided in favour of both Muslims and Christians. These typical examples provide evidence for the well-functioning and long-lasting property and land relations between İzmir Greeks and Muslims, which trace back to the earlier centuries. Another court register also indicates how the state did deal with conflict between two non-Muslim subjects: A register dating back to 1852 explains the conflict between two non-Muslim women, Kiryakola and the wife of Kuzucu Nikola, for achieving the possession right of an abandoned piece of land of a *sipahi*. *Sipahi* had this land in the Buca district and disappeared for 15 years. The two non-Muslim women claimed to possess this land. Kiryakola claimed in her petition to the center that she cultivated this land for the last 15 years. She demonstrated this in sharia court with three non-Muslim witnesses. She asked the court to warn other woman and prohibit her interference in this land. As a result of her interrogation to the court, the other woman accepted that Kiryakola cultivated this land for the last 15 years. The court decided in favour of Kiryakola.<sup>737</sup> The abandoned land of *sipahi* was

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<sup>737</sup> “İş bu tarihü’l miladda yigirmi iki sene mukaddem medine-i İzmir’e muzafe Buca karyesinde ... şahsı mu’arefe Kiryakola nasraniye meclis-i şer’imizde zikri ati menzile vaz’-ı yed mütefakkır olan Marinos Cali veled-i Dimitri nam nasraniyenin zevci ve tarafından zikr-i ati hususunda vekil olduğu mersumeyi bilür Sotiri veled Atnaş veled-i Dimitri nam zimmiler şahadetleriyle mahzarihum hacedde ber-nehc-i şer’i sabit ve sübut vekaletine hükm-i şer’i lahık olan Kuzucu Nikolaki veled-i Çadırcı ile taraflarında karye-yi mezkurede bir tarafı...mersumenin sağlığında ile’l-helal yedinde mülkü olub bade helakihi bana mevrus olmuşken müvekkil-i mersume Martinoyid (Martinus?) menzil-i mezkure ve --- mersumenin ba-temessük sipahi taht-ı tasarrufunda olub tarih-i mezburda kanun-ı münife üzere hakk-ı tapusu bana a’id olan karye-yi mezkurda tımarı dahilinde vakı’ bir tarafı --- Yorgi ve bir tarafı --- tarlaları ve bir tarafı tarik-i ’amm ile mahdud iki kıt’a tarlaları dahi fuzuli ve bi-gayr-ı hakk ol tarihten berü benim muvacehemde zabt ve tasarruf idüb ben dahi husus-ı mezkurda da’va mümkün iken bade’l-bülüğ on beş sene müddet bila özr-i şer’i sükut ve terk-i da’vası etmişdim el-halet-i hazihi menzil-i mezkur ile salifüz’zikr beyan tarlalardan keffi yedine müvekkile-yi mersumeye izafetle vekil-i zevce-i mersum Nikolaki’ye tenbih olunmak

given to the possession of Kiryakola. She obtained the right of possession as result of the long term use of the land, which is called *zilyet* in Islamic law. According to *zilyet* principle, one could possess an abandoned land or property if he/she used it for a certain period of time.<sup>738</sup> As this document shows, Ottoman subjects had the right to benefit from *zilyet* principle regardless of religion. A correspondence between *dahiliye müsteşarlığı* (“internal undersecretaryship”) and *İzmir Kaymakamlığı* (“the office of provincial district”) in 1845 also demonstrates long-lasting property relations among the Ottoman Greeks and Muslims. Two Muslims, Hacı Mahmud and Hacı Abdullah, and a Greek Ottoman, Kostantin, had jointly owned a piece of land. Another Greek man, Sacador, interfered in their land without any reason. They applied to the court in 1851 in order to prevent this unnecessary interference of Sacador.<sup>739</sup> This jointly owned land of two Muslims and an Ottoman Greek and their collaboration with another Ottoman Greek not only indicate the long lasting property and economic relations between Greeks and Turks, but also social interaction between them. An Ottoman Greek could sue another Ottoman Greek subject for cooperating with his Turkish fellow. Another example dating back to 1847 indicate economic relations among Muslims and non-Muslims of İzmir: Two Muslim residents of İzmir petitioned the state in order to take permission to build a mill in cooperation with a European and a Greek merchant. After the provincial council approved the construction of the mill, the center also gave the permission to jointly build this mill.<sup>740</sup>

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muradımdır deyyü da'va itdikde arazi-yi mezkurda hakkında olan da'vası tımar-ı mezkur sipahinin huzuruna muhtac ancak menzil-i mezkur hakkında vekil-i mersum Nikolaki istintiak olundukda menzil-i mezkur ba-mülkname-i hümayun müvekkile-i merumenin vaz-ı yedinde ıkrar lakin müddeiye-yi mersumenin mülkü olduğunu ispat itmekle müddeiye-yi mersumenin da'vası üzere husus-ı mezkurede da'vası mümkün iken badel-bülüğ on beş sene bila 'özü-şer'i sükut ve terk-i da'va şer'i sükut ve terk-i da'va eylediğın hakkında ve ?mu'telif olub ve Nikola'dan on beş sene bila 'özü-şer'i terk olunan da'vanın bila-emr-i 'ali istimaından hükema-yı kiram müteddiler olmağla müdde-i mersumenin da'vasına iltifat olunduk --- i'lam olundu --- emr-i ferman hazret-i menlehü'l-emrindir fi ----- 1851, İS, n.2, p.3.

<sup>738</sup> *Mecelle-i Ahkam-i Adliye*, ed. Ali Himmet Berki (Istanbul: Hikmet Yayınevi, 1982), p. 373. Article no. 1679.

Also see Yusuf Cemaladdin, “Zilyedliğin keyfiyet-i lüzüm ve isbatı”, *Mecelle-i Adliye*, 3 (1338 AH), pp. 133-8.

<sup>739</sup> BOA, A.MKT., 40/75, 1262.5.1, Dahiliye Müsteşarlığından İzmir Kaymakamlığı'na Şukka.

<sup>740</sup> “Mal-i 'arzuhal Medine-i İzmir'de Punta nam mahalde mutasarrıf olduğu arsa-yı haliyesi üzerine beher sene maliye hazine-i celilesine beş bin gurus virmek üzere müceddeden bir bab vapur değirmanı bina ve inşa itmek için ruhsatı havi emr-i 'ali itası niyaz olub Midillü ceziresi Ahalisinden Mehmed Necib ve Rıza Beyler ile Avrupa tüccarı behiyesi mimar İstratı ve Saki taraflarından vaki' olan istidaya mebni meclis-i ziraat ve meclis-i vala-yı ahkam-ı

In conclusion, the attempts of the state to entrench central authority during the age of reforms had been felt in İzmir, too. The Greeks of İzmir had come under more control of the state during the Tanzimat period. However, the state also treated the Greeks of İzmir in accordance with the Tanzimat principles of equality and also in some cases favoured them by referring to the pre-Tanzimat regulations. In other words, it was a blend of both pre-Tanzimat and Tanzimat regulations in order to provide cohesion in society. Moreover, centralizing Ottoman reforms did not disturb the century old social order in the city, due to its local character. There are a number of factors which make up the local character of İzmir: the inter-communal interaction at social-cultural and imperial level during funerals, celebrations of religious days, the conciliatory attitude of the local authorities towards non-Muslims, the people's sense of belonging to the city, the special location of İzmir as an opening commercial spot of the Empire to the West, and finally the centuries old presence of the significant commercial Levantine community are the factors which made up the local character of İzmir. The interconnected spatial organization and long lasting property relations demonstrate the existence of a unified economic space within the city. The following sections will discuss how the people of İzmir did maintain their relations among themselves in this unified economic space.

### **Social interaction among common people:**

The description of a celebration by a foreign visitor in Söke district of İzmir (40 km northeast of İzmir) in 1853 might give an idea about the general social situation and communal

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adliye kararı ve şeref sünuh buyrulan emr-i hümayun şevket makrun-ı tacdari mucubince şeri'at-i lazime derciyle vapur değirmeni inşasına ruhsatı havi ıstar buyrulan emr-i ali kaydı misl olunmak üzere derkar olunmuş olmağla bu suretle emsali vechile tedkikatı lazimesi icra buyrulmak üzere bunun dahi meclis-i valaya havalesi لازم geleceği ma'lum olub bu babda emr ü ferman devletlü sultanımındır. " Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası, Sadaret Evrakı (A.DVN), 29/61, 1263 (1846).



relations in western Anatolian towns during the age of the Tanzimat. His letter was published in the Greek newspaper *Amaltheia*:

“Dear editor of *Amaltheia*, I came to Söke as a foreigner for a couple of days and witnessed to an event that I wanted to tell you about it. I witnessed that the ruler of the town was treating all his people equally regardless of religion. This means that Mr. Mehmet Elezoğlu (the ruler of Söke) inherited these attitudes from his father. His attitudes to treat people in equal terms and with justice and his characteristics as a governor came from his father. I realized even that he was perceived by some people more than a governor, like a father figure. Mehmet Elezoğlu had left for İstanbul 26 months ago, and the people of the town were expecting his return with great impatience. On 22 May 1853 people from all classes, Christians, Muslims, leading members of the communities, were waiting to welcome him with joy. 27 May became for us like a festival day. Ottomans, Greeks, Armenians and other people from the surrounding regions of Söke closed their workshops and gathered in Söke to welcome Mr. Elezoğlu. All people shouted that ‘long live our sultan Abdülmecid, you did not deprive us from our beloved governor, long live our governor and father.’ They accompanied him till the building of his office and kissed his right hand and left.”<sup>741</sup>

On the one hand, the bewilderment of this foreigner about the local ruler’s equal treatment of all people of the town regardless of religion, and the love and respect of people, including the non-Muslims, towards him indicate typical Eurocentric prejudgment about the situation of the non-Muslims in the Ottoman lands. On the other hand, his description of the celebration of the return of the governor points to social order and harmony in this Aegean town, as was in İzmir in this period.

Long lasting property relations demonstrated the existence of certain amount of interaction between Greeks and Muslims; however, some other activities prove further their interaction at societal level. For example, they cooperated on illegal businesses in daily life: they stole together, or borrowed from one other and or came into conflict about payments. Moreover,

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<sup>741</sup> *Amaltheia*, 5 June 1853.

they also took part in each other's festivities and funerals. In the section below, it will be discussed with some typical examples that how this interaction worked in İzmir.

A famous Persian thief, called *Acem* in the newspaper, and Drakudis from Mytilene stole all the silvers and gold of the Yenicehori church and also robbed three Christian houses in 1857. *Acem* was caught and Drakudis escaped. Since some of the stolen goods were found in the bag of *Acem*, he was imprisoned, but denied his guilt. He broke his chains, dug a hole in the wall of the prison and escaped. Local officials could not find him. While going to Aksarion (Aksaray), Priest K. Hrisantos bumped into *Acem*. He handed him over to the local authorities by admonishing them to keep him in the prison until he returned from Aksarion. However, he again escaped. The newspaper stressed the weakness of the local authorities in surrounding regions of İzmir since they were not able to control the criminal.<sup>742</sup> The newspaper wrote about another robbery case in 1865: seven Muslim and one Orthodox Christian Albanian organized a big robbery in the Kasaba district. They planned to rob two places: a house of an Armenian and the cash register of the Kasaba railroad station. The head of the police organization Yasin Ağa unveiled this secret plan before they put the robbery into operation. The Orthodox Christian Albanian, who was working at the Kasaba railroad station, had a criminal record in previous years. Therefore, he was sent back to his hometown, Vitoli, to be judged there. The newspaper praised the police organization of the city since it unveiled this robbery plan before it became harmful.<sup>743</sup> On 18 June 1865 an Ottoman Greek merchant, Anastasias Ürgüplü, gave a letter to *Amaltheia* in which he denounced the agreement he signed with one Turk and two Greeks. He wrote that he signed an official paper in which he had accepted to give 68,600 *okka* bolls of cotton to Halil Mokşaoğlu, Botos Avratoğlu and Georgios Thodosiu from Sarayköy. In his words, "...but, these men did not fulfill their promises to me, in addition, they

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<sup>742</sup> *Amaltheia*, 21 June 1857, n.957, p. 4.

<sup>743</sup> *Amaltheia*, 28 August 1865, n.1381, p. 3.

owe me not only the price of the bolls of cotton, but also another big amount of money. Therefore, I denounce this official agreement as if we did not make it at all, until they pay me their BURDA loans / debts.<sup>744</sup> Addressing the local authorities in İzmir, Andonios N. Foskolos wrote an open letter to the Ottoman official authorities in the Greek newspaper *Smyrni* in 1873 and explained the conflict about property rights to his land: Foskolos owned land in Buca and his ownership of this land was approved by the officials and architects of the municipality: Williamson, Vitalis, Voskudakis, and Kokinos. They informed Süreyya Pasha (governor of İzmir) that the property right of this land belonged to Foskolos. Later a conflict arose about his ownership of this land and he did not receive his official paper proving his ownership. He applied to the local courts and provincial council of İzmir, which could not decide about the status of his land. The problem originated from the claim of Williamson, architect of the municipality. He argued that this land did not belong to Foskolos, and the reason why it was seen in the official documents as his property was that he changed the borders in the plan. Foskolos stated that the architect Williamson, the mayor and some peasants lied and the original borders of his land were available in the plans. The other architect, Markozof, realized that this was a conspiracy against Foskolos so he wrote a letter to the local officials. He mentioned that since there were *temessük (borç senedi)* records concerning these lands, it was obvious that the peasants siding with the mayor and other architects had lied. Foskolos noted that at the end of his letter "...the main wish of our magnificent sultan is to serve the people. Therefore, I request that Süreyya Pasha considers my case in compliance with justice and give my rights back, and to judge these people according to the law."<sup>745</sup> Such an attempt of a Greek's appeal to the governor of İzmir was a sign of trust for the implementation of law and rule of justice and authority of local power in the early 1870s.

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<sup>744</sup> *Amaltheia*, 17 June 1865, n. 1374, p.4

<sup>745</sup> *Smyrni*, 8 May 1873, n. 220, p. 3.

Apart from such examples of financial conflicts and some co-criminality of Muslims and non-Muslims together, we also see that different community members attended the funerals of the leading people in the city. For example, the Baltazzis family, one the best known Levantine families of İzmir, meant that the funerals of its members were conducted with the participation of many people of İzmir regardless of religion. When Georgios Baltazzis died in 1852, Amaltheia announced his funeral and mentioned the crowd at which Ottoman soldiers, the religious men of all the churches, consuls and merchants were present.<sup>746</sup> Similarly, when Epaminondas Baltazzis died in 1894, an ostentatious funeral was organized for him on Frank Street; Ottoman soldiers were on the front yard of the funeral parade with candles, *kavases* in sparkled dresses were behind them, and a big crowd was walking after them.<sup>747</sup> The engagement ceremony of a Greek couple was announced in the newspaper *Smyrni*. Their rings were put on by an affluent young Ottoman instead of a priest. Mentioning this, the newspaper congratulated the couple. This was also the indication of the interaction between Greek and Muslim inhabitants of İzmir.<sup>748</sup> Moreover, in some villages of İzmir where Greeks and Muslims resided together, when education and religious facilities of the Greeks were not met by their metropolitan, Muslim local rulers accepted them into these facilities. For example, in Çili (Çiğli) village of İzmir, 20 km. north of İzmir, the Metropolitan of Ephesus did not appoint teacher and priest for the Greeks. The Greek children received their primary education from an Ottoman *hoca*, and it was not certain even if they were baptized or not, or how funerals were conducted without an Orthodox priest. Most probably such ceremonies were conducted by an Ottoman *imam*.<sup>749</sup> All these examples, including the ones about the long-lasting property relations, demonstrate that the

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<sup>746</sup> *Amaltheia*, 21 March 1852.

<sup>747</sup> Quoted from Gaston Deschapms, *sur les Routes d'Asie*, (Armand Colin et Cie., Libraries de la Société des Gens de Latters, 5 Rue de Méziers, Paris, 1894) in Rauf Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir'de Yaşam* [The Life in İzmir in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century]. (İstanbul: Güzel Sanatlar Eğitim Vakfı, 2000) 351, FN. 1152.

<sup>748</sup> *Smyrni*, 24 April 1873, n. 225, p. 1.

<sup>749</sup> *Smyrni*, 22 January 1870, p.3. The newspaper *Smyrni* criticized this miserable situation of the Greeks in a place which was only half an hour away from İzmir.

Greeks and Turks not only shared urban space together, but also interacted at social level as natural organic elements of city.

### **Tolerance and Ottoman attempts to stimulate political loyalty:**

We learn from the newspapers of the period that the coronation of the Ottoman sultans, their visits to the city, the birth of the sons of the sultans and sometimes their birthdays were celebrated in İzmir. Such imperial celebrations were organized by the local authority and announced in the newspapers. For example, the birth of a son of Sultan Mahmud II was celebrated for seven days and nights in İzmir in 1836. For this celebration the bazaars and shops, Turkish quarters and public buildings were lit up for seven nights. The illumination of the courthouse was especially remarkable. Cannon-shots were heard five times in a day, as usual in all imperial celebrations.<sup>750</sup> At the end of the same year, the birthday of Sultan Mahmud II was celebrated as well.<sup>751</sup> Sultan Abdülmecit's visit to İzmir in 1844 was celebrated not only by the usual greeting protocols and receptions, but was also celebrated with joy by European tradesmen. Horse races were also organized in the honor of the Sultan.<sup>752</sup> The participation of foreigners in the ceremonies of Sultan Abdülmecit's visit might be a sign of the affects of the Tanzimat in 1844. After the announcement of Tanzimat regulations, not only non-Muslim Ottomans, but also Europeans in İzmir felt more comfortable. Moreover, we also understand that social interaction existed not only among people of different ethno-religious communities, but also between local authorities and the Greek and European communities. Local authority in İzmir took the advantage of every opportunity to organize a municipal celebration, which was open to the

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<sup>750</sup> *Journal de Smyrne*, 23 January 1836, quoted in Beyru, 2000, p. 328, FN. 1083.

<sup>751</sup> *Journal de Smyrne*, 24 December 1836, quoted in *ibid.*, FN. 1084.

<sup>752</sup> Beyru, 2000, p. 357.

public. On 22 September 1857 the governor of İzmir, Mustafa Pasha, organized a ceremony for the opening of the İzmir-Aydın railway.

“Ottoman and British flags flew over a large pavilion erected for occasion while several speeches hailed the support of the Sultan and the efforts of chief engineer George Meredith and of Robert Wilkin, who initially conceived the project. The *mufti* of İzmir offered a public prayer for the success of the railway and for the welfare of the Sultan, also invoking the blessings of the Almighty on the officers of the railway company. The large crowd in attendance acclaimed the governor, who solved some earth in a mahogany wheelbarrow and emptied it a few steps further on. Several Ottoman officers and some of the consuls repeated the act at the sound of the imperial march, followed by the firing of twenty-one salvos and the sacrifice of three rams in accordance with Islamic practices.”<sup>753</sup>

As this example shows, local officials did not ignore Muslim practices when conducting imperial celebrations in the presence of representatives and members of all ethno-religious communities of the city. Such ceremonies were used by the local officials as a negotiation tool between the traditions of the Ottoman Empire and the new environment of the Tanzimat period. In addition, these were attempts to stimulate loyalty to the Ottoman state. Local authorities in İzmir welcomed Ottoman non-Muslims and Levantines to organizing committees for the celebrations. For example, in 1865 the celebration ceremony of Sultan Abdülaziz’s coronation was organized by Raşid Pasha, who was loved very much by all the people of the city regardless of religion. He invited the leaders of every community, leading community members, consuls and their translators to a decorated and illuminated Ottoman ship called Sadiye to discuss the organization of the celebration. Raşid Pasha asked D. Amiran, H. Moraitinin, P. M. Kladon, Baron Varonon Testan, Dr. Rafineski and Ananian Alverti to organize dancing activity and protocol matters of

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<sup>753</sup> Sibel Zandi Sayek, *Public Space and Urban Citizens, Ottoman İzmir in the Remaking, 1840-1890*, unpublished dissertation, (Berkeley: University of California, 2001) 42, rephrased from the newspaper *Impartial*, 25 September 1857.

the ceremony, and wanted Madam I.o. Dorsarment especially to handle the ladies' protocols. People who took part in this entertainment appreciated Raşid Pasha's kind hospitality.<sup>754</sup>

Such imperially inspired celebrations can be seen as the symbols to exhibit state power, attempts to integrate the non-Muslims into the changing political climate of the Tanzimat and provide the political allegiance of the non-Muslims, especially in the face of the existence of an independent Greek state. Moreover, local rulers of İzmir did not hesitate to join the entertainments, celebrations and ceremonies of the non-Muslims of İzmir. We learn of such occasions from the newspapers of the period: The Müsellim Ömer Lütfi Efendi had invited Levantines of İzmir to his son's wedding ceremony, which was noted in the newspaper *Courrier de Smyrne*.<sup>755</sup> Anastasios, the patriarch of Alexandria, visited Seydiköy in İzmir. An entertainment with dinner and dance was organized before he left for Egypt. Raşid Pasha attended this night with the accountant Eyüp Efendi and the customs director Şevket Bey and with some other local officials.<sup>756</sup> Furthermore, in the following years local rulers of İzmir participated in the İzmir Greeks' celebration of the events related to the Greek Kingdom. They celebrated Georgios I's name day with freedom and joy. Consulate director of Greece in İzmir, Russian consul, all the Greek officials, and the Greek citizens participated in the celebration. In this ceremony the name of the Greek King was read at the same with Alexander the Great and Sultan Abdülaziz.<sup>757</sup> In the front yard of the crowd, regular soldiers were present. In the courtyard of Saint George church, the voices of crowd and gun shots were heard. After the ceremony in the church, the director of the Greek consulate accepted congratulations from other consuls. During the celebration in church Greeks tangled around icon while playing music. The

<sup>754</sup> *Amaltheia*, 11 June 1865, p. 1373, p.3.

<sup>755</sup> *Courrier de Smyrne* 21.11.1830, quoted in Orhan Koloğlu, "İlk İzmirli Gazeteciden İzmir Haberleri," [News from the First Smyranean Journalist of Smyrna], in *Son Yüzyılda İzmir ve Batı Anadolu* [İzmir and western Anatolia in the last century], ed. Tuncer Baykara, (İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1993) 141.

<sup>756</sup> *Amaltheia*, 30 July 1865, p. 1380, p. 4.

<sup>757</sup> *Amaltheia*, 28 April 1867, p. 3; Also noted in Gerasimos Augustinos, *Küçük Asya Rumları* [The Greeks of Asia Minor, Confession, Community, and Ethnicity in the Nineteenth Century] (Ankara: Ayraç Yayınevi, 1997) 329, FN. 23.

name of the Greek King was also celebrated in Aydın in good order in the Metropolitan church.<sup>758</sup> In the following years, the celebrations of the name day of the Greek kings also continued. For example, it was celebrated in 1873, and Greek consul general and other consul to İzmir visited the Ottoman ship Ertuğrul to express their thanks to the captain of the ship for the respect they showed during the name day of the Greek King.<sup>759</sup> In the same year, it was also celebrated in Bornova district of İzmir. After the morning celebration in the church, the event continued in the center in a coffeehouse in which live İzmir music was performed.<sup>760</sup> Such celebrations were mostly organized by Greeks of Greek Kingdom in the city. The interaction between the Ottoman Greeks and Greeks of Greece in the city led to the unrest of the local authorities and foreign, especially British, diplomats because of the possibility of an uprising of the native Ottoman İzmir Greeks. Some of the British officials perceived such celebrations for the Greek Kingdom as a sign of national instigation.<sup>761</sup> British consul reported some activities of the Greeks of Greece in İzmir, describing them as provocative activities. For example, they decided to celebrate the independence day of Greece by raising Greek flag to the Agia Fotini church of İzmir in 1867. Although the Greek consul of İzmir tried to prevent this, an official of the consulate organized it. The same British consul also reported the foundation of Greek Literature Association in İzmir in 1863. He stated that the “Helens and Ionians” founded this literature society. According to the British consul, this group more than dealing with culture was trying to cause trouble.<sup>762</sup> The local authorities of İzmir attempted to curb the influence of the Greeks of Greece on the Ottoman Greeks by encouraging mutual interaction through participation in municipal celebrations and incorporating them into the imperial celebrations of the Ottoman Empire.

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<sup>758</sup> *Amaltheia*, 28 April 1867, p. 3.

<sup>759</sup> *Smyrni*, 24 April 1873, n. 225, p.3.

<sup>760</sup> *Smyrni*, 24 April 1873, n. 225, p.3.

<sup>761</sup> Augustinos, 1997, p. 329.

<sup>762</sup> FO 78/176, 14 March 1863 noted in Gerasimos, 1997, p. 329, FN. 23.



Participation of the local authorities of İzmir in the social activities and events of Greek community can be also evaluated as the attempts to impose Ottomanism, and to provide unity and cohesion in the multi ethno-religious society of İzmir in the face of the growing influence of the Greek state. The local authority in İzmir worked to create a unified political allegiance out of the various communities of the city in accordance with the Tanzimat policy. Apart from the local authorities' contact with the non-Muslims of the city, Ottoman sultans also did not hesitate to stay and visit non-Muslim households during their trips to İzmir. For instance Sultan Abdülaziz visited İzmir in 23 April 1865 and stayed in the Bornova district in the villa of M. Whithall, who was one of the oldest English merchants of İzmir. The Sultan was greeted by Turkish and Christian crowds, including *imams* and bishops, in the courtyard of the villa. He also visited the villa of Armenian Yusuf Efendi in Bornova, and in Buca, of M. Baltazzi, who owned two of the most remarkable villas with sizeable gardens in İzmir.<sup>763</sup> During his stay Abdülaziz made considerable donations to all communities of İzmir.<sup>764</sup>

In another example dating back to 1865, the Greeks of Çeşme wrote an open thanking letter to the Ottoman sultan and local ruler of their town in *Amaltheia*. With this letter they not only mentioned their gratitude to the Ottoman Sultan for uniting Çeşme, Alaçatı and Karaburun under a single ruler, but also emphasized their concerns about unfavorable physical conditions of their town. They mentioned that their new ruler Seyid Bey began to apply the new regulations of the Empire (this must refer to the Provincial Law of 1864) so that the roads were cleaned and the physical conditions of their town were organized in general terms. Seyid Bey also negotiated with the Alaçatı Greeks who argued and were divided among themselves because of the discussions about political divisions and conflicts in the Greek Kingdom. The Greeks of Çeşme in their letter in *Amaltheia* expressed their sincere thanks to Seyyid Bey who could resolve this

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<sup>763</sup> Beyru, 2000, pp. 357-359, FN. 1187.

<sup>764</sup> He donated 345.000 *kuruş* to the Muslims, 120.000 *kuruş* to the Catholics, 80.000 *kuruş* to the Greeks, 65.000 *kuruş* to the Armenians, 40.000 *kuruş* to the Jews, and 15.000 *kuruş* to the Protestants. Ibid.

conflict among Alaçatı Greeks with his enthusiastic and favorable attitudes.<sup>765</sup> As this example indicates, Greeks of Alaçatı were highly concerned with the political issues and events in the Greek Kingdom, but this did not trigger the reaction of the local authorities neither in İzmir nor in the distant districts of the city. Even on the eve of the foundation of the new Greek Kingdom in 1831, before the Tanzimat era, the Greek community of Bornova celebrated their religious day with big festivities and crowd without having any problem with the local officials.<sup>766</sup>

Such examples for celebrations of the imperial events related to the Greek Kingdom show that the Greeks of İzmir developed a new political loyalty to the Greek Kingdom. However, this coexisted with the loyalty to the Ottoman state. Keeping their social contact with the non-Muslims, Ottoman local authorities in İzmir attempted to keep the Ottoman Greeks' social and political ties with the Ottoman state. However, the presence of another political loyalty (to the Greek state) contributed to the Greek exodus in the 1910s when the CUP was in charge, and ruled the Ottoman domains by favoring the national economy policies. However, their return after the Balkan wars indicates their weak or superficial ties with the Greek Kingdom, as they appear to have wanted to return to their hometown within Ottoman territories.

In addition to the participation of the local authorities in the celebrations of İzmir Greeks, participation of the local authorities and community members in other publicly held religious celebrations in the city was also seen in İzmir: The public celebration of the religious day of the Catholics in May 1842, the Corpus Christi Parade, was a sign of new Tanzimat spirit of coexistence and tolerance which cut across the ethno-religious communal lines publicly in İzmir. The head of the Catholic community of İzmir, Bishop Moussabini led the parade and the leaders and members of the other communities and local authorities also participated in the event. Newspaper *L'echo de l'Orient* announced this public religious celebration by emphasizing the

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<sup>765</sup> *Amaltheia*, 2 July 1865, n. 1376, p.4.

<sup>766</sup> Beyru, p. 149, FN. 406.

presence of many people from different communities: members of all Catholic churches, students of the Propaganda College (which was run by the French Catholic Lazarist priests), two hundred girls from the Sisters of Charity, the dragomans of Catholic consuls, French and other consuls; and also Ottoman soldiers took part in the parade. The Greek shops along Frank Street were decorated with flowers and hangings. The main route of the Corpus Christi Parade was Frank Street in which the social and cultural interaction of all communities became most explicit in the urban area of İzmir. The governor of İzmir himself, Salih Pasha, several times checked the parade route to show peaceful social order.<sup>767</sup> Alexis de Valon also noted this religious celebration mentioning the supportive presence of the Turkish guards in the parade and enthusiastic Catholic influence over the Muslim population in İzmir, and the ornamentation of windows of the non-Catholic houses along Frank Street. Quoting the letter of the French consul to the minister of the French Foreign Relations, Alexis de Valon also noted that the presence of the Turkish guards was not because of the uneasiness of the local authorities about rowdiness of the non-Muslims, but to take place in this public event in peaceful terms as the representative of the Turks of the city.<sup>768</sup> Such public celebrations were a significant tool for both the Ottoman state and the communities to renew their relations with each other and the sign of religious freedom and civility, and indication of increased tolerance in İzmir in accordance with the intentions of Tanzimat.<sup>769</sup> This type of celebration of the Corpus Christi Parade in 1842 became a custom in İzmir in the following years.<sup>770</sup> In the same year, in September, the opening

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<sup>767</sup> Beyru, 2000, p. 161, FN. 446 quoted from *L'écho de l'Orient*, 27 May 1842; Sibel Zandi-Sayek, "Orchestrating Difference, Performing Identity: Urban Space and Public Rituals in Nineteenth Century İzmir," in *Hybrid Urbanism, On the identity discourse and the built environment*, ed. Nezar Al Sayyad, (Westport: Conn: Praeger, 2001) 42-43, FN. 3, quoted from *L'écho de l'Orient*, 53-54, 27 May 1842;

<sup>768</sup> Olaf Yaranga, *19. Yüzyılın ilk Yarısında Fransız Gezginlerin Anlatımlarına İzmir*, [İzmir in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in the accounts of the French travelers], (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yay, 2<sup>nd</sup>. ed, 2002) 45-46, FN.111.

<sup>769</sup> Zandi-Sayek, 2001, pp. 42,-44, 53.

<sup>770</sup> Quoted from *L'Echo de l'Orient*, 8 June 1844 in Beyru, 2000, 161, FN. 447.

celebration of a church in Buca district was held by the participation of various community members, too.<sup>771</sup>

## **The Perception of the local authorities**

### **Sense of belonging to the city:**

The Greek newspapers of İzmir of the time expressed openly their thanks and gratitude to the local authorities for their positive efforts, and did not hesitate to criticize them for the matters related to the physical conditions of their city or town. From the newspapers of the period we learn about the cost of living in İzmir in 1840s and 1850s and the local rulers' attempts to solve this problem. On February 1845, the newspaper *Melisiyenis* thanked the officials who attempted to decrease the cost of food and began to control prices in the city. It wrote:

“Our majestic leader [referring to the Izmir governor] is struggling to reduce the food prices. This was something very important since butchers, bakers, especially fishmongers were acting disrespectfully and selling to the public at very costly prices. His majesty gained admiration and love of people because of his efforts to prevent this situation that people began to see him like a father more than a ruler.”<sup>772</sup>

When Reşid Bey was appointed as the local governor of İzmir in 1845, the newspaper *Melisiyenis* thanked to the Sultan and his ministry for the appointment of such a ruler on behalf of all people of the city, and to Reşit Bey himself and showed its respects to him.<sup>773</sup> In 1852, the newspaper *Amaltheia* also published a thanking article for Kamil Pasha and his staff, who provided order and price control in İzmir.<sup>774</sup>

<sup>771</sup> Quoted from *L'Echo de l'Orient*, 9 September 1842 in *ibid.*, FN. 448.

<sup>772</sup> *Melisiyenis*, 3 February 1845.

<sup>773</sup> *Melisiyenis*, 3 February 1845.

<sup>774</sup> *Amaltheia*, 7 March 1852.

Another example is about the comments of the newspapers about the local ruler and authorities of İzmir. For example, in November 1856 *Amaltheia* praised the local ruler of İzmir for his tender attitude towards the prisoners. He provided them food and blankets and worked to improve the general conditions of prisons in the city. “Therefore, we are grateful to him for his efforts” wrote the newspaper.<sup>775</sup> The local authority of İzmir in the case of disasters, such as epidemics and fires, treated its Muslim and non-Muslim subjects equally so much so that the non-Muslim Ottomans expressed their thanks to the local authorities for their struggles for the well-being of the city with open letters in the newspapers: the newspaper *Amaltheia* wrote about the cholera epidemics and praised the efforts of Raşid Bey, the governor of İzmir on 2 July 1865: He assembled consuls and doctors to take precautions to prevent further spreads of the epidemic. They discussed the possibilities of helping poor families, cleaning of the roads and providing aid for distant districts. Raşid Pasha went to the Jewish quarter with French consul Ventivolio to observe the situation in person and to organize the issues related to transfer the people to other regions, cleanliness, taking care of the patients and burying of the deceased people. Raşid Pasha who forbade the transfer of the death bodies from the Jewish quarter to the center of the city asked the capital to send enough amounts of tents especially for the Jewish families. The newspaper praised the affluent families of the city and the peasants for their helps. It also emphasized the necessary intervention of the police of İzmir during such period of crisis. In the garrison of the city, commander of the garrison and other military rulers and doctors (Halit Bey and Dr. Mustafa Bey) distributed necessary medicines among the poorer patients. Raşid Pasha asked from the religious leaders and other leading members of the communities to stay in their places with their people. Therefore, *Amaltheia* noted, our old metropolitan began to stay in the metropolitan house. Raşid Pasha also get interested in homeopathic cure suggestions of Dr.

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<sup>775</sup> *Amaltheia*, 8 November 1856, n. 925, p. 4.

Krikas, who publicized them in *Amaltheia*. He met with Dr. Krikas to thank for his efforts to cure the disease and to order enough amount of the homeopathic medicines that the doctor suggested. The newspaper praised Raşid Pasha for his efforts in dealing with this disease problem in the city.<sup>776</sup> Addressing the local authorities in *Amaltheia*, the Armenian community also expressed its gratification by publishing a thanking letter. The Armenian community also sent a letter to the Armenian patriarchate in the capital mentioning the humanitarian and fatherly features of Raşid Pasha of İzmir.<sup>777</sup> In the same year, in August, *Amaltheia* reproachfully wrote “after other communities, finally, the Ottoman community also expressed its gratitude to Raşid Pasha with a thanking letter for his helps and cooperation during the difficult days of the epidemics.”<sup>778</sup> Most of the people in Bornova gave a public notice in which they expressed their gratitude to Captain Hüseyin Ağa from the police organization since he provided cleanness and security of people with great care during the cholera epidemics.<sup>779</sup> In 1845 the newspaper *Amaltheia* wrote about a fire that broke out in a bakery around 2 a.m. The help arrived on time so that only one bakery and two butchers’ shop burned out. The newspaper stated that with the efforts of general governor Raşid Pasha, the head of the police organization Yasin Ağa and with the early arrival of the soldiers and seamen the flame was put out on time. *Amaltheia* wrote that “We would like to thank to the new soldiers and polices because of such positive and favourable attitudes they showed towards people. This new organization deserves to be praised.”<sup>780</sup> After this fire, within two months a big fire broke out and 36 shops were destroyed in *Kestane Pazarı*. Fire became very destructive because of the wind. During the flames Raşid Pasha, Yasin Ağa, commander of the garrison, soldiers, captains, firemen and seamen of the imperial ships and firemen of the insurance companies, and Greek, Armenian and Turkish firemen came to

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<sup>776</sup> *Amaltheia*, 2 July 1865, n. 1376, p. 3.

<sup>777</sup> *Amaltheia*, 30 July 1865, p. 1380, p. 4.

<sup>778</sup> *Amaltheia*, 28 August 1865, n. 1381, p. 3.

<sup>779</sup> *Amaltheia*, 30 July 1865, n. 1380, p. 4.

<sup>780</sup> *Amaltheia*, 16 May 1865, n. 1369, p. 3.

extinguish the fire. *Amaltheia* once more emphasized the precious efforts of the local authorities and congratulated their efforts during such period of crises.<sup>781</sup>

The struggle and cooperation of the different community leaders and members in the case of fires are also the sign of the interwoven social relationships among the communities. Moreover, the letters of the non-Muslim communities for the praise of the struggle of the local authorities and their enthusiastic attitudes towards people during the disasters show the sense of their belonging to the city and political allegiance to the local authority. When the Greek newspapers of İzmir mentioned the local governor of İzmir, it used the word “our governor” or “our city.” In the rhetoric of the articles in the newspapers it can be seen that they did not differentiate themselves from the Muslims or put themselves in secondary position compared with the Muslim Turkish community of the city as the “real owners” of the city. The Greeks, Armenians and Jews of İzmir perceived themselves as the natural elements of the city. The presence of a Greek state and their interest in the political events in Greece did not preclude them from having a sense of belonging to the city and the Muslim local rulers of the city. *Amaltheia*, even, announced with great sorrow the leaving of Raşid Pasha (for his earlier position in Syria) and his staff, and the head of the police organization Yasin Ağa on 15 July 1866. The newspaper noted that Raşid Pasha and his team struggled for justice during their rule of the city and communities of İzmir gave him a letter full of signatures in which expressed their sadness and asked the reason of his leaving.<sup>782</sup> Their emphasis on justice of Raşid Pasha’s rule suggests their trust in the Tanzimat principles.

The efforts of the local rulers to struggle with disasters and their attempts to provide good social order continued in İzmir into the early 1870s. In 1871, a fire, which lasted for almost a week, was put out with the help of all official units and a Habsburg ship in the city, hence, only

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<sup>781</sup> *Amaltheia*, 16 July 1865, n. 1378, p. 4.

<sup>782</sup> *Amaltheia*, 15 July 1866, n. 1430, p. 3. The newspaper also informed people that the new ruler was Süreyya Pasha and would come from the capital.

10-12 houses were burned. The newspaper *Smyrni* wrote, “The commander of gendarme, Salih Bey, İbrahim Ağa and Nuri Efendi from the police organization; Greek priest Arhimandrid K. Nikodimos, as usual, helped to extinguish the fire with great struggles from the beginning to the end.”<sup>783</sup> In the newspaper we also learn how the local authorities dealt with problems that threatened the social order of the city. An Ottoman gendarme officer abusing his rank disturbed social order in 1844 in one of the popular districts of the city and he was punished by his superior officer. He disturbed people in a hotel by displaying markedly unrestrained behaviours. He was not only dismissed from his position, but also lost his rank. The Greek newspaper *Smyrni* evaluated such a strict attitude of the local authority towards him as necessary in terms of preventing the local officers to misuse their ranks.<sup>784</sup> Similarly, the governor of İzmir, Hamdi Pasha, dismissed the deputy of the trade court (*ticaret mahkemesi*) from his duty in 1870, since he was treating people unequally.<sup>785</sup> Süreyya Pasha, the governor of İzmir in 1871, also dismissed the *kaymakam* of Nazlı district and imprisoned him, since he abused his task by treating people unequally.<sup>786</sup> As these examples show, the governors of İzmir in the early 1870s continued to be concerned with the social order of the city which did not tolerate the unjust attitudes of the other subordinate local authorities. The interest of the local authority in the Greek community of İzmir in the 1870s, too, indicated continuing attempts of the local officials for integration and social cohesion: The governor of İzmir, Sadık Pasha with his political deputy Grigoris Arisarhi Bey visited Metropolitan house, and later visited Evengeliki school of Greeks with the priest Filatatos Mireon and asked students questions about history, geography, French and Turkish arithmetic. They also visited the library of the school and the hospital. The newspaper stated that such actions of him honoured their community and motivated students and people in the hospital, and wished the continuation of such positive attitudes of the local

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<sup>783</sup> *Smyrni*, 4 March 1871.

<sup>784</sup> *Smyrni*, 2 Feb 1871, p.4.

<sup>785</sup> *Smyrni*, 25 August 1870, p. 3.

<sup>786</sup> *Smyrni*, 2 Feb 1871, p. 4.



governor. The interest of the governor of İzmir in the Greek community of the city was appreciated by a Greek newspaper of the city in 1871.<sup>787</sup>

### **The Concerns for the urban development and social order of the city**

Newspapers also expressed their interest in the urban development and social order of the city. They imposed controlled urban development of their city, which also indicated their sense of belonging to the city. For example, *Amaltheia* while mentioning the effective works of police and *zabita* in 1857 expressed its concerns for the physical conditions of the streets:

“The police and *zabita* force which was established by Raşid Pasha is very beneficial and very good thing for our city. However, we wish this organization to be extended to all regions of the city, not to remain only in the urban center. These new officials are controlling everything in the city with great care and do everything they can for the benefit of the people. They impose on people to take care of the front yards of their houses and workshops, to keep them clean, to get rid of everything like *tabelas* which disturbed traffic. They especially control the scales with great care to prevent injustices. They only gave legal fine to those who do not obey the regulations, do not do something else. Our prices, especially for bread and meat, are reasonable. Therefore, our people must be happy. But, unfortunately, the physical conditions of our streets did not yet get better, only in few streets sidewalks were built and construction of sidewalks all over the city was left to sometime later.”<sup>788</sup>

During the early years of the Tanzimat, in 1845, *Melisiyenis* showed its sensitivity to the well being of the urban development of city. It criticized the expenditures made for the balls in clubs and card games played there. It gave as an example the ball conducted a week previously in the European Club and the one would take place in the Greek club the week after. In criticizing the

<sup>787</sup> *Smyrni*, 21 September 1871, p. 4.

<sup>788</sup> *Amaltheia*, 28 June 1857, n. 958, p. 3.

owners of such clubs and gambling activities and its negative results, like robbery, hopelessness and suicide, the newspaper asked that “wouldn’t it be much better if this money was spent for the philanthropic and educational institutions and to beautify and lighten the streets of our city?”<sup>789</sup>

The gas works and the lighting of İzmir could be for the first time operated in İzmir in February 1865,<sup>790</sup> which was twenty years after this criticism and demand of the newspaper *Melisiyenis*. As these examples in the newspapers suggest before the foundation of municipality in İzmir in 1868 and even before the Provincial Law of 1864, in the early years of the Tanzimat in 1840s, the Greek newspapers were concerned with modernization of their cities. *Melisiyenis* even went further and asked for lighting of streets with gas twenty years before it came about.

Greek newspapers, which were aware of modern urban characteristics reflected not only positive ideas about the development of urbanization, but also urged the maintenance of good social order in İzmir. The newspaper *Smyrni* criticized the article of K. Çiligrayan which was published in the Armenian journal *Mamul*. According to the newspaper, it attempted to instigate Armenians to disturb the good social relations between the Greek and Armenian communities of Anatolia. *Smyrni* criticized his article as follows:

“He (K. Çiligrayan) says Greek doctors in the Empire should be replaced by the Armenian ones. Such an approach was both against the religious rules and this period in which the Sultan desired the co-existence of different ethno-religious communities in good social relations and harmony in Anatolia.”<sup>791</sup>

It also emphasized that Çiligrayan and his group wanted by writing such articles to deteriorate affection and ties between the two communities. “...since we wish these two communities to live together in peaceful terms, we condemn this journal. Moreover, fortunately, the Armenian youth

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<sup>789</sup> *Melisiyenis*, 6 January 1845.

<sup>790</sup> Zandi-Sayek, 2001, p. 101.

<sup>791</sup> *Smyrni*, 23 November 1871, p.3.

named such articles in this journal as reactionary and blamed them for their approach.”<sup>792</sup> This example indicates that not only the local administration, but also the Greek newspapers of the city desired the social tranquility and harmony in the multi-cultural city.

The newspapers of the period were also concerned with the social order of the city during the celebrations of the feasts. For example, *Melisiyenis* announced in January 1845 that religious feasts were celebrated in peace and order, since the criminals were cautious because of the presence of the Ottoman soldiers.<sup>793</sup> When the ruler of İzmir changed, *Melisiyenis* expressed its wishes for the continuation of the tranquility and social order in the city under the new rulers: “The customs director Reşit Efendi had become the new governor of İzmir, and Hacı Bey, who is known by everyone in İzmir, became *Kahya Bey*. The appointment of these two experienced rulers is a hopeful event for the continuation of the calm and tranquil life in İzmir.”<sup>794</sup> The celebration of the Greek Easter in loud fashion with the use of pistols, which led to injuries and deaths, caused to disturb social order seriously in İzmir in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This habit of the İzmir Greeks was a subject of complaint even before the 1800s. A contemporary witness a Swedish traveler, a natural scientist, wrote about such celebration of Greek Easter in İzmir in 1749:

“İzmir Greeks were giving some amount of money (500 *Para*) to *müsellim* of İzmir to celebrate their Easter freely. They freely celebrated their Easter by eating, dancing and even fighting in the streets...in the second and third days of the Easter the voices of songs were heard in the streets from the houses of the Greeks. In the Frank quarter Greeks danced and shot as a tradition. However, this year their metropolitan forbade the

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<sup>792</sup> *Smyrni*, 23 November 1871, p.3.

<sup>793</sup> *Melisiyenis*, 6 January 1845.

<sup>794</sup> *Melisiyenis*, 6 January 1845.

se of guns during the Easter celebrations, and told them that if they use guns, he would excommunicate them so that they did not shoot this year.”<sup>795</sup>

İzmir Greeks' habit of shooting guns in the celebrations continued in the 1850s so much so that the governor of İzmir forbade the gunshots for security and good social order. The church and other official authorities tried to implement this decision as well. *Amaltheia* in announcing this ban stated that although shooting in the air and use of explosive materials were a habit of the Greeks, the metropolitan of İzmir, Anthimos, sent letters to all the churches in the city and asked the Greeks to abandon this dangerous habit. The church elders had helped by hanging a similar note on to all of the churches in İzmir.<sup>796</sup> However, İzmir Greeks did not give up this dangerous habit. Even in the 1870s, the governor of İzmir and Greek newspapers were struggling to explain the harmful and detrimental consequences of their habits. In 1871, the governor of İzmir went further and published an advertisement in the Greek newspaper to announce the forbiddance of the use of guns during the Easter celebrations. He stressed that those who would not obey this rule would be punished.<sup>797</sup> The newspaper *Smyrni* supported the decision of the governor and criticized this custom by stating that:

“...such a custom belongs to barbarians. Go and see the situation in the hospitals after the Easter period, people not only became injured but also became handicapped because of this custom. The occurrence of such events in a metropolis like İzmir indicates uncivilized character. Last week it was religious feast of the Muslims, who obeyed this prohibition and did not use any gun. As the Muslims obeyed the ban of our administration and behaved respectfully, why can we not do this? We hope that the Christians of İzmir

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<sup>795</sup> Hristos Sokratous Solomonidis, *Σμυρναϊκο Τριπτυχο: η Σμυρνη στην εθνεγερσια, Πασχα αλυτρωτων, η Σμυρνη Ελευθερη* [İzmir Trilogy: İzmir During the Awakening, The Easter of the unredeemed Greeks, Independent İzmir] (Athens: n.p, 1970) 57.

<sup>796</sup> *Amaltheia*, 21 March 1852.

<sup>797</sup> *Smyrni*, 1871.

would not give the opportunity to the people to think that we are more backward and barbarian than our fellow Ottoman townsmen (συμπολίτες μας Οθωμανούς).<sup>798</sup>

The way which the newspaper emphasized the good attitude of the Muslims and showed them as an example to warn the Greeks implies degradation of the Muslims. This indicates that the Greeks come to see themselves in a higher position than Muslims in terms of culture and civilization. In other words, the Greeks of İzmir by this time did not consider themselves subordinates to the Muslims who shared common religion with the ruling Ottoman dynasty. The control of the center in İzmir through local authorities continued in 1870, too. The authorities were even more sensitive than they had been in the early 1840s about a possible instigation which might originate from the Greek state. Irredentist policies of the Greek state manifested itself in the Empire, especially during the crises of the Ottoman State, as in 1839-1840, 1854, 1878, which culminated with the 1897 Greco-Turkish War.<sup>799</sup> When the Greek king Otho was replaced by Georgios I in 1862, Hellenization propaganda of the Greek state among the Ottoman Greeks increased especially in the regions mostly populated by the Ottoman Greeks.<sup>800</sup> Although King Otho absorbed the ideal of *megali idea*, his insufficient attempts and ineffective policies to implement *megali idea* disappointed the Greek statesmen so that he was replaced by Georgios I.<sup>801</sup> Therefore, the Ottoman center sought to take necessary precautions to prevent the spread of the irredentist Greek ideals and negative ideas about the Ottoman Empire among the İzmir Greeks. For example, it forbade the circulation of a Greek newspaper, which came with an Austrian ship, navigating from Greece in 1873.<sup>802</sup>

As these examples indicate, governors of İzmir struggled to provide a good social order both in the periods of disasters and celebrations, and to rule the people with justice during the

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<sup>798</sup> *Smyrni*, 1871.

<sup>799</sup> Clogg, 1982, pp. 197-198.

<sup>800</sup> Augustinos, 1997, p. 332.

<sup>801</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 331-332.

<sup>802</sup> *Smyrni*, 17 July, 1873, n. 249, p. 3.

Tanzimat era. Moreover, the center increased its control mechanisms on the Greek educational, social and cultural activities, for example, because of disturbances in İstanbul, in the Great School of the Nation (*Megali tou Genous Scholi*) in Kuruçeşme, it forbade teaching by Greek nationals anywhere in the Empire in 1849.<sup>803</sup> In the following years, a similar prohibition was again applied because of the disturbances in Bursa that the state temporarily forbade the coming of Greek teachers from Greece to teach in the Empire.<sup>804</sup> However, this general state policy did not lead to any widespread tension between local officials and İzmir Greeks.

Greek newspapers played a crucial role not only in imposing urban values and sense of belonging to the city, but also loyalty to the Ottoman local administration. During the short-lived first constitutional period and later during the second one, the Ottoman non-Muslims were promised political rights and representation in the Ottoman parliament. Notwithstanding the consequences of these attempts, which did not accomplish their original intentions or expressed aims, as an idea such political attempts gave Ottoman Greeks hope of having a more officially recognized political voice. However, in İzmir, in the Tanzimat period, when political rights and representation were not fully extended to the non-Muslims except for their representation in the large and small provincial councils, we see İzmir Greeks well entrenched in the social and cultural fabric of İzmir, not to mention their role in economic life. As one of the integral components of the city, they interacted with other community members, including Muslims, cared for urban development and characters and policies of the local rulers of the city, and called local rulers and İzmir as “our ruler,” “our city” or “our administration.” That is to say, in the absence of modern political rights of parliamentary regimes or of the initial steps of nation-building process of the CUP in the Empire, with the blend of pre-Tanzimat and Tanzimat

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<sup>803</sup> Clogg, 1982, p. 198.

<sup>804</sup> Augustinos, 1987, p. 333.

regulations, Greeks of İzmir had a voice and undeniable role in the socio-cultural structure of the city in which they had good social relations with the Turks and other religious groups.

All the above mentioned public events, imperial celebrations, and struggles with urban disasters such as disease and fires provide important indications of the nature of the ethno-religious coexistence and communal interaction in İzmir. However, not only these, but also affects of the vital commercial life also help us to understand the nature of the social structure of İzmir which sheltered different ethno-religious communities in peace and order for long centuries.

### **Commercial Life**

The vital commercial life of İzmir was another factor that led to the development of different kind of social dynamics, which united all inhabitants of İzmir in harmony regardless of religion and ethnicity. Commercial relations united merchants in the Eastern Mediterranean, who were characterized as “Levantine” by the Westerners. These traders and merchants of the East were not defined by their original ethno-religious identities so that Levantine became a category in itself. Levantine trade embraced Catholic and Orthodox Christians, Muslims and Jews in İzmir, as it did in all Near and Middle Eastern regions. In the Ottoman Empire, Levantines had a peculiar advantageous status as being *berat* (“deed grant”)<sup>805</sup> holders in the Ottoman Empire. *Berat* holders (*beratlı, Avrupa or hariciye tüccarları*) could benefit from all the privileges of taxation, traveling and adjudication of the foreign tradesmen.<sup>806</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, İzmir welcomed many *beratlı* merchants and tradesmen who became one of the basic components of

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<sup>805</sup> Being *berat* holder provided them important commercial and fiscal privileges. *Berats* were distributed by the European diplomatic missions. *Encyclopedia of Islam*, New Edition, (E.J. Brill, 1967).

<sup>806</sup> They had travel permission easily, were exempted from most of the customs’ taxes and state taxes, which provided them easy export, and their adjudication were held in the special courts in the capital not in the local state courts. Musa Çadırcı, “II. Mahmut Dönemi’nde Avrupa ve Hayriye Tüccarları,” in *Türkiye’nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi*, eds. Osman Okyar and Halil İnalçık, (Ankara: Meteksan, 1980) 239-241.

the urban life. Levantines of İzmir, whatever their ethnicity and religion were, well entrenched into the social- cultural and economic life of the city so much so that they forgot their country of origins and became almost a mixture of a different race in İzmir. All of them, whether English, Italian, or French, “levantinized” in İzmir, to the extent that it was very difficult to find out the home country of a Levantine.<sup>807</sup> However, the Levantine identity had been subjected to the changes in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as the European states’ influence in the Ottoman lands increased. Having profited from this influence, they adapted a more European material culture in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and they became a defensive group in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century because of the growing anti-Catholic sentiments and pressure of consulates to have clear national loyalties among their nominal fellow citizens in İzmir.<sup>808</sup> A traveler, Charles Fellows, noted in 1838 in his accounts that the French merchants were very indifferent to the society they lived in and the only thing they were interested in was their trade activities, capital and money in İzmir.<sup>809</sup>

The Levantines in the East produced different styles of living, ideas, and thinking. The way of life the Levantine people produced also affected the social structure of İzmir. Western attitudes penetrated into social-cultural life in İzmir basically by the presence of the Levantines. Among the non-Muslim communities, the Greek community was the first non-Muslim community to absorb the Western attitudes and habits in İzmir. The balls organized by both Levantines and Greeks by their associations like the Smyrna Club, the Sporting Club, the Greek Club, the Levantine Club (European Casino) and the Hunter’s Club. They became indicators of the absorbed Western attitudes in urban relations among various ethno-religious groups in İzmir.

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<sup>807</sup> Beyru, 2000, pp. 102-103. Rauf Beyru gives as an example professions and positions of the members of Van Lennep family in İzmir. Of the three members of this family, one worked in Dutch consulate, one in the Swedish and Norway consulate, and the other studied theology in America and became American.

<sup>808</sup> Oliver J. Schmitt, *Levantine, Lebenswelten und Identitäten einer ethnokonfessionellen Gruppe im osmanischen Reich in ‘langen 19. Jahrhundert’* [Levanitnes: Life Worlds and Identities of an Ethno-Denominational Group in the Ottoman Empire during the ‘Long 19th Century’] (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 122, München: r. Oldenbourg, 2005) 303-399.

<sup>809</sup> Beyru, 2000, p.125, FN. 305.



The famous Western stores in Europe, like Au Bon Marche, Orozdi-back, The Anglo-Eastern Cooperative Co., and Samaritain, and some other European stores, like Au Printemps, Camelia, Comptoir, Femina, Stein and Nalpas, existed on Frank Street in İzmir.<sup>810</sup> Moreover, European theatre plays were popular in İzmir in the middle of the 19th century. *Les Premiers Amours* (1838), *La Donna Vindicative*, *Finta Malata*, *Les Trois Espiégles* (1841), *Passé Minuit* (1850), *La Seconde Année*, *Indiana* and *Charlemagne* (1850) were some examples of the French and Italian theatre plays in İzmir.<sup>811</sup> Apart from the theatre buildings, short comedy plays also took place in small coffeehouses in the 1860s and 1870s. These coffeehouses generally named themselves as *café-chantants* or *café-concert* and they were constructed into the sea on four wood piles as shed-like buildings in the place called Marina or British port.<sup>812</sup> In addition to Frank Street and Street of Roses (*Rue de Roses*), after the construction of the new quay, the Bella Vista corner adjoined to the shore became one of the vital places at the seashore where the local upper class and foreigners engaged together in social and cultural activities in the 1880s. In Bella Vista many coffeehouses existed with their large terraces extended towards sea, sold European newspapers, and some evenings comedies and musical performances also took place.<sup>813</sup> This Western atmosphere in the urban center of İzmir also affected communal relations. Frank Street, Street of Roses, and Bella Vista in the 1880s were the areas where the Levantine, Ottoman non-Muslim and Muslims of the various classes gathered together. While they were carrying on commerce and sharing common area for shopping and socializing, people of İzmir learned to gather, to share the urban area and its facilities together. As a result, they not only co-existed and lived side by side, but also communicated, interacted, and negotiated in social life.

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<sup>810</sup> Beyru, 2000, p. 212.

<sup>811</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 237.

<sup>812</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>813</sup> Zandi-Sayek, 2001a, pp. 50-51.

Moreover, the role of the remarkable demographic growth with the increased number of the foreigners in the economic development and social-cultural life of the city in the second half of the 19th century should not be ignored. Demographic increase not only played a crucial role in the transformation of İzmir into the urban center of western Anatolia, but also can be regarded as an important factor for the vital economic activity.

All these dynamics, demographic increase, long-lasting property relations among different ethno-religious communities of the city, common imperial or public celebrations, conciliatory attitude of the local authorities to provide social cohesion and integration, vital commercial life, which brought economic development, and the long-lasting presence of Levantines who introduced Western habits and life style led the people of İzmir to perceive each other as natural residents of İzmir on equal terms regardless of ethnic and religious affiliation. In other words, social realignments occurred among communities of İzmir that brought about social-cultural fusion and interwoven economic relations in the city. All these provided social cohesion in the city until the nation-building process began to have an impact after 1908.

Furthermore, I also believe that the Muslim perception of the non-Muslims also played a crucial role for the social tranquility and communal interaction in İzmir. I do not ignore the occurrence of a few aggressive events towards the Greeks of İzmir in 1770, 1797 and in the first years of the Greek revolt. However, the important point was that such aggressive attitudes of some local powers and a few fanatic groups did not spread among the general Muslim Turkish population of city. This might be related to the Muslims' understanding of Islam; if they had connections with some Sufi orders, their non-orthodox Sunni way might led to formation of a different kind of relationship with the non-Muslim Ottomans. If so, this might explain their enthusiastic approach towards their non-Muslim fellows in İzmir. We know that there was a *mevlevihane* in Manisa, which was founded in 1369 before the Ottoman rule began in the

region.<sup>814</sup> In the narration of Evliya Çelebi, we learn that many lodges existed and *mevlevi* order was very widespread in Manisa. The *mevlevi* tradition in Manisa continued till 1925 when the lodges were closed down in 1925.<sup>815</sup> Manisa Mevlevi Lodge had close ties with the central lodge, Konya Mevlevi Lodge, that the *çelebi* of the Konya Mevlevi Lodge was appointed from Manisa Mevlevi lodge.<sup>816</sup> This indicates that the Mevlevi lodge of Manisa was highly influential in the region. In this context, the question comes to my mind is that whether it affected İzmir and its hinterland as well or not? Was it possible after the abolition of the Bektashi order in 1826 that Mevlevi lodges became more influential in western Anatolia? Or, if we remember the earlier years, at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, before the annexation of İzmir into the Ottoman Empire in 1427, there were rebellious Sufi mystics (*derviş*) in and around Aydın and Manisa. When the Ottoman domination began to be influential in the western Anatolia, they generated serious revolts against the centralization policies of the Ottoman Empire in 1415 in the name of Şeyh Bedreddin: Börklüce Mustafa initiated a revolt in Karaburun, and it was suppressed by the Ottomans.<sup>817</sup> After Börklüce, in Aydın region Torlak Kemal and his 3000 *derviş* followers revolted, and this was also suppressed. Another rebel, Aygiloğlu, revolted with his followers around Kütahya and Manisa, the Ottomans quashed this revolt, too.<sup>818</sup> The common point of these revolts was that their leaders, who belonged to *Kalenderi* order, had relations with Şeyh

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<sup>814</sup> The oldest information about this *mevlevihane* was written by Evliya Çelebi. By reading from the front door of the *mevlevihane*, which do not exist today, he noted that Manisa Mevlevihanesi was builded by İshak Bey, son of İlyas Bey in 1369. İshak Bey, who was the Bey of Manisa between 1366 and 1388, was the grandchild of Saruhan Bey. Nuran Tezcan, "Manisa Mevlevihanesi," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, v. 14, 1994, pp. 186-187;

<sup>815</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 190, 193.

<sup>816</sup> The person, who will be *çelebi* in Konya lodge, was appointed as *şeyh* to Manisa lodge as a rule. *Ibid.*, p. 191.

<sup>817</sup> Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler, 15.-17. yüzyıllar*, [Zindiqs and Atheists in the Ottoman Society] (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 3rd ed., 2003; 1st. ed., 1998) 15, 162-163. According to Byzantium historian Dukas, Börklüce revolted with the claim of similarity between Islam and Christianity: He made propaganda by arguing that both religions were equal and one can not subordinate of other. Except for women, everything could be shared in equal terms by the followers of both religions. Ottoman sources while mentioning his revolt, did not talk about such propaganda. Börklüce Mustafa's revolt with around 6000 and 10.000 people was suppressed very harshly by the Ottoman powers around Manisa. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

<sup>818</sup> *Ibid.*, 164. There was no agreement among the sources about whether Börklüce Mustafa, Torlak Kemal and Aygiloğlu were followers of Şeyh Bedreddin or not, and about whether Şeyh Bedreddin organized these rebels or not. According to the Ottoman sources, Börklüce Mustafa and Torlak Kemal were were two caliphs of Şeyh Bedreddin. *Ibid.*, 162

Bedreddin. He was a Sufi mystic (*mutasavvif*) and scholar who was accused of being a pantheist by the Ottoman *ulema*. It is openly seen in his famous work *Varidat* that he was closely associated with the philosophy of the *Hurifi* order and was a pantheist *mutasavvif*.<sup>819</sup> As a *mutasavvif* he conducted his duties as a *şeyh* in western Anatolia where the *Hurifi* order was widespread.<sup>820</sup> In sum, the presence and activities of these mystics and of the widespread *Hurifi* lodge in western Anatolia in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century might give us a clue about Muslims' approach to Islam in this region. Hence, the question of whether Mevlevi, Hurifi and Kalenderi orders in western Anatolia had roots in İzmir or not, should be the subject of another study.

### **Breakdown of Order**

In 1870s and 1880s, İzmir Greeks were still celebrating Easter in the same loud -and dangerous- manner in the streets, by carrying icons and singing, and discharging guns, which had repeatedly been forbidden in the earlier decades. We learn from the newspapers of the time in the years 1880, 1881 and 1894 that the same complaints and disturbance of social order in the city continued to exist. The provincial governor of İzmir, Hasan Fehmi Pasha forbade the usage of pistols in 1894.<sup>821</sup> Noting vital and loud celebrations of the Greek Easter, a traveler defined the festivity as he “witnessed semi-religious and semi-national Greek celebrations in the Easter in

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<sup>819</sup> Şeyh Bedreddin's religious approach was affected by, on the one hand, his father and grandfather, an expert in *fikh*; on the other hand, by his mother, who was originally Orthodox Christian, later converted to Islam. Because of his pantheist ideas he was notified as *zındık* and *mülhid* by the Ottoman *ulema*, and declared as rebel by the state since he revolted against the centralized Ottoman political power, which was represented by Mehmed I. During the interregnum period, he supported Musa Çelebi, who favored maintenance of the local powers and Christian feudal lords, unlike Çelebi Mehmed I, for the Ottoman throne. He uprised openly against the authority of the Ottoman state in 1416 and was executed. He was specialist in *fıkıh* of Islam, and pursued his religious education in various Mevlevi clergies in Bursa and Konya, but he inclined towards pantheist *tasavvuf* philosophy after he met with Şeyh Hüseyin Ahlati. Ibid., pp. 143, 145-148, 154, 158-159, 169, 174, 178-179.

<sup>820</sup> Ibid., 159.

<sup>821</sup> Beyru, 2000, 334, FN.1104, 1105, 1106. Quoted from *Stamboul Gazetesi*, 6 May 1880 *Hizmet Gazetesi* 12 August 1881 and *Hizmet Gazetesi* 28 April 1894.

İzmir.”<sup>822</sup> He also mentioned that women pinned blue flowers to their hair, representing the Greek state, and an orchestra played the national anthem of Greece at midnight at Agia Photini church. Another traveller, Launay, also noted festive celebrations of the Greek Easter in 1887.<sup>823</sup> He also mentioned his bewilderment about the Greeks’ singing of the national anthem of the Greek state freely and the indifference attitude of the Turkish gendarmes.<sup>824</sup> These indicate that the social balance which the local authorities maintained in İzmir during the Tanzimat was still working in the 1880s.

Expanding Western capitalism, especially after 1870s with the beginning of Hamidian period, had a negative impact on the natural social fabric of the multi-cultural cities of the Empire. In other words, after the 1870s, the commercial and political conditions of the Empire had begun to be transformed into a phase that affected the non-Muslims’ situation negatively. Reşat Kasaba argued that despite the negative aspects of the Ottoman Empire, economic integration of western Anatolia to the growing capitalist economy would provide empire's integration into the world economy. This could not be achieved, since the state began to exclude non-Muslims after the 1870s, especially Greeks, from their economic and social positions, who had them for over a century.<sup>825</sup> The peripheral networks of western Anatolia, which were developed basically by the Greeks in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, were taken over by the Ottoman bureaucracy. From the 1870s on, Ottoman bureaucracy had begun to be in cooperation with the supranational finance capital, which led to “the gradual economic and subsequently political isolation of the non-Muslims in the social matrixes of the Empire after the 1870s.”<sup>826</sup> Therefore, according to this argument, when the Ottoman bureaucracy began to dominate the commercial

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<sup>822</sup> Quoted from *Sur les Routes d’Asie*, Gaston Deschamps, (Paris: Chez Furne et Cie, Libraries de la Société des Gens de Letters, Rue de Nézieres, 5, 1894), 152-153 in Beyru, 2000, 149, FN. 405.

<sup>823</sup> Solomonidis, 1970, p. 57.

<sup>824</sup> Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>825</sup> Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and The World Economy, The Nineteenth Century*, (New York: State University of New York, 1988a) 114-115.

<sup>826</sup> Ibid.

networks in the 1870s in western Anatolia, the gradual isolation of the non-Muslims caused the repression of further expansion of social space, within which the influence of the non-Muslims were rooted.<sup>827</sup> This social space could possibly form the initial development of civil society in the disintegrating Ottoman Empire, if the non-Muslim communities, especially Greeks, were not isolated.<sup>828</sup> I agree that Muslim dominance was encouraged by the state all over the Empire through various mechanisms especially after 1876.<sup>829</sup> Moreover, the interference of the Public Debt Administration (PDA) in the entrenchment of finance capital and agriculture in Anatolia disturbed the activities of the local merchants and intermediaries.<sup>830</sup> However, I think this isolation process which began in the 1880s did not immediately cause economic or social isolation of the Ottoman Greeks in urban İzmir and its surrounding environs. I agree that this isolation process began effectively during the rule of the CUP in 1908 and reached its peak when the military and Turkish wing of the CUP monopolized political power in 1912 and attempted to replace non-Muslim business with the Muslim ones in the name of the formation of the national bourgeoisie.<sup>831</sup> Moreover, the impact of non-Muslims on the Ottoman economy was openly expressed by the Turkish diplomatic group headed by İsmet İnönü during Lausanne negotiations in 1922. In spite of the negative interference of the PDA and the repressive Young Turk policies in western Anatolia, İzmir Greeks struggled against these policies and managed to maintain their workshops and business in urban İzmir until they had to leave in 1922-23 according to forced exchange agreement resulting from the Lausanne treaty.

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<sup>827</sup> Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>828</sup> Ibid.

<sup>829</sup> For the increasing impact of the religion as an official ideology and pressure of the state on the population see Serim Deringil, *The Well Protected Domains, Ideology and the Legitimate of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909*, (London, New York: I.B. Taurus, 1998).

<sup>830</sup> Kasaba, 1993, pp. 407-408.

<sup>831</sup> Ibid., p. 407.

## **Conclusion**

The incorporation of İzmir and its hinterland into the world economy during the 19<sup>th</sup> century turned the city into an economic center in the eastern Mediterranean. The Greek community of İzmir had played a crucial role in the process of incorporation since the 18<sup>th</sup> century. When the Greek revolt broke out, it elicited a short-lived economic stagnation in the economy of İzmir in the 1820s. The process of incorporation and economic growth of the city continued despite this negative development. These economic and political developments affected the balance of power and internal affairs of the Greek community of İzmir. The new emerging class of Ottoman Greek merchants and tradesmen came into conflict in 1810s with eminent Ottoman Greek merchants and the church which ruled the community. This conflict stirred up a crisis between these two groups in 1819, just on the eve of the Greek revolt. Then they had to struggle against the Ottoman Empire during the Greek revolt for their survival and the economic well-being in the city. That is to say, Ottoman Greek subjects had to cope with two simultaneously occurring problems: conflict and competition within their community, and the repressive regime of Mahmud II, which initially treated Ottoman Greek subjects very harshly without differentiating rebels from those who remained loyal in the first years of the Greek revolt. Therefore, fearing the abuses of local powers and the oppressive hand of the state, a considerable number of Ottoman Greeks fled from İzmir to the Aegean islands in 1821. That their displacement also affected their lives negatively is evident in their return in 1823 and their struggle to revive the economy again when state policies were moderated in non-rebellious regions. There is no evidence that mistreatment of the Ottoman Greeks by some local powers and general unrest in society negatively affected relations between the Greeks and Turks of İzmir during the Greek revolt. The aggressive actions of the Janissaries and protests of small groups of fanatic Turks did not instigate Muslims against their Ottoman Greek fellows. Hence, İzmir's society overcame this negative social and economic situation in 1820s.

In Ottoman historiography, the social impact of the Tanzimat is generally portrayed as the increasing unhappiness of the Muslim population which caused intercommunal problems. Depending on this general idea, I assumed that the growing economic wealth of non-Muslims negatively affected the communal relations in İzmir too. The Greek community of İzmir was the most active community among the other Ottoman non-Muslim in the vital economic life of the city communities. Therefore, I especially concentrated on seeking evidence for the conflict between the Greek and Turkish community of İzmir to understand if the origins of the two “contradicting” nations could be traced back to the 1820s. I also took into account the Muslim so-called negative response to the enactment of equality for non-Muslims, that is their opposition to being treated as equal with the “secondary subjects” (*reaya*) of the Empire. Neither Ottoman-Turkish archival evidence nor the Greek newspapers of the time evinced such a reaction of the Turkish community of İzmir because of the economic development of the Ottoman Greeks and equality principle of the Tanzimat. Rather, the economic expansion of the Ottoman Greek merchants and tradesmen of İzmir led to the emergence of a Greek middle class bourgeoisie in the 1840s which challenged the eminent Ottoman Greek bourgeoisie and Greek Orthodox Church. Although I aimed to understand the role of the Muslims in the economic activity of the city and their economic relations with this Greek middle class bourgeoisie, the available archival data did not serve this aim. As far as the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Greek community of İzmir during the Tanzimat period is considered, they mostly interacted in economic terms. The Ottoman Greeks’ right of obtaining Greek nationality and protection of other European states created problems between the state and İzmir Greeks. While Ottoman Greeks wanted to take advantage of having foreign protection or double citizenship –Greek national and Ottoman subject– the Ottoman Empire struggled to protect its interests. Nevertheless, this did not prevent İzmir Greeks from flourishing economically in İzmir and the larger world.



Regarding the Tanzimat principles of equality across sectarian frontiers, as the court registers and examples of the correspondence between central authority and local governors of İzmir suggest, local authorities observed Tanzimat principles of equality. However, the impact of the centralizing reforms were felt in İzmir too. İzmir Greeks came under more scrutiny of the state during the Tanzimat period. Implementing the equality principle, local authorities sometimes benefited from applying pre-Tanzimat legal principles. The Ottoman-Turkish data indicated the persistence of the pre-Tanzimat principles along with the Tanzimat principles in İzmir. They were used both for the benefit of the non-Muslims, for controlling them, and for maintaining social order and cohesion in the multi-ethno-religious society. However, this might raise the question of whether the practice originated in the need to demonstrate “continuity” with the pre-Tanzimat to placate more traditionalist and conservative groups in the city. It is known that Mahmud Nedim Pasha, a statesman opposed to the Tanzimat reforms, served in İzmir for 18 months between September 1856 and March 1857.<sup>832</sup> As a result of my inquiry into the Ottoman-Turkish archival material and Greek newspapers of the time in İzmir, I did not find any evidence of the possible impact of his anti-reformist rule in İzmir. Moreover, in general, the sources of this study did not shed light on the struggles between supporters and opponents of the reforms, and their impact in the society of İzmir. Surely, this does not mean that anti-reformists were absent in İzmir. However, even if they existed and attempted to disrupt the implementation of the reform regulations, they did not become influential. Or, if some conservative groups existed in public and were annoyed by the reform regulations, they remained silent within the cosmopolitan commercial society of the city. People of İzmir were accustomed to conducting their economic activities in the multi-ethno-religious environment of the city for almost two and a half centuries. Moreover, the impact of the Levantine culture on city’s social-cultural activities became more

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<sup>832</sup> Butrus Abu Manneh, “The Sultan and the Bureaucracy: The Anti-Tanzimat Concepts of Grand Vizier Mahmud Nedim Pasha,” *IJMES*, n. 22, 1990, p. 259.

prominent during the Tanzimat period. We know next to nothing about the Muslim organizations in the city, which is a question requires further research. Regarding the relationship between the Greek state and the Greek community of İzmir, there was no homogeneity within the Greek community of İzmir in its approach to the new Greek state. Although there was a group of İzmir Greeks who asked for settlement and representation right in the newly forming Greek parliament in 1827, no evidence indicates that the ideas of this group became widespread among the Ottoman Greeks. When the Greeks began to immigrate from the Greek Kingdom into İzmir during the Tanzimat, they wanted to be involved in community activities including education facilities for both gaining political power within the community and alerting Ottoman Greeks to the Greek consciousness. Moreover, when the Greek state intensified its propaganda to effectuate *megali idea* in the 1860s in the Ottoman Empire, the Greeks of Greece in İzmir intensified their activities to impose Greek identity on the Ottoman Greeks. Education, by nature, was their foremost tool to impose Greek consciousness. However, this did not cause İzmir Greeks to lose their political loyalty to the Ottoman Empire. Greek newspapers of the time show that they developed a double political loyalty: On the one hand, they celebrated the foundation date of the Greek state or name days of the Greek kings; on the other hand, they attended to the Ottoman municipal and imperial celebrations. Moreover, İzmir Greeks developed a strong sense of belonging to the city. The local authorities' attempts to provide or maintain their political loyalty to the Ottoman Empire also played a role in the development of the sense of belonging to the city.

In contrast to the conventional idea, modernizing state regulations could not establish a strict central control –although in theory such regulations were an attempt to do so– during the Tanzimat, but unintentionally they constructed a decentralized political order, with the blend of Islamic, imperial and customary (*örfi*) laws. Along with Westernization reforms, this system manifested itself in the urban organization and social structure of the big cities of the Empire,

basically in Istanbul and İzmir, and to some extent in Adana, Bursa, and Trabzon.<sup>833</sup> Tanzimat reforms could not be effectively applied in the rest of the Empire. Hence, it did not lead to an economic and socio-cultural development in all parts of the Empire. As far as urban İzmir is concerned, I believe that it was the model for the Tanzimat reforms. İzmir with its strong economy, harmonious multi-ethno-religious society, and good-integration into the center, constituted a suitable example for the modernizing project of the Ottoman Empire. However, İzmir did not come to this point solely as a result of the Tanzimat regulations in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It was the local character and internal dynamics that the city had generated since the 17<sup>th</sup> century which underwrote the economic development. This, in turn, formed a cosmopolitan society whose ethno-religious communities interacted and formed social cohesion. Hence, the people of İzmir with different ethno-religious backgrounds acquired an ability to absorb unexpected and unfavorable social events within their society. For example, the emergence of a separate Greek identity within the Greek community of İzmir and their growing economic power at the expense of Muslims might affect Muslims' social cooperation with them. However, the important point is that such negative circumstances did not diffuse through the society and create aggressive hostility to intercommunal relations. Surely, the Tanzimat reforms accelerated the urban transformation of İzmir. However, in earlier centuries the city had begun to form its local character, which became crystallized during the centralizing reforms of the Tanzimat. That is to say, the localization of İzmir did not occur independently of the Ottoman center.<sup>834</sup> It is my contention that it was this local crystallization that prevented the isolation of the non-Muslims from economic and social-cultural activity of the city throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, that is, until 1908. The CUP attempted to break this “multi-ethno-religious locality” and replace it with a

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<sup>833</sup> Sia Anagnostopoulou, *Μικρά Ασία, 19<sup>ος</sup> αι-1919. Οι Ελληνορθόδοξες κοινότητες Από το Μίλλετ των Ρωμιών στο Ελληνικό Έθνος* [Asia Minor, 19th c.- 1919. The Greekorthodox Communities. From Millet-i Rum to the Greek Nation] (Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 1998) 106.

<sup>834</sup> Jens Hanssen, “Practices of Integration –Center-Periphery- Relations in the Ottoman Empire” in *The Empire in the City, Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, eds. Jens Hanssen, Philipp Thomas, and Stefan Weber (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2002) 52.

“homogeneous locality,” which succeeded. The Ottoman Empire began to formulate policies to isolate non-Muslims from the economic sectors during the reign of Abdülhamid II. However, İzmir Greeks could resist such discouraging policies and continued to exist as the most important agents of İzmir society in economic and socio-cultural life, and also continuously struggled for their political rights as one of the natural elements of the city. The Greeks’ and Turks’ long-standing property relations and their transactions along with their cooperation in daily life such as criminal activities or mutual participation in their festivities in İzmir indicate their social and cultural interaction in the unified urban organization of the city. Moreover, the intricate local relations mingled people of different ethno-religious backgrounds during the process of economic expansion of İzmir. Furthermore, the level of economic expansion İzmir achieved required close interaction of people of İzmir with different ethno-religious affiliations.<sup>835</sup> Therefore, it seems meaningless to see classify İzmir as “Turkish İzmir” versus “*Gavur* İzmir.” Instead of approaching the history of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Empire monolithically as a disintegration process, the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman reforms can be seen as an integration endeavour. It was not only the struggle of the Ottoman Empire to integrate itself to the West, but also to meld and integrate its multi-ethno-religious society in order to accommodate the social changes of the 19th century.

As for the case of İzmir, the question we have to ask is how was it possible that such enduring economic and social-cultural communal relations that cut across the confessional lines were broken up? Despite the negative effects of the 1897 Greek-Ottoman war and the influence of the propaganda of the Greek Kingdom to arouse ethnic consciousness, İzmir could still maintain its social cohesion and İzmir Greeks continued to exist as native residents of İzmir along with Turks and other non-Muslim communities until 1908. At the beginning of this study I

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<sup>835</sup> Reşat Kasaba, “İzmir 1922: A Port City Unravels,” in *Culture and Modernity from Meditarrenean and to Indian Ocean*, eds. Leila Tarazi Fawaz, Christopher Alan Bayly, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002) 211, 216.

thought that the roots of the ethnic tensions of the later 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries had to be searched for and located in the Tanzimat period. I came to understand that the ethnic tensions did not originate in the Tanzimat period, as happened in Arab provinces and the Balkan region of the Empire, but in the period when modern nation-state formation actually began to have an impact at the turn of the century. The Ottoman Empire was a modernizing absolutist state in the years 1821 to 1864. However, it attempted to pave its own way to modernity by tackling the external and internal problems of the 19<sup>th</sup> century through forming a sense of Ottomanism. The Ottomanism project, along with the principle of equality among all people of the Empire, was not affected by Western notions of ethnicity, nationalism, and racism. It was the Hamidian rule, and, especially, the Committee of Union and Progress regime that was affected by these notions. Pan-Islamist policies of Abdülhamid II, which provided the unity of Muslims against Western modern nation states at the expense of the non-Muslims of the Empire, were the first seeds of the breakdown of the multi-ethno-religious cohesion in İzmir and western Anatolia. Later, the measures of the CUP to form a [Turkish] national economy contributed to the deterioration of the social fabric of İzmir and its hinterland.

As a tradition, the metropolitan of the Greek community of İzmir used to send baskets of Easter eggs to the local authorities. This continued until 1914, when the Turkish officers looted the Greek places in the villages and districts along the Aegean coastline and relocated them. Therefore, the ecumenical patriarchate announced that the Easter eggs for that year would not be sent to the local officials as in the earlier years, and that Easter would not be celebrated in a festive manner, rather, they would be mourning because of recent events.<sup>836</sup> The CUP, in order to form a national bourgeoisie, afforded opportunities for the Muslims to increase capital and exiled

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<sup>836</sup> Hristos Sokratous Solomonidis, *Σμυρναϊκο Τριπτυχο: η Σμυρνη στην εθνεγερσια, Πασχα αλυτρωτων, η Σμυρνη Ελευθερη* [İzmir Trilogy: İzmir During the Awakening, The Easter of the unredeemed Greeks, Independent İzmir] (Athens, n.p, 1970) 58-60.

130,000-140,000 Greeks along the western coastline by force.<sup>837</sup> Until 1910 communal relations remained unaffected by either the activities of the Greek nationals in Izmir or by Hamidian Pan-Islamic ideology. The political balance of the city as well as the isolation of the İzmir Greeks in economic and social terms began when the CUP monopolized political power. As a result, during the process of the establishment of the Muslim Turkish national bourgeoisie in western Anatolia, various groups from the Greek and Turkish communities came into serious conflict,<sup>838</sup> which eroded centuries of social cohesion of the multi-ethno religious society in İzmir. The multi ethno-religious society of İzmir resisted many catastrophic events from epidemics to abuses of local powers and kept its social balance through its consolidated locality throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but it could not in the end resist nationalism. The clash of two nationalisms, the Turkish and Greek, made İzmir and western Anatolia experience an unprecedented ethnic conflict.

After 1866, when the period of this study ended, another historical period started in İzmir: firstly, the city itself became a province in 1866, its municipality was founded in 1868, and secondly, the increasing influence of Public Debt Administration led to marginalization and later isolation of the local bourgeoisie class –mainly Greeks– in western Anatolia. The economic change of the 1870s constituted a base for the national economy policies of Young Turk rule. These developments affected the process of social historical change in the region in the 1910s. Plenty of material in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives for the period after 1866 makes available a future study of İzmir in the Hamidian period. When the municipality and provincial administrative organization was established in İzmir, the non-Muslims actively got involved in the administration of the city. For instance, it would be very interesting to see if injustices occurred against non-Muslim municipality and provincial council members, as it happened in

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<sup>837</sup> Eric Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, (London, New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd Publishers, 1993) 130; Mechtidis, n.d., pp. 207-211.

<sup>838</sup> For the breakdown of order in İzmir during the CUP rule see Vangelis C. Kechriotis, *The Greeks of İzmir at the end of the Empire, A non-Muslim Ottoman Community between Autonomy and Patriotism* unpublished dissertation (University of Leiden, 2005) chapter 5 & 6.

Syrian provinces, and how such conflicts worked out in the local administration. The study of İzmir between 1866 and 1908 still needs research attention.

Throughout this study, I realized that it is possible to make a comparative study in the future about the urban transformation of İzmir, Beirut and Salonica in the Hamidian period, but excluding social and communal relations and interaction. Issues of communal relations and interaction seem to be problematic in these three cases for comparison.

In the case of Syrian provinces there were the rule of Mehmed Ali Pasha and civil war, and sectarian violence that make a difference in the urban history of the region. As far as Salonica is concerned, comparison of Salonica and İzmir might be possible, but the huge “convert” (*dönme*) population of Salonica seems to be a problem. Shall we accept them as Muslims or how we are going to determine who was who in the city? Therefore, avoiding concentrating on communal relations, it might be meaningful to make a comparative study about the urban transformation of İzmir and Beirut or İzmir and Salonica, or İzmir, Beirut and Salonica, how they commenced the 20<sup>th</sup> century and how the two were separated from the national borders and the one remained within.

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## **Glossary of Terms:**

*Ayan*: Land notables

*Adet-i belde*: Local custom

*Başıbozuk*: Unruly warriors

*Berat*: Patent, title of privilege, deed grant

*Buyruldu*: Orders

*Büyük Meclis*: “Large Provincial Council,” also known as “Provincial Council.”

*Cihad*: Holy war, spiritual struggle

*Cizye*: Poll tax (head tax)

*Çukadar*: Robe bearer to a Vezir, footman

*Darbhane-i Amire*: The Imperial Mint

*Dirlik*: Revenue granted as a living

*Gaza*: Military campaign on behalf of Islam

*İlam-ı şer’i*: Written judgment of the court

*İrade-yi Seniyye*: Imperial rescript

*Kaime*: The order (*buyruldu*) which is written on a long paper.

*Kaymakam*: District-chief

*Kocabaş*: Administrative leader of the non-Muslim communities.

*Mazbata*: Official document given by the large provincial council.

*Meclis-i Vala-yı Ahkam-ı Adliye*, (also known as *Meclis-i Vala*): Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances.

*Molla*: mollah, a high ranking teacher of theology.

*Muhassıl*: collector of funds; salaried tax collectors of the Tanzimat period.

*Naib*: Deputy of *kadı*.

*Sadaret*: Office of grand vizier

*Sened-i İttifak*: Document of Agreement

*Temettü*: income tax, one of the financial regulations of the Tanzimat.

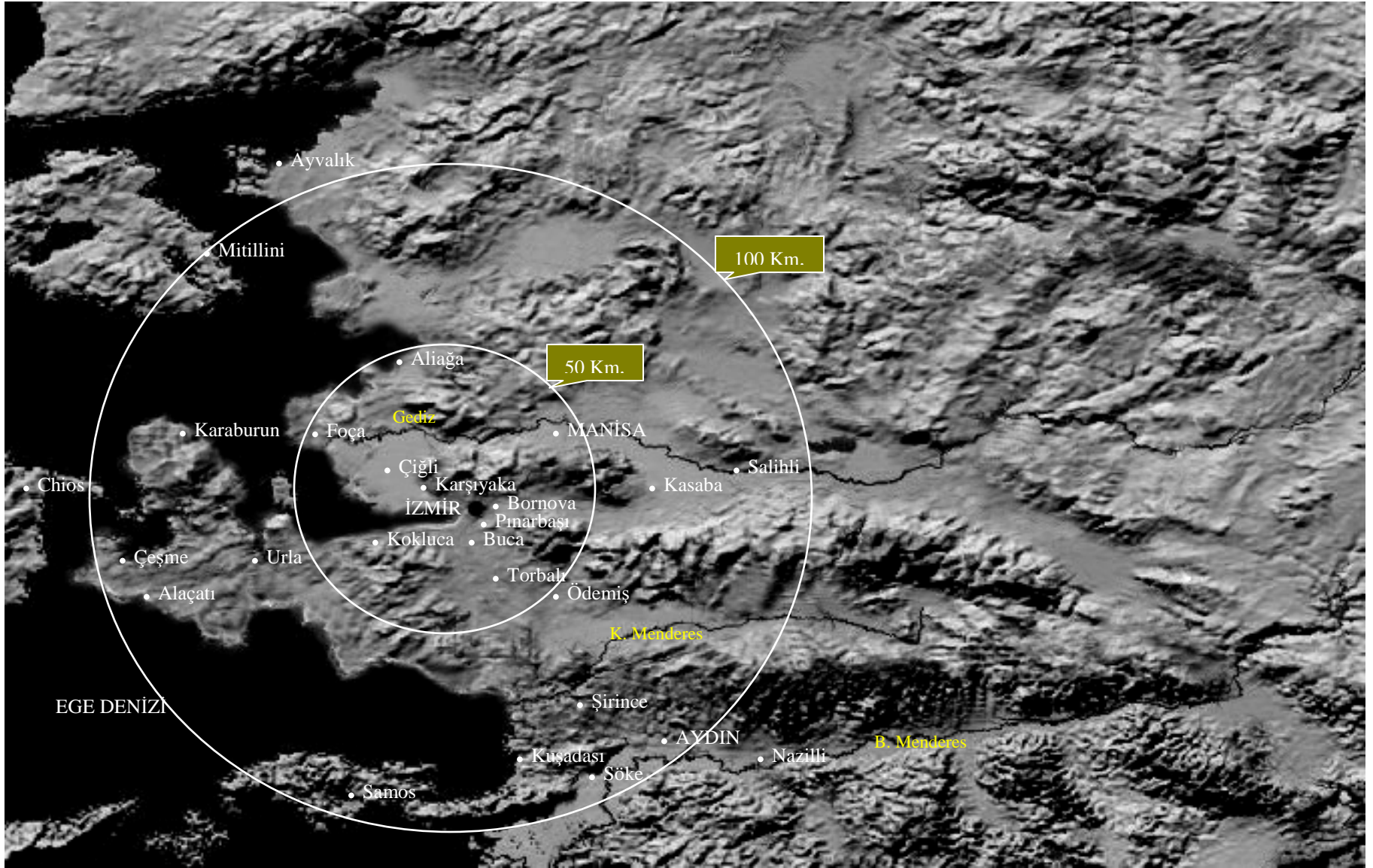
*Temettüat Defterleri*: *Temettü* Notebooks

*Ulema*: Religious clergy

*Vali*: Governor of province

*Voyvoda*: Governmental officer responsible of collecting *has* and treasury revenues in the districts.

## Appendix-1 Map of İzmir and Surrounding Region

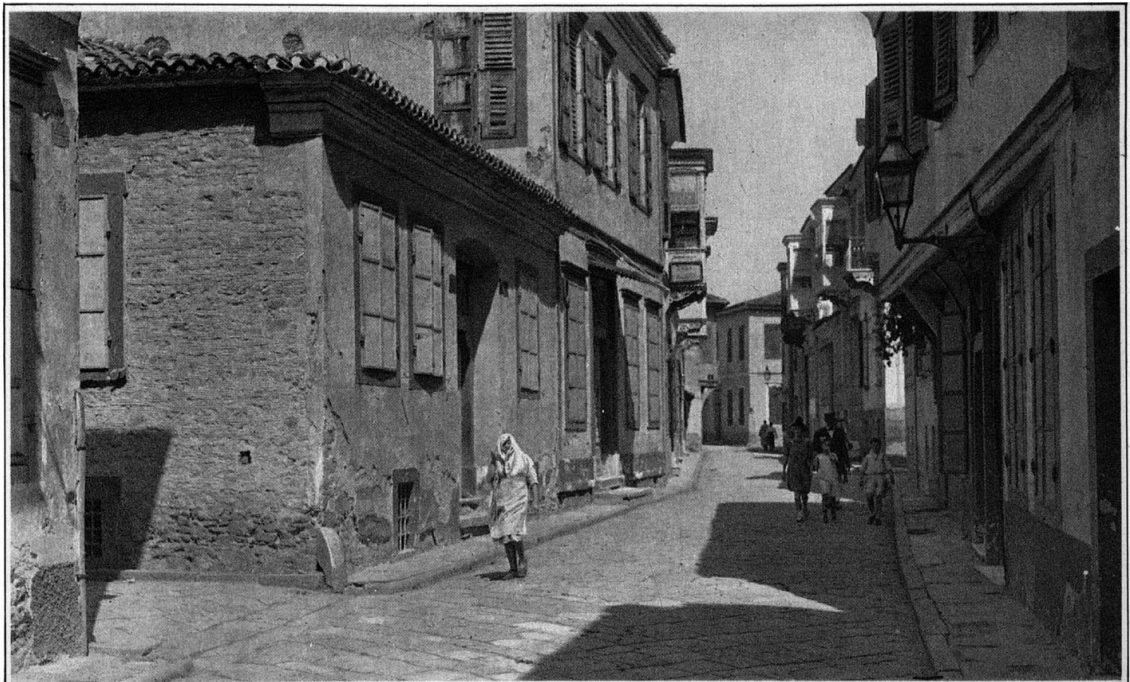




Appendix-2 Pictures



Picture-01 Turkish neighborhoods, ABIGEM Digital Archive.



**Picture-02** Greek districts ABIGEM Digital Archive.



**Picture-03** Armenian neighborhoods, ABIGEM Digital Archive.



**Picture-04** Caravan road, ABIGEM Digital Archive



**Picture-05** Hagia Fotini, ABIGEM Digital Archive



**St. George (Aya Yorgi) Rum Kilisesi**  
*Rubellin, 1880 civarı - Cam negatiften albümin baskı, 25.5 x 20.9 cm.*

**Picture-06** Agios Georgios, ABIGEM Digital Archive.



Στιλлинг: "H όδος France". Κεντρικός εθνογραφικός βράχος.

**Picture-07** Frank quarter ABIGEM Digital Archive



**Picture-08** Kadifekale, ABIGEM Digital



**Picture-09** Sporting Clup, ABIGEM Digital Archive



۹/۳۲

بونا نسی کیفیت داری افادات

سایه حضرت صیبا ازین امر اراده می بخورد عموماً بنکاره بونا سید ازین معتمد بونا قوشلوسنک حضرت ایجاب آید  
 معادلانک اجرامه داری شرفنامه بود بلاه اراده سینه نیک مقضای امر شرفند در بود بلاه بر قطع امر نام افزای نعلام ازینک  
 شرفودوی آتیه مقضای امر اراده حضرت دکا نشنا هیدری حرف بحرف اجراقلمسه و خصوص مکرورک اجرامند زکوره طرف  
 جاکوبیه معتمد و ساء اشنا یکی نفر قولی بی بدین جام ایل فرستاده قولی نیک کلیسای لرینه و بعضه جمع الناس او را مکه کلایه  
 کوندر یک کلیسای لرینه و محله مکروره لرده ملل لرینه کال مرتبه رفع بند ایدرک آید لرینه کونه کونه ادعیه حضرت شرفنامه هم ایضا  
 و اجرامه بولند فلکی و سینه بزبور مقلد لرینه او ایضا هجاب مزبور داعیه سنده بونا ندرین بلا فرستیم مقضای و عینی ایضا  
 و اجرامه بر بر سر کند و ضار ایل جزیه اراده لرینی افند استکده اولد فلکی و هجاب مکروره نیم لرینه رئیس و فیور اولد فلکی و کب  
 اولد فلکی قایمه و سفینه لرینک بسا بود اری قوشلوسلری طرف لرینه او ایضا و نمبر اولدنده فرقه خورده بسا بود اری افند اولدنده  
 ایسده طرف دگریم مجتاً ایضا و نمبر اولدنده بولند بولند بولند بولند بولند بولند بولند بولند بولند بولند بولند بولند  
 قوشلوسنک سنده بونا سیه بسا مجملی طرف حکومته تعیینه فلتمسه بولند بولند بسا شیخ مرتوم فلکی جلیب اولدنده دانه او  
 دگری موقوف فلتمسه اولد فلکی در بر مقضای اراده سینه قوشلوسلری مرتوم ایل قطع معادلانک زکوره نیم لرینه اولدنده بعضه  
 اشقیایه کوتا حکومته بونا ندری رضی کند لرینی طوبیله رده عرصه و ادب لرینه اشکزه مشغول بولند فلکی دارام سینه حضرت  
 صدایرینا هیدرینک اجرامند زکوره نیم لرینی قوشلوسنک قوشلوسنک سنده خربت جگام حضرت جلیب نیک بو خصوصه هر لرینه  
 مفاذ بولند یعنی علناً افامه ایسه لرینی و هم بر اراده سینه حضرت صیبا لرینک ایضا و اجرامه فریضه: جوبونیم لرینی  
 مثلا خصوص مکرورک اجرامند رضی صورت سنده جگام مده اقدام و غیرتیه رضی اولدند ایضا افامه سینه حضرت مرفضا  
 کترایم زقیمه ایضا فلتمسه ایضا افامه مفاذ کیفیت مظلوم اعطای اولد حضرت اسفانه لری بود لرینه اولدنده دهر هاله  
 امر و فریضه حضرت مده لایم سینه ۹۸



Plate-2 BOA, A.MKT 96/37A, 1263.10.15.(1846)

عبدية اضره دفيني خان عطيان اولاد طيفت عليه خلوتيه مشايخ كرامته انجورزي الشيخ وطفن افق قدس سره الجلي حضرت خليفته  
 الشيخ علي افق داعيدريك مدينة مزبور له ضاوتيه محله من طائفة انشاكره سي اولوب پوست نشبه شارت اولدين برباب خانقاهي حقا  
 و فوعولاده حيقه محتره اولادو موهله بوسه كانك معاونت و هنيه خانقاه مزبورك ابنة خارجه و داخله سي انشا اولمهي ايرم  
 هفوز اتماي مير اولاديه رون على حاكمه قلمج و نيكه مزبورك اوقاف و مصفان اقل قبل اولوب حاصل اولاده اتماي انجى سكه سي بدنه  
 خضر و دروستانك اداره اوقات بويه رنه كفايت ايرم بكنده بوجنه ابنة مذكوره اتمايه موفق اولاد ماسج اولدين شيخي موهله طرفت  
 بلا فام انشاي خصصني نياز واستهام البلمج و في الحقيقه شيخي موهي اليه داعيله حد نكته اصحاب وجد و حاكمه و دعوى استجداب  
 اولاد جوم زوانده اولوب انجى حريمه مزبورده طولايه دوچار ضرورت و مضايقه الوسي جنينه ابنة مذكوره نك انشايه عبدالمقبر  
 بولمخ ايدونه بناء ابنة مذكوره نك امرتشي كلي مصارفه محتاج اولوب اوله او نه ايكي بيك غروسي مصرفله وجود كلجكي لداكش  
 نيه البلمج وسيله ميراثونه حضرت ظل الله عليه بومللا خيرات حسنه نك انشايه اصحابونه طرف مستفهم المجد والشوق جناب حقا  
 دعوات خبيره استجدابيه بادي بر كيفيت اولمجنى ظاهر و بيبري اولادو اشع انما رخصيه نك اكلان و اتماي مطلقا جمع اللطف و الرحنه  
 اولاده ذات فحامت ايات خدبانه لزيك عامه عايطانه حضرت مودله و سبانه اولاده الا ولاي مرامم و اشفاق سنيه اصفانه رينه  
 متوقف و محتاج بولمخ اولدينونه كيفيت خاكي مراميماي اصفانه رينه عرصه و اخطاري لازم كلمج اوضه بروه نياز و ستقام  
 ابنة مذكوره نك اتماي انشاي خصصه معرفه عليه رجهانك بيدرفع و ارزانه بوجوم نيازله از ميجلسنده اشع مصطفه عبدالمقبر

تقديمه اجناس قلمج اوقاف او بابه و هطاك امر و فانه حضرت و الامر ولا حاكمه لعل

الاصا	الاصا	الاصا	الاصا	الاصا	الاصا	الاصا	الاصا
الاصا	الاصا	الاصا	الاصا	الاصا	الاصا	الاصا	الاصا
الاصا	الاصا	الاصا	الاصا	الاصا	الاصا	الاصا	الاصا

Plate-3 BOA, A.MKT 96/37 B, 1263.10.15.(1846)



موضوعه جائز کتبیه لریده

سید بن علی قزقظه ولد واسیل درجه اولی ولد طاهر ولد طاهر ولد بنعلی ولد بنعلی نام درجه اولی الخیه ایبرود دفع بوزقرم بنع بوزقزق  
 هالده اخذ و گرفت ابه جانب زمانه علمه ایصال اولی و وضع کورک اولی قزقزیده کله سید بنعلی قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده  
 اعصه سید بنعلی و اسزخمیم بجه اولی ولد قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده  
 اولی قزقزیده بوزقزقزیده نام سید بنعلی و رعاده مواهلته زید سلف عفری و اولی قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده  
 تاریخ دفع کورک اولی قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده  
 فی الحقیقه سرت زنده اخذ و گرفت الحیف اولی قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده  
 مسرود بنعلی دریم زنده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده  
 بوزقزقزیده مال اولی قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده  
 نفا تقسیم قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده  
 مضامیر بوزقزقزیده ایجاب ابتدا اولی قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده قزقزیده

Plate-4 BOA, A.MKT 103/40

جیتا ✓

از میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه - 12014

از میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه مبنی بر این است که اولاد از میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه  
 است و پس از این کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست داریم و فقط نام اولاد  
 سببی در نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست داریم و سایر اولاد که در دست ما نیستند  
 سایر اولاد و اولاد از میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند و این کتبی مضموم  
 اولاد در بدایه جمع کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند  
 کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند و این کتبی مضموم  
 قریب هزار اولاد کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند  
 و چون در بدایه در دست اولاد کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند  
 این کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند و این کتبی مضموم  
 مسومانه که باقی مانده است از کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند  
 نظر مسومانان است که باقی مانده است از کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند  
 ملاحظه شود که در این کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند  
 سایر اولاد که در دست ما نیستند و این کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند  
 در این کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند و این کتبی مضموم  
 او را به دست ما نیستند و این کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند  
 الحقیقه سایر اولاد کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند  
 سنک کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند و این کتبی مضموم  
 به دست ما نیستند و این کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند  
 قائم در این کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند و این کتبی مضموم  
 دو کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند و این کتبی مضموم  
 در این کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند و این کتبی مضموم  
 به دست ما نیستند و این کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند  
 اولاد کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند و این کتبی مضموم  
 است و این کتبی مضموم به نام میر کماله و ضابطه مأموریه در دست ما نیستند و این کتبی مضموم

از سید فاطمه

از سید مهدی و جوان کشته در جنگری و در آن زمان زینعلی کل فرزند فاطمی هر از آنکه الهی التی می رضاه بر بندگان  
 او به یکی سی نادیکه طهریم وضع اولتقد او زره در سعادته کردن علی ابریم مرقومان جنیم سنه دار مجلس  
 والاد بر کوه قبه بولتقیس اوله سفینه مرقومان کیسینه جنیم سنک استغلامی فرضی مجلس والای مرقوم  
 و مجلس عیش محمودین فرکی در کتب اوله زرق فریکای هم بدین زحمانه وفه لدی السبتان ارام سینه فلان دهن بود مرقوم  
 مناسله و شرفیدر پیدای اولتقد اوله جلد مرقومان کیسینه جنیم سنک بالتحفیه بطرفه اشعار فرضیه هم باطنک

بیاض فاطمه

Plate-6 BOA.AYNT. 376, 1842, p. 26

از فیه خلیفه

از فیه متکلمه کرده کورد اوغلی نامی برضای خلیفه سرفتن ایوب کورد که انای طریقت دو من بهیج اوغلی خلیف  
 نام که به تصادف و ایراد ایراد ذکر اولی که بهیج با برابر کورد که راضی اولوب اولوبه بر این کنه فرس اولوب سرتی اریج  
 سه سه سوم بود که اول کورد ایراد مرقوم خلیفه رضی نفسه ای جو اقمرا الیکنه من جمله حبیب ایله جمله موافق سنده  
 من خا رفقه اولتمه ابریم فضول مجله انقا اوله ره صابو یسی اچونز ایکیک غده طیب اولتمه و فواصی سی  
 معرفتله بیگ سکر بود غده افند اولوب مرقومک سبله خلیفه اولتمه اولتمه یا بله معرفت شع و مجلس معرفتله  
 بیلیغ سکر اولدکن استه و ادن و مرقومک خلیفه سبله خلیفه ای به سکنه لکنزه امیه نام فیه رفندزه با بعضی اصحاب  
 انبا و استعما اولتمه و کیف مقاره صف اولتمه هاده رضای عالی با ایوب خلیفه و تقییه خلیفه ایوب لستون  
 منافی کوردنمه اولتمه اولتمه اولتمه بیلیغ منبو که کیمیک به و رفندزه فایده ایبه معرفت شع و مجلس خلیفه و مرقومک فی  
 سبیلک خلیفه خلیفه لهله ایله ساقف شفصه صلاه

Plate-7 BOA.AYNT no.370, 1841 p,10

