

Ottoman Imports in the Eighteenth Century: Smyrna (1771–72)

by A. MESUD KUCUKKALAY & NUMAN ELIBOL

The eighteenth century was a period of transformation in Ottoman history in various respects. Making its first appearance in military and diplomatic fields, this transformation soon began to be felt in economic life, heralding the bankruptcy of the nineteenth century. During the same century Europe also underwent important changes whereby the economic and commercial rise of the European nations coincided with the use of machinery in production; technological developments were accompanied by know-how and the supply of high quality raw materials; the new global trade routes began to be used more frequently and cheap human labour was exploited more intensively to decrease the costs of production; protective customs policies were adopted; transportation was improved and the flow of colonial raw materials increased. These developments coincided with the financial crises in the Ottoman economy during the second half of the eighteenth century, which, mainly owing to the customs policies favouring importation and discouraging exportation and the increasing expenditures on wars, deteriorated and began to feel the influence of the European economy. This financial crisis bore the signs of the transformation in Ottoman foreign trade of the eighteenth century, too. The major causes of this transformation during this period were the long and costly wars which led to a decline in the quality and volume of internal production on the one hand and increasing demand from the state which led to price increases on the other. Besides, deprived of protective policies and susceptible to all kinds of foreign competition, Ottoman foreign trade tended to import manufactured goods and export raw materials. At the same time, the Ottoman Empire found new commercial partners such as Austria and Russia and headed for cheap and high quality foreign goods to be followed by the consumption of brand-new foreign products. As for transportation, the Ottoman Empire acknowledged the maritime supremacy of the European powers. Consequently, by the middle of the nineteenth century the Ottoman authorities were not able to choose, understand or control their role in the emergent world trade system.¹

This article, by making use of the customs registers of Smyrna (1771–72), tries to analyze the above-mentioned transformation through a sampling method. The importance of the period of study lies in the fact that it coincided with the disastrous Russian–Ottoman Wars (1768–74) and that it was the beginning of the decades of stagnation of the eighteenth century Ottoman economy. As to the reason for choosing Smyrna as the region of study, at that time it was still the main trade centre of the Ottoman Empire.

Archival materials used for this study consist of the registers of the detailed books (mufassal defter) which give information about the merchant ships coming to the Foreign Customs of Smyrna.² These books, which came under the classification of BOA. D. HMK. in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive in Istanbul, start with the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Towards the eighteenth century, however, these registers became more detailed and this continued until 1838. The detailed customs books (mufassal defter) gave information about the flags of the ships, names of the captains, places of departure and destinations of the ships, the cargoes and the amounts of tax.

The current study systematizes and assesses the archival materials likely to be classified as 'import goods' and 'commercial sea transportation'. The study is limited to showing the transformation of eighteenth century Ottoman foreign trade with respect to import goods and commercial sea transportation by making use of archival sources. The interpretation of the results, owing to the inadequacy of the materials utilized during the study, can not be generalized so as to cover a whole century and the whole of the Ottoman Empire but can only be evaluated as a sampling study.

The customs registers of Smyrna (1771–72) demonstrate that at that time 73 ships departing from different European ports brought a total of 1,684 pieces of goods belonging to 628 merchants and the total of tax paid for these goods amounted to 56,107.5 piastres. (In the eighteenth century 120 Ottoman piastres were worth one pound sterling.) An initial assessment of the registers regarding import goods was as follows: textiles consisting of 621 pieces of goods (36.87 per cent) occupied the first five ranks within the total and were followed by spices and medicinal goods (354 pieces, 21.02 per cent); articles of food (240 pieces, 14.25 per cent); mine (128 pieces, 7.60 per cent) and drapery (74 pieces, 4.39 per cent).

Although this ranking did not change with reference to the tax total, it still reflected certain distinct characteristics. It is interesting to note that the tax paid for the textile products constituted 60.93 per cent of the total, which doubled the volume of all textile imports on the basis of total pieces of goods. This can be interpreted both as implying the high value added of the textile products and their bulkiness. The tax paid for foodstuffs, which ranked second on the basis of pieces of goods, amounted to 14.15 per cent and replaced spices and medicinal goods. The tax paid for spices and medicinal goods amounted to 12.09 per cent while mine and paper ranked fourth and fifth with shares respectively of 7.6 per cent and 1.0 per cent. Drapery, which ranked fifth on the basis of total pieces of goods, fell behind with reference to the total tax amount and ranked sixth with a share of 0.95 per cent. These shares are shown in Figures 1 and 2. (See also Tables A1 and A2.)

During the period under study the first ten types of goods for which the better part of the total tax amount was paid ranked as follows: londrine (a kind of woollen cloth imported to the Ottoman Empire from the western countries throughout the eighteenth century) (41.43 per cent); coffee (9.93 per cent); tin (5.06 per cent); hassas (4.15 per cent); cochineal (3.76 per cent); broadcloth (3.56 per cent); mermersahi (a kind of cotton cloth) (2.85 per cent); camlet (2.58 per cent); indigo (2.18 per cent); Balinese pepper (2.07 per cent) and other (22.37 per cent). Once we attempt to rank the same goods on the basis of pieces of goods, however, the ranking changes

Figure 1. Classification of import items according to pieces of goods.

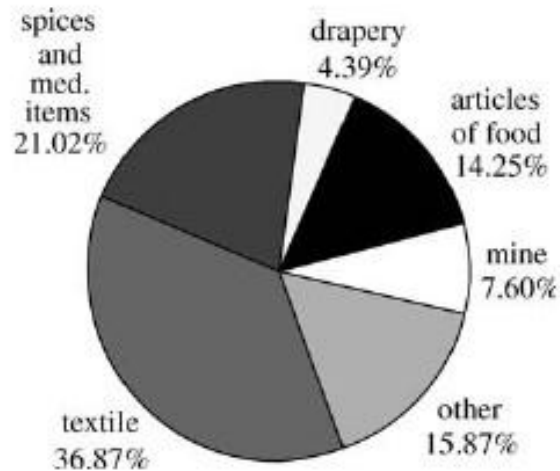
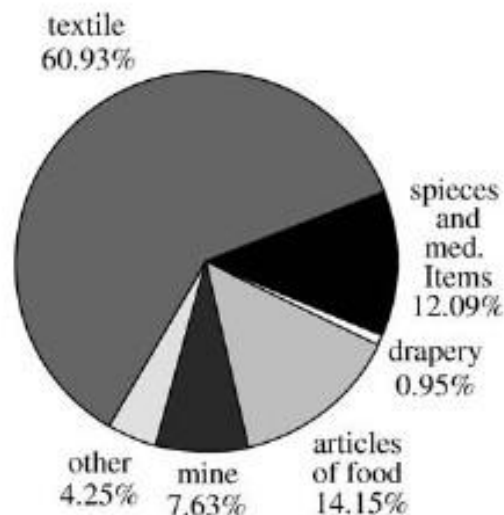


Figure 2. Shares of taxes of the groups of goods.



considerably. This change may stem from the two factors mentioned previously. Tin, for example, although lagging behind hassa (82 pieces), cochineal (45 pieces), mermersahi (58 pieces), indigo (77 pieces) and Balinese pepper (47 pieces) on the basis of piece of goods, as far as the total tax amount was concerned, took the lead and rose to the third rank. Similarly mermersahi, indigo and Balinese pepper regressed on the basis of tax amount (see Figure 3; see also Table A3).

The textiles which ranked first both with regard to the total tax income and the total pieces of goods consisted of woollen, cotton, silk and linen goods. In this composition woollen goods ranked first both in terms of the total tax income and the total pieces of goods, followed by cotton, silk and linen goods. This composition, as can be seen in Figure 4 (see also Table A4), also enables us to determine the general trend of Ottoman foreign trade. The ranking of the raw materials confirms the assumption that textile products constituted the majority of Ottoman import goods

Figure 3. Shares of the first ten types of goods (total pieces and total taxes).

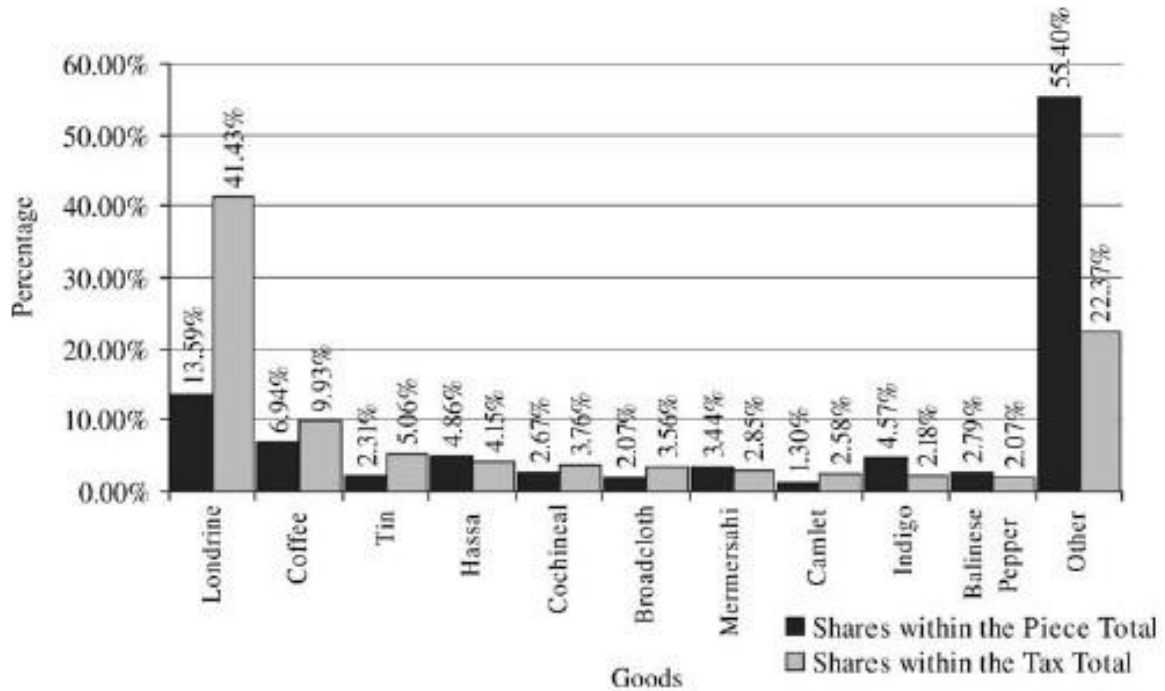
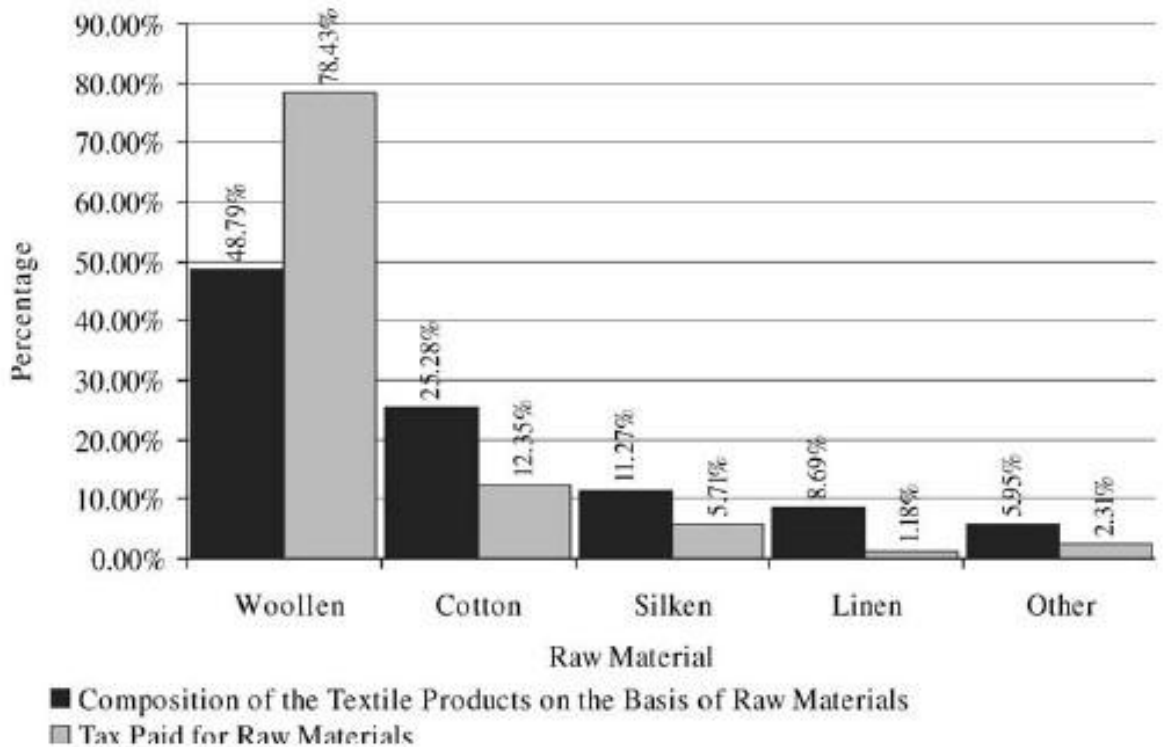


Figure 4. Composition of textile products.



for the most of the eighteenth century. As for silk goods, as before, they were still outstripped by woollen and cotton goods.

Scholars researching the eighteenth century, such as Paskaleva, Faroqi, Panzac, Stoianovich, Mantran, Issawi, Genc and Karpat, agree that imports into the,

Ottoman Empire from Europe in the eighteenth century were, as far as the content and volume of this trade was concerned, in the process of transformation.

According to McGowan, for instance, one of the areas of transformation (trade partners, trade regions, articles traded) was the nature of the trade articles.⁴ This transformation mentioned by McGowan was verified by other studies as well. A work by Gocek on the eighteenth century Ottoman tereke registers has indicated that possessions inherited from certain members of the ruling class consisted mainly of European luxury goods.⁶ Another work studying articles imported from Belgrade to Istanbul between 1795 and 1804 has demonstrated that 80.90 per cent of them consisted of textile products, while the rest were spices and medicinal items (8.34 per cent) and drapery and small articles of clothing (4.04 per cent). The same work also showed that the articles imported included semi-mechanical tools and other products of contemporary technology.⁷ Eighteenth century Ottoman imports from Europe consisted mainly of finished goods, in particular luxury goods like woollen clothes, paper and glassware. The second category of imported articles included the colonial products such as sugar, paper and other spices as well as the medicinal articles used in dyeing.⁸ Faroqi has stated that such new products and luxury goods did not penetrate far into the empire but nonetheless the big cities and the ports had potential for great demand.⁹ This transformation can best be observed in the customs registers of such major ports as Smyrna and Istanbul in the second half of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century. These registers indicated that woollen and cotton cloth such as londrine, mermersahi and camlet; articles of food such as coffee and cinnamon; chemical products such as indigo, cochineal and storax; and semi-mechanical goods such as binoculars, water pumps, watches, spectacles, grinding machines for coffee and rifles ranked first among Ottoman imports.¹⁰ Nonetheless, as Paskaleva pointed out, European capital could not play an important role in the Ottoman market owing to the fact that Ottoman domestic capital was weak. Besides, its

position vis-a-vis the western powers

obstructed their penetration into Ottoman commerce at least until the mid-eighteenth century.¹¹ In this connection McGowan stated that this trade between the two regions, due to the fact that the Ottoman exports consisted mainly of raw materials, at first glance resembled a colonial trade. Yet, at least until the nineteenth century, according to McGowan, this could not have been associated with a political sovereignty. Ottoman state control over foreign trade, which had already been instituted by the end of the sixteenth century, was maintained through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This situation changed only after Ottoman foreign trade came under the influence of foreign great powers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹² This transformation was also associated with certain external factors such as the invention of new production techniques in France, England and Holland; the freeing of the guilds in western countries from traditional structures; the undertaking of the Europeans of mass production of items suited to oriental taste; the abundance of raw materials and the utilization of cost-saving advantages such as cheap labour; the increasing flow of such colonial articles as coffee and spices over sea routes and the development of navigation technology which gave rise to new and major transportation organizations.¹³

The data obtained from this study confirm the three views about Ottoman imports. The first of these views is that textile products ranked first in Ottoman foreign trade at all times. The second view relates to an increase in the import of textile products and colonial articles like coffee in the eighteenth century. The third view puts forward the increasing role of the Europeans in navigation and transportation.

It is well known that woollen and silk clothes were produced in the Ottoman Empire from early times. But this production, in spite of the accessibility of the raw materials; availability of expertise; technology capable of resisting foreign competition; and the support of the Ottoman administration, did not prove of long duration. The chief reason behind this failure was international competition. Starting with the last decades of the sixteenth and early decades of the seventeenth century, for example, the utilization of the advantages of economies of scale, low prices of raw materials and the damping policies of the Levant Company put the English textile industry in an advantageous position.¹⁴ The Ottoman administration, as far as textile products are concerned, did not deem it necessary to follow a provisionist import policy as long as the Ottoman Empire could afford to pay and the imports which met the needs of the domestic market helped prevent an increase in prices due to high demand. Demand for low quality cloth (like aba and kebe)¹⁵ was met within the country but average and high quality woollen products were primarily imported from western countries. Average and high quality woollen clothes, which by the seventeenth century came to be used widely by the middle classes, ranked first in Ottoman imports from the West at that time, with a ratio of 50 per cent. The risk of dependence of the ruling class and the military on foreign markets for goods of high demand became visible especially during the period of war during the late seventeenth century, when imports decreased considerably.¹⁶ During the seventeenth century there were also other factors contributing to the economic recession and the increase in foreign demand in response to the rise in prices. On the one hand, Ottoman foreign trade expanded but this expansion had a minor share within the total European foreign trade and was in the process of undergoing a transformation characterized by a rise in imports.¹⁷ Furthermore, in the later decades of the eighteenth century finished goods began to gain prominence among Ottoman imports, while exports consisted more and more of raw materials.¹⁸ According to Volney the need of French industry for raw materials (wax, silk, cotton, bronze, linen, copper, gum, etc.) was provided by its imports from the Ottoman Empire. The cotton imported from the Levant was processed in factories in Picardy, Normandy and Provence and used together with wool, silk and linen, to weave woollen cloth, linen cloth, velvet and caps. This trade, which was to the detriment of the Levant, benefited a whole group of French entrepreneurs consisting of shippers, workers, merchants and brokers.¹⁹ Indeed, at that time, Ottoman imports consisted mainly of manufactured goods. These manufactured goods consisted of the woollen cloth, silk cloth, caps of Tunisian style, metal products and mechanical instruments. But one could have also seen pepper as an important item among the import goods. As to the colonial products, American cochineal and indigo together with coffee and sugar ranked first.²⁰

The annual import figures for eighteenth century Ottoman foreign trade are inadequate. Nonetheless, the reports of various consuls and travellers and certain

monographic studies on port cities enable us to reach some conclusions. According to eighteenth century Austrian consulate reports, for instance, between 1708 and 1719 the annual cloth imports of Levant from Marseilles, one of the leading the commercial centres of the period, rose from 10,000 pieces to 30,000. This figure rose to 60,000 pieces between 1719 and 1750. By the 1780s the amount of the cloth imported from Marseilles was over 90,000 pieces. By the 1770s French exports to Smyrna amounted to 5,600 bales and to Istanbul 2,500 bales. Each of the bales consisting of first quality londrines contained 8–10 pieces while those bales consisting of second quality londrines contained 10–12 pieces of various colours. By 1772 French cloth exports to Salonica amounted to 700–800 bales with a value of 520,000 piastres. By the 1776 this rose to 1,200 bales with a value of 780,000 piastres.²¹ Eighteenth century Ottoman woollen cloth imports from France and England are studied by Mason and Genc. The information provided by these two authors are, shown in Table 1.

The data contained in Table 1 is supported by the information provided by R. Davis concerning late seventeenth century England. This confirms that even in the late seventeenth century textile products constituted the bulk of English exports to Europe, the Ottoman Empire and North Africa. Davis's figures show that between 1699 and 1701, out of English exports with a total value of £3.772 million to Europe, the Ottoman Empire and North Africa, the majority was textile products with a value of £2.815 million. Export of raw materials, however, was limited to £344,000. English imports from the same regions, with a value of £4.86 million, were almost equally divided between textile products and raw materials: £1.123 million and £1.784 million respectively.²²

According to Syrett, who did not have sufficient information, among the trade items imported from Marseilles to Smyrna between 1721 and 1789, coffee, sugar, cochineal and indigo always lagged behind textile products. The relative fluctuations in the figures did not suffice to change this picture. In 1721, for example, 57.5 per

Table 1. Total woollen imports from England and France in the eighteenth century

France		England		
Years	Annual average (per bale)	Years	Annual average (per bale)	
			Long pieces	Short pieces
1700–05	10,300	1701–06	19,157	?
1708–15	21,800	1705–12	17,464	?
1716–20	22,600	1712–17	16,053	?
1721–25	24,240	1718–26	14,165	1,890.0
1726–30	41,400	1727–40	10,803	1,505.5
1731–35	53,900	–	–	–
1736–40	58,650	–	–	–
1741–48	50,000	–	–	–

Source: Paul Mason, *Histoire du Commerce Francais dans le Levant au XVIIIe Sie`cle* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1911), pp.476–7; Mehmet Genc, '18. Yuzyılda Osmanlı Sanayi', "

– "Osmanlı'da Devlet ve Ekonomi (Istanbul: Otuken Yayınları, 2000), p.242.

cent of total imports consisted of textile products. The ratio of textile products within the total imports in Smyrna fell to 48.4 per cent in 1750; while in 1760, 1770 and 1789 the proportions of textile products within the total turned out to be 73, 33 and 52.4 per cent respectively. Textile products are followed by coffee, sugar, indigo and cochineal.²³ Among the textile products imported to the Ottoman Empire silk goods had a wide consumption but at the same time they were extensively produced within the region. The demand for silk goods, as was the case for woollen products, was limited to high quality silk. Yet, silk imports were less than woollen goods. Nonetheless, the greater part of the silk was imported only from Venice, with which relations were frequently hostile, in contrast to woollen imports which came from various western countries. This situation brings out the dependency which underlines the need to meet the demand in foreign silk.²⁴

The reason for the wide acceptance of foreign cloth in the Ottoman territories is due to their high quality, durability, variety and strong colours. According to Beaujour the clothes bought at the Leibzig Fair were in demanded among the Turks for their softness, durability and lively colours suited to Turkish tastes.²⁵ Abesci also stated that the English woollen clothes, owing to their bright colours and durability, were liked better by the Turks than by the English and were in high demand in the Ottoman Empire throughout the eighteenth century.²⁶

Besides textile products such articles as coffee and sugar were also among the most important Ottoman imports in the eighteenth century. This can be related to the cheap and easy exportation of coffee and sugar from Europe to the Ottoman Empire where Turkish consumers soon developed a taste for them. According to the French, the export of such colonial products as coffee, sugar and indigo, which had the lowest prices in Europe, should have been profitable. American sugar, although of lower quality than the Egyptian product, was preferred to the Egyptian sugar in Anatolia and Iran owing to its attractive appearance. Possibly the Turks' habit of adding extra sugar to coffee increased the consumption of coffee within the Ottoman Empire.²⁷ The Austrian consulate reports of the 1770s underline that the import of the cheap colonial French coffee was allowed by virtue of the inadequacy of native coffee to meet the internal demand. The demand for foreign coffee and the habit of mixing Mokean coffee with Indian coffee encouraged the French colonial merchants to improve and expand the production of coffee as far as possible.²⁸ As a matter of fact, towards the end of the seventeenth century the coffee of Moka, until then the chief supplier of the European market, began to fail to meet the increasing demand. From the 1730s, the coffee of Moka could meet neither internal demand nor that of the European market. The Ottoman authorities failed in their attempts to balance the supply and demand by taking such measures as taxing the consumption of coffee and banning its export at the beginning of the eighteenth century.²⁹ This initiated the production of coffee in America and some other regions of Asia, and resulted in the increase of the colonial coffee imported to the Ottoman Empire in the late eighteenth century.

At that time, the European nations tended to be less interested in Ottoman exports since the colonial raw materials and other products needed in Europe were obtained from outside the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire, in addition to the fact that Ottoman imports primarily consisted of colonial products. This meant a decrease in the volume of European trade with the Ottoman Empire which had already

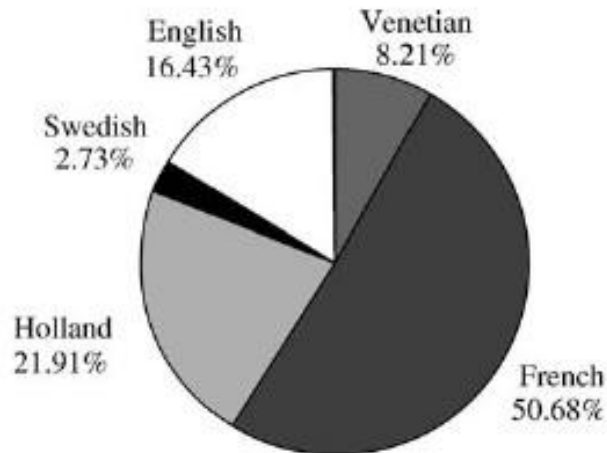
increased its imports of raw materials. For instance, the exposure of such products as coffee, cotton, medicinal items, silk and dried food to colonial competition made it difficult for the Levant to export these items to England in great quantities. Previously the chief supplier of England, after the 1680s the Levant had already started to lose its importance in English foreign trade and industry.³⁰ All these changes had their origins in the expansion of mass production as a result of the Industrial Revolution and the increasing need of the prospering English textile industry for new markets to import raw materials and to export finished goods. These changes were also accelerated by the world economic expansion of the 1790s.³¹ Indeed, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the chief reason behind the improvement in England's ability to pay was the increase in English exports, in particular of finished goods. The average English export figures between 1784 and 1786 amounted £13.6 million while in 1794–96 and 1804–06 they were £24 million and £41.2 million respectively.³²

The changes taking place in Ottoman foreign trade in the course of the eighteenth century, which were also assisted by wars, piracy, climatic changes and epidemic diseases, brought about the necessity to change the traditional provisionist policies. The classical assumption approving the maximization of the supply characterized by the import of such products which have an elasticity of demand and the production of products that do not have a elasticity of demand did not present difficulties as long as the financial structure functioned properly and the balance of the supply and demand was maintained. In this way, the Ottoman administration managed to adapt itself to unexpected rises in the prices of import items and sharp decreases in the quantity of the goods imported from the West. But the financial crises, the increase of demand caused by wars and the inability of the internal dynamics to evolve so as to assure an increase in production made the Ottoman Empire dependent on foreign goods.

The figures concerning the ships lead us to some conclusions about the transportation centred in Smyrna in this period. The categorization of the 73 ships provides us with these results: 50.68 per cent (37) of the ships were of French origin, followed by the Dutch with a share of 21.91 per cent (16). As to the rest, the English (12), the Venetian (6) and the Swedish (2) had respective shares of 16.43 per cent, 8.21 per cent and 2.73 per cent. These are shown in Figure 5 (see also Table A5).

In the eighteenth century the activities of the European merchants in the Eastern Mediterranean intensified. At that time, the ships used for transportation in the region were mostly of European origin. The trade conducted between Alexandria and Europe and that between Alexandria and Ottoman North African Dominions was controlled chiefly by the Europeans. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, 78 per cent of the trade conducted between Alexandria and Smyrna; 53 per cent of the trade conducted between Alexandria and Salonica; half of the trade conducted between Alexandria and Istanbul; the better part of the trade conducted between Alexandria, Morea and the Syrian coast were in European hands. It was estimated that 48 per cent of the ships used in the Ottoman domestic trade and over 75 per cent of the total Ottoman foreign sea trade in 1785 was in

Figure 5. Flags of the ships.



European hands.³³ This European domination in Ottoman commerce began to be felt increasingly in the late eighteenth century. Of the total 1039 ships visiting the port of Alexandria in 1782, 71.43 per cent (743) were of Ottoman origin, marking the superiority of the Ottoman ships. The rest consisted of various European ships. But this apparent numerary superiority of ethnic Turks and Turkish subjects (Greek and North African) and the lack of European ships, in particular French ships, is misleading and must be attributed to the lack of security created by the American War of Independence in 1783 and therefore should be considered temporary. Indeed, in 1785, soon after the termination of the war, the number of Ottoman ships visiting the port of Alexandria fell to 618. At that time, the number of European ships significantly increased and reached a total of 597. This change brought equilibrium to the European and Ottoman trade ships used in the Eastern Mediterranean.³⁴

In fact, the supremacy of the European states in Ottoman foreign sea transportation may be traced back to the mid-eighteenth century. A source relating to trade activities in the port of Trieste around the year 1750 shows that the Ottoman ships visiting the Trieste port rank fourth within the total. The same year, 49.76 per cent (416) of the 836 ships active in the port belonged to Venice, while Austria and Naples had shares of 30.38 (254 ships) and 11.96 per cent (100 ships) respectively. As to the Ottoman ships, they ranked fourth with a share of 6.22 per cent (52 ships).³⁵ A report by the French Consul Chenier published in 1789

confirms this picture. According to Chenier, the number of ships used by the Venetians in the trade with the Ottoman Empire ranged between 15 and 18 with tonnages varying from 300 to 600. At that time, the Ragusians did not have an active trade with the Ottoman Empire but this was due to their preference to hire their ships to other European states. The Dutch ships sent to the Ottoman Empire varied from 12 to 15 annually with tonnages between 400 and 600. The English were more active in the trade with the Ottoman Empire, with 17–20 ships sent each year of tonnages varying from 300 to 600. As to the French, they were superior to all other European nations in their trade with the Ottoman Empire, with nearly 200 ships of tonnages varying from 150 to 350. But the French ships, which could

navigate twice a year, also visited the shores of the Ottoman North African Dominions (Tunis, Algiers and Tripoli) during their voyages.³⁶ The Swedish government also sent at least one ship loaded with mineral products each year, but the number of Swedish ships hired by the Ottomans in the trade with the North African Dominions was higher. However, the Swedes were not unique in their capacity to hire their ships to the Ottomans, because the French also made huge profits by hiring their 'tartana' ships to the Ottomans.³⁷

As far as trade in the Black Sea was concerned, the Russians were particularly active in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The Russian merchants, whose status was established first in the Treaty of Belgrade in 1739, managed to go through the straits and to trade between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean only after the Treaty of Kucuk Kaynardcha (1774). A study by Bostan of the Black Sea trade between 1774 and 1787 indicates that, during that time, although their number decreased considerably during the war period of 1777–78, the number of the Russian ships passing through the straits amounted to 445, constituting 92 per cent of a total of 483 ships, among which the Ottoman ships numbered only 38 (8 per cent).³⁸

The Ottomans, faced with the increasing ascendancy of foreigners in transportation, attempted as early as 1757 to take measures to curb the activities of the French and English and banned Ottoman subjects from using French and English ships. But this measure made the flow of the foodstuffs like rice from Egypt to Istanbul difficult and soon afterwards this practice was abandoned.³⁹

The data provided by this study verifies the two basic assumptions regarding eighteenth century Ottoman sea transportation. The first suggested the foreign supremacy in eighteenth century Ottoman sea transportation, while the second supposed that wars impeded the development of Ottoman foreign trade in the eighteenth century. In fact, wars have a negative impact not only on belligerent powers but also on other nations. According to Wood, for instance, there was a recession in the English Levant trade in the 1770s, which was closely associated with the Russo-Ottoman wars fought at that time, and it began to flourish only in the mid-1770s, that is in the aftermath of the wars.⁴⁰

The beginning of the 1770s witnessed wars fought between the Ottoman Empire and Russia in the course of which Austria also took part as an ally of Russia. For this reason, among the registers of the 73 ships, as shown by the current study, those of the Austrians and Russians are lacking. In other customs registers of Smyrna of the following years, however, the entries of the Austrian and Russian merchants and ships are numerous. This preponderance of Austrian and Russian ships of the post-war period is also illustrated by the late eighteenth century customs registers of Smyrna. Indeed, in a registry covering the period between 1797 and 1799 this case is well illustrated. During this period, of the total 316 ships, the Ottoman ships, 68 in number, ranked first with a share of 21.51 per cent. The Ottoman ships are followed by the Austrian (18.03 per cent), 57 in number, and the Russian (16.77 per cent), 53 ships. The Ragusian ships, numbering 24, had a share of 7.59 per cent and ranked only fourth.⁴¹ The results of another study based on the registers of the period 1802–06 are similar. According to this study, of the 175 ships included in the registers 45 belonged to Russia, which had a share of 25.71 per cent of the total, while Austria, 39 in number, ranked second with a share of 22.28 per cent.

It seems that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the supremacy of Austrian and Russian ships in Ottoman sea transportation was accompanied by the increasing activities of the Ottoman ships. The same registers show that the Ottoman ships, 22 in number, had a share of 12.57 per cent and ranked third behind Russia and Austria. But as far as Ottoman ship captains are concerned, their ethnic origins seem to differ, as demonstrated by such non-Muslim names as Anton, Manol and Danil, which constitute the majority.⁴² This difference shows that the non-Muslim Ottoman subjects taking part in the trade with Europe tended to increase their activities.

The current study allows us to arrive at some results regarding Ottoman imports to Smyrna between 1771 and 1772. Firstly, some average values obtained in course of the study are worth noting. For each of the 73 ships bringing goods to Smyrna average taxes of 768.59 piastres are paid, while for each ship an average of 8.60 merchants and 23.06 pieces of goods is calculated. The average amount of tax paid for a piece of good is 33.31 piastres and the average tax paid by merchants is equal to 89.34 piastres.

As far as the Ottoman foreign trade in the eighteenth century is concerned, taking into account the figures of the period between 1771 and 1772, the results are as follows.

It seems obvious that the consumer items imported to the Ottoman Empire in the last quarter of the eighteenth century were in a process of transformation during the course of which European manufactured goods, luxury goods, colonial goods and brand new items came into prominence.

It is also interesting to note that the wars fought against Russia and Austria in the eighteenth century seem to have impeded first the trade conducted between these powers. Actually, so far as the results of the wars fought around that time between the Ottoman Empire and Russia and Austria were concerned, there are some other important implications. The commercial rise of Salonica in the late eighteenth century, for instance, is regarded to have been closely associated with the Ottoman-Russo wars of 1768–74, in the course of which French goods managed to penetrate the whole Balkan Peninsula and meet the war-time needs of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, the increasing domestic demand caused by the rigid elasticity of supply, which resulted in the increase of prices in the interior, must also have been associated with these wars.

As to sea transportation, it is a well-known fact that the second half of the eighteenth century witnessed the supremacy of foreign nations in Ottoman foreign trade. Therefore, it is not surprising that the names of the Ottoman ship captains are missing from the registers. In fact, even in the late eighteenth century the names of the Ottoman ship captains appearing in registers need to be treated with caution since most of them are of non-Muslim origin capable of acting as middle-men between the European merchants and the Ottomans.

One can also observe that the Ottoman economy of the period under study seems to have been incorporated into the European economies. Accordingly, it is a natural outcome that the Ottoman economy would leave its internal dynamics and turn to the political economic manoeuvres between England, Russia, French and Austria.

Appendix

Table A1. General aspects of the ships bringing goods to Smyrna

Book No.	Ship No.	Date of arrival	Flag of the ship	Merchant number	Pieces of goods	Total tax paid (piastre)
D. HMK. 22156	1	18.02.1771	English	4	12	1,123
	2	22.02.1771	French	4	6	298
	3	24.02.1771	French	3	12	235.5
	4	09.03.1771	English	4	15	362.5
	5	11.03.1771	English	2	4	42
	6	11.03.1771	French	5	8	515.5
	7	13.03.1771	Dutch	13	43	1,013
	8	14.03.1771	French	6	8	312.5
	9	14.03.1771	Dutch	17	52	1,299.5
	10	16.03.1771	Venetian	9	40	537
	11	18.06.1771	French	14	36	1,016
D. HMK. 22158	12	28.06.1771	Dutch	18	70	1,890
	13	28.06.1771	Dutch	5	27	1,002.5
	14	02.07.1771	French	1	6	111
	15	04.07.1771	Venetian	19	40	717.5
	16	04.07.1771	Venetian	5	8	369
	17	04.07.1771	French	4	4	134.5
	18	12.10.1771	French	12	34	3,557.5
	19	28.10.1771	English	2	7	883.5
D. HMK. 22159	20	13.11.1771	French	18	40	2,284
	21	13.11.1771	Venetian	2	3	46
D. HMK. 22160	22	21.11.1771	Swedish	8	17	220
	23	21.11.1771	French	23	40	2,216.5
	24	21.11.1771	French	17	41	2,108
	25	10.12.1771	Venetian	18	98	954
	26	12.12.1771	English	11	13	211
D. HMK. 22161	27	12.12.1771	French	16	26	1,487
	28	01.01.1772	Dutch	19	68	1,455
	29	01.01.1772	French	4	11	107.5
	30	19.01.1772	English	6	9	430
	31	23.01.1772	French	18	36	2,176.5
D. HMK. 22162	32	05.02.1772	French	2	5	205
	33	07.02.1772	French	14	29	1,761.5
D. HMK. 22163	34	07.02.1772	Dutch	15	60	1,148
	35	11.02.1772	Dutch	15	30	325.5
	36	11.02.1772	French	2	2	95.5
	37	17.02.1772	English	2	4	249.5
	38	23.02.1772	Dutch	12	33	400
	39	25.02.1772	French	3	9	243
	40	02.03.1772	French	19	40	2,562.5
	41	02.03.1772	Dutch	1	3	143.5
	42	02.03.1772	French	3	5	161.5
	43	03.03.1772	English	2	10	399.5
	44	06.03.1772	French	4	7	390.5
	45	10.03.1772	French	6	10	170
	46	10.03.1772	French	2	7	141.5
	47	12.03.1772	Swedish	7	12	357.5
	D. HMK. 22164					

(continued)

Table A1. (Continued)

Book No.	Ship No.	Date of arrival	Flag of the ship	Merchant number	Pieces of goods	Total tax paid (piastre)
	48	14.03.1772	French	1	1	144.5
	49	14.03.1772	Dutch	12	42	1,032
	50	14.03.1772	Dutch	16	44	1,440
	51	18.03.1772	English	2	19	877
	52	20.03.1772	English	3	5	237.5
	53	30.03.1772	French	17	31	1,688
	54	30.03.1772	Dutch	15	26	810.5
	55	30.03.1772	Dutch	6	11	111.5
	56	01.04.1772	French	1	3	64.5
	57	02.04.1772	French	14	29	1,387.5
	58	02.08.1772	Dutch	13	42	1,013.5
D. HMK. 22166	59	06.08.1772	French	13	22	1,049.5
	60	18.08.1772	French	1	3	46
	61	18.08.1772	English	14	25	711.5
	62	18.08.1772	French	4	4	69.5
	63	20.08.1772	French	1	5	65.5
	64	20.08.1772	French	13	31	1,778.5
	65	20.08.1772	French	1	12	231
	66	26.08.1772	Venetian	6	25	153
	67	28.08.1772	Dutch	6	35	594.5
	68	26.08.1772	Dutch	17	80	1,849.5
	69	30.08.1772	French	4	10	398.5
	70	07.09.1772	French	5	17	414.5
D. HMK. 22167	71	11.08.1772	French	3	4	277
	72	11.09.1772	French	18	42	1,408
	73	23.09.1772	English	6	16	384.5
TOPLAM				628	1,684	56,107.5

Sources: D. HMK. 22156, D. HMK. 22158, D. HMK. 22159, D. HMK. 22160, D. HMK. 22161, D. HMK. 22162, D. HMK. 22163, D. HMK. 22164, D. HMK. 22166, D. HMK. 22167.

Table A2. Classification of the goods

Goods	Pieces of goods	Shares in total (%)	Total tax paid (piastre)	Shares in total (%)
Scrap metals	17	1	171.5	0.30
Paper	53	3.14	562	1
Glass and glass products	23	1.36	416.5	0.74
Textile	621	36.87	34,191	60.93
Spices and medicinal items	354	21.02	6,784	12.09
Half-mechanical products	32	1.90	286	0.50
Mine	128	7.60	4,284	7.63
Articles of food	240	14.25	7,944.5	14.15
Leather and untreated goods	53	3.14	355.5	0.63
Drapery	74	4.39	536	0.95
Not specified	89	5.28	576.5	1.02
Total	1,684	100	56,107.5	100

Sources: D. HMK. 22156, D. HMK. 22158, D. HMK. 22159, D. HMK. 22160, D. HMK. 22161, D. HMK. 22162, D. HMK. 22163, D. HMK. 22164, D. HMK. 22166, D. HMK. 22167.

Table A3. Ranking of the top ten goods

Ranking of the goods in pieces			Ranking of the goods in taxes		
Goods	Pieces of goods	Share in total (%)	Goods	Total tax paid (piastre)	Share in total (%)
Londrine	229	13.59	Londrine	23,245.5	41.43
Coffee	117	6.94	Coffee	5,575	9.93
Hassa	82	4.86	Tin	2,844.5	5.06
Indigo	77	4.57	Hassa	2,329.5	4.15
Mermersahi	58	3.44	Cochineal	2,113.5	3.76
Balinese pepper	47	2.79	Broadcloth	1,999.5	3.56
Cochineal	45	2.67	Mermersahi	1,607.5	2.85
Tin	39	2.31	Camlet	1,449.5	2.58
Broadcloth	35	2.07	Indigo	1,225.5	2.18
Camlet	22	1.30	Balinese pepper	1,164.5	2.07
Other	993	55.40	Other	12,553.5	22.37
Total	1,684	100	Total	56,107.5	100

Sources: D. HMK. 22156, D. HMK. 22158, D. HMK. 22159, D. HMK. 22160, D. HMK. 22161, D. HMK. 22162, D. HMK. 22163, D. HMK. 22164, D. HMK. 22166, D. HMK. 22167.

Table A4. Composition of the textiles in raw material

Goods	Pieces of goods	Shares in total (%)	Total tax paid (piastre)	Shares in total (%)
Woollen	203	48.79	26,817.5	78.43
Cotton	157	25.28	4,223	12.35
Silk	70	11.27	1,954	5.71
Linen	54	8.69	406.5	1.18
Other	37	5.95	790	2.31
Total	621	100	34,191	100

Sources: D. HMK. 22156, D. HMK. 22158, D. HMK. 22159, D. HMK. 22160, D. HMK. 22161, D. HMK. 22162, D. HMK. 22163, D. HMK. 22164, D. HMK. 22166, D. HMK. 22167.

Table A5. Flags of the ships

Book No.	No. of captains	Venetian	French	Dutch	Swedish	English
1 D. HMK.	22156	10	1	4	2	—
2 D. HMK.	22158	7	2	3	2	—
3 D. HMK.	22159	2	—	1	—	—
4 D. HMK.	22160	5	1	3	—	1
5 D. HMK.	22161	5	1	2	1	—
6 D. HMK.	22162	2	—	1	—	—
7 D. HMK.	22163	12	—	6	4	—
8 D. HMK.	22164	14	—	7	4	—
9 D. HMK.	22166	11	—	6	3	1
10 D. HMK.	22167	5	1	4	—	—
Total	73	—	37	16	—	12
Percentage	100	6	50.68	21.91	2	16.43
		8.21			2.73	

Sources: D. HMK. 22156, D. HMK. 22158, D. HMK. 22159, D. HMK. 22160, D. HMK. 22161, D. HMK. 22162, D. HMK. 22163, D. HMK. 22164, D. HMK. 22166, D. HMK. 22167.

Table A6. Some averages for the ships

Tax paid per ship (piastre)	768.59
Tax paid per merchant (piastre)	89.34
Tax paid for each piece of goods (piastre)	33.31
Pieces of goods for each ship	23.06
Pieces of goods for each merchant	2.68
Number of merchants for each ship	8.60

Sources: D. HMK. 22156, D. HMK. 22158, D. HMK. 22159, D. HMK. 22160, D. HMK. 22161, D. HMK. 22162, D. HMK. 22163, D. HMK. 22164, D. HMK. 22166, D. HMK. 22167.

Notes

The authors would like to thank to Mehmet Genc for his advice and the contribution he made to the analysis and evaluation of the archival sources.

1. B. McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land 1600–1800* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1981), p.11.
2. The customs registers of the Ottoman Empire were compiled in six different books which were called *im.mufassal, icmal, teslimat-bakaya, muhasebe, vazife* and *ahka*. Those of the *mufassal* books were the most comprehensive registers and gave daily information about the ships arriving at and departing from customs. See M. Kutuko lu, 'Osmanlı Gumruk Kayıtları', *Osmanlı Aras,tırmaları I* (1980), pp.219–34. " g"
3. Hassa: thin cotton cloth.
_4. B. McGowan, 'The Age of Ayans 1699–1812', in H. Inalcık and D. Quataert (eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300–1914* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994), p.727.
5. The estate left by a person at death.
_6. F.M. Gocek, *Burjuvazinin Yu,g, "ku ,," , "kselisi ve Imparatorlu un Co "su"* (Trans. I. Yıldız) (Ankara: Ayraç Yayınevi, 1999), p.217.
_7. A.M. Kucukkalay and N. Elibol, 'Osmanlı Imparatorlu u'na Avrupa'dan Karayolu Ile Yapılanğ' , " _Ihracatın De erlendirilmesi: 1795–1804', *Anadolu Univ. Sos. Bil. Ens. Dergisi*, Vol.1 (2004), p.52.g
_8. S. Pamuk, *100 Soruda Osmanlı Tu rkiye İktisat Tarihi 1500–1914* (Istanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1997),,, p.145. At that time most of the chemicals used in dyeing were also used as medicines and were thus grouped under the category of 'spices and medicinal items'.
_9. S. Faroqi, 'Esnaf A lları ve Osmanlı Zanaat Üretimi (16. ve 17. Yuzyıllar)', *Osmanlı Du nyasındag* " _Üretmek Pazarlamak Yasamak (Trans. G.C. Guven and O. Turesay) (Istanbul: YKY, 2003), pp.29–30.,,, " 10. See for Smyrna: D. HMK. 22256, D. HMK. 22258, D. HMK. 22259, D. HMK. 22257, D. HMK. 22261, _D. HMK. 22262, D. HMK. 22264. See for Istanbul: D. BSM. IGE. 17206, D. BSM. IGE. 23488,,,_ _D. MMK. IGE. 17207, D. MMK. IGE. 23476, D. MMK. IGE. 23475, D. MMK. IGE. 23514. In the early and mid-eighteenth century The Ottoman Empire had a sufficient capacity for production as far as textile products, certain mines and other articles of dyeing was concerned and this production was subject to a considerable trade with Europe. During the same period the Ottoman administration managed to control the traditional trade routes and the trade in certain articles of transit trade such as coffee and spices. This control, thanks to the commercial organization of the Ottoman Empire was maintained even "during the war periods. For further information see: O.C. Sarc, 'Tanzimat ve Sanayimiz', *Tanzimat,* _Vol.1 (Istanbul: MEB. Yayınları, 1999), pp.421–40; T. Baykara, 'XIX. Yuzyılda Anadolu'nun İktisaden" Cokus, u ve Bugüne Etkileri', *Belgelerle Tu rk Tarihi Dergisi*, No.25 (1969), pp.64–72., " " " " 11. V. Paskaleva, 'Osmanlı Balkan Eyaletlerinin Avrupalı Devletlerle Ticaretleri Tarihine Katkı _ " _1700–1850', *IU. İkt. Fak. Dergisi*, Vol.27, No.1–2 (1967), p.45. 12. McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*, p.10. _ "13. R. Mantran, '18. Yuzyılda Osmanlı Imparatorlu u'nda Ticaretin De is, mes'i' (Trans. Z. Arıkan), *IU.gg* " _Ed. Fak. Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi, Vol.3 (1987), pp.159–64. 14. B. Braude, 'International Competition and Domestic Cloth in the Ottoman Empire, 1500–1650: A Study in Undevelopment', *Review*, Vol.II (1979), pp.437–8 and 442.

15. Aba: a stout coarse woollen cloth or a cloak or coat made of that cloth. Kebe: a very thick kind of felt.

— "16. M. Genc, '18. Yuzyılda

Osmanlı Sanayi', in *Osmanlı'da Devlet ve Ekonomi* (Istanbul: Otuken,

Yayınları, 2000), p.238. Textile products either as raw materials, finished goods or semi-finished goods comprised over 60% of total Ottoman trade with Europe. In the imports, in contrast to the Ottoman exports, woollen products emerged as the leading trade article with a share of 50% within the total imports. Woollen products together with silk goods, which were second in rank, constituted 50% of the total imports. For further information see: M. Genc, '18. Yuzyılda Osmanlı Sanayiinde,' De is, meler', in *Osmanlı'da Devlet ve Ekonomi*, pp.255–6.g

17. K. Karpat, 'The Transformation of the Ottoman State 1789–1908', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol.3, No.3 (1972), p.246.

18. C. Issawi, 'The Transformation of the Economic Position of Millets in the Nineteenth Century', in B. Braude and B. Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: 1982), p.160.

19. C. Issawi (ed.), *The Economic History of the Middle East 1800–1914* (London: The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1966), p.31. C.F. Volney,

'Etat du commerce du Levant en 1784, d'apres les registres de la

chambre de commerce de Marseille', Vol.III (Paris: 1825), pp.321–40, in Charles Issawi (ed.), *The Economic History of the Middle East 1800–1914* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), p.61.

20. D. Panzac, 'International and Domestic Maritime Trade in the Ottoman Empire during the 18th

Century', *International Journal of Middle*

East Studies, Vol.24 (Edition d'Etat 'Science et Art', 1992),

p.191. The information

provided by Panzac and Issawi is in parallel with that of Chenier. According

to Chenier the Ottoman Empire together with its North African territories was an attractive market for French industrial goods. Such French goods as woollen cloth, high quality clothes, silk clothes ornamented with silk and gold, caps, paper, watches, articles of drapery, scrap metals, wine and liqueur, jewellery, colonial articles such as sugar, coffee, cochineal, indigo, spices and medicinal goods, agents for dyeing, tin and lead constituted the bulk of the French exports to the Ottoman Empire. As to the French import items they consisted mainly of such articles as cotton, cotton cloth, silk, wool, mohair, mohair cloth, wax, hide, ash and olive oil used in producing soap, madder root, saffron, rice, coffee, dried fruits, wheat and senna. See N.V. Michoff, *Contribution a l'histoire du commerce de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie III, Rapport consulaires Francais documents officiels et autres documents*, (Svichtov: 1950), p.46.

"21. N.V. Michoff, *Beitra zur Handelsgeschichte*

Bulgariens II: Osterreichische Konsularberichte, Vol.I"ge

(Sofia: Buchdruckerei Knipegaph, 1943), p.3.

22. R. Davis, 'English Foreign Trade 1660–1700', *The Economic History Review, New Series*, Vol.7, No.2 (1954), p.151.

23. E.F. Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century (1700–1820)* (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992), p.190.

24. Genc, '18. Yuzyılda Osmanlı Sanayi', p.244.,"

25. F. Beaujour, *Tableau du commerce de la Gre`ce*, Vol.2 (Paris), pp.62–3.

26. Mitchoff, *Contribution a l'histoire du commerce de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie III*, p.62.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

28. Mitchoff, *Beitra zur Handelsgeschichte Bulgariens II*, p.4. For further information about coffee"ge see: A. Raymond, *Artisans et commercants au Caire ai XVIIIe sie`cle* (Damas: 1973). Mantran has maintained that by the mid-seventeenth century most of the commercial goods transported to Europe through the Red Sea had already begun to decline. One of the reasons for this decline was the frequent use of the sea route, and the other reason was the international competition among the European states. As a result of this competition Amsterdam had become the leading commercial centre of Europe, and began to manipulate the spice trade flowing to the Ottoman territories. See: R. Mantran, '16. ve 17.

—Yuzyıllarda Osmanlı Imparatorlu u ve Asya Ticareti' (Trans. Z. Arıkan), *Tarih Incelemeleri*

Dergisi,g"

'tat 'Science et Art', 1987), pp.1438–9.No.3 (Edition d'E

"29. M. Genc, 'Controle et taxation du commerce du cafe

dans l'Empire ottoman fin XVIIIe–premiere,"

e"moitie du XVIII siecle', in M. Tuchscherer (ed.), *Le commerce du cafe´ avant l'e`re plantations*

'coloniales: espaces,

re´seaux, socie´te´s (XVe–XIXe sie`cle), *Institut francais d'archeologie orientale,*

cahier des annales islamologiques 20 (2001), pp.161–2, 166–7.

30. R. Davis, 'English Imports From the Middle East 1580–1780', in M.A. Cook (ed.), *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East From the Rise of Islam to the Present Day* (London: Oxford University Press, 1978), p.201.

31. E.F. Syrett, 'Greek Mercantile Activities in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1780–1820', *Balkan Studies*, Vol.28, No.1 (1987), p.73.
32. J.R. Ward, 'The Industrial Revolution and British Imperialism, 1750–1850', *Economic History Review*, Vol.XLVII, No.1 (1994), p.60.
33. Panzac, 'International and Domestic Maritime Trade in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century', pp.195–7. In the same study (p.193) Panzac stated that of the 776 ships anchoring in Rhodes between 1776 and 1779, 174 ships belonged to the Ottomans, while the French had 411 ships. The rest of the ships belonged to the Venetians (95), the Ragusians (59) and the English (35).
34. D. Panzac, 'XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Deniz Ticareti' (Trans. S. Yılmaz), *Tarihî İncelemeleri Dergisi*, Vol.4 (1989), pp.180–1.
35. W. Kaltenstadtler, 'Der Osterreichische Seehandel uber Trieste im 18. Jahrhundert', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Vol.55–56, No.1, 4 (1969), pp.42, 74.
36. Michoff, *Contribution a l'histoire du commerce de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie III*, pp.44–7.
37. Ibid., pp.61–3.
38. I. Bostan, 'Rusya'nın Karadeniz'de Ticarete Başlaması ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu (1700–1787)', *g Belleten*, Vol.LIX, No.225 (1995), p.369.
39. M. Kutuko lu, '18. Yüzyılda İngiliz ve Fransız Korsanlık Hareketlerinin Akdeniz Ticareti Üzerindeki Etkileri', *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, No.12 (1968), p.59.
40. A.C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (London: Frank Cass, 1964), pp.161–2.
41. See: D. HMK. 22222.
42. A.M. Kucukkalay, 'İzmir Efencü Gumrü Mükaataasına Ait 1802–1805 Tarihli 15 Adet Defterin, "g Analizi', *Türk Arastırmaları Dergisi*, No.16 (2004), pp.215–23.

