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A Portrayal of an Ottoman City and Its Inhabitants: Administration, Society, and Economy in Ottoman Antakya (Antioch), 1750-1840

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A Portrayal of an Ottoman City and Its Inhabitants: Administration, Society, and Economy in
Ottoman Antakya (Antioch), 1750-1840

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in History

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the main features of the social and economic life of the district of Antakya between 1750 and 1840 to essentially understand the characteristics of the daily life of society, administration, political developments, and economic activities in this particular city. While elucidating the city administration, demography, neighborhood life, trade, marketplace, guilds, religious minorities, women, children, and the politics of notables in the district of Antakya between 1750 and 1840; my observations revealed the main aspects of social, economic, and politic life of the city of Antakya- one of the most important religious, political, and commercial centers in the classical world under the Ottoman Empire. Even though this study conveys some of the complexities and patterns of local society, the conceptional framework and methodology it proposes, the sources it uses, and the questions it addresses are relevant to the history of other communities in the Levant and Southeast Anatolia as well as other mid-sized towns in the Ottoman Empire, which shared much in common with Antakya.

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ABBREVIATION

Antakya Şer'îye Sicilleri (A.Ş.S.)

Basmuhasebe Muhallefat Halifeligi Kalemî (D.BSM.MHF)

Cevdet Tasnifi Adliye (C. ADL.)

Cevdet Dahiliye (C. DH)

Cevdet Maliye (C. ML)

Hariciye Mektubi (HR. MKT.)

Hariciye Nezareti Siyasi (HR. SYS.)

Hatt-i Hümâyûn (HAT)

Kamil Kepeci Tasnifi (KK)

Maliye Nezareti Varidat Muhasebesi Cizye Defterleri (ML.VRD.CMH)

Meclis-i Vâlâ Riyâseti Belgeleri (MVL)

Piskoposluk Kalemî Defterleri (D.PSK)

Sadaret Umum Vilayet Evraki (A.MKT. U)

INTRODUCTION

"it seems to me that one of the most pleasing things in cities, and one of the most useful, is meetings and mixing with other people... Indeed, if a man had the idea of traveling all over earth with a concern not to see how individual cities looked but to learn their individual ways, Antioch would fulfill his purpose and save him from journeying. If he sits in our marketplace, he will sample every city; there will be so many people from each place with whom he can talk."¹

Libanius²

Antakya, better known as Antioch by those living outside of Turkey, was an important religious, economic, and cultural center in the classical world. Classical age Antakya attracted the attention of scholars, who published dozens of books on the city, but there is no comprehensive work dealing with the social, economic, and political history of the city after the 14th century. After the conquest of the Mamluks in 1268, the city lost all its importance of being a cultural, economic, and religious center, and degraded to a small city, which made it seemingly unattractive; hence, often overlooked research topic for historians. Under the Ottoman Empire, the social and economic life of the city improved, and Antakya transformed into a mid-size Ottoman city-the seat of a provincial district (kaza), which consisted of 5 sub-districts (*nahiyes*) - Kuseyr, Altınözü, Cebel-i Akra, Süveydiye, and Şuğur, which the last one was separated from the district of Antakya in the 17th century. Many spheres of life in medium-size and small towns, which constituted a large majority of the urban settlements in the Ottoman Empire, remain

¹ Christine Kondoleon, *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 11

² Libanius was a teacher of emperors and Christian bishop who served in Antioch in the 4th century.

poorly known. Besides being a good representation of a mid-size Ottoman town, Antakya is a good case to research since its population in urban and rural hinterlands were ethnically, culturally, and linguistically different. It is for this precise reason that my interest in the city of Antakya has evolved into writing a political, social, and economic history of the city under the Ottoman Empire. This dissertation aims to fill that gap by examining the social and economic life of the district of Antakya between 1750 and 1840.

Many aspects of the social, economic, political, and cultural history of Antakya under the Ottoman Empire have not been comprehensively studied by scholars. It is hard to find a comprehensive work dealing with neighborhood life, the trade, market organization, guilds, family life, women, children, the legal system, and judicial practice, while the administration of these towns, notably politics, European trade, and the religious minorities have attracted more research. This study seeks to fill these gaps in Antakya's history. It will illustrate Antakya's way of life and experiences, and will demonstrate the forces that shaped its dynamics and realities by examining the political history, the city administration, demography, neighborhood life, the trade, marketplace, guilds, the religious minorities, women, children, and the politics and power of notables in the district of Antakya between 1750 and 1840. Even though this study conveys some of the complexities and patterns of local society, the conceptional framework and methodology it proposes, the sources it uses, and the questions it addresses are relevant to the history of other communities in the Levant and Southeast Anatolia, which shared much in common with Antakya.

The period under evaluation was the time when the Ottoman Empire experienced socio-economic changes, which deeply affected the administrative, military, commercial, and diplomatic sectors of the empire. The continuous defeats on the European fronts in the 18th

century, and the invasion of Egypt by Napoleon's army in 1798 alarmed the Ottoman rulers. The Ottoman administration found the solution in reorganizing empire's army, administration, and society along the Western model, which came to be considered the path to success. During that period, Selim III (1789-1807), Mahmud II (1808-1839), and Abdulmecid I (1839-1861) implemented reform programs with the aim of modernizing the Ottoman army and other institutions as well as providing equal rights to all Ottoman subjects. In addition, there was a regional reform applied by the Egyptian governor, who occupied and ruled the Syrian provinces of the Ottoman Empire, including the district of Antakya, during the 1830s. The reforms applied by the Egyptian government is believed to be more advanced and well organized than the Ottoman reforms that had been applied in the region until the 1830s, and prepared the basis for the coming reforms of the Tanzimat period, 1839-1876. This dissertation examines to what extent the pre-Tanzimat reforms and developments affected the social, economic, and political life of the district of Antakya, and the reaction of the local communities to these reforms. In addition, even though the dissertation covers, the years between 1750 and 1840, in some cases I have provided some examples from the 1850s in order to point out some of the early effects of the Tanzimat reforms, especially on the issues of church construction and equality between Muslims and non-Muslims in the district of Antakya.

A city like Antakya located in the border lands between Syria and Anatolia poses interesting questions in relation to identities and historical conceptualization in the post-Ottoman world, which are shaped by nation-state and linguistic boundaries. However, these conceptualizations cannot firmly place the district of Antakya in either Anatolian or Syrian history as the city hosted people from both cultural and linguistic zones. While the city proper of the district of Antakya featured the characteristics of an Anatolian city, the sub-districts of

Süveydiye and Cebel-i Akra mostly showed Syrian characteristics since most of the population living in these regions were ethnically Arab and spoke Arabic. Due to that fact this study is conversant with both the literature on Ottoman Anatolia and the literature on Arab provinces, with which the town had strong ties.

Antakya has great historical significance for Christianity as St. Peter, Paul, and Barnabas preached in the city in the first century A.D., and the term Christian was first used in that city to describe the Disciplines of Christ. Therefore, Antioch has been a popular research subject among scholars who conduct research on the history of early Christianity, Church history, and the Christian teaching.³ The city was one of the largest cities under the Roman Empire as its population exceeded half a million, and it also had all services and amenities of a big city.⁴ Thus, the history of Antioch under the Roman and Byzantine Empires has been a popular research subject as well.⁵ However, after the collapse of the Roman Empire and during the long decline of

³ Raymond Edward Brown, *Antioch and Rome: New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity*. (New York: Paulist Press, 1983); Gregory Vall, *Learning Christ: Ignatius of Antioch and the Mystery of Redemption*. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2013); Nicholas Taylor, *Paul, Antioch and Jerusalem: A Study in Relationships and Authority in Earliest Christianity*. (London: Bloomsbury, 2015); Michelle Slee, *The Church in Antioch in the First Century CE: Communion and Conflict*. (London; New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003); Magnus Zatterholm, *The Formation of Christianity in Antioch: A Social-Scientific Approach to the Separation between Judaism and Christianity*. (London: Routledge, 2005); R. V. Sellers, *Eustathius of Antioch: and His Place in the Early History of Christian Doctrine*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Christine Shephardson, *Controlling Contested Places: Late Antique Antioch and the Spatial Politics of Religious Controversy*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014); Raffaella Cribiore, *The School of Libanius in late Antique Antioch*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

⁴ Reşat Kasaba, "Diversity in Antakya: A Historical Perspective." In *The Mediterranean World: The Idea, the Past, and the Present*. Ed. By Kudret Emiroğlu, Oktay Özel, Eyüp Özveren, Suha Ünsal. (Istanbul: İletisim Yayınları, 2006), 207.

⁵ George Haddad, *Aspects of Social Life in Antioch in the Hellenistic-Roman Period*. (Chicago: Hafner Publishing Company, 1949); Glanville Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961); Edmund Bouchier, *A Short History of Antioch, 300 B.C.- A.D. 1268*. (London: Oxford, 1921); Gurkan

the Byzantine Empire, the city was repeatedly attacked by Arabs, Turks, and Crusaders, which led to the loss of its wealth and prominence. The city became a "non-place" after the Mamluk occupation, which caused the city to lose its popularity among historians. Under Ottoman rule, the social and economic life of the city regained its strength; however, it never came to enjoy the wealth and prominence that it had had under the Roman Empire.

Historical research on Ottoman cities has been a popular subject among scholars since the 1960s. Most of these studies were on major cities, which served as political, commercial, and religious centers, such as Istanbul, Aleppo, Cairo, Jerusalem, Izmir, and Damascus. The reasons behind the attraction of the scholars to study these cities have been availability of fruitful sources, such as the collections of biographies and chronicles, and the realization that the Ottoman court records could provide significant information for understanding the social structure of Ottoman cities. Once Abdul-Karim Rafeq, Andre Raymond, Suraiya Faroqhi, and Ronald Jennings had demonstrated how crucial the Ottoman court records are in revealing the history of urban masses, a number of scholars began to use them to recover the histories of Ottoman major urban centers of Anatolia, Middle East and Balkans.⁶

Bahadir, "The Transformation of the Socio-Political Structure in the Beginning of the Islamic Reign in Antioch." (The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies, Vol. 6, Issue 7, July 2013); John Hugo Wolfgang Gideon Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the later Roman Empire*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); Raffaella Cribiore, *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); Glanville Downey, *Ancient Antioch*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963); Richard McAlee, *The Coins of Roman Antioch*. (Lancaster: Classical Numismatic Group, 2007); Glanville Downey, *Antioch in the Age of Theodosius the Great*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962); Andrea U De Giorgi, *Ancient Antioch: From the Seleucid Era to the Islamic Conquest*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016);

⁶ Abdul-Karim Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus, 1723-1783*. (Beirut, 1966); Andre Raymond, *Artisans et Commerçants au Caire au XVIII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Damascus, 1973); Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Settings, 1520-1650*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Ronald C. Jennings,

Such scholarly works have refined our knowledge of Ottoman cities, demonstrated their diversity, indicated similarities and differences among them, and contributed to our collective understanding of urban life in some of the most important Ottoman cities. As mentioned earlier, the majority of these studies focused on large cities, like Aleppo, Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Izmir.⁷ However, these major political, religious and commercial centers do not exactly represent the typical Ottoman provincial world as medium-sized towns whose population was between 15,000 and 50,000 in the 18th and 19th centuries, constituted the majority of the urban areas in the Ottoman provinces. These medium-sized towns stood mostly outside the core lands of the Ottoman empire, and because of this, the central administration did not have a reason to pay special attention to the control of the city, and did not also have the purpose of being part of

“Loans and Credit in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records: The Sharia court of Anatolian Kayseri,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 16 (1973); “Urban Population in Anatolia in the Sixteenth Century: A Study of Kayseri, Karaman, Amasya, Trabzon, and Erzurum,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 7, (1976); “Kadi, Court and Legal Procedure in Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Kayseri,” *Studia Islamica*, 48, (1978).⁷ On Aleppo, Abraham Marcus, *Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989); Bruce Master, *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East: Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo, 1600-1750*. (New York: New York University Press, 1988); Margaret L. Meriwether, *The Kin Who Count, Family and Society in Ottoman Aleppo, 1770-1840*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999); Charles L. Wilkins, *Forging Urban Solidarities: Ottoman Aleppo, 1640-1700*. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010). On Damascus: Karl Barbir, *Ottoman Rule in Damascus*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); James Reilly, “Damascus Merchants and Trade in the Transition to Capitalism,” *Canadian Journal of History*, 27, (1992); Richard Van Leeuwen, *Waqf and Urban Structures: the Case of Damascus*. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1999); Brigitte Marino, *Le faubourg du Midan à Damas à l'époque Ottomane : espace urbain, société et habitat (1742-1830)*. (Damascus: Presses de l'Ifpo, 1997); On Jerusalem: Amnon Cohen, *Economic Life in Ottoman Jerusalem*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); and *The Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem*. (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Dror Ze'evi, *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996); On Izmir, Sibel Zandi Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir: The Rise of Cosmopolitan Port, 1840-1880*. (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Daniel Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650*. (Washington: University of Washington Press: 1990); Ethem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

the day-to-day business of the town because of the distance.⁸ Lately, some scholars have conducted comprehensive research on mid-size Ottoman cities, which helped to develop several themes about Ottoman urban institutions and structures.⁹

Being a mid-sized Ottoman urban center, the social and economic history of the district of Antakya between the 16th and 19th centuries has received only limited attention by some Turkish scholars. Some of these studies constitute little more than undigested raw material, others avoid comparative perspectives, and ventures at making an argument are few and crude.¹⁰ However, recently some scholars produced more balanced topical studies on the society and economy of the district of Antakya by using Ottoman cadastral surveys (*tapu-tahrir* registers), court records, and central governmental records.¹¹ With the resourceful use of the court records of Antakya, these scholars portray the demography and administration of the district, the

⁸ Hülya Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town: Ayıntab in the 17th Century*. (Boston: Brill, 2007),, 4-5.

⁹ James A.Reilly, *A Small Town in Syria: Ottoman Hama in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. (Berlin: Lang, 2002); Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town: Ayıntab in the 17th Century*; Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab*. (University of California Press, 2003); Boğaç A. Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Çankırı and Kastamonu (1652-1744)*. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003); Heath Lowry, “The Ottoman Tahrir Defters as a Source for Urban Demographic History: The Case Study of Trabzon (1486-1583)” (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1977).

¹⁰ Rıfat Özdemir, *Antakya Esnaf Teşkilatı (1709-1860)*, (Antakya: Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi Yayinevi, 2002); Mehmet Tekin, *Hatay Tarihi Osmanlı Dönemi*, (Ankara 2000); Mehmet Tekin, “Osmanli Doneminde Hatay.” *Guneyde Kultur Dergisi*, Ocak-Subat (2000).

¹¹ Ahmet Gündüz, *16. Yüzyılda Antakya Kazası (1550-1584)*, (Antakya: Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2009); Doğan Gün, *XVIII. Yuzyılda Antakya'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1708-1777)*. (Elazığ: Fırat Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012); Abdulkadir Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)." (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi, Unpublished P.h.D. Dissertation, 2008); Adem Kara, “XIX Yuzyilin ilk Yarisinda Antakya (1800-1850)”, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 2004); Rıfat Özdemir, “Osmanli Doneminde Antakya'nin Fiziki ve Demografik Yapısı 1705-1860”, *Bellekten*, c. LVIII, Nisan (1994); Doğan Gün, “XVIII. Yuzyılda Antakya'da Seyhlerin Koylerdeki Idarecilik Fonksyonları”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Tarih Arastirmalari Dergisi*, v.24/37, (2005).

economy and taxation regime in Antakya, but they do not delve into detail on some significant themes, which are important to portray the social, economic, and political life in the district of Antakya in the 18th and 19th centuries. The religious and ethnic minorities, the politics of notables, neighborhood life, family life, women, the legal system, and market organization were either not mentioned at all or were not comprehensively discussed in the studies of these scholars. This study seeks to fill these significant gaps in the district's history by extensive usage of *kadi* court records, tax registers, Ottoman governmental records, travelers' accounts, and secondary sources written in various languages.

Social historians of the Ottoman Empire have relied heavily on the court registers. The Ottoman court registers contain the kadi's rulings, registry of disputes and settlements, fetvas, imperial edicts, and documents that were issued to the office of the kadi by other administrative branches. These records offer an incomparable repository of information on subjects of the empire, but the historical value of the court records for the understanding of social and economic history has been only recently realized by scholars. The numbers of monographs that have benefited from court registers have increased in the last three decades. Beside serving as courts, the Ottoman courts served as notarial offices where the dwellers of the town drew up contracts and deeds, and as busy administrative agencies that dealt with many kinds of official business in the city and the respective province. Women and men from various social strata visited courts to register businesses and settle litigation related to various matters, such as sales of homes, commercial dealings, loans and credit, divorce, child custody and support, marriage payments, inheritance, market and guild regulations, charitable endowments, business partnerships, officials' abuses, crime, and conversion to Islam. These records depict a rich picture of how society worked, with its daily practices, conflicts, accidents, and strategies, which characterized

daily life in Ottoman towns. All these individual cases and requests, written in Ottoman Turkish, were recorded chronologically in the official court registers, but without regard to any topical order. That is why, this study combines some conventional thematic readings of the court registers with a simple database analysis

The primary source of information of this dissertation will be the court records of Antakya from the 18th and 19th centuries. In this dissertation, I study sixteen volumes of court records of the district of Antakya, and three volumes of the Registers of Imperial orders for the governorate general of Aleppo (part of which Antakya and its sub-districts were) (Haleb Ahkam Defterleri) between the years of 1751-1797, which contain thousands of individual entries. The sixteen volumes of Antakya court records studied in this dissertation span the years between 1708 and 1863. The sixteen volumes of the court records of Antakya do not provide a continuous series as I prefer to study one or two volumes of the records of each decade instead of studying all the volumes, which are 24 volumes, between 1709 and 1840. As we will see in chapter six, the court records of Antakya offer only few documents that relate to social and economic problems caused by notables, so I decided to study the Command Registers of the province of Aleppo (Haleb Ahkam Defterleri), which contain a much greater number of documents related to the subject.

I also conducted research in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi) in Istanbul in which imperial edicts, warrants, rescripts and mandates have been preserved. During my research, I had the chance to examine several document collections, some of which are Cevded Adliye, Cevded Dahiliye, Cevded Maliye, Cevded Zaptiye, Hatt-ı Hümayun, Sadaret Umum Vilayet Evrakı, Iradeler Hariciyye, Iradeler Dahiliyye collections, to

complement my understanding of the social, economic, and political life of dwellers of the district of Antakya.

I also found a number of Western accounts that were composed between 18th and 19th centuries. Travelers who visited the Ottoman Empire between 15th and 19th centuries can be divided into several groups. The first group is foreign diplomats who came to do business on the Ottoman Empire. They composed their own accounts from the 15th century onward, and their accounts offer extensive description of both the cities that they lived in and the route leading there. From the 16th century onwards, another significant group of travel writers who were pilgrims came to be very active in the Ottoman lands.¹² The accounts of these travelers mostly portray the Holy Places and the neighboring cities. As Antakya was located on the pilgrimage route, many of these travelers passed by the city to reach their destination. Apart from pilgrims and diplomats, European merchants were the most numerous group of travelers that traveled to the Ottoman Empire before the 19th century. Another important group that travelled to the Ottoman territories was that of missionaries. A substantial number of Catholic missionaries visited the Ottoman Empire in the 17th century, but by far the most voluminous missionary publications were made by Protestant missionaries who were very active in different regions of the Empire in the 19th century.¹³ During the same time, a new travel literature in the English language emerged. Many individuals, including missionaries or other clergymen, diplomats, journalists, and educators carried out the American version of the Grand Tour to explore places, cultures, and societies living in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴

¹² Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 112-114.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 118-120.

¹⁴ Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 102-103.

It is necessary to discuss in brief the approach of some of the travelers towards communities in the Ottoman Empire. Some European travelers regarded Middle Eastern and Anatolian contemporaries as the uncivilized dwellers of a land of ancient civilizations, and thus, they implied that the inhabitants of these regions did not deserve to control these areas. In addition, religious and ethnic biases of European travelers further complicate the picture painted by them. Moreover, many of these travelers, especially those who came to the region before the 19th century, did not know either Ottoman Turkish or Arabic. Thus, these people had to rely on people who spoke their languages, which usually meant that they derived many of their stories regarding Muslims or other heterodox groups, as well as Turks and Arabs, from Ottoman Christians.¹⁵ The travelers and missionaries who usually could not become part and parcel of society interacted with the communities in the region in which they travelled, and they mostly used speculative knowledge that they obtained from neighborhoods. However, it must be mentioned that there are substantial differences within and between the various Western discussions of the Middle East and communities living in Antakya in particular. All in all, after examining travelers' accounts that I used in my dissertation to portray the social, economic, and political life of the district of Antakya, I am convinced that many of these accounts constitute a very significant and valuable part of the source base for the Middle East studies. Without these important travel accounts produced by German, French, British, and American travelers, I would not have been able to take on many topics, such as minorities or social and economic life in rural areas of the district of Antakya.

¹⁵ Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources*, 141.

These accounts are important for the purposes of my dissertation since they provide the kind of information about culture, tradition, economic activities, political developments, and demography of Antakya that we do not find in the Ottoman court records or other archival sources.¹⁶ They are also important as their observations shed a light on ethnic and religious groups living in the rural hinterlands of the respective district. As names of members of these communities, namely Greek Orthodox, Armenians, and Alawis do not appear as often as Sunni Muslims in the court registers of Antakya, one should mostly rely on the travelers' accounts to examine the social, economic, and cultural life of these communities. In addition, these sources approach the social, economic, and political developments of the time from different perspectives.

¹⁶ John Macdonald Kinneir, *Journey Through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Koordistan, in the Years 1813 and 1814; with the Remarks on the Marches of Alexander, and Retreat of the Ten Thousand*. (London: John Murray, Albemarle-Street, 1818); Fred Arthur Neale, *Evenings at Antioch*. (London: Eyre and Williams, 1854); W. H. Bartlett, *Syria, The Holy Land, Asia Minor*. (London; Paris; America: Fisher Son, vol. I, 1836); Robert Walpole, *Travels in Various Countries of the East*. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1820); Fred Arthur Neale, *Eight Years in Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor from 1842 to 1850*. (London: Colburn and CO. Publishers, Vol. II, 1851); J.R. Wellsted, *Travels to the City of the Caliphs*, vol. II (London, 1840); Frederick Walpole, *The Ansayrii and Assassins: With Travels in the Further East in 1850 to 1851. Including a Visit to Nineveh Part Three*. (Kessinger Publishing, 2004); Samuel Lyde, *Ansyeerh and Ismaeleeh: A Visit to the Secret Sects of Northern Syria*. (London: Hurst and Blackett Publishers, 1853); Bernard H. Springett, *Secret Sects of Syria and Lebanon*. (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1922); James Silk Buckingham, *Travels Among the Arab Tribes Inhabiting the Countries East of Syria and Palestine*. (London, 1825); Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries, vol. II, part I, Observations on Palestine or the Holy Land, Syria, Mesopotamia, Cyprus, and Candia*. (London, 1745); George Robinson, *Travels in Palestine and Syria*. (London, vol. n, 1837); Eusebe de Salle, *Peregrinations en Orient ou voyage pittoresque, historique et politique en Egypte, Nubie, Syrie, Turquie, Grice pendant les annies 1837-38-39*, (Paris, 2nd ed., vol. I, 1840); Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung Nach Arabien und Anderen Umliegenden Ländern*. (Hamburg, 1837); Ali Bey, *Travels of Ali Bey : in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Turkey, Between the Years 1803 and 1807*. (London: Longman, Hursts, Bees, Orme, and Brown, 1816); William Francis Ainsworth, *A personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*. (Londra: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1888).

The dissertation is divided into six chapters. In the first chapter, I discuss briefly the history of the city of Antakya during three periods: from the establishment of the city to the Ottoman occupation, the Ottoman rule between 1517 and 1832, and the Egyptian invasion between 1832 and 1840. In the first part I evaluate the social, economic, and religious importance of the city under the Roman and Byzantine Empires in order to demonstrate its significance for ancient history and the history of early Christianity. The cosmopolitan population, strategic position, extensive commercial connections, and political significance made Antakya a natural focus for both the accumulation and diffusion of ideas, but the city lost its wealth and cosmopolitan characteristics after the Mamluk occupation in the 13th century. I specifically explore the Islamization of the city after the Mamluk occupation by indicating some of the policies that were applied by the new regime, which degraded the city from a wealthy and prominent city to "non-place". In the second part of this chapter, I discuss the transformation of the city from "non-place" to medium-size Ottoman city in the context of general historical developments in the Ottoman Empire between the 16th and 19th centuries. In the last part of the chapter, I argue that the Egyptian invasion of the city greatly disrupted the political, social, and economic life in the district of Antakya between 1832 and 1840.

In the second chapter I examine the administrative structure of the district and its administrators with an emphasis on its relative significance within the imperial system, and the physical parameters of urban life, including demography and neighborhood life in the 18th and 19th centuries. The administrative status of the district of Antakya, religious and ethnic structures of the city proper and sub-districts, mixed neighborhoods and privacy, and the administrators of the district are the main subjects of this chapter.

The third chapter examines the economy in the district of Antakya. After providing an overview of the social and economic transformation in the Ottoman Empire in the 16th and 17th centuries, I discuss the impact of that transformation in Antakya by showing particular interest in trade, guild organizations, market regulations, and taxation in the district of Antakya between 1750 and 1840. First of all, I examine trade in Antakya by emphasizing the role of the city in the Levant trade, the activities of British merchants in the city, and local and foreign merchants and their activities between 1750 and 1840. After the discussion of trade and its impact on the district economy, I examine in detail artisans' activities, relations, how artisans were able to adapt themselves to the changing economic conditions of the period, and the state's efforts for market regulation. In addition, I also analyze the Janissaries' involvement in various economic activities, and the interactions between Janissaries and artisans. Finally, I focus on some of the basic taxes collected in the district, the rates of these taxes, tax-collection methods, and the burden of these taxes on the tax-paying population. Unfortunately, this chapter rarely deals with peasants and agricultural activities as many aspects of peasants' lives and agricultural activities are so poorly documented.

In the fourth chapter I examine the social and economic life of the most significant minorities in the district -Greek Orthodox, Armenians, and Alawis. The beginning of this chapter is devoted to a discussion of the millet system, Ottoman tolerance and the idea of intercommunality as a way to manage diversity in the empire, and the Ottoman's low-tolerance approach towards non-Sunni Muslim minorities between the 15th and the 19th centuries. After this overview of the general Ottoman approach to minorities, I focus on the minorities living in the district of Antakya by examining the areas they inhabited, their social and economic life, the relationship between the Ottoman government and the representatives of these communities,

their relations with each other and the Sunni population, and the discrimination that they faced. Furthermore, I also discuss the Patriarchate of Antioch between the 15th and the 19th centuries, its economic resources and administration, and its responsibilities for protection of the rights of Greek Orthodox living under its jurisdiction.

The fifth chapter is devoted the discussion of the social and economic life of women in the district of Antakya. In this chapter I examine marriage and its legal conceptualization and process, polygamous marriage and its frequency in the district of Antakya, childbirth, the three categories of divorce, namely *talak*, *hul*, and *tefrik*, guardianship and allowance, property ownership by women, women's activity and practices in managing the transmission of their possession, and the role of women as founders or administrators of waqfs (pious endowments) in the district of Antakya in the 18th and 19th centuries. While analyzing the social and economic life of women in the district of Antakya, I substantiate my arguments by using several court registers concerning marriage, divorce, allowance, guardianship, endowment, money-lending, and purchase of house and estate not only from the court of Antakya, but also some other courts in Anatolia and the Middle East. Therefore, this chapter is important for the understanding of social and economic life of women both in Antakya and the Ottoman Empire at large.

The last chapter examines the rise and ultimate decline of ayans by focusing specifically on two important ayans, Kara Ibrahim and Fethullah Ağa, in the district of Antakya. In the sixth chapter I first provide background information on the socio-economic changes, such as changes in the land-tenure system and in provincial administration as well as the military, which created an environment for the emergence of ayans between 16th and 18th centuries. I also discuss the important role that ayans played in Ottoman economy, military, and local administration, and the relationship between the state's decentralization and the rise of the ayans, which forced the state

to rely on ayans to maintain security in provinces, recruit soldiers, and collect taxes. In the rest of the chapter, a detailed study of two powerful ayans in the district of Antakya, Kara Ibrahim and Fethullah Ağa, their rise to power, their administrative roles in the district's administration, and how the latter ayan challenged the central government's authority within his own territory is presented.

CHAPTER I: A BRIEF HISTORY OF ANTAKYA

Antakya: From the Establishment of the City to the Ottoman Occupation

Antioch, or Antakya in Turkish, was a very prominent city during the ancient times. The city is located in south-central Turkey and along the northwest border with Syria. Antakya had a special place among the significant centers of the Hellenistic, Roman, and Early Byzantine worlds. It was one of the greatest religious and economic centers in the middle ages, but it was quite different from other great Greco-Roman cities due to its mixed culture and demography.¹⁷ The city was very populous during the Roman and Byzantine periods. However, the city lost its popularity after the Muslim conquest first in the 7th and then 13th century, which would change its social, economic, religious, and political character. The city remained under Ottoman control since the first decade of the 16th century until the end of World War I. However, the Ottoman governor of Egypt, Mehmed Ali Paşa, invaded the city, and controlled it between 1832 and 1840. During that time period, he implemented several reforms in the city that paved the way for upcoming Ottoman reforms in the following years. In this chapter, the long history of Antakya since its foundation to 1840 will be discussed.

Antakya was founded in B.C. 300 by Seleucus I, one of Alexander the Great's generals and the founder of the Seleucid Empire. In fact, Seleucus I first established Seleucia Pieria on the Mediterranean coast. However, the city had some shortcomings for becoming a provincial capital since it was open to threats coming from the Mediterranean Sea. He decided to form a new city further inland that was more secure. As soon as he founded Antakya in 300 B.C, he ordered the construction of a temple for Zeus since he believed that protection of the city would be ensured

¹⁷ Glanville Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 3-11.

by Zeus.¹⁸ The city was named after Seleucus I's father, Antiochus, one of Alexander's most distinguished generals.

The founder of the city aimed to create a center of Greek civilization on the oriental frontiers, but the city did not come to fully fulfill that purpose as its population consisted of mostly oriental elements.¹⁹ The dwellers of the city were brought together from different areas. Athenians, Macedonians; retired soldiers of Seleucus; some Cretans, Cypriots, Argives, and Heraclids; dwellers of Antigonía; and some Jews, some of whom were retired mercenaries of Seleucus's army, made up the population of the newly established city. Seleucus also followed the policy of settling Macedonians and Greeks at strategic points in the conquered lands for the security purposes²⁰ Antakya was a typical example of this policy. The population of the city was around 5,300 in the early years of the city's history. However, this number might refer to only males. If it is true, the real population of the city was between 17,000 and 25,000.²¹

Antakya came under the control of the Roman Empire after the occupation of the city by Pompeius in 64 B.C. The city served as a capital of the Syrian provinces, and became an important religious, cultural, economic, and political center during the Roman period.²² Gnaeus Pompeius describes Antakya by saying that "Antioch was much more than an administrative center, but a highly developed political community, determined, with the hearty approval of citizens, to remove the worn-out royal dynasty and, while leaving internal administration to locally elected magistrates, to transfer the duty of protecting the city and province generally to a

¹⁸ Ataman Demir, *Çağlar İcinde Antakya*. (Istanbul: Akbank Yayınevi, 1996.), 24-25.

¹⁹ Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*, p. 3-11.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 79-80.

²¹ Demir, *Çağlar İcinde Antakya*, p.30-31.

²² Gürkan Bahadır, "The Transformation of the Socio-Political Structure in the Beginning of the Islamic Reign in Antioch." *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies*, Vol. 6, Issue 7, (July 2013), p. 187

direct representative of the Roman Empire."²³ During the Roman period, the population of the city reached over half a million, and it had all the amenities and facilities of a big city, such as a big amphitheater, public baths, aqueducts, sewage system, granaries, weapons factory and schools.²⁴

Hosting people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, being an important trade center, located in a region where Eastern and Western cultures came together made Antakya a significant propaganda center for the expansion of Christianity.²⁵ Upon witnessing the rapid growth of the new Christian community in Antioch by the apostles in Jerusalem, they send Barnabas, a Jew of Cypriot origin, to the city to observe things. Under guidance of Barnabas and with the help of Paul and Peter, a new Christian community was formed in the city, the name of “Christians” was firstly used to refer to that community, and that community developed into a powerful church in Antakya. As a result of their journeys, Antakya became one of the most respected religious centers in the Christian world.

A number of factors, such as its cosmopolitan population, strategic position, extensive commercial connections, and political significance as first a Seleucid and then a Roman/Byzantine administrative center, all-together made Antakya a natural focus for both the accumulation and diffusion of ideas.²⁶ One of the early Christian teachers, Libanius, who worked in Antakya at that time commented that "it seems to me that one of the most pleasing things in cities, and one of the most useful, is meetings and mixing with other people... Indeed, if a man

²³ Edmund Bouchier, *A Short History of Antioch, 300 B.C.- A.D. 1268*. (London: Oxford, 1921), 41.

²⁴ Reşat Kasaba, “Diversity in Antakya: A Historical Perspective.” In *The Mediterranean World: The Idea, the Past, and the Present*. Ed. By Kudret Emiroğlu, Oktay Özel, Eyüp Özveren, Suha Ünsal. (Istanbul: İletisim Yayinlari, 2006), 207.

²⁵ Demir, *Çağlar Icinde Antakya*, 33.

²⁶ Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*, 11.

had the idea of traveling all over earth with a concern not see how individual cities looked but to learn their individual ways, Antioch would fulfill his purpose and save him from journeying. If he sits in our marketplace, he will sample every city; there will be so many people from each place with whom he can talk."²⁷ In fact, some other Mediterranean cities had the same multi-ethnic characteristics that Antakya had, but what made Antakya different was that the city kept its multi-ethnic and multi-cultural identity despite natural disasters and continuous occupations until the 13th century.

In the Roman period, Antakya served as a strategic location for controlling the Eastern Mediterranean. At the same time, since the Persians in the east were gaining power, cities on the eastern frontiers of the Empire became more and more crucial for defending the border. The need of protection of the border increased the importance of Antakya as a military center. In addition, the establishment of the city of Constantinople did not decrease the significance of Antakya as an economic and military center. The city also showcased the power and wealth of the Roman Empire to the Persians.²⁸ Downey states that “younger than Athens and Rome, of about the same age as Alexandria, and older than Constantinople, Antioch played a distinctive part in the process which brought together the traditions of Athens and Jerusalem and worked them into a new form that was eventually to be preserved by Constantinople alone.”²⁹

After the establishment of the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantine) in 330, Antakya gained more significance. In terms of political and social structure, the Byzantine Empire was the direct continuation of the Roman Empire. During the Byzantine period, the city was one of the greatest metropolises, and it continued to serve as the capital of the Syrian provinces. The city was also the

²⁷ Kasaba, “Diversity in Antakya: A Historical Perspective”, 209-210.

²⁸ Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*, 12.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

seat of the *magister militum*, or commander of troops for the eastern diocese.³⁰

The city hosted different people from different nationalities and religions during the Byzantine period. Three languages, Greek, Latin, and Aramaic were spoken in the city during the 4th century. Greek writing was used in the city until the Arab conquest. Compared to other Anatolian and Arab cities in the 4th century, Antakya differed in terms of social life. Social life in Antakya was a combination of two distinct cultures, Hellenism and Christianity.³¹ In addition to being an important cultural center, Antakya was also an important educational center. The Academy of Antioch was one of the well-regarded Greco-Roman educational institutions in the 4th century. Students from all around the Empire visited this school to learn about Greek philosophy and other kinds of philosophical movements of the time.³²

The ecclesiastical organization was not completely formed until the 4th century. When the Roman Empire accepted Christianity as the official religion of the empire, it became necessary to organize a church, whose organization would be parallel to that of the lay government. Under that organization efforts, the empire grouped together the bishops under the bishop of the metropolis of the province; and these metropolitans were also grouped together based on the great lay dioceses, which had been instituted by Diocletian, under the leadership of the bishop of the capital of the diocese.³³ It was due to these efforts that the geographical boundaries of Antioch, which included present-day Syria, Iraq, southeastern Turkey, Lebanon, Iran and India were set at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, and the bishop of Antioch, together with the bishops

³⁰ Bahadir., "The Transformation of the Socio-Political Structure in the Beginning of the Islamic Reign in Antioch." 187-189.

³¹ Ibid., 191.

³² Ibid., 185.

³³ Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 20-21.

of Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, were recognized patriarchs.³⁴ However, not all of the Christians living under the dominance of the Patriarch of Antioch accepted the decision of Chalcedon. The Christians disregarded the Patriarch of Antioch and established their own churches, called Jacobite, and labeled the Orthodox who accepted the hegemony of the Patriarch of Antioch as Melkites.

In terms of governing structure under the Byzantine Empire, Antakya, the capital city of Syrian provinces, had a self-governing structure. The city's central and local administration coexisted under the Byzantine Empire between the 4th and 7th centuries.³⁵ However, this administrative structure began to decay in the face of the Sassanid threat along the eastern borders of the Empire. The most important cities of the eastern Byzantine provinces, including Antakya, became centers of military and civil organization that would transform autonomous cities states into centrally controlled cities.³⁶

There were two powerful states that dominated Anatolia before the 7th century, the Byzantine Empire and the Sassanid Empire. The Sassanians posed problems for the Byzantine Empire along its eastern borders. During the 602-628 Byzantine-Sassanid War, the Sasanian army took Antioch (613) and Jerusalem (614), which cut off Syria from the Byzantine Empire, and destroyed much of the Anatolian uplands.³⁷ However, the inhabitants of Antakya were not persecuted by the Persians as they were considered potential allies, and were allowed to keep their religious and social institutions on the condition of not maintaining any economic and

³⁴ Ibid., 21.

³⁵ Bahadir., "The Transformation of the Socio-Political Structure in the Beginning of the Islamic Reign in Antioch.", p. 185.

³⁶ George Ostrogorsky, "Byzantine Cities in Early Middle Ages", *Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University*, (1959), 65.

³⁷ Hugh N. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of Caliphates: The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century*. (London: Longman, 2004), 5.

ideological links with the Byzantium.³⁸ The Sasanians ruled the city for a short time period since the Byzantines recaptured it under the command of Heraclius in 622. The ongoing conflicts between the Byzantines and the Sassanids debilitated both sides that would ease the occupation of the region by Muslim armies.³⁹

During the time of the first caliph, Abu Bakr, the Muslim army started its conquests outside of the Arabian Peninsula. The advancement of the Muslim army forced the Byzantine commanders to move their armies to Syria in order to stop the advance of the Muslim army in the Byzantine territory. Muslim troops advanced towards southern Palestine and Nabatea, where Byzantine forces had been weakened due to the recent war against the Sasanians, so the imperial forces could not resist Muslim troops. In addition, inhabitants of these regions did not show any resistance to the Muslims as the region's economic, ideological, and institutional links with Byzantium had been weakened during the Sassanian occupation. Therefore, Muslims troops captured Damascus in 635, Antioch in 637, and Jerusalem in 638.⁴⁰ Upon the conquest of Antakya, three offers were given to the dwellers of the city: becoming a Muslim, paying jizya, or leaving the city. Those who became Muslim or accepted to pay jizya remained in the city.⁴¹

Most scholars studying Antakya agree that a new period began after the Muslim conquest of the city. During this period, the city lost its Roman/Byzantine and Christian character. After the conquest, the socio-political structure of the city changed. The demographic character, the

³⁸ Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev, "Beyond Empire I: Eastern Christianities from the Persian to the Turkish Conquest: 604-1071," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Early Medieval Christianities*, ed. Thomas F. X. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 70-71.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁴⁰ Lazarev, "Beyond Empire I: Eastern Christianities from the Persian to the Turkish Conquest: 604-1071," 73-74.

⁴¹ Bahadir, "The Transformation of the Socio-Political Structure in the Beginning of the Islamic Reign in Antioch." p. 193-194.

culture, and the urban settlement structure of the region underwent a definitive transformation in the early middle ages.⁴² As Downey states: "this [the conquest of the city by the Muslims] brings to an end the history of Antioch as a city of the Greco-Roman world."⁴³ Ataman states that under Arab rule, the glory period of Antakya experienced during the Roman and Byzantine periods came to end. Antakya turned into a small and insignificant city compared to other urban centers, such as Damascus, Baghdad, Harran, Kufa, and Basra.⁴⁴

The demography of the city also changed after occupation of the city by the Muslims. Since some of the dwellers were forced to leave the city, a new group of people from the Arab lands were moved to Antioch during the Umayyad and the Abbasid periods. Different Islamic dynasties, the Umayyads, Abbasids, Tulunids, Ikhshidids, and Hamdanids, controlled the city until the re-conquest of the city by the Byzantine Empire in 969. Following the conquest of the city, the Byzantine Empire imposed Byzantine canonical practices and the Greek rite, and tried to strengthen the religious and ideological relations by establishing close imperial control over the Melkite Church in Antioch.⁴⁵ In addition, the Byzantine Empire resorted to religious cleansing in the cities which had been occupied by Muslims in the 630s, so some of the Muslims who were settled in Antioch were forced to move after 969.⁴⁶

The Byzantine Empire gradually extended its territories in Syria and Anatolia in the first half of the 11th century. However, another important state, the Great Seljuk State emerged as

⁴² Luca Zavagno, *Cities in Transition Urbanism in Byzantium Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (50-900 A.D)*. (Oxford: British Archeological Reports, 2009), 4.

⁴³ Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*, p. 578.

⁴⁴ Demir, *Çağlar İcinde Antakya*, p. 56.

⁴⁵ Lazarev, "Beyond Empire I: Eastern Christianities from the Persian to the Turkish Conquest: 604-1071," 84.

⁴⁶ Hugh Kennedy, "The Mediterranean Frontier: Christianity face to face with Islam, 600-1050," in *the Cambridge History of Christianity: Early Medieval Christianities*, ed. Thomas F. X. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 185.

another important power in the region. Following the conquest of the former Armenian capital, Ani, in 1064, the Seljuks defeated the Byzantine army at Manzikert in 1071, which opened the doors of Anatolia to the Turks. The Seljuks began their systematic occupation of central Anatolia, which opened a new era of political and religious change in the region.⁴⁷ Following two unsuccessful attempts, the Anatolian Seljuk Sultanate, which seceded from the Great Seljuk Empire in 1077, broke the resistance of the Byzantines, and entered the city under the command of Suleiman Shah in 1084. The Anatolian Seljuks did not put pressure on dwellers of the city, or the city was purged of its Christian inhabitants. Although they converted the Mar Cassianus church to a mosque, they provided lands to Christians for the construction of two new churches in the city.⁴⁸

The conquest of Antioch and Jerusalem by the Turks urged the Latin Christians to embark upon a crusade to bring these significant cities back under Christian domination. In the late 11th century, the city was captured by the Crusaders. The purpose of the Crusaders was to oust the Turks from Anatolia, to bring the Holy Lands under control of Christians, to put an end to the Seljuk policies preventing Christians and travelers from reaching Jerusalem, and to dominate the trade routes which had been under control of the Turks for a long time.⁴⁹ With the assistance of an Armenian soldier, Firuz, responsible for the protection of the wall of Antioch against the Crusaders, Bohemund I entered Antioch in June 1098. After the capture of the city, the Crusaders massacred Turks, and plundered their houses. It is believed that about 10,000 residents were killed.⁵⁰ Because of his efforts during the capture of the city, the Eastern representative of the

⁴⁷ Lazarev, "Beyond Empire I: Eastern Christianities from the Persian to the Turkish Conquest: 604-1071," 84.

⁴⁸ Halil Sahillioglu, "Antakya", (*DIA*, C.III, Istanbul, 1991.), p. 230.

⁴⁹ Demir, *Çağlar Icinde Antakya*, p. 63.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 70-71.

Pope appointed Bohemund I as Antioch Crusader Princeps in 1100 that has been considered to be the foundation of the Antioch Crusader Principality.⁵¹

The arrival of the crusades to region again changed the religious balance of the region. The establishment of crusader states of the Franks, by definition loyal to Rome, harmed Muslims and eastern Christians, except for the Maronites and the Armenians. Especially Melkites, who were considered close to Byzantines, faced political pressure from the crusaders, were forced to follow the Latin rite, and the existing Melkite patriarchs in Antioch and Jerusalem were driven out of the cities. Even though the relations between the Melkites and the Latins in the kingdom of Jerusalem improved in the following century, the relations remained strained in Antioch as the Byzantine emperors refused to recognize the Latin patriarchs of Antioch, and continued to support the Orthodox patriarchs who were in exile at Constantinople.⁵²

Although the Crusaders ruled the city for 170 years, they could not establish a strong and uniform nationality. They established four states instead of one state in the region which created competition between them and prevented them from unity. In addition, the Western Christians did not provide sufficient supply to Antioch in the time of danger. Bouchier claims that if the Principality of Antioch had obtained sufficient support from Europe in times of danger and wars, it would have lasted until the conquest of Syria by the Ottoman Empire in the 15th century.⁵³

The occupation of Egypt in 1250 and Syria in 1260 made the Mamluks a leading power in the Middle East. At the beginning of 1268, the Mamluk sultan, Baybars, organized a

⁵¹ Gürhan Bahadır, "II. Bohemond Döneminde Antakya Haçlı Prensiği (1126-1130)", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, XXXIII. Cilt, Sayı: 56, p. 89-90.

⁵² Françoise Micheau, "Eastern Christianities (eleventh to fourteenth century): Copts, Melkites, Nestorians and Jacobites," in *the Cambridge History of Christianity: Eastern Christianity*, ed. Angold. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 383.

⁵³ Bouchier, *A Short History of Antioch, 300 B.C.- A.D. 1268*, p. 298-299.

campaign firstly to occupy Yafa, and then to capture Antakya. He surrounded the city on May 15th 1268. After three days of siege, he ordered an attack on Antioch. His army occupied the city without confronting any resistance. After the occupation of the city, the Christian dominance that had lasted for 170 years came to an end, and Antakya has remained under Muslim control since the disappearance of the Antioch Principality.⁵⁴

The legitimacy of the Mamluks' military regime was based on their ability to defend Islam against the Mongols and the crusaders, which took the form of a double jihad. The Mamluks accused Christians living in Syria of allying with enemies of Islam, which made the Christians a target of Muslim attacks. After the occupation of Antakya, Syria, and Egypt, non-Muslims suffered from a growing number of popular attacks.⁵⁵ Upon the conquest of the city, the Mamluks pillaged Antakya for three days; they killed thousands of people; and took tens of thousands of them as prisoners. Baybars burned the fortress of the city, and the Mamluks destroyed the Monastery of St. Paul, the famous Cathedral of St. Peter, and some other churches as well.⁵⁶ In their efforts to turn the city into Islamic urban center, the Mamluks constructed many Islamic religious and educational institutions. According to a waqf register of 1550, most of the waqf buildings in the city were built during the Mamluk period.⁵⁷ In addition, the trade routes moved to another direction that had a devastating impact on the city economy. The occupation of Antioch by the Mamluks is considered as the beginning of the collapse of Christianity in North Syria. Thereafter, Antioch never enjoyed the prosperity it had during the antique age. In the 15th century, a traveler, Bertrandon de la Broquiere, states that the population

⁵⁴ Demir, *Çağlar İcinde Antakya*, p. 79.

⁵⁵ Micheau, "Eastern Christianities (eleventh to fourteenth century): Copts, Melkites, Nestorians and Jacobites," 388

⁵⁶ Bouchier, *A Short History of Antioch, 300 B.C.- A.D. 1268*, p. 269.

⁵⁷ Çakar, "16. Yuzyilda Antakya'da Vakıflar (1550 Tarihli Evkaf Defterine Göre)", 33.

of the city had decreased and its demography had changed. There were only 300 houses in the whole city whose dwellers mostly consisted of Turks and Arabs.⁵⁸ After that time there was no attempt to recover or to rebuild Antioch.

Ottoman Period, 1516-1832

Writing the history of the district of Antakya between 1516 and 1832 is not an easy task since local histories of the district, as in the case of many other mid-sized cities in Ottoman Anatolia and Middle-East, are yet to be written. Therefore, in this part, I tried to explore some of the aspects of the political history of the district of Antakya between 1516 and 1830 by using the information found in limited numbers of court records, imperial orders, traveler's accounts, and secondary sources written mostly by local historians. With utilization of limited information on political history founded in these sources, I tried my best to portray the political developments in the district of Antakya.

Following the consolidation of their power in Anatolia and the Balkans after the conquest of Constantinople, the Ottoman Sultans turned their attention to the East with the dual objective of expansion and preventing possible threats that could come from the Safavid Empire.⁵⁹ The Ottomans defeated the Safavids, the ruling dynasty of Iran between 16th and the mid-18th centuries, at Çaldıran in 1514, and continued their campaigns in eastern Anatolia. Following the capture of the territories of the Ramazanoğlu and Dulkadir dynasties, the Ottoman borders reached the Mamluk borders, which strained the relations between the two states. The possibility of a Mamluk-Safavid alliance led Selim I to prepare a campaign over the Mamluk dynasty in 1517. At the end of the campaign, the Ottoman Empire took control of Aleppo, Damascus,

⁵⁸ Demir, *Çağlar İcinde Antakya*, p. 80.

⁵⁹ Philip K Hitti, *Syria: A short History*. (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1959), 213.

Antakya, Tripoli, Jerusalem, other districts of Syria, and Egypt.⁶⁰ After the conquest of the region, Selim I stayed in the region to consolidate his power and organize the new domains. A commission was created to draw up a tax survey of the lands of Syria. For administrative purposes, Syria was divided into three provinces - Damascus, Aleppo, and Tripoli- that were ruled by appointed Turkish governors or paşas.⁶¹

The Ottoman Empire had the tradition of conducting extensive surveys of land and population resources after the conquest of new territories in order to determine the demographic and economic potential of different regions. After the cadastral surveys were completed, administrative divisions, military units, sources of economic income, and types and quantity of taxes (both customary and religious) were determined. Following the determination of geographical, demographic, and economic features of the conquered regions, they were divided into “*eyalet* (province), *sancak* (sub-province), *kaza* (district), *nahiye* (sub-district.”⁶² The Ottomans applied this policy after the conquest of Antakya in 1517 as well. Antakya became a *sancak* of the Damascus province after the conquest; however, it was attached to Aleppo province as a *kaza*, district, after a short time period. In 1581, the city regained its *sancak* status, but it was turned to a *kaza* after a few months. Antakya had 6 *nahiyes* (sub-districts) that were Antakya (city proper), Kuseyr, Altinözü, Cebel-i Akra, Süveydiye, and Suğur.⁶³

Under the Ottoman Empire, the population of Antakya remained significantly lower

⁶⁰ Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 46-47.

⁶¹ Hitti, *Syria: A short History*, 214.

⁶² Rifat Özdemir, “Osmanlı Doneminde Antakya’nın Fiziki ve Demografik Yapısı 1705-1860”, (Belleten, c. LVIII, Nisan 1994), 122

⁶³ Enver Çakar, “16. Yüzyılda Antakya’da Vakıflar (1550 Tarihli Evkaf Defterine Göre).” (Vakıflar Dergisi, Sayı:43 (Haziran 2015), 10.

compared to the Roman and the Byzantine periods. The population of the whole district of Antakya was 50,454 in 1524, and it reached 71,624 in 1581.⁶⁴ The number of people living in the city proper was 6,143 in 1526, 7,443 in 1550, and 7,105 in 1584. Muslims constituted almost all of the population at the city proper, and there were not any records of non-Muslim population in Tahrir registers of Antakya until the mid-16th century. After that time, some non-Muslims moved to the city proper from Aleppo and sub-districts of Antakya.⁶⁵ There were some non-Muslims living in the sub-districts of Antakya. In Altinözü, there was a village whose population was entirely Christian. Non-Muslims were mostly located in the sub-districts of Süveydiye and Cebel-i Akra. There were two non-Muslim villages, and 7 villages in which Muslims and non-Muslims lived together in these sub-districts. There were three non-Muslim villages in both Suğur and Cebel-i Akra, and one mixed village. In Kuseyr, there was a village wholly inhabited by non-Muslims, and two mixed villages. In the 16th century, non-Muslims accounted for less than 7 percent of the total population of the district of Antakya. Based on tax registers, there were 4,758 non-Muslim taxable males in 1550, 4,381 in 1570, and 4,425 in 1584.⁶⁶ Muslim Turks, Muslim Arabs, Greek Orthodox, Christian Arabs, Armenians, and Jews began to live together. In other words, people from 6 different ethnicities and 3 different religions shared same district in the 17th century.⁶⁷

The economic life of Antakya under Ottoman rule was not as active as it had been under the Byzantine and Roman Empires, having been destroyed under the Mamluk Empire, it showed improvement under the Ottoman Empire. Antakya was known in Europe for the cultivation of

⁶⁴ Ahmet Gündüz, XVI. Yüzyılda Antakya Kazasi (1550-1584), 25.

⁶⁵ Erdinc Gülcü and Ahmet Gündüz, XVI. Yüzyılda Antakya Nahiyesi (1526-1584).” (Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, c. 12, s. 12, 2009), 294.

⁶⁶ Gündüz, 16. Yüzyılda Antakya Kazasi, 50-51.

⁶⁷ Özdemir, “Osmanlı Döneminde Antakya’nın Fiziki ve Demografik Yapısı 1705-1860”, 133.

cotton, madder, silk products, and olives. An English traveler states that Antakya produced more silk than the rest of Syria in 1772. These silks were shipped off from nearby Iskenderun that allowed the city to form ties with the outside world.⁶⁸ During the Ottoman period three ports, Iskenderun, Süveydiye, and Payas, were active. These ports were used both to import goods coming from Aleppo and Eastern Anatolia, and to supply the Ottoman army in its campaigns in along eastern borders of the Empire. During the Baghdad campaign, the Payas port was the main station for transportation of military supplies to Baghdad in 1637. Troops, gunpowder, artillery, and other supplies sent from Egypt, Istanbul, and Birecik were sent through the Payas port to Mosul.⁶⁹

Being at the crossroads of several overland trade and pilgrimage routes had an impact on the development of the city's economy. Antakya was one of the most important stations for the pilgrimage route. The Ottoman Sultans sent money, gold, and gifts to both the notables and poor people of Mecca and Medina in order to assert their influence and leadership to the people of the Holy Lands. The gifts were called "*sürre*," and the troops that accompany to these gifts were called "*sürre alaylari*." These troops followed the pilgrimage route to go to the Holy Lands. The route started in Üsküdar, and continued throughout Gebze, Eskişehir, Akşehir, Konya, Ulukışla, Adana, Payas, Iskenderun, Belen, Bakras, and Antakya. Troops and pilgrims often had a break in Antakya for two days. Hosting these people was very significant for the city economy since they often shopped, sought accommodation, and ate in the city which helped the city's economy to reach a peak point at least for a few days.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Kasaba, "Diversity in Antakya: A Historical Perspective", 214.

⁶⁹ Mehmet Tekin, *Hatay Tarihi*. (Antakya: Hatay Kultur ve Turizm Vakfi: Antakya Gazeteciler Cemiyeti, 1993), 58.

⁷⁰ Mehmet Tekin, "Osmanli Doneminde Hatay." (Güneyde Kultur Dergisi, Sayı: 119, Ocak-Subat 2000), 4-5.

Since the Ottoman Empire had a light-handed approach to administration in newly conquered areas, Antakya continued its life as a complex and diverse place between the 16th and 20th centuries. The Ottomans applied the same style of governance for Antakya that they had applied to other outlying provinces of the empire. The city was mostly governed by officials of local origin appointed either by the central administration or the governor of Aleppo. The first local administrator of the city was an Alawi (Nusayri) notable, not a Sunni Muslim. The policy of appointing local notables helped preserving and expanding the multiethnic and multi-religious networks that were indigenous to the region.⁷¹

The Ottoman Empire started facing population pressure and scarcity of resources in the end of the 16th century. Ottoman population soared in the classical age, and agriculture in the core Mediterranean provinces expanded to the limits of arable land. Since environmental, social, and technological barriers rendered the peasants unable to meet the rising demand, food production ran up against diminishing marginal returns. In the meantime, landlessness, inflation, and unemployment created a new class of desperate and potentially dangerous men.⁷² In addition, the diffusion of fire-arms among reaya was another reason of banditry and crisis in the Ottoman Empire. During campaigns, soldiers received their weapons and gun powder from the *cebecibaşı* and they had to return them after the expedition. However, by 1570 the use of fire-arms became widespread among different groups of reaya, despite the government's prohibition and confiscation of arms. In addition, since the prices of firearms went down, it became a profitable investment for peasant youths to buy firearms, and offer their services to anybody that

⁷¹ Kasaba, "Diversity in Antakya: A Historical Perspective", p. 210-211.

⁷² Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 52

would pay them. If they could not find anybody, they would join a band to make a living.⁷³

Therefore, when all these factors combined with the Ottoman-Habsburg and the Ottoman-Safavid wars along eastern and western borders of the empire, the Great drought, which was the longest drought in the last six centuries, and the Celali Rebellions⁷⁴ in most of Central and Eastern Anatolia, the Ottoman provisioning system was destroyed in the 17th and 18th centuries.

These crises caused public disorder in Antakya. Due to public disorder, several villages were destroyed, people left their villages, agricultural production came to the lowest level, banditry became very common, and people began to suffer from economic problems. In order to restore security, rebuild the destroyed villages, and revive the agricultural economy, the state had to develop policies and strategies in order to control its large tribal population. Some of these strategies consisted of transforming or destroying the existing structure of tribes through military force or exile, integrating leaders of tribe members into the Ottoman administrative system, or integrating tribes into the administrative structures by providing them with incentives, such as trade subsidies and land allocation.⁷⁵ The most commonly used policy by the Ottoman government around the district of Antakya was sedentarization, which forced Turcoman nomads

⁷³ Halil Inalcik, "The Socio-Political Effects of the Diffusion of Firearms in the Middle East," in *War, Technology, and Society in the Middle East*, ed. V. Parry and M. Yapp (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 195-217.

⁷⁴ The Celali rebellions were a series of rebellions in Anatolia against the Ottoman authority, which supported by the *sekbans* (irregular troops) and *sipahis* (cavalrymen) in the late 16th and 17th centuries. Demographic pressure, the Great Drought in the 16th century, a depreciation of currency were the major factors of the Celali Rebellions. In addition, the *sekban* troops, recruited from the Anatolian peasantry during wartime, were not paid during peacetime, so they resorted to banditry. Other groups, such as the *sipahis*, overtaxed peasants, and Turkmen and Kurdish nomads joined these rebellions, and the diffusion of fire-arms among subjects of the Empire in Anatolia further contributed to expansion of the rebellion. See: William G Griswold, *Great Anatolian Rebellion, 1000-1020/1591-1611*. (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, number 83.) (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz. 1983).

⁷⁵ Yonca Köksal, "Coercion and Mediation: Centralization and Sedentarization of Tribes in the Ottoman Empire." *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 3, (May 2006), 474-475.

living around Antakya, Hama, Homs, and Damascus to settle in the late 17th and early 18th centuries.⁷⁶

The Ottoman Empire was not able to maintain order which forced Ottoman rulers to allow the establishment of security forces under the command of local ayans (notables). In the 17th and first half of the 18th century, the central government made it the task of the ayans to maintain public order in the provinces and to perform certain administrative functions.⁷⁷ The Ottoman Empire was faced with the major task of reorganizing state finances to meet the new challenges that the epoch brought about. Since the implementation of these emergency measures needed the reorganization of the provincial administrative system, they opened the way to decentralization and to the emergence of the ayans as the new leading class in the provinces.⁷⁸ Ayan families began to gain power in administration in Antakya in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The city came under the authority of the ayans at the beginning of the 18th century. In terms of administrative roles, they served as *mültezims* or *voyvodas*, and in military terms, they served as Janissary officers (*yeniçeri zabıtı*), or as chiefs of the Janissaries (*yeniçeri serdarı*). Some of the responsibilities that they had were providing security, protection of roads and people against bandits, controlling taxation, supplying water and food to the dwellers of the city, and controlling and organizing Janissaries and other military units that were located in the city.⁷⁹ There was an ayan family that dominated the district for decades. They put a huge pressure on

⁷⁶ Tekin, *Hatay Tarihi*, 60. See: Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskanı*. (Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1987).

⁷⁷ Halil Inalcik, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980), 311.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 327.

⁷⁹ Ülkü Tecimen, "17. ve 18. Yüzyillarda Antakya Kazası'nda Yönetim." *Osmanlı Belgeleri Işığında Antakya*. Ed. By Ahmet Ergun and Mehmet Akif Terzi. (Hatay: Hatay Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2014), 34.

dwellers. Although there were so many complaints about the ayans, the Ottoman officials did not take any step to punish them until late 18th century when Fethullah Ağa, one of the most influential ayans in Antakya, was executed.⁸⁰

The inhabitants of the district of Antakya faced oppression and atrocities caused by Ottoman governors as well. Ottoman governors of the provinces put an extra pressure on people in order to conscript soldiers or collect taxes. An extraordinary event took place in 1792 when Mustafa Paşa, the newly appointed governor of Aleppo, attempted to collect money in defiance of existing rules and regulations from the people of Antakya. The governor first asked the dwellers to provide soldiers which was accepted. However, his real purpose was not conscripting soldiers, but money in lieu of military service. However, his request was refused by the dwellers. The governor had meetings with influential families in the province of Aleppo both to get their support and collect soldiers to punish and collect money that he had requested from the people of Antakya. He gathered together 1,000 cavalrymen and 1,000 infantrymen with the help of the influential families in Cizr-i Suğur and Ordu, and these forces attacked Antakya in 1792. This was a rare case in Ottoman history since a governor appointed by the central government to provide security and bring order to a province attacked its people and subverted public order. The dwellers of Antakya were able to repel the attacks of the governor of Aleppo. The troops retreated, but then they decided to attack Kuseyr, which was a sub-district of Antakya. They confiscated residents' money and goods, and also abused and killed some of them. During their 10 day stay in Kuseyr, they destroyed social and economic life of the area. The troops then moved to Süveydiye where Muslims and non-Muslims lived together. They captured the port of Süveydiye, seized goods of merchants, pillaged crops, attacked local people,

⁸⁰ Ibid., 39.

and burned some houses in the district.

Several complaints about the governor were sent to Istanbul. The central government took these complaints into consideration, and decided to deprive the governor of his position. A new governor, Osman Bey, was appointed. The new governor changed some of the high-ranking officials of Antakya whom he considered incapable of dealing with the problems caused by Mustafa Paşa. However, Mustafa Paşa ignored the central government's decision, and had another attempt to besiege Antakya with 500 soldiers. The siege lasted 52 days. Although the residents of Antakya had difficulty during the siege, they were able to resist the Paşa. At the same time, some of the Paşa's soldiers lost their hopes and began to disobey his orders. With the cooperation between the residents of Antakya and Ottoman officials, the siege was broken, and most of the Paşa's soldiers fled away.⁸¹

In the beginning of the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire was not able to maintain security in the Syrian provinces. In addition, utilities and public works were neglected, the taxation system was not applied fairly, and a feudal order that put an extra pressure on society developed in the provinces. Since the beginning of the 19th century, the Ottoman sultans started implementing centralization reforms. They aimed to destroy the older order in the provinces and centralize all legislative and judicial authority in the empire. However, these reforms were not implemented successfully in the Syrian provinces due to internal and external problems, including the Wahhabi Rebellion, the Greek rebellion, the Russian-Ottoman War in 1829-1831, and the revolt of Mehmed Ali Paşa of Egypt in 1831.

Especially two of these major developments, the Russo-Ottoman War between 1828-1829 and the revolt of Mehmed Ali Paşa, affected the district of Antakya. The Greek's struggle

⁸¹ Tekin, "Osmanli Döneminde Hatay", 9.

for independence in the 1820s triggered the Russo-Ottoman War in 1828, which allowed Russians troops to advance into Bulgaria, the Caucasus, and northeastern Anatolia. Following the Russians advances, the Ottoman government demanded a peace, and concluded the Treaty of Edirne in 1829. In the earlier stages of the war, the Russian fleets in the Mediterranean Sea posed a threat to the city of Antakya. Due to increasing Russian interest in the Levant in the 19th century, the Ottoman administration expected Russian attacks on ports in the Levant, which forced the central administration to send several decrees to local administrators in the region to warn them of a possible Russian attack. In one of them, the *mütesellim* of Antakya was asked to play an active role in the defense of the city during the war. The *mütesellim*, Ibrahim Ağa, was asked to send troops for the protection of the port of Süveydiye and Keseb against possible Russian attacks during the Ottoman-Russian war in 1829 since the available 30 soldiers were not sufficient for the protection of the ports.⁸² In another decree, the *mütesellim* of Antakya was ordered to inform all people aged between 12 and 75 about the seriousness of the battle in the Balkans, and was asked to make his people prepared for any kind of consequences of the war.⁸³ The Russians did not attack the ports in the district of Antakya, but this case indicates that the district of Antakya was reactive to some of the major wars happened in the northwest border of the empire. The second and most important development, which deeply affected the social, economic, and political life of the district of Antakya, was the occupation of the Syrian provinces of the Ottoman Empire, including the district of Antakya, by the governor of Egypt.

Antakya under Egyptian Rule: 1832-1840

Mehmed Ali Paşa, governor of Egypt, occupied the Syrian provinces of the Ottoman

⁸² A.Ş.S., Nr.20, b.29

⁸³ A.Ş.S., Nr.20, b.42.

Empire, including Antakya, and ruled the region until 1841. Mehmed Ali Paşa was appointed as a governor of Egypt by the Ottoman government in 1805. He was a loyal servant of the sultan until the mid-1820s. He often paid annual tribute on time, fought against the Wahhabis that revolted against the central government between 1811 and 1818, and sent his troops to the Morea to support the Ottoman troops in the suppression of the Greek Revolt.⁸⁴

However, the relations between the Egyptian governor and the Ottoman sultan deteriorated by the late 1820s. First, following the abolition of the Janissaries in 1826, Mahmud II asked Mehmed Ali to send him some of his high ranking military officers to train the newly founded army, the *Asakir-i Mansure-yi Muhammediye*, but his request was rejected by the governor. Secondly, the governor withdrew the forces that had been sent to assist the sultan's army at Navarino, in which the Ottoman and Egyptian fleets were demolished by the European forces, without getting permission of the sultan. Lastly, he refused to send troops that had been demanded by the central government for the Ottoman-Russian war.⁸⁵ After the Battle of Navarino, Mehmed Ali, who lost his navy in that battle, demanded Syria as compensation for his loss, which was refused by Mahmud II. That is why, Mehmed Ali Paşa decided to conquer Syria to reimburse his loss at Navarino. In order to justify his action, he claimed that some of the local governors in Syria co-operated with and protected Egyptian army fugitives.⁸⁶

Controlling Syria would provide several advantages in terms of geographical and strategic benefits to the Egyptians. Since there were ongoing tensions between Mehmed Ali Paşa and Mahmud II, controlling Syria would serve as a barrier, and prevent the Ottomans from

⁸⁴ Butrus Abu-Manneh, "Mehmed Ali Pasa and Sultan Mahmud II: The Genesis of Conflict." *Turkish Historical Review I*, (2010): 8.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁸⁶ Khaled Fahmy, *Mehmed Ali: From Ottoman Governor to Ruler of Egypt*. (Oxford: One World Publications, 2009), 83.

attacking the Egyptian heartland. In addition, controlling Jerusalem, besides the Holy Cities of Islam, would increase the prestige of Mehmed Ali Paşa in the Islamic world.⁸⁷ Syria also had natural resources, and was located at the crossroads of trade-ways. Conquering these lands would provide raw materials for the emerging Egyptian industry, and would open up new markets for Egyptian-made products as well.⁸⁸

Mehmed Ali Paşa organized his largest military expedition for the occupation of Syria at the end of October, 1831. His troops consisted of 25,000 soldiers. Under the command of Mehmet Ali Paşa's son, Ibrahim Paşa, the troops advanced in the region. The Ottoman Empire started to worry about the advance of Ibrahim Paşa in late 1831. He entered Tripoli and appointed Berber Mustafa as the governor of the city. The Ottoman state asked its governors in the region to send reports to Istanbul about every single action of Ibrahim Paşa.⁸⁹ In response to that threat, the Ottoman Empire dispatched soldiers from Istanbul to Konya. However, there was an argument between officials since some of them, especially the governor of Aleppo, suggested to deploy soldiers to Antakya that was under the threat of possible Egyptian occupation.⁹⁰

The governor of Aleppo and Serasker of Arabia sent some reports pointing out that Akka in Palestine was occupied by Ibrahim Paşa's armies. According to the report, the Egyptian army consisted of 40,000 soldiers, and Ibrahim Paşa was planning to have a major battle in the plain of Antakya.⁹¹ However, Ibrahim Paşa wanted to take Damascus, Hama, and Homs under his control before he would encounter with the Ottoman army in Antakya. Hence, he attacked Homs in

⁸⁷ Henry Dodwell, *The Founder of Modern Egypt*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 106

⁸⁸ Ali Çapar, "The History of Nusayris ('Alawis) in Ottoman Syria, 1831-1876." (Unpublished Master Thesis, Arkansas: University of Arkansas at Fayetteville, 2013), 45.

⁸⁹ HAT.358.20032, 21 Receb 1247 (26 December 1831).

⁹⁰ HAT.356, 19980H, 12 Saban 1247 (5 January 1832).

⁹¹ HAT. 354, 19887 A, 22 Muharrem 1248 (21 June 1832).

1832, which resulted in the defeat of the Ottoman armies, which forced them to retreat to Antakya. Another important point in these reports was the complaints of officials since the Ottoman government did not provide sufficient ammunition and goods to the army.⁹²

As a response to the advance of Egyptian army in the Syrian provinces, the Ottoman Sultan issued a *ferman* that legitimized the killing of Muhammad Ali Paşa and his supporters. According to the *ferman*, while Mehmed Ali had been a loyal subject, the Ottoman Empire employed him by appointing him as governor to one of the most important province of the empire, Egypt. However, he betrayed to the empire instead of showing complete loyalty and strengthening it. He was working like demon against the Empire as well as its rulers. He encouraged administrators of the Syrian provinces to rise against the central administration.⁹³

According to the *ferman*, an uprising against the Sultan and Caliph of Islam, attacking soldiers of the Caliph in the Syrian provinces were the demeanor of infidels. To support this idea, two *ayats* from the Qur'an were given as an example: Hujurat, 49/9⁹⁴, and Maida, 5/33⁹⁵. Therefore, Muhammad Ali and his troops as well as people cooperating with him were declared infidels, which legitimated their killing. The *ferman* also emphasized that the fighters that would fight against the Egyptian army would attain the title of *ghazi*, and those killed in the battle would become martyrs. The Sultan urged the governors of the Anatolian provinces to make all

⁹² HAT., 350, 19803, 11 Safer 1248 (10 July 1832).

⁹³ Antakya Ser'iyе Sicili, belge no: 7, Zilhiccet'ul Serif, 1247. (mid-May- 1832)

⁹⁴ "And if two factions among the believers should fight, then make settlement between the two. But if one of them oppresses the other, then fight against the one that oppresses until it returns to the ordinance of Allah . And if it returns, then make settlement between them in justice and act justly. Indeed, Allah loves those who act justly."

⁹⁵ "Indeed, the penalty for those who wage war against Allah and His Messenger and strive upon earth [to cause] corruption is none but that they be killed or crucified or that their hands and feet be cut off from opposite sides or that they be exiled from the land. That is for them a disgrace in this world; and for them in the Hereafter is a great punishment."

the necessary preparations to fight against the Egyptian governor. In addition, the *ferman* urged people to provide all the possible military and material support that the army would need for the upcoming campaigns.⁹⁶ These were efforts to transform the competition between the central administration and the rebellious governor to a Holy war in order to get the support of the Muslim population in the region. The Ottoman efforts could be interpreted as a sign that the Ottoman rulers were not sure if the newly established Ottoman army, *Asakir-i Mansure-yi Muhammediye*, could defeat the Egyptian army, which was trained by Europeans and equipped with more advanced weapons. In addition, the Ottoman rulers attempted to prevent the Muslim population of the region from supporting the rebellious governor by declaring anyone who would support the Egyptian governor an infidel.

The Ottoman army was numerically larger than that of Ibrahim Paşa's army, but irregular troops, which had proved not to be successful against regular troops in the previous battles both along the western and eastern borders of the empire in the 18th and 19th centuries, constituted the majority of the Ottoman troops. The Ottoman army could hardly scare the solid compact masses of the Egyptian army. Around three thousand Ottoman soldiers perished in the field at Homs, and people who witnessed the weakness of the Ottoman Empire against the Egyptians in the region, began to revolt against the Ottoman central administration.⁹⁷

After capturing Hama and Aleppo without confronting any difficulties, the Egyptian army proceeded to Antakya on the 28th of July, 1832. After the defeat in Homs, the Ottoman army wanted to retreat to Aleppo. However, the residents of the city did not open the doors of the city

⁹⁶ Antakya Ser' iye Sicili, belge no: 7, Zilhicet'ul Serif, 1247. (mid-May- 1832).

⁹⁷ Rev. F. V. J. Arundell, *Discoveries in Asia Minor; Including A Description of Ruins of the Several Ancient Cities and Especially Antioch of Pisidia*. (London: Richard Bentley. Vol. 2, 1834.), 18-19.

to the Ottoman troops since they did not want a new battle in the city, which would possibly destroy the social and economic life. Therefore, the Ottoman troops, which lost most of their ammunition in Homs, retreated to Antakya and Belen.⁹⁸ The Ottoman troops set up another front in Belen, where is located between Antakya and Iskenderun. The Ottoman army had taken up its position along the heights, and artillery was posted on all the commanding points. Although the Ottoman army was positioned better, the effective usage of artillery by the Egyptian army produced confusion among Ottoman army that would led the Egyptian to take control of heights.⁹⁹

After the Egyptian occupation of Antakya, the government, headed by Ibrahim Paşa between 1832-1840, implemented administrative reforms that made authority in the area relatively more centralized. He abolished the decentralized *paşalık* system, reduced the influence of tax farmers, regulated the taxation policy, and provided new rights to non-Muslim dwellers of the Antakya. A *mütesellim*, who was head of local administration and also responsible for the maintenance of security, was appointed over each important city in the land occupied by the Egyptians. The first *mütesellim* of Antakya was Battal Ağa who served for only a few months. Thereafter, one of the local notables, Halef Ağa, was appointed as the new *mütesellim* of Antakya. Halef Ağa was among of the notables that welcomed Ibrahim Paşa when he entered to the city, and he provided a villa to the Paşa for his stay in Antakya. He served as *mütesellim* of Antakya between 1833-1840. After Ibrahim Paşa took control of the city, some of the notables, possibly those who had close relations with the Ottoman central government, were

⁹⁸ HAT. 363, 20148 A, 29 Zilhicce 1248.(19 May 1833).

⁹⁹ Arundell, *Discoveries in Asia Minor; Including A Description of Ruins of the Several Ancient Cities and Especially Antioch of Pisidia*, 20.

exiled from the city.¹⁰⁰

New consultative *majlises* (local councils) were formed under Egyptian rule: *majlis-i istishari* (consultative commission), *diwan-i mashwara* (consultancy commission), and *majlis-i shura* (consultative council). The first one was a consultative commission, the second one focused on issues, such as taxation, revenues, and civil debts. The last one was opened in big cities whose population was over 20,000. In these *majlises* people were represented by elected notables and merchants of the cities without paying attention to their religious and ethnic backgrounds.¹⁰¹ One of the most important reforms in the region was conducting the first census of the city.¹⁰² Ainsworth, a traveler who visited the city proper in 1835, states that the city's population was no more than 5,600 people according to a census taken in Ibrahim Paşa's time. He also states that the Greek Orthodox constituted most of the city population which contradicts the Ottoman sources that provide information on the city population in the following years.¹⁰³

The reforms restrained bribery, secured property, and made all the great routes in the region more secure. The abuses of power of the government officers were minimized, unfair punishment was prevented, and tribes, officials, and notables were disciplined.¹⁰⁴ After these reforms, Ibrahim Paşa obtained the support of the Syrian people, and they welcomed him when

¹⁰⁰ Mehmet Tekin, *Antakya Tarihinden Yapraklar ve Halefzade Sureyya Bey*. (Antakya: Kultur Ofset Basimevi, 1993), 9.

¹⁰¹ Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, "The Administrative and Economic Policies of Ibrahim Pasha in Palestine, 1831-1840." (Unpublished Master Thesis, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 1972), 29.

¹⁰² Resat Kasaba, "Antakya between Empire and Nation", in *Spatial Conceptions of the Nation: Modernizing Geographies in Greece and Turkey*. Ed. P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, Thalia Dragonas, and Caglar Keyder. (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2010), 198.

¹⁰³ William Francis Ainsworth, *A personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1888), 69.

¹⁰⁴ John G. Kinnear, *Cairo, Petra, and Damascus, in 1839. With Remarks on the Government of Mehemet Ali, and on the Present Prospects of Syria*. (London: Bradbury and Evans, Printers, Whitefriars, 1840), 331-332.

he entered their cities. Ibrahim Paşa was welcomed in Antakya as well, and most of the notables of city were waiting for him at the gate of the city upon his arrival.

Residents were treated without making distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims, new rights were provided to Christians, the attacks of bandits were prevented, the influence of notables and paşas on society was reduced, and a new powerful army was placed in the Syrian provinces during the early years of the Egyptian rule. However, Charles G. Addison, traveled to the region under the Egyptian rule, states that "both person and property are even less secure under the present government than they were under the late, and the natural incitements to industry and exertion are even more thoroughly repressed."¹⁰⁵

Syrians and residents of Antakya were disappointed in the later years of Egyptian rule. Although the Egyptian government implemented policies to improve social and economic life, and provided security in the early years of its control in Syria, it was not able to maintain this policy. The tax burdens on the people were not lightened, security was not provided, and they were could not enjoy prosperity under the rule of the Egyptian regime as Mehmed Ali and his son Ibrahim Paşa could not fully deliver on the promises that they had made prior to the occupation.¹⁰⁶

Heavy taxation system, the heavy exactions that were applied in Syrian towns and Antakya, and the harsh methods that were applied to force people to serve in the army threw the residents of the region into despair.¹⁰⁷ In addition, the Egyptians did not treat everybody according to the precepts of Islamic political theory while recruiting soldiers. In fact that they

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 254.

¹⁰⁶ Charles G. Addison, *Damascus and Palmyra, A Journey to the East: The State and Prospects of Syria under Ibrahim Pasha*. (Philadelphia: E. L. Caret& A. Hart, Vol. II, 1838), 251.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 251-252.

conscripted soldiers from among the indigenous population of Syria without discriminating between Muslims and non-Muslims. However, in Musa Dagh which was mostly inhabited by Armenians, people used some connections to excuse their young people from military service. The members of the Barkers family, an influential British family which inhabited Musa Dagh, used their good offices to persuade Ibrahim Paşa to excuse Musa Dagh men from military service.¹⁰⁸ These crucial policies of the Egyptians triggered some revolts in different regions including Nablous, various places in Palestine, and the mountains of Lebanon, Aleppo, Beirut, and Antakya in 1834. These outbreaks were indicators of the unpopularity of the Egyptian regime in Syrian provinces. In order to prevent such outbreaks, Ibrahim Paşa applied the policy of disarming the whole population in the region. Troops were also sent to villages and towns to march off the healthiest and strongest young people to Egypt for military service. Some of them maimed themselves, or some of the women maimed their children in order not to send them to Egypt since the time span of military service was unclear.¹⁰⁹

The purpose of the Paşa was to dethrone the current Ottoman sultan. He sent a letter to Battal Ağa, *mütesellim* of Antakya, to disclose his intentions in 16 December 1832. He stated that the country of Islam crumbled due to policies implemented by Mahmud II. Mahmud II's behavior and policies clearly contradicted Sharia laws and Islamic principles. That is why, since the Ottoman Empire had been ruled according to Islamic principles and laws, the sultan had to be dethroned, and his son had to be brought power. He asked the mufti of Antakya to give a *fatwa*

¹⁰⁸ Vahram Leon Shemmassian, "The Armenian Villagers of Musa Dagh: A Historical-Ethnographic Study, 1840-1915." (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, 1996), 5

¹⁰⁹ Addison, Damascus and Palmyra, *A Journey to the East: The State and Prospects of Syria under Ibrahim Pasha*, 252-253.

for the dethronement of the Sultan.¹¹⁰ In another letter Ibrahim Paşa advised his father that the road to Istanbul was open and that there would be no Ottoman armed forces to oppose his forces. In his letter, he states that “it is possible to conclude an honorable peace through the mediation of Rifat Paşa, but I fear that as long as Sultan Mahmud, that evil genius, remains on the throne no permanent peace of definite arrangement of our conflict is possible It is imperative that we return to our original intention and dethrone that pernicious man and replace him by the Crown Prince.”¹¹¹ The letter shows that neither Ibrahim Paşa nor his father, Mehmed Ali, did not aim to be sultan of the Empire. They, instead, were willing for Istanbul to remain the capital of the Empire, and they agreed that the Ottoman dynasty should continue to rule.¹¹²

Ibrahim Paşa continued his conquests in Anatolia while he was struggling to suppress the revolts in the Syrian provinces. He defeated the Ottoman troops in Konya, a city described as the ancient cradle of Ottoman power, in 1832. Ibrahim Paşa knew that Konya was too far from Istanbul to force the Ottoman sultan to conclude a peace with him. Therefore, it would be a better policy to push forward towards Istanbul, and to invade either Istanbul or a city close to the capital, like Bursa or Kütahya, in order to put pressure on Sultan.¹¹³ Mahmud II realized that his army was incapable of withstanding the Egyptian army, and no Ottoman force could prevent Ibrahim Paşa from descending upon Istanbul. Therefore, the Sultan asked for help the Russian tsar even without consulting members of his *diwan*, the imperial council.¹¹⁴ At that time, the Egyptian troops had reached Kütahya, and defeated the Ottoman troops once again. The Ottoman

¹¹⁰ Antakya Ser’iye Sicili, belge no: 152. 23 Receb 1248 (16 December 1832).

¹¹¹ Pierre Crabites, *Ibrahim of Egypt*. (London: George Routledge & Sons, LTD., 1935), 151-152.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 152.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 160-161.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 162-163.

Empire decided to negotiate with the Egyptians. Two treaties were signed: the Treaty of Kütahya (1833), between the Ottoman Empire and the Egyptian governor, and the Treaty Hünkâr-Iskelesi (1833) between the Russian and the Ottoman Empires. However, both of these treaties did not help solving the problem.

As all these developments were happening, the revolts in the Syrian provinces and Antakya against the policies of the Egyptians, especially the disarmament and conscription policies, were going on. At the beginning of these revolts, the Ottoman Empire supported these groups rebelling against the Egyptians by providing the rebels with weapons and other kinds of equipment that would help their resistance. However, the Ottomans focused all their attention to the prevention of the Egyptian advancement towards the capital. Therefore, the rebellions were supported morally, but not materially by the Ottoman Empire after 1835.

After the battle of Nizip in 1839, where Ibrahim Paşa scored a major victory, the European powers demonstrated their willingness to help the Ottoman Empire to solve the Egyptian problem. Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria signed the Convention of London on 15 July 1840. According to that agreement, Mehmed Ali would receive the Paşalık of Egypt with a hereditary tenure and northern Syria for life.¹¹⁵ If he delayed his acceptance for more than 10 days, he was to receive Egypt alone; if he refused to accept the agreement, the four powers would blockade him; and if he advanced on Istanbul, the four powers would help the Ottoman Empire for the defense of the capital.¹¹⁶

Mehmed Ali rejected these conditions which resulted in the attack of the coalition against the Egyptians. The Europeans not only attacked the Egyptians but also provided money and

¹¹⁵ Virginia H. Aksan, *Ottoman Wars 1700-1870: An Empire Besieged*. (London: Pearson Longman, 2007), 399

¹¹⁶ Crabites, *Ibrahim of Egypt*, 234.

arms to the local people in Syria to encourage them to revolt against the Egyptians. The provocation of the European agents triggered several revolts in Greater Syria, including Antakya, the Nusayri Mountains in Syria, in al-Laja and Hawran, and in Mount Lebanon.¹¹⁷ At the same time the Syrian coast was bombarded by the coalition while the Egyptian troops were defeated by the Ottoman troops in northern Syria.¹¹⁸ All sides signed the London Strait Convention of 13 July 1841 after the defeat of Ibrahim Paşa, which forced the Egyptians to evacuate Syria.

Conclusion

Antakya has a long history, and it had a special place among the important centers of the Hellenistic, Roman, and Early Byzantine worlds. The city was an important location for Christianity since one of the earliest Christian communities was formed there due to activities of the apostles Paul, Barnabas, and Peter. In the end of the third century, the city was the third biggest city in the Roman Empire. The city had expanded substantially in terms of social, economic, demographic, and politic development. The city lost its greatness following the Muslim conquest. It could not maintain its status as an important trade center which it had enjoyed during the pre-Mamluk period.

After the Ottoman conquest, the commercial and social life of the city improved compared to the Mamluk period. Antakya was referred to as a border town between the Arab lands and Anatolia by Evliya Celebi in the 17th century. Although it separated the Anatolia from Arabia, the city hosted people from these two realms.¹¹⁹ The Ottoman Empire wanted to end pervasive disorder in Antakya by implementing centralization and sedentarization policies in the

¹¹⁷ Yvette Talhamy, "Conscription among the Nusayris ('Alawis) in the Nineteenth Century." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 38 no.1 (April 2011): 33.

¹¹⁸ Ali Çapar, "The History of Nusayris ('Alawis) in Ottoman Syria, 1831-1876", 59.

¹¹⁹ Kasaba, "Diversity in Antakya: A Historical Perspective", p. 210.

region in the early 19th century. The revolt of Mehmed Ali, and the advancement of Egyptian armies under the command of Ibrahim Paşa gave these policies an added urgency. After the occupation of Antakya, the government, ruled by Ibrahim Paşa between 1832 and 1840, implemented administrative reforms that made the city more centralized.¹²⁰ Although the residents of Antakya initially welcomed Ibrahim Paşa and his reforms, they resisted the conscription, taxation, and disarmament policies that were applied later. However, Ibrahim Paşa's reforms formed a basis for the upcoming Tanzimat Reforms in Antakya.

¹²⁰ Kasaba, "Antakya between Empire and Nation", 198.

CHAPTER II: THE OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION SYSTEM AND DEMOGRAPHY OF THE CITY

Provinces in the Ottoman Empire came into being firstly through conquest, and subsequently through the reorganization of conquered areas. The Ottoman provinces (*beylerbeylikler*, *eyaletler*, or *vilayetler*) were divided into districts called *sancaks*. Each *sancak* was under the command of a ruler called *sancakbeyi*. The most important factor for determination of a *sancak* was the existence of former lordships or principalities before the 15th century. These lordships were often assigned to the position of *sancakbeyi* in the region that had been extracted from them by the Ottomans. Some examples of these *sancaks* were the *sancaks* of Karesi, Saruhan, Germiyan, and Teke. The Ottoman Empire applied a more rational system for determining *sancaks* by the 16th century, and population, economic activities, and territorial size started to be taken into consideration. An Ottoman *sancak* was encompassing an area of several thousand square miles, and a population around or over a hundred thousand.¹²¹ Most of the *sancaks* all around the Empire were under the rule of non-hereditary appointees, who had no family connection with the area.¹²² The numbers of *sancaks* in Anatolia remained stable through the centuries even until the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. The numbers of *vilayets* in modern Turkey is almost similar to the numbers of *sancaks* in 15th century Anatolia.¹²³

The conquest of Syria in the beginning of the 16th century posed new challenges which were different from those hitherto experienced by the Empire. In previous periods, the Ottoman

¹²¹ Metin Kunt, *The Sultan's Servant: The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550-1650*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 14.

¹²² Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650*, 185-189.

¹²³ Kunt, *The Sultan's Servant: The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550-1650*, 14.

Empire expanded towards the Christian Balkans or Anatolia with whom the Ottomans shared either a language or a political culture. With the conquest of Arab lands, including Syria, Egypt, and Iraq, the Ottoman rulers found themselves ruling over people who had different urban culture, traditions, and language. It is a fact that the Ottomans came to Syria with well-articulated vision of Islam, but with different tradition that had evolved in Anatolia under the influence of Persian, Turkic, Byzantine, and Mongol traditions. However, although both the Ottomans and Syrians were Sunni Muslims, Syrians followed the Shafi school of Islamic law while the Ottomans followed the Hanafi School of Islamic law.¹²⁴ In the early years of their rule in Syria, the Ottomans did not decide what kind of provincial system would be implemented in Syria. After finishing the preliminary survey which was very common practice after the Ottoman occupations, Syria was divided into three provinces: Damascus, Aleppo, and Tripoli. These provinces were ruled by Turkish-speaking Ottoman governors. From that point onwards, the provinces of Aleppo and Damascus were different than other Arabic-speaking provinces whose governors were drawn from either local elites or tribal chieftains.¹²⁵

Following the conquest of Syria, the Ottoman authorities placed Aleppo under the authority of the governor of Damascus. However, the empire needed an alternative power center in Syria, which led to the upgrade of Aleppo to a full province (*eyalet*) in 1534.¹²⁶ In the early years, the province consisted of 9 *sancaks*. The number of *sancaks* increased to 13 towards the end of the century. In the 17th century, social, economic, and political transformation in the

¹²⁴ Bruce Masters, "Aleppo: The Ottoman Empire's Caravan City," in *The Ottoman City between East and West*. Ed. By Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 23.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 23-24.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 22-23.

Ottoman Empire that forced the empire to transform its administrative structure. There was a tendency of transition from *sancak*-based administration to *eyalet*-based administration. As a result of this transition, the numbers of *sancaks* decreased all around the empire. According to *eyalet ve sancak tevcih defteri*, the province of Aleppo consisted of 5 *sancaks* between 1690 and 1740. These *sancaks* were Aleppo, Balis, Ma'arra, Uzeyr, and Kilis. However, in the *eyalet tevcihat defteri* of the years between 1717 and 1730, Aleppo was divided in to 7 *sancaks*. Cebeliye and Matih were the two other *sancaks* that were not mentioned in the *tevcihat defteri* between 1690 and 1740.¹²⁷

Provinces constituted the major administrative subdivisions, which were called *sancaks* and districts (*kazas*). There were several officials in each unit, each were responsible both for administration of their regions and reporting upwards through the chain of command, finally to the governor of province.¹²⁸ The province was ruled by a *beylerbeyi*, governor-general. He was military commander of his region in times of war, and his troops had to fight as a unit in the sultan's army. As a governor, he was responsible for the allocation of fiefs in his province, maintaining order, dispensing justice, collecting taxes, ordering curfews, fixing food prices, and supervising the markets. His household was the political center of the province.¹²⁹

Since the office of governor-general was the most prestigious and the most profitable position in the provincial government, the governor-generals were most of the time chosen among the sultan's viziers, which became a became widespread tradition especially after the 16th

¹²⁷ Abdulkadir Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)." (Erzurum: Ataturk Universitesi, Unpublished P.hD. Dissertation, 2008), 17-21.

¹²⁸ Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 102-103.

¹²⁹ Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650*, 182.

century. The Ottoman Empire ruled Aleppo by appointing outside officials to the key positions in provincial administration. The first *beylerbeyi* (provincial governor) of Aleppo was Osman Paşa. However, the Ottomans did not allow the provincial governors to rule over the province for a long time to prevent governors from consolidating their own power in the area and revolt against the government. Another reason for these frequent appointments to the same position was the increasing numbers of *medrese*-graduates who were seeking a position in the Ottoman bureaucracy. In addition, the central administration abandoned the dynastic law, *kanun*, in appointments, which was considered as the symbol of the Ottoman justice, and paved a way for corruption during the appointment process. Giving *peşkeş*, the institutionalized form of corruption, created a chaotic appointment process since the late of the 16th century onwards.¹³⁰ It is because of these reasons that the Ottoman Empire appointed 31 provincial governors to province of Aleppo between 1549 and 1588.¹³¹ The Ottoman applied same policy in the following centuries, and governors did not occupy these offices in Aleppo for a long time during the 18th century too. Marcus states that one hundred appointed to the governorship were appointed in the course of the century. The only native person appointed as a governor of Aleppo was Ibrahim Ağa Qattar Ağası who was appointed in August 1799, and served in that position for 5 years. Being a powerful *ayan* in the region was the most important factor in his appointment.¹³²

¹³⁰ See: Cornell, H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali, 1541-1600*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

¹³¹ Enver Cakar, *XVI. Yüzyılda Halep Sancagi (1516-1566)*. (Elazığ: Fırat Üniversitesi, Ortadoğu Araştırmaları Merkezi Yayınları, 2003), 70-71

¹³² Marcus Abraham, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 80-81.

The Ottomans dominated the structure of power in province of Aleppo, but they did not monopolize it entirely. There were some local leaders who spoke on behalf of the population, provide soldiers, and gave some advises about local people and policies to outside officials appointed by the central government. Governors were backed by extensive assistance of local leaders. The Ottoman Empire needed to co-operate with local leaders to rule more effectively. Since the locals had roots and support of residents as well as were familiar with the inner workings of the community, their cooperation was important to rule the region. However, both the governors and the local leaders were mostly concerned with benefits for themselves and their relatives. Governors were busy with recouping their investments and possibly increasing their wealth before their short-term service came to an end. That is why, they were not concerned about being popular among people of the province, especially after the 18th century.¹³³

Sancaks, subdivisions of provinces, were governed by *sancakbeyi*. The *sancakbeyi* was under jurisdiction of the governor, *beylerbeyi*. Most of the times the able *kuls*¹³⁴ promoted higher position in the palace were appointed as *sancakbeyi*. The *sancakbeyi* had similar duties to that of governor-general on a more modest scale. They made their incomes from the *zeamets* provided to them by the central government. If there were not enough revenues for his salary in his *sancak*, they would draw their income from agricultural taxes. They received between 100,000

¹³³ Ibid., 79-84.

¹³⁴ The literary means of *kul* is slave, and in the case of the Ottoman Empire, it has the meaning of slave of the sultan. *Kuls* were also called *kapıkulu*. They were recruited to the palace by means of child levy. Following their education in the palace, they were either become janissary or assigned to significant posts both in central and provincial administration. For further information see: EHUD R. TOLEDANO, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998).

and 200,000 *akçes*, (Ottoman silver coin), per year in their first appointment as a *sancakbeyi*. A senior *sancakbeyi* could expect receiving 500,000 to 600,000 *akçes* per year.¹³⁵

The *sancakbeyi* was also a military commander of his district, and they had to gather together an army to fight under the banner of *beylerbeyi* of the province. In addition to their military duties, *sancakbeyis* were responsible for providing security, organizing the fief holders, arresting and punishing wrongdoers, pursuits of bandits, the investigation and punishment of heretics, and the provision of supplies for the army. Another duty of governor of the frontier *sancaks* was to observe the neighboring states and ensure that relations were conducted according to existing agreements.¹³⁶ *Sancakbeyis* were often appointed from one *sancak* to another. Most of the time, they were reappointed to different *sancaks*, but in the same province or region. These frequent moves were made to prevent any governor from gaining a powerful local support and establishing an autonomous state in the region.¹³⁷

Administrative Structure of Antakya and Administrators of the District

After the conquest of the region by the Ottoman Empire, Syria was divided into three provinces Damascus, Aleppo, and Tripoli that were ruled by appointed Turkish governors or *paşas*.¹³⁸ The Ottoman Empire had the tradition of conducting extensive survey of land and population after the conquest of the regions in order to find out population and economic potentials of regions. After the cadastral surveys, administrative divisions, military units, sources of economic income in the respective regions, types and quantity of taxes (both customary and

¹³⁵ Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650*, 189.

¹³⁶ Kunt, *The Sultan's Servant: The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550-1650*, 23.

¹³⁷ Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650*, 190-193.

¹³⁸ Hitti, *Syria: A short History*, 214.

religious) were determined. Following that step, they were divided into “*eyalet, sancak, kaza,* and *nahiye.*”¹³⁹

In the early years of the Ottoman rule in the region, Antakya and the surrounding areas had a *sancak* status. The city held that status between 1516 and 1522, but the status was relegated, and it was turned into *kaza*. The *kaza* (district) was a subdivision of a *sancak* that was subjected to the legal and administrative jurisdiction of a kadi. *Kazas* were cultural and economic centers of the small towns and villages. In the early 17th century, there were 18 districts (*kazas*) in Aleppo. The numbers of districts in the province of Aleppo changed during the century. Although the city regained *sancak* status in 1581, its status was changed again to *kaza*, and it remained a *kaza* seat until the end of the Empire. The district of Antakya consisted of 6 sub-districts (*nahiyes*) – Antakya (city proper), Kuseyr, Altınözü, Cebel-i Akra, Süveydiye, and Şuğur. One of these sub-districts, Suğur, was separated from the district of Antakya in later periods.¹⁴⁰

The Ottomans applied the same governing style to Antakya that it had applied to the other outlying provinces of the empire. The city was mostly ruled by local hierarchies appointed either by the central administration or the governor of Aleppo. The first local administrator of the city was an Alawite notable, not a Sunni Muslim. Since the Ottoman Empire had light handed nature of administration style towards newly conquered areas, Antakya continued its life as complex and diverse place between the 16th and 20th centuries. The policy of appointing a local

¹³⁹ Rifat Ozdemir, “Osmanli Doneminde Antakya’nin Fiziki ve Demografik Yapisi 1705-1860”, *Belleten*, c. LVIII, Nisan (1994), 122

¹⁴⁰ Abdulkadir Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 21-24.

notable helped preserving and expanding the multiethnic and multi-religious networks that were indigenous to the region.

The Ottoman polity members divided into groups *Ehl-i Örf* and *Ehl-i Şer'*. While *Ehl-i Örf* (the administrative officials) were in charge of execution or law enforcement, *Ehl-i Şer'* (the legal religious authorities) were in charge of adjudication.¹⁴¹ The administrative officials collected taxes from the Ottoman subjects, constituted the majority of *mültezims* in the 17th and 18th centuries, and held most of the positions of military power.¹⁴² *Ehl-i Örf* of Antakya consisted of military and administrative officials, namely Voyvoda, Mütesellim, Yeniçeri Serdari, Şehir Kethüdası, and Köy Kethüdası between 1750 and 1840.

From the earliest years, the Ottoman Empire needed learned men (*ulema*) both to teach in the new Ottoman colleges and to serve as judges (*kadı*). As *kadı* had several responsibilities such as application the precepts of Islamic law and local customs, supervision of town markets, implementation of the orders sent by the central government, he had to work within the institutional context of the Islamic court. There were several people, such as his assistants (*na'ibs*), scribes (*katibs*), *muhzırs*, witnesses (*şuhudu'l-hal*), and other courts officials working at the court with the *kadı*. It is important to remember that these people were recruited among the local population and they were involved in local affairs. Surrounding with local officials at the court might be influenced the decision of the *kadı* so that they corresponded to local beliefs, customs, and interests. Ergene states that "in this sense they probably preserved the communal memory, complemented the legal expertise of the judge, and ensured the power of community

¹⁴¹ Başak Tuğ, *Politics of Honor in Ottoman Anatolia: Sexual Violence and Socio-Legal Surveillance in the Eighteenth Century*. (Boston: Brill, 2017), 193.

¹⁴² Ibid, 115; Mehmet Ipşirli, "Ehl-i Örf," in TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi (Istanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1994), 519-520.

norms in the legal arena."¹⁴³ *Kadı*, *naib*, and *mufti* were the main rulers constituted Ehl-i Şer' in the Ottoman districts. Since the members of the Ehl-i Şer' staffed the judicial system in the city, other important figures in the Ottoman judicial system, *muhzır*, *katib*, and *şuhudu'l hal* will be discussed in that chapter as well.

Ehl-i Örf

Voyvoda

The title of *voyvoda* was used with various meanings for different responsibilities and authorities during the Ottoman rule. The title of *voyvoda* was used to refer to Christian lords in the early Ottoman sources. The usage of the title changed in the 16th century, and it was used to designate sub-commanders and civil governors of the Black Sea and Balkan regions. The title had more meanings in the following centuries. The *voyvoda* was agent related to *tumar* of *zeamet* system, responsible for revenues from the imperial and other domains, such as *has* or *mukataa* fiefs provided to provincial governors or vezirs.¹⁴⁴ By the 17th century, the tax farm (*iltizam*) system expanded in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴⁵ The central government began leasing tax-farms for

¹⁴³ Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Cankiri and Kastamonu (1652-1744)*, 25.

¹⁴⁴ Erol Özvar, "Voyvoda," in *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (Istanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2013), 129-130.

¹⁴⁵ *İltizam* was the practice of tax collection by a contractor who kept revenues collected above a determined amount of money owed the central administration. These revenue sources were called *mukataa*, and they were farmed out to private contractors. See: Halil İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Vol. I, 1994), 64-66.

life-long tenure that entailed another responsibility that was supervising and managing the conditions of these contracts to *voyvodas*.¹⁴⁶

The disruption of the *timar* system and spread of the *iltizam* system caused to military, economic, and administrative problems. These problems led to expansion of the implementation *voyvodalık* in the Ottoman provinces. In the 19th century, several towns, villages, and cities were administrated by *voyvoda*. Governor or *mutasarrıf* of the provinces appointed the *voyvoda* to the districts that were smaller than *sancaks* whose revenues went to them as salary.¹⁴⁷ Involvement in economic affairs, especially in the tax-farming system, allowed the *voyvodas* to accumulate fortunes and increase their power. A *voyvoda* could earn 22,000 *guruş*¹⁴⁸ per year in the last decade of the 18th century.¹⁴⁹ For instance, Hüseyin Ağa who appointed as *voyvoda* of Antakya in 1764 was paid 500 *guruş* for each month.¹⁵⁰

The *voyvoda* and the *kadı* were the highest level of bureaucracy in the districts in the 18th century since they were both were a kind of brokers or mediators between the center and the provinces. The *voyvodalık* of Antakya was often granted to local figures, coming from prominent families of the city.¹⁵¹ Before a local was appointed as *voyvoda*, his identity, capability for that post, and family background would be investigated. In the end of the investigation, the candidate

¹⁴⁶ Tsarmeret Levy-Daphny, "To be a Voyvoda in Diyarbakir: Socio-Political Change in an 18th Century Ottoman Province." in *Society, Law, and Culture in the Middle East "Modernities" in the Making*, eds. Dror Ze'evi and Ehud R. Toledano. (Berlin: De Gruyter Open Ltd, 2015), 46.

¹⁴⁷ Musa Çadirci, "Tanzimat'ın İlanı Siralarında Türkiye'de Yönetim (1826-1839)", *Belleten*, Ank., c.LI, s. 201, (1988), 1232-1233

¹⁴⁸ A silver coin, equivalent to 120 akçes

¹⁴⁹ Ariel Salzman, *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire. Rival Paths to the Modern State*. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 156

¹⁵⁰ ASS 8, 8/15

¹⁵¹ Halil İnalçık , "Çiftliklerin Doğuşu: Devlet, Toprak Sahipleri ve Kiracılar", *Osmanlı'da Toprak Mülkiyeti ve Ticari Tarım*, (Ed: Çağlar Keyder, Faruk Tabak, İstanbul, 1998), 25.

would be appointed as a *voyvoda* if he had the required skills and background for performing that post.¹⁵² The Ottoman Empire applied similar policy in the application process of ayan for the district of Antakya. For instance, Hüseyin Ağa, who was member of an ayan family in Antakya and was considered to have capability and skills to perform that task, was appointed as *voyvoda* in 1755.¹⁵³

A *voyvoda* of a district had some responsibilities concerning maintaining security and order in his region. He was responsible for providing security for the district, preventing attacks of the bandits, controlling nomads and their taxation, providing supplies to the army during campaigns, securing the road during the visits of high ranking officials to the region, investigating of battery, murder, and theft cases, and dealing with taxation of the district.¹⁵⁴ *Voyvodas* were also requested to help to the kadı in making fair decisions in court cases. For instance, the *voyvoda* of Antakya was asked to help solve a murder case that had happened in the district. In that case, Çuhadar Hüseyin was murdered by bandits who were members of the Reyhanlı tribe while he was on his way to Aleppo. They extorted his sword, money, 100 gold pieces, and his watch. The *voyvoda* was asked to reveal the murderers and retrieve the extorted items, and punish the individuals involving in the murder.¹⁵⁵

The term of office for the *voyvoda* of Antakya varied between 3 months and 1 year in the 18th century. If the *voyvoda* performed his task successfully and formed good relations with the local people, he would be appointed to the same post for another term. For instance, Osman Ağa,

¹⁵² Kemal Kaya, “Osmanli Imparatorlugunda Voyvodalik.” (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 2004), 42.

¹⁵³“... voyvodasi kidvetu'l-emacid ve'l a'yan Hüseyin Ağa” A.Ş.S., Nr.6, s. 15/17.

¹⁵⁴ A.Ş.S., Nr.6, s.13/13

¹⁵⁵ Haleb 5 Nolu Ahkam Defteri, 23/60 (Evahir 1198).

who served as a *voyvoda* in 1744 established good relations with the dwellers of the city, and successfully performed most of the tasks given by the government. Due to his successful service, he was reappointed as the *voyvoda* of Antakya in 1745 by the governor of Aleppo.¹⁵⁶ In another case, the period of office of the *voyvoda* Mehmed Efendi was extended for another three months due to the request of the people of his district.¹⁵⁷

On the other hand, a *voyvoda* who did not establish good relations with the local population, and proved inadequate in collecting taxes was dismissed from that position. For instance, the *voyvoda* of Antakya, Hüseyin Ağa, was dismissed from that position due to his inability to maintain good relations with the locals and to collect the tax called *imdad-i hazeriye* in 1764.¹⁵⁸ In addition, although the *voyvoda* had a good income compared to other dwellers of the city, the government might confiscate his property if they involved in illegal activities. The case of Civelek Ebubekir who had served as *voyvoda* of Antakya is a good example for this. Civelek Ebubekir committed an offense after he had retired from the position of *voyvoda*. He applied to the court for being excused. The court forgave him, but all of his properties in Antakya and Aleppo were confiscated by the state.¹⁵⁹

Mütesellim

The dictionary meaning of *mütesellim* is “an officer who collects taxes, tax collector, or collector.”¹⁶⁰ When a governor of the province or the *sancakbeyi* was out of the district due to military campaign participation or other obligatory duties, the government would appoint a

¹⁵⁶ A.Ş.S., Nr.3, s.173/205.

¹⁵⁷ A.Ş.S., Nr.1, s.1/1b.

¹⁵⁸ A.Ş.S., Nr.8, s.9/19.

¹⁵⁹ A.Ş.S., Nr.8,

¹⁶⁰ “... bir idare memuru tarafından vergi ve rüsumun kabzına memur adam, tahsil memuru, muhassıl.” Şemsettin Sami, *Kâmus-ı Türkî*, (Alfa Yayinlari, 1998),. 1277.

temporary deputy to administrate their regions called *mütesellim*.¹⁶¹ The practice of appointing a deputy in place of the *sancakbeyi* or the governor during military campaigns went back to the 15th century. There were several examples of this practice in the province of Erzurum, Egypt, and Balkan provinces in the 15th and 16th centuries.¹⁶² However, there was not an agenda for the provisional appointment. In some cases, one of the member of the prominent families, officials working under them, or former *sancakbeyis* temporarily ruled the region in place of the governor or *sancakbeyi*.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the *mütesellim* was appointment by *sancakbeyi* for a short period. For this period, there is not available material in chronicles in regard to procedure for the appointment. But most of the *mütesellims* of the time were chosen among trusted people among the officers that were close to the governor or *sancakbeyi*. After the 17th century, a new method was adapted for the appointment. The *sancakbeyi* or the governor sent the name of the person that they wanted to serve as *mütesellim* to the *kapi kethüdasi* in Istanbul.¹⁶³ The names sent to Istanbul were often accepted to serve in that position. The members of the prominent families, ayans, were preferred for serving as *mütesellim* in the 18th century. The reasons behind choosing an ayan as *mütesellim* were his influence over the local population, ability to collect dues, his power for collecting taxes and debts without having any problem, and his capacity to maintain order in the districts.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Fatma Simsek, “Anadolu Sancaklarında Mutesellimlik Kurumu (XVIII. Yüzyıl.” (Antalya: Akdeniz Üniversitesi Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 2010), 27.

¹⁶² Ibid., 33-35.

¹⁶³ *Kapı kethüdasi* was the official in Istanbul who was appointed by either provincial governor or *sancakbeyi* in order to monitor and organize their official proceedings in Istanbul, and to inform them on appointments and other developments.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 40-42.

The responsibilities and historical development of the office of *voyvoda* and *mütesellim* were very similar to each other. There were both appointed by the governor (*vali*), or *sancakbeyi* to the districts (*kazas*) or sub-districts (*nahiye*) for the purposes of collecting taxes and debts and maintaining security in the district. In some cases, the term of *voyvoda* was used to refer to *mütesellims* before the Tanzimat 'period.¹⁶⁵ Even though the appointment process to these positions and their responsibilities showed similarities, they were different section in the provincial administration system of the Ottoman Empire.

Salaries of *mütesellims* ranged, based on the region that they served, between 750 and 3000 *guruş* for three months of their service. This amount was met from the tax or other kind of revenues of the district. However, some of the *mütesellims* collected extra money from their areas to meet their expenses, and it became widespread in the 19th century. In some districts, such as Tarsus, Teke, and Antalya the value of the possession of the *mütesellims* was worth more than thousands of *guruş*. One of the *mütesellims* of Antakya, Halef Ağa served more than 6 years as *mütesellim* of Antakya between the years of 1833 and 1841, and was one of the wealthiest persons in the region. His wealth provides a valuable glimpse on the social and economic profile of ayans and notables who lived in the city in the 19th century. The total value of his properties, including cash, was 610,990 *guruş*, while the sum of possession of more than 60 % percent of the population of the district of Antakya was under 500 *guruş*. He had four houses, six stores, two mills, and thirteen estates or estate-shares.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Yücel Özkaya, "Mütesellim", *TDVIA*, c. XXXII, Diyanet Vakfı Yay., İstanbul, 2006, s. 203. Mehmet Zeki Pakalin, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, (İstanbul: M.E.B. c. II, 1993), 628.

¹⁶⁶ Mehmet Tekin, *Antakya Tarihinden Yapraklar ve Halefzade Sureyya Bey*, (Antakya: Kultur Ofset Yayınevi, 1993), 15-21

The court records of Antakya point out that *mütesellims* had several responsibilities. Some of them were maintaining security of the districts and roads, collecting taxes and other kind of revenues, providing soldiers to the campaigns during the war time, meeting food and military needs of the troops. It is clear that they had more responsibilities during the war-times. There were several decrees that were sent to the *mütesellim* of Antakya during the Ottoman-Russian war in 1829. In one of them, the *mütesellim* was asked to play active role in the defense of the city during the war. The *mütesellim*, Ibrahim Ağa, was asked to send troops for the protection of the port of Süveyde and Keseb against possible Russian attacks during the Ottoman-Russian war in 1829 since the available 30 soldiers were not sufficient for the protection of the ports.¹⁶⁷

In another decree, the *mütesellim* of Antakya was ordered to inform all the people aged between 12 and 75 about the seriousness of the battle in the north-west border of the Empire. He also asked to make his people to get prepared for any kind of consequences of the battle. Another responsibility that was given to the *mütesellim* during the war-time was providing soldiers. The central government ordered to the governor of Aleppo for sending 350 soldiers for the battle, and 75 of them were recruited from the district of Antakya. The *mütesellim* of Antakya had to both conscript these soldiers and provide for their travel and food expenses which amounted to 750 guruş for each soldier.¹⁶⁸ These records show that *mütesellims* played significant role in maintaining order in the city, especially during the war times between 1750 and 1840.

Mütesellims did not stay in that position for a long time period. There were several occasions on which they were dismissed by the governor of Aleppo due to their failure in

¹⁶⁷ A.Ş.S., Nr.20, b.29

¹⁶⁸ A.Ş.S., Nr.20, b.42.

administering of the city. Not having the support of the *kapı kethudasi*, not sending revenues of the district to the governor or *sancakbeyi*, oppressing people, deposition of the governor or *sancakbeyi* that appointed him to that position were among the main reasons of the dismissal of the *mütesellims* from that post. For instance, the *mütesellim* of Antakya, Ismail Bey, was dismissed from that post since he put pressure on his people.¹⁶⁹ Battal Ağa who was the former *mütesellim* of Antakya was reappointed to the same position since he had both the trust of both the local people and the governor of Aleppo. In another case, Hüseyin Paşa was deposed from that position since he did not form good relations with the local people.¹⁷⁰

Yeniçeri Serdari

The establishment of janissary garrisons in the provinces with the purpose of preventing feudal uprisings, and strengthening the sultan's authority in provinces became a common policy after the 16th century. Janissaries were settled at the center of each city. The number of janissaries in the provinces dramatically increased after the 16th century, and their commanders were to be known as *yeniçeri serdari*.¹⁷¹ The *yeniçeri serdari* was a representative of the sultan in the provinces, and he was responsible only to him.¹⁷²

The administration of the janissary troops in the provinces was organized by officials called *kethüdayeri*, *yeniçeri serdari*, *yeniçeri zabıtı*, and *yasakçıbaşı*. *Kethüdayeri* was the military commander who controlled and organized the janissary and cavalrymen troops in the city. They were also responsible for collecting soldiers and providing supplies to soldiers. The

¹⁶⁹ A.Ş.S., Nr.17, s.26/47.

¹⁷⁰ A.Ş.S., Nr.20, b.120.

¹⁷¹ Cafer Çiftçi, "Osmanlı Tasarısında Yeniçerilerin Varlığı ve Askerlik Dışı Faaliyetleri", *Journal of the Center for Ottoman Studies*, 26, (Spring 2010), 29-30.

¹⁷² Mücteba Ilgürel, "Yeniçeriler", *IA*, c. 13, Istanbul, (1993), 385-395.

person responsible for organizing and controlling the janissary troops in smaller cities and towns was called *yeniçeri serdarı*. Uzunçarşılı states that the *yeniçeri serdarı* was usually appointed by a letter written by the *yeniçeri ağası* in Istanbul.¹⁷³ However, the court records show that the provincial *ağas* also played role at the appointment of the *serdar*. The *serdar* of Antakya was either directly appointed by the *yeniçeri ağası* in Istanbul or by the Ağa of Janissary of *Dergah-i Ali* at Aleppo.¹⁷⁴ Some members of prominent local families were appointed to that position. For example, Kara Ibrahim, Şerafeddin Ağa, and Fethullah Ağa, who were the most powerful ayans in the region in the second half of the 18th century, served in that position.¹⁷⁵

The *yeniçeri serdarı* was appointed to this position for three months. He was the military commander of janissaries, *cebecis* (armorer), *topçus* (gunners), *top arabacısis* (gun carriage drivers), and *kul oğlanları* that settled in his district. His other responsibilities included organizing the troops in the district, controlling the bandits and tribes, securing the roads, maintaining security, following the sharia and traditions while practicing his duties, confiscating inheritance of heirless soldiers mentioned above, and selling the inherited materials and transferring the money to treasury.¹⁷⁶

Confiscating other janissaries' salaries, illegal money collection from the members of the janissary corps, levying unjust taxes on the local people, cooperating with ayans or other high-

¹⁷³ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları*, (Ankara: T.T.K.Yayınları, c.I, 1988), 327

¹⁷⁴ Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 33. *Dergah-ı Ali* was used to refer to either to the palace or the central administration. In addition, when it was used in front of an official's title, such as *Dergah-ı Ali Yeniçeri Ağası*, it refers to the officials who were appointed to that post directly by sultan, and to the officials who were responsible only to the sultan. See: Abdulkadir Özcan, "Dergah-ı Ali."(IA, cilt:9), 174.

¹⁷⁵ A.Ş.S., Nr.8, s.93/69.

¹⁷⁶ A.Ş.S., Nr.6, s.7/6. A.Ş.S., Nr.6, s.16/18. Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 34.

ranking officials in the district to put pressure on people, and disregarding the orders of the central government were the main problems created by the *yeniçeri serdars* in the districts. After the abolition of the janissary corps in 1826, a decree, which prohibited any usage of honorary titles related to the janissaries was sent to the provinces. The decree also announced that any institution and position associated with the Janissaries, including *zağarcılık* (a mounted irregular), *turnacılık* or *turnacıbaşı* (crane-keeper: commander of the sixty-eighth Janissary division), *yeniçeri zabıtlığı* (janissary officer), *yeniçeri serdarlığı* were abolished, and the term *yoldaşlık* (janissary companionship) was banned.¹⁷⁷

Şehir Kethüdası (City Warden)

The *kethüda* was the representative of the local people who functioned as a bridge to connect the government with the community. They were chosen either among prominent members of families or religious functionaries as well as elder people of the region. The period of office of the *kethüda* was not determined, so while some of them served just for a short time period, some of the stayed in that position whole their life.¹⁷⁸ The name of the elected *kethüda* by the local dwellers was sent to the central government, and the central government usually appointed the elected person to that position unless he involved in illegal activities.¹⁷⁹

During the mid-18th century, the *şehir kethüdas* began to lose their function as representatives of the local people due to the fact that ayans, (local notables), increased their

¹⁷⁷ “.... yeniçerilik namı ve anlara mahsus olan zağarcılık ve turnacılık payesi ve taşra memalikinde yeniçeri zabıtlığı ve serdarlık lafzı ve yeniçeri yoldaşlığı tabiri ve nişan davası külliyyen merfu ve memnu' olduğun herkese ifade ve tebeyyun birle” A.Ş.S., Nr.18, s. 71/153.

¹⁷⁸ Mustafa Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, c.1, 1974), 132-134.

¹⁷⁹ Musa Çadircı, “Tanzimat'a Girerken Türkiye'de Şehir İdaresi”, (Ankara: D.T.C.F., Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1972), 82.

power and sought to take over that responsibility. However, the position of the *şehir kethüdası* was empowered with a decree given by the Abdulhamid I in 1786. The reason for issuing that decree was to minimize the influence of the ayans due to their irresponsible actions, pressure on the local communities.

The main responsibilities of the *kethüda* were hosting state officials, including governor, *mutasarrıfs* and *mütesellims* that stopped by at the city, and soldiers who were in the city for suppressing an uprising or for a military campaign. He was also responsible for the protection of these officials from bandits and providing them with horses if necessary.¹⁸⁰ The *şehir kethüdası* played significant role in the implementation of fair taxation in the district. He regularly attended the taxes distribution committee meeting with another officers, such as kadıs and representatives of the artisans to decide the amount of the tax that would be paid by the quarters of the city and the artisans. The *kethüda* recorded every single akçe that he spent during his service, and he was paid back in every six months when the expenses of the district were determined.¹⁸¹ Since the *kethüda* was one of the trusted people in the district, he was requested to serve as witness in some important cases at the court. We have observed several names having the title of *kethüda* in the witness lists in the court records of Antakya.¹⁸²

***Köy Kethüdası* (Sheikh)**

The *köy kethüdası*, village warden, played a significant role in the administration of the waqf in Anatolia. The revenues of the *waqf* (endowment) and contributions made by the wealthy people of the sultan consisted most of their income. In return, they, especially the *Mevlevi*

¹⁸⁰ A.Ş.S., Nr.6, s.16/18.

¹⁸¹ Adem Kara, "XIX Yüzyilin ilk Yarisinda Antakya (1800-1850)", (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 2004), 93.

¹⁸² Çadırcı, "Tanzimat'a Girerken Türkiye'de Şehir İdaresi", 40-41, A.Ş.S., Nr.8, s. 97/135

sheikhs, were asked to pray for the sultan and the continuity of the empire. However, the *sheikhs* in villages around the district of Antakya had a different character compared to the ones in Anatolia. Most of them did not get an income from the *waqfs*, were not asked to pray for the sultan, and did not get involved in religious issues as much as the *Mevlevi sheikhs* did. Compared to the Anatolian *sheikhs*, the *sheikhs* in the villages of Antakya mostly had administrative functions, and they were paid yearly by the state.¹⁸³ Since they had administrative functions, they preferred to use the title of *köy kethüdası* instead of *sheikhs*.

The procedure of appointment of a *köy kethüdası* was very similar to the election of the *şehir kethüdası*. Each village elected a trusted person as sheikh to represent them, and they sent the name of their nomination to the center. If the elected person was accepted by the center, he was assigned to the position of *köy kethüdası* with 50 guruş yearly salary.¹⁸⁴ Preventing banditry and the attacks of problematic tribes and nomads to villages on their way to winter quarters, keeping the nomads and tribes in particular winter quarters were some of the commitments of the *köy kethüdası*.¹⁸⁵ The *köy kethüdası* was asked by the central government to work together with the *kadı* to prevent the villagers from being victim of the oppression of soldiers and administrators in the 18th and 19th centuries. For instance, the central government asked the *köy kethüdası* to work with the *kadı* to find a group of *levends* (members or irregular forces) who came to villages to collect illegitimate accommodation (*konak*) and sacrifice (*kurban*) fees, requested free food, and insulted the villagers.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ Doğan Gün, “XVIII. Yuzyilda Antakya’da Seyhlerin Koylerdeki Idarecilik Fonksyonlari”, *Ankara Universitesi Tarih Arastirmalari Dergisi*, v.24/37, (2005), 278.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 280.

¹⁸⁵ A.Ş.S., Nr.6, s.14/15.

¹⁸⁶ Gün, “XVIII. Yuzyilda Antakya’da Şeyhlerin Köylerdeki Idarecilik Fonksyonlari”, 280.

Although they were responsible for the protection of the villagers, there were several complaints on the damages caused to the villagers by the *köy kethüdası*. Murdering and wounding villagers, the confiscation of materials by force, and not paying their debts were the main complaints against *köy kethüdası*. In two cases, two persons who worked in *sheikh*'s properties from villages of Antakya directly complained to the sultan about the *sheikhs* who did not pay salaries and attacked to the persons asked for salaries. The sultan sent an order to the *voyvoda* to take care of the complaints of these villagers.¹⁸⁷ In addition, some of the *sheikhs* had illegal collaboration with the *kadı* and *voyvoda* of the district. In one case, they required the villagers of the Alakent to pay the *salyane* (annual) tax more than determined amount. The dwellers of the region sent a petition to the sultan to both complain about the unfair request of the local administrators and the elimination of the related injustice. The sultan responded to this petition by sending an order that warned the officers who applied unfair policies.¹⁸⁸ In another case, the *sheikh* of village of Fatikiye killed one of the laborers who had asked for his money in return of his service. The laborer who had worked in his farm was killed by either *sheikh* or his men. The *sheikh* asked for help the *ağa* of the district who had significant influence on the *kadı* and the *voyvoda* of the district to whitewash the incident. However, the brother of the laborer sent a petition to the sultan that asked for the trial of the murderers in front of the *diwan* in Istanbul. While this case shows one of the deficit in the court system in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century, it also indicates that a villager could effectively petition the central government to demand justice.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 282-283.

¹⁸⁸ A.Ş.S., Nr.2, s.107/127-128.

¹⁸⁹ Gün, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Antakya'da Şeyhlerin Köylerdeki İdarecilik Fonksiyonları", 287.

In terms of punishment and control, the *sheikhs* were not treated equally in the whole empire. For instance, *sheikhs (köy kethüdası)* in the provinces of Damascus and Cairo were strictly warned that they would be responsible for every kind of chaos, unrest, or failure of maintenance of security.¹⁹⁰ On the other hand, it is a fact that the *sheikhs* in villages of Antakya committed several murders, unlawfulness, and robbery in the district of Antakya and its villages, but there was not satisfactory court decisions concerning the punishment of the *köy kethüdas (sheikhs)* according to the court records of Antakya between 1750 and 1840.

Ehl-i Şer' and Court Officials

Kadı

The *kadı* represented both the highest judicial authority in the *kaza* and played a role in protection of the subjects against the oppression of local military and administrative officials. *Kadı*s were assigned by the central government after getting a specialized education, technical training, and on-the-job experience. The source of *kadı*'s authority was the sultan's *berat*, (diploma), and he got his salary based on his rank in the hierarchic scale of imperial *kadı*s. The *kadı* was the sultan's legal instrument for accomplishing the rational application of Ottoman law over the people of districts.¹⁹¹ Jennings states that "*kadı*s had a greater freedom of action within the scope of their offices than did bureaucratic and military appointees whose position were define entirely by the writ of the sultan."¹⁹²

The Ottoman Empire experienced some transformation in the provincial administration system after the 17th century. The significance of the governor (*sancakbeyi*) decreased because of

¹⁹⁰ Andre Raymond, *Osmanlı Doneminde Arap Kentleri*. (Istanbul: TVYY, 2000), 92

¹⁹¹ Ronald C. Jennings, "Kadı, Court, and Legal Procedure in 17th C. Ottoman Kayseri," *Studia Islamica*, vol. 48 (1978), 137-138.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 142.

the decline of the prebend system after the mid-17th century. This development allowed the *kadı* to become more important in local administration due to the synthesis of religious and sultanic law and fiscal reforms which increased the importance of local mechanisms of decision-making.¹⁹³ His powers during that time period extended, including controlling of janissary commanders and taking disciplinary action against members of the military during the war. However, in the 19th century, the judicial and administrative affairs dissociated from each other. That is why, the administrative functions of the *kadı* were minimized, and *kadı*s were only responsible for judicial affairs right before the Tanzimat period.¹⁹⁴

Collective responsibility and self-government were the main operative forces in provincial administrative structures; hence, the relationship between *kadı* and the provincial society played a significant role for his local influence in the region. Forming strong relationship with influential groups and agents of the region was one of the most important conditions for a successful judicial and administrative career in the 17th century, but serving in the same region for a long period would bring the *kadı* under the influence of powerful families of the region that they served. Therefore, the rotation system was applied by the Ottoman Empire to prevent *kadı*s from becoming part of the social environment in which they operated.¹⁹⁵ The names of 22 *kadı*s were found in some of the court records of Antakya between 1706 and 1802, which indicates that

¹⁹³ Hülya Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town: Ayıntab in the 17th Century*. (Boston: Brill, 2007), 49.

¹⁹⁴ Musa Cadirci, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentleri'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapıları*. (Ankara: TTK), 80.

¹⁹⁵ Bogaç A. Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Cankiri and Kastamonu (1652-1744)*. (Boston: Brill, 2003), 24-25.

the rotation system was successfully applied in the district of Antakya, and obviously, there were many names that were missing in the court records.¹⁹⁶

In addition to his judicial functions, the *kadı* was a bureaucrat who represented the authority of the sultan in the districts. *Kadı*s transferred and applied the orders conveyed from the center, maintained security and peace in the district, regulated prices, and monitored the quality of the products sold and bought in the markets. *Kadı*s carried out all these responsibilities in the name of the sultan. Another obligation for the *kadı* was the representation of the interests of local groups to the center.¹⁹⁷ He was responsible for conveying local requests and complaints to the center that increased his social and political influence in his local area. By doing that the *kadı* also helped weaker parties to report their complaints to higher authorities. In addition to these duties, *kadı*s also controlled the administration of schools and mosques that were under waqf control. They were also responsible for determining the social necessities of the city, such as the construction of new roads and bridges, public houses (*hans*), and public baths.

There were several complaints against *kadı*s in the 18th centuries. The most common complaints were not following or disregard of the most basic legal rules and issues; corruption and immorality, the inclination of the *kadı*s to farm out their offices to their naibs in order to make more money, the illegal usage of state revenues and the appropriation of those tax revenues that should be collected for the government, failing to apply imperial orders on time, and the fabrication of untrue reports about provincial issues.¹⁹⁸ According to several reports of individual corruption cases, some travelers and foreign officials who worked in the Ottoman Empire

¹⁹⁶ Abdulkadir Gül, “Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806),” 41.

¹⁹⁷ Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Cankiri and Kastamonu (1652-1744)*, 44.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 47.

described *kadı*s as dishonest and corrupt officials who were always interested in individual profit. That is why, wealthy people and members of respected families had a greater chance to dominate the court and to defeat their opponents. *Kadı*s were also characterized as officials who were incapable of making fair judgments, but at the same time they were ingenious in their ability to find legal loopholes to turn the case to the advantage of person, who bribed them.¹⁹⁹

Naib and Katib

The *naibs* were members of the local community, and they remained in that position for long periods under successive *kadı*s. It is hard to define the identities of the *naibs* in Antakya since the court records of Antakya do not provide sufficient background information on the *naibs*. However, either local people or people who were familiar with the city were usually appointed to that position. For instance, we find that Osman, *mütesellim* of Antakya, was appointed as a *naib*.²⁰⁰

Naibs had some responsibilities in the application of justice. In addition to helping the *kadı* at court, they traveled to nearby districts and villages to listen to the complaints of people. They were a bridge between people who could not access the court easily and the court.²⁰¹ They

¹⁹⁹ A.L. Castellan, *Turkey, Being a Description of the Manners, Customs, Dresses, and Other Peculiarities Characteristic of the Inhabitants of the Turkish Empire*, trans. Frederic Shoberl (Philadelphia: H. Cowperthwait, 1829) vol. 5), 35. Baron François de Tott, *Memoirs of Baron de Tott; Containing the State of the Turkish Empire and the Crimea During the Late War with Russia. With Numerous Anecdotes, Facts, and Observations on the Manners and Customs of the Turks and Tartars*. (London: G.G.J. And J. Robinson, vol. 1, 1785), 200–201

²⁰⁰ A.Ş.S., Nr.17, s.56/110.

²⁰¹ Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Cankiri and Kastamonu (1652-1744)*, 27.

also helped *kadis* with the collection of some taxes such as *avarız* and *nuzul*, *imdad-ı hazariye*, and *imdad-ı seferiye* and transfer of the money to the provincial treasury.²⁰²

The *kadı* of Aleppo played a significant role in the appointment of *naibs*, and there were some examples that show that some *naibs* were appointed to Antakya by the *kadı* of Aleppo in the 19th century. Although some of these *naibs* stayed in that position for years, some of them were dismissed after a few months starting their position. Especially between the years of 1823 and 1833, 12 *naibs* were dismissed due to their incapability and corrupted policies in Antakya.²⁰³

Naibs could take an order directly from the sultan as the *kadı* did. In one of the court registers, there was a disagreement between two persons as one of them died without paying his debt. One of the parties sent a request for the resolution of the disagreement. The sultan directly ordered the naib of the sub-district of Kuseyr to resolve the disagreement. In another case that happened in 1762, the sultan directly asked the *naib* of Antakya to solve the murder that happened in Antakya.²⁰⁴ In another *hükm-i şerif* (royal decree), directly sent to the naib by the Sultan, the *naib* of Antakya was asked to prevent the confiscation of the incomes of the Şeyh Cebet'ul Tüccar waqf by dwellers of the town, *sheikhs*, *voyvodas*, and Haseki Süleyman.²⁰⁵

²⁰² Kara, "XIX Yüzyilin ilk Yarisinda Antakya (1800-1850)",111. *Avarız* was an extraordinary tax which was collected in the form of services or in currency. The literary meaning of *imdad-ı seferiyye* is "urgent war contribution". It was levied to meet the war expenses. The literary meaning of the *imdad-ı hazariyye* is emergency peace time contributions, which was collected to help the government to overcome monetary difficulties during peace-time See chapter three for further details on these taxes.

²⁰³ Ibid., 112-113.

²⁰⁴ Doğan Gün, "XVIII. Yuzyilda Antakya'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapisi (1708-1777). (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 2006), 44.

²⁰⁵ Haleb 5 Nolu Ahkam Defteri, 47/109, Muharrem 1200.

The *katip* (scribe) was one of the officers that worked at the court in the service of the *kadı*. They had to get a *berat* (diploma) in order to begin their work.²⁰⁶ Recording the cases and the names of the witnesses, organization and protection of the court records, and recording the important decrees and orders sent from the central government were the main responsibilities of the *katip*. Checking the account books of the waqfs, recording the *tereke*s and sharing the *tereke* among successors, being a *şuhudulhal*, and recording the investigation results made by officials were some of the *katip*'s other responsibilities. In return for his service, he received a fee called *katibiyye*.²⁰⁷ This fee was sufficient for him to amass some personal wealth and to become a member of the upper social classes in the city. We do not know how long *katip*'s served in that position since there is not available extensive information on the court registers of Antakya.

Mufti

The *mufti* had a significant and honored role in the judicial system of the Ottoman Empire. However, compared to *kadı*s, *mufti*s have been given little attention by Western scholarship as the activities of *mufti*s was far less institutionalized than that of the *kadı*. Many *mufti*s operated privately and unobtrusively without having any connections to the political authorities, and some of them, especially the *mufti*s in Arab provinces were officially appointed.²⁰⁸ *Mufti* was not a member of the court itself and was more independent than the *kadı*. The biggest responsibility of the *mufti* was the issuance of *fatwas* which was giving definitive

²⁰⁶ F. Krenkow, "Kâtib", *İA*, c. 6, İstanbul (1993), 431-432.

²⁰⁷ Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)," 45.

²⁰⁸ Muhammad Khalid Masud, Brinkley Messick, David S. Powers, "Muftis, Fatwas, and Islamic Legal Interpretation," in *Islamic Legal Interpretation, Muftis and Their Fatwas*. Ed. by Muhammad Khalid Masud, Brinkley Messick, David S. Powers. (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996), 3.

legal opinions on questions of sharia upon being asked by parties to law suits.²⁰⁹ The *mufti* also issued legal opinions on whether an issue was compatible with Islamic principles or not.²¹⁰

Most of the *fatwas* emanated from social problems, which involved real people with real problems. They were not the product of juristic speculation and were not theoretical or hypothetical.²¹¹ The questions posed to the *mufti* on a problem had to be worded so as to allow him to give short answers. His answers had to be on the basis of *fikh* principles without concerning about the facts of the real case. The legal opinion of the *mufti* played a noteworthy role in the decision of the *kadi* on a real case, but sometimes the person who asked for *fatwa* erred or even lied in describing his version of the problem to the *mufti*. In that case, the *kadi* might give a decision that would be not compatible with the *fatwa*. The role of the *mufti* was completed after the issuance of the *fatwa*. He did not have to defend his *fatwa* at court, and his *fatwa* was presented to the court by the person who had asked for it.²¹² It is a fact that the litigant that had obtained a *fatwa* in favor of his case had more possibility for winning a legal case.²¹³

The Ottoman Empire followed Sharia rules. The Empire had a diverse Muslim population whose members followed different sects of Islam. The Ottoman judges had to decide cases in accordance with the Hanafi *madhhab* that was the dominant school of law in the Empire.

²⁰⁹ Jennings, "Kadi, Court, and Legal Procedure in 17th C. Ottoman Kayseri," 134

²¹⁰ Ebu'l-ula Mardin, "Fetva", (I.A., c.4, Istanbul, 1993), 583-584.

²¹¹ Wael B. Hallaq, "From Fatwās to Furū': Growth and Change in Islamic Substantive Law," *Islamic Law and Society*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1994), 38-61.

²¹² Jennings, "Kadi, Court, and Legal Procedure in 17th C. Ottoman Kayseri," 135.

²¹³ Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Cankiri and Kastamonu (1652-1744)*, 31.

However, in some Ottoman towns dominated by non-Hanafi population, the muftis were allowed to issue *fatwas* on limited subject in accordance with their *madhhab*.²¹⁴

Muftis usually were not members of the *ulama* class, but rather were local elders in the Anatolian and European provinces. They held no official position, but they were often called to courts in order to confer authority on judgments which were issued by *kadis*. On the other hand, the majority *muftis* serving in the Arab provinces tended to be scholars appointed by *sheikh'ul-Islam*.²¹⁵ They were also needed to be recognized by the local authorities of the region. Since *mufti* was a religious guide and a leader, he should be an exemplary moral figure for his society. His personal practices must not contradict the *fatwas* he had issued. Like *kadis*, *muftis* were not allowed to engage in interpretive work when their physical states were disturbed by fatigue, anger, or hunger.²¹⁶ The more importantly, *muftis* were expected to establish good relations with their community. In 1763, Hacı Ibrahim Efendi, the *mufti* of Antakya, was dismissed from his position by the *Sheik'ul-Islam*, Dürriyade Mustafa Efendi, since he was not successful in establishing good relations with the people of Antakya.²¹⁷

Muftis were not paid by the state, and they were supposed to issue their *fatwas* for free. However, as Uriel Heyd states that, some *ulama* allowed the *muftis* to accept fees as remuneration for their services. The remuneration changed from province to province. While the *muftis* of Aleppo requested a greater amount in the 18th century, the *mufti* of Jerusalem accepted presents instead of *fatwa* issuance fee in the 19th century.²¹⁸ In addition, some of the *muftis* were

²¹⁴ Heyd, "Some Aspects of the Ottoman Fetva," 56.

²¹⁵ Masud, Messick, Powers, "Muftis, Fatwas, and Islamic Legal Interpretation," 12-13.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

²¹⁷ A.Ş.S., Nr.8, s.40/57.

²¹⁸ Uriel Heyd, "Some Aspects of the Ottoman Fetva," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 32 (1969), 52-53.

employed as *müderriş* (teacher) in *medreses* which was another source of income for them. One another solution to provide income for muftis was to establish pious endowments for their support.²¹⁹ The Ottoman officials monitored closely the economic sources of both the *kadis* and *muftis*, and strictly warned both, whose rulings had binding force, not to accept bribes.

Most of the *muftis* in Antakya held honorific title of *sayyid* which is used for male descendants of the Prophet Muhammed. Descendants of Prophet Muhammad, *sayyids*, enjoyed a variety of privileges all around the Islamic world. Belonging to that group provided people both prestige and social and economic advantages such as tax exemptions and appointment to some positions.²²⁰ The names of the eight *muftis* that served in Antakya in the 18th century were found in the Ottoman court records. Seven of these *muftis* had the title of "*sayyid*".²²¹ Based on that fact it is fair to say that having the title of *sayyid* was very decisive in appointment of the mufti by the *Shaiku'l-Islam* in Antakya in the 18th century.

Muhzir and Muhzirbaşı

The word *muhzir* is derived from the Arabic '*ihzar*', meaning to summon, so, *muhzir* was the person who called the plaintiff and defendant in front of the judge, hence he was the one who

²¹⁹ Masud, Messick, Powers, "Muftis, Fatwas, and Islamic Legal Interpretation," 20.

²²⁰ Hülya Canbakal, "The Ottoman State and Descendants of the Prophet in Anatolia and the Balkans (c. 1500-1700)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 52 (2009), 543. Canbakal claims that thousands of Ottoman subjects made fictive claims of being *sayyid* by stealing or buying certificates, forging genealogies, or bribing officials in order to benefit from advantages granted to *sayyids*.

²²¹ The *muftis*, who had the honorific title of *sayyid*, and served in Antakya in the 18th century were Seyyid Hacı Ali Efendi (1709-1711), Seyyid İbrahim Efendi (1735-1736), Seyyid Hacı Mehmed Efendi (1752), Seyyid Abdurrahman Efendi (1755), Seyyid İbrahim Efendi (1761), Seyyid Hacı Ahmed Efendi (1762), Seyyid Şaban Efendi (1763), Şekerzâde Ahmed Efendi (1774). Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)," 48.

summoned.²²² After getting the order from the court, the *muhzir* could go to the person who was being summoned, but he did not have the authority to force the accused to return to court in his or her custody. The accused person could admit the summon, but then ignore it, or directly refuse it to the face of the *muhzir*.²²³ The main responsibilities of the *muhzir* were to bring the defendant and the plaintiff in front of the judge, to prevent incidents that would disrupt the trial and to maintain security in the courthouse, to protect confiscated materials, such as money or gold by the *kadı*, to protect of properties of orphans, and to help the *kadı* during the investigation process.²²⁴

Although they did not play an active role in a judicial case, their name appeared on *şuhud ul-hal*, witness, list in very large numbers of cases. In the Antakya court record number 21, dated between 1827 and 1830, *muhzirs* were member of the *şuhud'ul-hal* in 18 out of 27 cases.²²⁵ In six of these cases, the servants of the court (*mahkeme hademeleri*), who probably included *muhzirs*, were shown as *şuhud ul-hal*.²²⁶ In some cases relatives of the *muhzirs* were on the list of *şuhud'ul-hal*. For instance, Muhzir Eyyüp and his son Hasan were on the in *şuhud'ul-hal* list 11 times while Muhzir Ibrahim and his son Hasan were 5 times. Being available at the court all the time was the biggest reason behind being on the list, but we do not have any evidence to demonstrate whether they played role in court decisions or not.

²²² Ahmet Akgündüz, *Şer'iyeye Sicilleri: Mahiyeti, Toplu Katalogu, ve Secme Hukumleri*. (Istanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, C.1, 1988), 74.

²²³ Jenning, "Kadı, Court, and Legal Procedure in 17th C. Ottoman Kayseri," 150-151.

²²⁴ Akgündüz, *Şer'iyeye Sicilleri: Mahiyeti, Toplu Katalogu, ve Secme Hukumleri*, 73. Cadirci, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentlerinin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapıları*, 90.

²²⁵ A.Ş.S., Nr.21, b. 10,14,18b, 20, 21, 26, 27, 28,29, 42, 45, 47, 53, 54, 60, 67, 70.

²²⁶ A.Ş.S., Nr.21, b.19, 24,39,40,62,64.

Muhzirs were appointed at the court, and served for long periods of time. Muhzir es-Seyyid Ibrahim was identified in some of the Antakya court records covering the period 1831-1833.²²⁷ Hacı Abdullah Ağa served as *muhzirbaşı*²²⁸ between the years 1762 and 1766, and his name appeared in several court records.²²⁹ Another *muhzirbaşı*, Emin Ağa, stayed in that position between 1823 and 1827.²³⁰ The long tenure of the *muhzirbaşıs* make it clear that they had a permanent position at the court of Antakya, and that they were not vulnerable to the favors and recriminations of valis, sancak beyis, mütesellims, and kadis who served in the region for a very limited time.

Şuhud'ul-Hal

Şuhud'ul-hal was the person who affirms that in his opinion the procedure of the kadı during the case was fair and just. The *şuhud'ul-hals*, witnesses, functioned as an advisory council whose members knew the values and traditions of the community. Since the kadı was appointed to the region from the center, he had little knowledge about the local customs and traditions. In some cases, the kadı consulted the members of the *şuhud'ul-hal* regarding local customs and traditions.²³¹ Besides being a witness and giving advice to the kadı in the case, *şuhud'ul-hals* had some other responsibilities. There were several cases concerning economic transactions, crimes, and social issues in the Ottoman courts, and there was always a possibility to lose some of the records or counterfeit *i'lams* (court verdict) and *hüccets* (court affidavit). At that point, the

²²⁷ A.Ş.S., Nr.23, b.31, 307.

²²⁸ The literary meaning of *muhzirbaşı* was 'a head of *muhzir*'. In some courts, there were more than one muhzir serving, and the central administration appoint a *muhzirbaşı* to organize and lead them.

²²⁹ Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)," 44.

²³⁰ A.Ş.S., Nr.18, s.24/57, s.95/205.

²³¹ Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Cankiri and Kastamonu (1652-1744)*, 28.

şuhud'ul-hals were called back to the court in order to be asked the court decision or to confirm the *i'lams* and *hüccets* could be considered fake. In one case, some *şuhud'ul-hals* were asked to the court for confirming the *hüccet* was considered fake. The *şuhud'ul-hals* whose names were on the court documents affirmed that they had not been at the court at that point, and they did not witness to that case.²³² Lastly, *şuhud'ul-hals* appearance at court was important since they were adding credence to the plaintiff and the defendant.

The witnesses were identified as an advisory council (*bilirkişi heyeti*), a council of witnesses (*şahitler heyeti*), who had the character of a jury and who attested to the impartiality of the kadi.²³³ However, some scholars disagree with that opinion. Hülya Taş claims that in order to accept the *şuhud'ul-hal* as jury, the members of the *şuhud'ul-hals* should not have changed in the consecutive cases or in the cases which were on the particular subject. However, the members of the *şuhud'ul-hals* changed very frequently although the name of particular persons showed several times as witnesses in different cases.²³⁴ The *şuhud'ul-hals* showed some differences in two consecutive cases in the court of Antakya in 1823. In one case, the representative of Aişe, Mustafa Efendi, bought two houses from two different people in late Muharram 1239. Although the buyer of the houses and the month of the registration of these houses at the court were the same, the *şuhud'ul-hals* showed some differences. In the first case, there were 15 people in the *şuhud'ul-hals* list while there were 14 in the second case, and the name of the 11 people whose name listed in the list were same, but the name of the 4 witnesses listed in the document was not

²³² Hülya Taş, “Osmanli Kadi Mahkemesindeki “Sühûdü'l-Hâl” Nasıl Degerlendirilebilir?”, *Bilig*, Kis, s. 44, (2008),

²³³ Mustafa Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin İktisadi ve İçtimat Tarihi*, (Istanbul, C.I, 1974), 404, (Ankara, C.II, 1971), 81.

²³⁴ Taş, “Osmanli Kadi Mahkemesindeki “Sühûdü'l-Hâl” Nasıl Degerlendirilebilir?”, 29-30.

available in the second case.²³⁵ In addition, the *ṣuhud'ul-hals* were not considered jury in the American sense as they did not make any decision.

The witnesses, who appeared in the court from time to time, had other business that came before the court. Some people appeared in the court as witnesses when someone from their neighborhood or institution showed up at the court. For instance, when a janissary or a member of ulema were a party to a law suit, at least one or more of *ṣuhud'ul-hal* might be janissaries or ulema.²³⁶ Abraham Marcus states that "the witnesses usually included one or two court officers, but the majority of them were Muslim men not in the court's employ: people with an interest in a case, neighbors and associates of the parties, and respectable residents who happened to be in court that day for other business."²³⁷ For instance, if the *mufti* was one of the party of the case, at least one or two witnesses among the *ulama* took place among the members of the *ṣuhud'ul-hals* to support the *mufti*. The same held for *yeniçeri serdarı* or members of the artisans of the city. For instance, in the case of the inheritance of the *debbağ* (tanner) Osman after his death, two of the four *ṣuhud'ul-hals* were *debbağs*.²³⁸

Ronald Jennings and Karen Barkey argue that service as a witness in the Ottoman court was open to all Muslims, and they did not have to be members of a specific group.²³⁹ On the other hand some scholars, like Hülya Canbakal, worked on the court records of Ayıntab, and Bogac Ergene, conduct extensive research on the courts of Çankiri and Kastamonu, argue that

²³⁵ A.Ş.S., Nr.17, s.15/26, s.15/27.

²³⁶ Jennings, "Kadı, Court, and Legal Procedure in 17th C. Ottoman Kayseri," 144.

²³⁷ Abraham, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 112.

²³⁸ A.Ş.S., Nr.21, s.53/12.

²³⁹ Jennings, "Kadı, Court, and Legal Procedure in 17th C. Ottoman Kayseri," 145-146. Karen Barkey, "The Use of Court Records in the Construction of Village Networks: A Comparative Perspective," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 1–2, vol. 32 (1991), p. 209.

people, members of a well-defined group, regularly participated in judicial and administrative proceedings, and the name of these influential local elements were usually among the *şuhud'ul-hals*. Besides the local notables, people who had military and religious titles were involved in judicial proceedings.²⁴⁰ As Canbakal points out most of the witnesses in Ayıntab in the 17th century had honorific titles. As she states that, 69% of the witnesses in 1656-1660 and 64% of them in 1689-93 held honorific titles, such as *seyyid*, *molla*, *mevlana*, *bey*, *çelebi*, *efendi*, *ağa*, and *beşe*.²⁴¹ We observe same pattern in Antakya court records dated between 1764 and 1765. Most of the *şuhud'ul-hals* had honorific titles, such as *seyyid*, *ağa*, *efendi*, *ayan*, and *monla*. - However, we do not have sufficient knowledge to reveal whether these influential people manipulated the court for themselves or on behalf of others. One might also claim that local notables or people with religious and military titles regularly attended the court since they were concerned with the fair and effective functioning of the court.

The names of non-Muslims among are founded the *şuhud'ul-hals* in cases associated with non-Muslims. In general, the testimony of a non-Muslim was not accepted in the sharia court. But, their names could be found among the *şuhud'ul-hals* in the cases in which both sides or one side of them was Muslim. For example, I observe the names of non-Muslims in the *şuhud'ul-hal* list in the case that took place in Antakya in 1824. In that case, the inheritance of Cercis, son of

²⁴⁰ Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Cankiri and Kastamonu (1652-1744)*, 29-30.

²⁴¹ Hülya Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town: Ayıntab in the 17th Century*. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 137. These honorific titles used by different individuals regarding their social and economic background, as well as their administrative and religious status. The honorific title of *sayyid* was used by male descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. The title of *ağa* and *beşe* were mostly used by rank and file janissaries. The title of *bey* and *efendi* were mostly used by wealthy and respected individuals. Honorific title of *molla* and *mevlana* were refers of people who were member of the *ulama* class or high-ranking administrators.

Kesrin, was claimed by his children and wife. However, his sister applied to the court to the claim right to her brother's inheritance which was refused by the court. The *şuhud'ul-hal* list of the case consisted of both Muslims and non-Muslims. Menzilci Selim Ağa, Dabulzade Ahmed Ağa, Hacı Hüseyin, Sari Imam oğlu Monla Mustafa, Katib Ahmed Efendi biraderi Selim Efendi, Muhzirbasi Ismail Ağa, Ömer Beşe were the Muslim witnesses of the case. The names of the non-Muslim witnesses, zimmi Abdulmesih Kucukhan oğlu Abdalnur, and Mihail, were written at the end of the *şuhud'ul-hals* list.²⁴²

Composition of the City and Demography

The general characteristic of the Turkophone or Arab cities have been discussed by several scholars. The most important scholar starting this discussion is Max Weber. Max Weber defines the city as a self-governing commune whose dwellers had a distinct sense of collective identity.²⁴³ Based on that definition, he argues that Christian Europe had the defining tradition of civic culture. He states that Middle Eastern cities were governed by bureaucratic representatives of an imperial power whose ethnicity and language was different than those who were governed.²⁴⁴ In addition, distinct clan or tribal groups that settled in Muslim cities did not join together for a common civic good for the purpose of creation an urban identity. Weber also claims that Islamic cities are monolithic and undifferentiated. While diversity was one of the most important hallmark within and between European cities, Islamic cities shared same

²⁴² A.Ş.S., Nr.17, s.25/44.

²⁴³ Max Weber, *The City, trans. And intro. Don Martindale and Gertrud Neuwirth* (Free Press, 1958), p. 80-89.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 89-89.

fundamental characteristics because of the dominant role of Islamic law in both the public and private spheres.²⁴⁵

Other scholars offer additional ideas on the general characteristics of Islamic cities. André Raymond and Abraham Marcus argue that it is hard to show the specificity of the Ottoman and Arab cities. Raymond claims that it is hard to demonstrate the specificity of an Arab, an Irano-Afghan, and Anatolian cities since the cities stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indus presented common characteristics such as “concentration of market areas in the heart of the city; existence of closed quarters (mahalla); importance of segregation and exclusion factors; predominance of houses with central courtyards.”²⁴⁶ The common characteristic of the cities located in that region was being populated by Muslims who lived in them with their belief, institutions, and customs which were all profoundly impregnated with Islam.²⁴⁷ Abraham Marcus describes early modern Middle Eastern cities by saying " that they were socially homogeneous, each incorporating members of a particular religious, ethnic, occupational or income group; that at least partly due to this social affinity they formed parochial solidarities that defended themselves collectively against other groups; and that they served as instruments of administrative management and government control, with the neighborhood headmen acting as

²⁴⁵ Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Master, *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*. (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1-2. See also, Max Weber, *The City*, trans. And intro. Don Martindale and Gertrud Neuwirth (Free Press, 1958), p. 80-89.

²⁴⁶ André Raymond, *Arab Cities in the Ottoman Period: Cairo, Syria, and the Maghreb*. (Aldershot; Hampshire; Great Britain: Ashgate/Variation, 2002), 15. Ruth Kark, “The Traditional Middle Eastern City the Cases of Jerusalem and Jaffa During the Nineteenth Century”, In *Sonderdruck aus Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palastina-Vereins Bd. Vom Verfasser überreicht: Durch den Buchhandel nicht zu beziehen* (1981), 93-96.

²⁴⁷ Raymond, *Arab Cities in the Ottoman Period: Cairo, Syria, and the Maghreb*, 16.

intermediaries between the residents of their respective districts and the authorities.”²⁴⁸

Therefore, it is fair to claim that although there were some differences in terms of economic, political, and social activities, there did not exist a single type of Ottoman, Arab, or Islamic city that had specific ghettoizing characteristics upon all such urban centers and their settlers.

Antakya was marked as the border between the Rum (Anatolia) and Arabia by Evliya Celebi.²⁴⁹ Although it separated Rum from Arabia, the city hosted people from these two regions, but the architectural style of the city and city planning showed Turkish character under the Ottoman Empire. Several travelers who passed through Antakya emphasize the Turkish character of the city. Griffiths who visited Antakya in the early 19th century states that “the streets of Antioch are in no way different than those of several towns we had passed (Izmir, Istanbul, Konya, and Adana); and the trades-people were in a similar manner confined to certain streets, where the shops of each separate trade were to be found together.”²⁵⁰ John Macdonald Kinneir, traveled to Antakya in 1813, had the same observation as Griffiths’. He states that the city looks like other Turkish cities since the architectural style of the houses in the city was Turkish.²⁵¹ James Silk Buckingham describes the city as a larger town than any on the coast of Syria from Jaffa to Latakia, and almost of the same size as Jerusalem and Homs. The minarets of the mosques and the houses were all in the Turkish style, not in Arab.²⁵²

²⁴⁸ Abraham, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 315.

²⁴⁹ Kasaba, “Diversity in Antakya: A Historical Perspective,” 210.

²⁵⁰ J. Griffiths, *Travels in Europe, Asia Minor, and Arabia*. (London, 1805), 318.

²⁵¹ John Macdonald Kinneir, *Journey Through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Koordistan, in the Years 1813 and 1814*. (London, 1818), p. 149-155.

²⁵² James Silk Buckingham, *Travels Among the Arab Tribes Inhabiting the Countries East of Syria and Palestine*. (London, 1825), 554.

The destructive earthquakes experienced throughout the history of Antakya played a role in the construction style of the houses as well. Richard Pococke, who traveled to the city in the mid-18th century, states that "the present city of Antioch is ill built, the houses low, with only one story above ground; the roofs are almost flat, made of light rasters laid from one wall to another, and covered with thin tiles, which seem to be contrivances to make their houses above as light as possible, that as they are on a bad foundation they may not sink by the weight above; or if they chance to be thrown down by earthquakes, that the people in them may not be crushed by the weight of the roof."²⁵³ George Robinson, who visited the city in 1837, observed the same construction pattern in Antakya as well. He states that having sloping roofs covered with thin tiles, having one story above the ground, and using light materials to build a house were the main characteristic of the houses in Antakya that differentiated them from the rest of Syria. This style of buildings was a necessity in the light of earthquakes that were very frequent in that region.²⁵⁴

Another Turkic pattern observed by travelers was the dressing style of dwellers of the district of Antakya. Buckingham indicate that most of the people in the district dressed in Turkish manner. Men wore large cloth quilted turban (*kavuk*), long robes, red shalloon trousers, and yellow boots and slippers. The women wore upper cloths of white muslin, and veiled their faces in the Turkish style by using a stiff black gauze.²⁵⁵ The amusements of all classes were also Turkish as their dresses and language. Buckingham states that "...for, instead of the more retired and solitary pleasures of the Arab, either in the corner of the coffee house or in his own *diwan*,

²⁵³ Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries, vol. II, part I, Observations on Palestine or the Holy Land, Syria, Mesopotamia, Cyprus, and Candia*. (London, 1745),192.

²⁵⁴ George Robinson, *Travels in Palestine and Syria*. (London, vol. n, 1837), p.319-320.

²⁵⁵ Buckingham, *Travels Among the Arab Tribes Inhabiting the Countries East of Syria and Palestine*, 559.

the people here repair to the banks of the Ahssy (the Orontes River), which flows immediately before their town, and there enjoy upon its banks the united gratifications of wood and water, shade and verdure, the freshness of the summer breeze and a cool and healthy air."²⁵⁶

It is fair to describe Antakya as a mid-sized city during the Ottoman period. The district of Antakya that had four sub-districts abounded with neighborhoods between 1750-1840. The names of several quarters (*mahalles*) could be learned from the court records of Antakya. These sub-districts (*nahiyes*) were Kuseyr, Cebel-i Akra, Altinözü, and Süveydiye as well as the city proper Antakya. The number of the quarters in Antakya varied during the 18th and 19th centuries. The reasons behind these changes were administrative and fiscal considerations, mostly regulations to make the tax collection process easier and effective. Thus, while some of the overpopulated quarters split into two, some of the underpopulated quarters were combined. The process of fission or fusion introduced minor modifications into the residential divisions. The number of quarters (*mahallas*) in Antakya was 23 in 1709, it increased to 37 in 1739, and they decreased to 29 in 1829. The most populated quarters were Dörtayak, Mahsen, Tut, Meydan, Sofular, while the underpopulated ones were Debbus and Şirince between 1709-1765.²⁵⁷

In parallel to their number, the size of the neighborhoods showed some changes over time. Neighborhoods shrank or expanded as families moved in and out, and as the number of houses receive modification through division or change of land uses. Most of the neighborhoods were in general small which hosted a few hundred persons among their inhabitants. However, a few neighborhoods, like Kanavat, Mahsen, Tut, Dörtayak, boasted population more than twice the average. As mentioned earlier, the task of administration and tax collection was harder in the

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 559.

²⁵⁷ Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 77.

large quarters. In addition, in the large quarters social relations did not develop as much as in the small quarters since in the small quarters people were likely to know the majority of the local residents.

Most of the quarters in Antakya grew either around the bazaar or a mosque. After the establishment of the quarter around the mosque, some of the quarters were named after the mosque. The names of the quarters of Meyda, Kastal, Kantara were names of the either the mosque or *mescids* located in the quarter. Some quarters were named after significant communities that lived in them. For instance, the quarter of Sofular refers to the religious people dominantly populating the neighborhood.

The practical needs of persons, such as being close to work or the availability of affordable housing was important in the population fluctuation in the quarters. People often rented new houses to be close either to their work or to live close to members of one's religious or immigrant group. In addition, due to increasing banditry in the rural hinterland of the district of Antakya, many villagers moved to the city proper, and rented houses until the security and order was provided in their villages. Another reason of increasing number of rental houses in Antakya was earthquakes. Antakya was shaken multiple times by destructive earthquakes in the 19th century, which destroyed many buildings. Those whose houses were destroyed could either not afford to build a new house or were afraid of building a new one due to the fear of another destructive earthquake, which encouraged them to rent a house. Antakya had high numbers of houses for rent. Around the mid-18th century, the number of houses for rent were 1255 which was higher than the number of owned houses.²⁵⁸ Özdemir claims that 5400 people lived in their

²⁵⁸ Rifat Özdemir, "Osmanlı Döneminde Antakya'nın Fizikî ve Demografik Yapısı 1705-1860", *Belleten*, Ankara , c.LVIII, (Nisan 1994), 141.

own houses which were 900, and 7530 dwellers resided at the houses that they rented. These numbers point out that tenantry was very common in Antakya in the 18th century, and rents were higher than the ones in the other middle-size Anatolian and Arab cities. As people always moved in and out of houses due to popularity of renting a house, it was not possible to mention homogeneous units in the quarters of Antakya.²⁵⁹

The prices of houses were driven by two main factors- their physical characteristics and their location in Ottoman Antakya in the 18th and 19th centuries. In general, it has been accepted that the expensive houses were located close to the main commercial centers and the big mosque, while the poor housing was in the outskirts. However, Faroqhi disputes that claim by saying that Ottoman cities did not have income segregation, and quarters were shared by people with different social and income levels.²⁶⁰ Although this view has been challenged by several historians, it is still applicable for Antakya. For instance, in the quarter of Cami' Kebir, the houses featured a wide range of prices. The prices of houses sold in that quarter between 1820 and 1830 were 325, 1000, 1400, 1900, and 2500 guruş.²⁶¹ Some houses in specific quarters had extremely high prices, such as a house in the quarter of Şenbey and another one in Kocaabdi were sold for 7500 guruş.²⁶² Based on several court records on the purchase and sale of houses it is obvious that most of the house prices in several quarters of Antakya, including Habibül Neccar, Şenbey, Dut, Cami' Kebir, Dörtayak, Umran, Kantara were in the range of 1000 and 2500 guruş.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 141.

²⁶⁰ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth-Century Ankara and Kayseri*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987, 119.

²⁶¹ A.Ş.S., Nr.18, s.20/36; A.Ş.S., Nr.17, s.63/136; A.Ş.S., Nr.17 s.28/53; A.Ş.S., Nr.17, s. 105/233; A.Ş.S., Nr.20, s.25/44.

²⁶² A.Ş.S., Nr.17, s.15/26; A.Ş.S., Nr.23, b.63.

Antakya's Rural Hinterland

The sub-districts of the *kaza* were divided into villages. There were various village types in the different regions of the Ottoman Empire. There were several factors, such as physical and ethnic factors, settlement conditions, cultural, political, and military circumstances that played significant role in determination of the size of the villages, their population, type of settlement and economic activity. All these factors prevent us from speaking of a single uniform village type in the Ottoman Empire. However, Ottoman land and taxation laws gave an "Ottoman" character to the villages, especially in Anatolia and Rumelia, but it was not sufficient to create a single uniform village type.²⁶³

The total number of villages from the early 17th century until 1657 did not show any changes. There were 108 villages in the sub-districts of Antakya during that time period. The number of villages increased to 127 in the later years of the 17th century, but they went down during the 18th century. There were 117 villages in 1709, the number dropped to 114 in 1736, and 110 in 1743.²⁶⁴ Although the number of villages fluctuated between 1743 and 1804, the number of the villages in Antakya decreased to 68 in the early years of the 19th century.

In the Ottoman Empire, most village inhabitants pursued two main economic goals: paying their taxes and providing for themselves sufficient food and livestock for the rest of year. Their homes consisted of one or two floors based on the wealth and size of the family. Most of the *menzils* (village houses) had additional small buildings to keep animals in and to stock their products. Another aspect of the village houses was having front and back gardens where they

²⁶³ See: Halil Inalcik, "Village, Peasant, and Empire", in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Halil Inalcik, (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, Vol.9, 1993).

²⁶⁴ Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 83-85.

could plant some fruit trees. We observe a similar pattern in the villages in Antakya in the 18th and 19th centuries. In the court records, there are many examples of selling houses with either the fruit trees that surrounded the house, or with the additional small buildings.²⁶⁵ Of course, having small buildings attached to the *menzil* and having trees in the garden increased the value of the houses in villages.

Most of the dwellers of the sub-districts were Muslims. However, there were some villages, including Seldiren, Baldırınca, Mağirun, Mısrakiye, Ordu, and Kebusiye that were inhabited by Christians and Armenians. Some travelers also mentioned two other villages that were inhabited by Armenians. Richard Pococke, who traveled to the Musa Dagħ, mostly inhabited by Armenians until the early 20th century, mentioned a village, Batias (Batiayaz), which was inhabited by Armenians in the mid-18th century.²⁶⁶ George Robinson also mentions Bitias as a village inhabited by Armenians in the 19th century.²⁶⁷ Another village that was mentioned by a French traveler, Eusebe de Salle, but is not found in Ottoman records was Khidirbeg (Hidirbey).²⁶⁸ In addition, there were also some villages, such as Zeytuniye, Hacıhabıblu, and Suriye that had mixed Muslim and non-Muslim population.

The villages were considered to be providers of raw materials for the weaving industry and other crafts in the city. In addition, they were also a source of food for cities. That is why, having connection with the city was crucial for the economic life of the rural areas. The villages

²⁶⁵ A.Ş.S., Nr.1, s.58/165; A.Ş.S., Nr.1, s. 47/127; A.Ş.S., Nr.4, s. 129/183.

²⁶⁶ Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries, vol. II, part I, Observations on Palestine or the Holy Land, Syria, Mesopotamia, Cyprus, and Candia* (London, 1745),181.

²⁶⁷ Robinson, *Travels in Palestine and Syria*, 348.

²⁶⁸ Eusebe de Salle, *Peregrinations en Orient ou voyage pittoresque, historique et politique en Egypte, Nubie, Syrie, Turquie, Grice pendant les annies 1837-38-39*, (Paris, 2nd ed., vol. I, 1840), 168-169.

around Antakya were founded in the fertile plain, on the mountainsides, along the rivers, and on the roads. Especially the largest villages were formed along the busy routes that connected the villages to the city center. The products produced in the villages arrived at the bazaars in the city proper. Some of the villagers exchanged their products such as grain to meet their needs. Most of the grain was sent to flour mills that were found along the Orontes River, and owned by notables. Other products, especially silk products, were shipped to international destinations. Kasaba states that Antakya became known in Europe for the cultivation of cotton, madder, silk products, and olives. An English traveler observed that Antakya produced more silk than the rest of Syria in 1772. These silks were shipped off from Iskenderun that allowed Antakya to form ties with outside world. This active commercial life was controlled by local families.²⁶⁹

Demography of the City

The Ottoman Empire did not carry out a census until 1830. In order to estimate the population of different regions prior to that, Ottoman historians have relied on two sources; tax surveys, and travelers accounts. Tax surveys recorded the taxable population, namely adult males (married and bachelors), each married man represented an individual household as head of household. During the 15th through 17th centuries *tahrir defters* recorded the size of the land that was cultivated by the heads of households. These defters also recorded adult single males (*mücerred*) within the households. In addition, the *avarız* registers (*mufassal avarız defterleri*) provide information on the total number of taxable (*avarız*) houses, the number of people exempted from taxation, and the real house numbers in the districts. There are also some other registers that help us estimate the population of the city. These registers are *Mevkufat Defteri*

²⁶⁹ Kasaba, “Diversity in Antakya: A Historical Perspective”, 214.

(Endowment Registers), *Mahallat Haneleri Defteri* (Quarter Households Registers), *Mahallat Defterleri* (Register of Quarters), *Hane Defterleri* (Household Registers), and *Tevzî ve Taksim Defterleri* (Registers of Apportion), and *Müfredat Defterleri*. Besides helping to estimate the population of the city, these registers also provide information on the numbers of artisans in the city, quarters of the city, the status of the houses (owned or rented), the social status of the inhabitants, their ethnic and religious background, and the population of the sub-districts and villages.²⁷⁰

One of the biggest problems that historians have faced while estimating the population of a district in the Ottoman Empire before the 1830s was the number of individuals in a typical Ottoman household (*hane*). It is a fact that the size of household showed differences based on the social status, religion, and occupation of the household members. There were different numbers given by scholars on the people living in a household in the Ottoman Empire. Fernand Braudel claims that the *hane* consisted of 4 or 4,5 persons while Ömer Lütfi Barkan claimed that a *hane* consisted of 5 individuals.²⁷¹ Other scholars who offered numbers on the *hane* population are: J. S. Russel, 3,5, M. A. Cook, 4,5, Nejat Güyünç, 5, and Bruce Govan 3,5, 5-6.²⁷² We used the court records of Antakya to estimate the number of people in a single *hane* in Antakya. Based on Ottoman court records of Antakya in the 18th and 19th centuries, it is estimated that the total number individuals in a *hane* in Antakya consisted of 6 persons. This number is very close to the total number of persons in a *hane* in Aleppo, which was 6,8 in the 18th century.²⁷³

²⁷⁰ Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 89-90.

²⁷¹ Kemal H. Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays*, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002), 235.

²⁷² Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 92.

²⁷³ Abraham, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 200-201.

Avarız taxes were levied on the basis of an *avarız* household (*avarız-hane*). However, there was no rule that shows how many actual homes constituted an *avarız-hane*. An *avarız* household unit could consist of between four and fifty actual households, based on the region and the type of *avarız* tax. For example, when *avarız* taxes were collected in cash, four or five regular *hanes* were considered as one *avarız-hane*, these actual *hanes* shared the tax burden.²⁷⁴ Based on available materials, the *avarız-hane* unit consisted of 5 *hanes* in 1678, 6,58 *hanes* in 1700, and 8,56 *hanes* in 1736. Rıfat Özdemir who conducted extensive research on the demography of Antakya in the 18th and 19th centuries states that there is not sufficient data to determine the number of actual *hanes* that constituted an *avarız-hane*. However, we have some numbers that give us information on how many real *hanes* constituted one *avarız-hane* unit in other cities in Anatolia in the early 19th century. An *avarız* household unit consisted of 9, 10, 13, 15, 16,53, 61,5, and 62 real *hanes* in different cities in Anatolia.²⁷⁵ Based on this information, the estimated population of the city proper was 9636 in 1678, 17,053 in 1700, 13,930 in 1709, 13,230 in 1736, 17,400 in 1749, 14,160 in 1762, and 13,080 in 1764.²⁷⁶

The population of the sub-districts is also estimated by using the same method which is multiplying the *avarız-hanes* with actual *hanes* to find the numbers of real *hanes*, and multiply the actual *hanes* with the average number of individuals living in a household. Based on that method, the total population of inhabitants in the sub-districts of Antakya was 21,864 in 1678. 19,362 of them Muslims, and the non-Muslims were 2502 people, or 11,4 percent of the total population of the sub-districts in 1678. There were fluctuations in the number of the population

²⁷⁴ Selcuk Aksin Somel, *Historical Dictionary of the Ottoman Empire*, 27.

²⁷⁵ Özdemir, "Antakya'nin Fiziki ve Demografik Yapısı", 143.

²⁷⁶ Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 98.

in the sub-districts during the 18th century. The population was 13,752 in 1736, 14,418 in 1749, 14,130 in 1754, 12,600 in 1764, and 12,996 in 1802.²⁷⁷ The most likely reasons behind the population decrease in villages between the years of 1762 and 1802 were natural disasters, banditry, and insecurity. Villagers moved to the city proper during that time period which was one of the most important reasons behind both the population increase and the increasing number of the rented houses in the city center of Antakya.

No precise population figures for the district of Antakya in the 18th and early 19th centuries are available. Due to lack of better alternatives for the population estimate of the city, we must rely on observations of the foreign travelers. Some of the travelers who passed through Antakya offered some estimates for the population of the city, but their sources and methods of calculation were not consistent with each other. English prelate and anthropologist Richard Pococke, who passed through Antakya in the 1730s, offered an early estimate. He does not offer an estimate for the total population of the city, but he claims that there were around 300 Greek Orthodox, and 50 Armenians living in city proper of Antakya in 1738.²⁷⁸ German explorer Carsten Niebuhr, who visited the town in June 1766, estimates that the total number of residents in the town of Antakya was 15,000, which is close to the number that we find in the tax registers.²⁷⁹ Ali Bey, who traveled through Antakya in 1807, claims that Antakya had 15,000 Muslims, 3000 Christians from different sects, and 150 Jews. This estimate refers only to the

²⁷⁷ Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 99.

²⁷⁸ Pococke, *A Description of the East*, 192.

²⁷⁹ Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung Nach Arabien und Anderen Umliegenden Ländern*. (Hamburg, 1837), 15-18.

town of Antakya, and not its rural hinterland.²⁸⁰ James Silk Buckingham estimates that the population of the town of Antakya exceeded 10,000, and there were around 150 Christian, and 20 Jewish families living in the city in 1816.²⁸¹ William Francis Ainsworth, who visited the city in the 1830, states that the first census in Antakya was taken during Ibrahim Paşa's occupation of the city between 1832 and 1840. According to him, the population was no more than 5600 people according to a census taken in Ibrahim Paşa's time. He also states that the Greek Orthodox constituted most of the city population that contradicts both the travelers' population estimates and the Ottoman sources giving information on the city population.²⁸²

All the inhabitants living in the quarters of Antakya between 1527-1570 were Muslims, and there were no non-Muslim inhabitants registered in the city's records concerning population. Non-Muslims are firstly encountered in the registers of 1678. Based on these records, there were 11 houses inhabited by non-Muslims. 4 of these households were located in quarter of Tut, 2 houses each in Kantara, Sofular, and Şirince, and one house in the quarter of Mahsen.²⁸³ The population of the non-Muslims in the quarters of Antakya increased in the following centuries. Based on the documents that we have, it is clear that the non-Muslim population increased, but there was no neighborhood inhabited exclusively by a single non-Muslim group in Antakya in the 18th and 19th centuries.

²⁸⁰ Ali Bey, *Travels of Ali Bey : in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Turkey, Between the Years 1803 and 1807*. (London: Longman, Hursts, Bees, Orme, and Brown, 1816), 302.

²⁸¹ Buckingham, *Travels among the Arab tribes inhabiting the countries east of Syria and Palestine...*, 557

²⁸² William Francis Ainsworth, *A personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*. (Londra: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1888), 69.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 75.

The religious minorities did not enclose themselves in exclusive quarters, and they shared their neighborhood with residents from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, which indicates the lack of sectarian sensitivities and prejudices and level of toleration between communities. In addition, the millet system was successfully applied in the district as Muslims, Orthodox Christians, Armenians, and Jews were involved in social, cultural, and economic relations with each other. There were 7 quarters that were shared between non-Muslims and Muslims. In each of these quarters, the Muslims constituted the larger percentage of inhabitants. The quarters that were shared between Muslims and non-Muslims were Sofular, Sari Mahmut, Dörtayak, Günlük, Kantara, Kastal, and Mahsen. The Armenians were concentrated in two quarters (Sofular and Dörtayak). Their immediate neighbors often were Muslims. Like the Armenians, the Greek Orthodox Christians lived in the midst of a considerable amount of the Muslim population in the quarters of Kantara, Sarı Mahmut, Kastel, and Mahsen. Mahsen was also inhabited by Jews. There are no available data that give us information on the religious or ethnic background of the non-Muslims who lived in the quarter of Günlük. In the 19th century, the non-Muslims were scattered in several quarters of Antakya. Based on the *Jizya* register of the year 1842, Greek Orthodox lived in the quarters of Kantara, Kastal, Sarı Mahmud, Mukbil, Şenbek, Muhsin, Günlük, and Cenine. Jews lived in Dutdibi, Kocaabdi, Kantara, Kapibölüğü, Muhsin, Günlük, and Şenbek. Armenians inhabited the quarters of Sofular, Dörtayak, Kapibölüğü, Rikabiye, and Dutdibi.²⁸⁴ The number of the non-Muslim inhabitants changed between 6600 and 8400, and constituted of 25% of the total population of the district of the Antakya during the 18th and early 19th century.

²⁸⁴ BOA, ML.VRD.CMH., Defter No:138, (H.1258), p.5-7.

Conclusion

Antakya was a mid-size Ottoman district that had four sub-districts. The city proper showed similarities with other towns around it, like Hama, Homs, and Ayintab in terms of its size and population. The district located on the border between Anatolia and Arabia, but the city proper had Turkish character. The architectural style of the buildings and the dressing style of the dwellers living in the city proper showed Turkish patterns. However, the dwellers of the sub-districts of Süveydiye and Cebel-i Akra showed the characteristics of these two regions, and the majority of the population in these sub-districts spoke Arabic.

The district was governed by officials appointed either by the central government or by the governor of province of Aleppo. *Voyvoda*, *mütesellim*, and *kadı* were the most influential officers who were the main mediators between the center administration and the district of Antakya. Although *kadı* was appointed from the center, the *voyvoda* and *mütesellims* were chosen among the influential local notables. Being in that service helped these local individuals to build wealth and power that would lead to the emergence of the *ayans* in the district in the late 18th century.

There are no census numbers regarding the exact population of the city between 1750 and 1840. That is why, we need to rely on the numbers given to us by tax registers or travelers' accounts. Based on these two sources, the overall population of the city proper between 1750 and 1840 was around 14,000. The total population of the district of Antakya was around 26,000. The majority of the population consisted of Muslim Turks. Based on the available primary sources, it is difficult to estimate the exact number of the non-Muslims or the percentage of non-Muslim residents in Antakya especially in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Based on the names mentioned at Ottoman court records of Antakya, it is obvious that Muslim Turks constituted the

majority of the quarters. Only in three quarters, Sarı Mahmut, Sofular, and Dörtayak, the number of non-Muslims reached considerable values in the 18th and 19th centuries. Muslims and non-Muslims shared the neighborhoods of Antakya for centuries, even though the Christians were moved out of the city proper for a while during control of the city by the Mamluk Sultanate. The mix of faiths, social backgrounds, and occupation in several neighborhoods created some familiarity among religious groups. As the boundaries of the neighborhood did not set limits on ties of friendship and social association of people, residents of the neighborhoods shared the same interests, and created collective obligations to make their neighborhood a better place for themselves.

CHAPTER III: ECONOMY IN ANTAKYA: TRADE, ARTISANS, AND TAXATION

In order to analyze the economic life in the district of Antakya, it is important to begin with a brief discussion of the transformation of the Ottoman administration, economy, and society from the late 16th century onwards. This is necessary in order to understand reasons behind the changing general trends in trade, guild organization, and taxation in the Ottoman Empire, and particularly in the district of Antakya. Several historical developments, such as the Price Revolution, demographic changes, changes in the velocity of money circulation, climate related problems, rebellions, long-lasting wars along the eastern and western borders of the Empire, and the disruption of land-tenure system have been emphasized as reasons of the social, economic, and political transformation in the Ottoman Empire.

The first development to discuss in this context was the arrival of specie, gold and silver from the New World, and the population growth, which would lead to a serious inflation in the Empire in the late 16th century. The increase in prices reached astronomic levels after the devaluation of the *akçe* in 1585, 1600, 1618, 1624, and 1641. The Ottoman Empire could not keep pace with the price increases and increasing expenditures. Barkan states that since the Empire's revenues were fixed in nominal terms, and the central administration was unable to adjust these upwards, the Price Revolution add new problems to the Ottoman economic woes.²⁸⁵ This development damaged the land tenure-system since it reduced the worth of the determined incomes of *timar* holders. The *timar* system was the backbone of the Ottoman agrarian and military regime. The system was based on the agricultural taxes levied from the peasants to equip

²⁸⁵ Ömer Lütfi Barkan "The Price Revolution of the Sixteenth Century: a Turning Point in the Economic History of the Near East" (trans. by Justin McCarthy), *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 6 (1975), 17-27.

locally a cavalry-based force which served the empire in wartime. However, the increasing costs of living and armament in the 16th and 17th centuries prevented *sipahis* (cavalrymen) from joining the army and forced them to leave their *timars*. All these developments forced the central administration to abandon the *timar* system, and to shift to a tax-farming system which consisted of auctioning off the collection of rural taxes to the highest bidders.²⁸⁶

Secondly, the period of long and costly wars along the eastern and western borders of the Empire in the 16th and 17th centuries, worsened the financial crisis. The need of maintaining larger central armies and advances in military technology caused the destabilization of the old equilibrium in the Ottoman financial system, which led to budget deficits and eventually to the debasement of the *akçe* in the 16th and 17th centuries.²⁸⁷ While the Empire was suffering from financial crisis due to long and costly wars, the Celali rebellions of the early 17th century further contributed to the financial crisis. Wars were considered beneficial for the Ottoman economy before the 17th century as through them the Empire obtained new economic sources in the form of new lands with new taxable populations, but wars turned into a financial burden after that time. The Ottoman troops could no more win wars, and the state could not finance the war expenses in cash which led to budget deficits.

All these developments were very much related to changing military technology all around the world known as the Military Revolution, which started in the late 16th century.²⁸⁸ The

²⁸⁶ Şevket Pamuk, "The Price Revolution in the Ottoman Empire Reconsidered." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Feb., 2001), 84.

²⁸⁷ Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 128.

²⁸⁸ Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare 1500-1700*, (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1999); Halil İnalcık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 6, 1980.

adoption of firearms and the development of infantry tactics made the traditional *sipahi* cavalry and the *timar* system useless and ineffective. In response to the Military Revolution, the Ottoman Empire applied policies, such as increasing the number of janissaries both in the capital and provinces, and recruiting more mercenary soldiers with firearms from among peasants.²⁸⁹ The central government increased the numbers of janissaries from 13,000 in the 1550s to 37,627 in 1609.²⁹⁰ However, the state had to reorganize the state finances in order to secure funding to maintain the standing army. Hence, the state transformed the *timar* system into the *iltizam*, tax-farming, system, and applied new taxes, such as *avarız* and *niüzul*, *imdad-ı seferiyye*, and *imdad-ı hazeriyye* in order to meet the cash need to maintain the standing army. However, these solutions triggered new problems as the tax-farming system paved the way for the emergence of powerful notables, ayans, in the provinces. The transformation of the Ottoman land tenure system, center-periphery relations, and revenue raising created an environment for prominent local families to become major players in provincial politics and economics from the early decades of the 18th century onwards. In addition, as mercenary soldiers with firearms, *sekbans*, were employed only during campaigns, they were left without a livelihood during peace-time, which forced them either to become brigands or to join the private militias of provincial notables, ayans, which increased the ayans' military power as well as their social, economic and political power.²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", 283-313.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 289; Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 177.

²⁹¹ Halil İnalçık, "Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman Administration" in *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, eds. Thomas Naff and Roger Owen, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977), 27-28. İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", 292-311; The details of the rise of ayans are discussed in details in Chapter 6.

The Empire also faced population pressure and resource scarcities in the end of the 16th century. The population of the Ottoman Empire soared in the classical age (1300-1600), and agriculture in the core Mediterranean provinces expanded to the limits of arable land. As environmental, social, and technological barriers left the peasantry unable to keep up with rising demands, food production ran up against diminishing marginal returns. In the meantime, landlessness, inflation, and unemployment were breeding a new class of desperate and potentially dangerous men.²⁹² In addition to the population pressure, the Ottoman Empire faced some natural disasters and combining with imperial missteps in solution of the problems. The Ottoman Empire had wars on multiple fronts against the Habsburgs and the Safavids, experienced the Great Drought, which was the longest drought in the last six centuries, and had to deal with the Celali Rebellions in most of central and eastern Anatolia that was one of the worst crisis in Ottoman history. At the same time, the ongoing Little Ice Age weather events brought unprecedented flight, famine, and mortality.²⁹³ All these factors led to the destruction of the provisioning system and taxation system in the Ottoman Empire in the 17th century.

The paradigm of Ottoman decline after the 16th century is now being replaced by one that emphasizes the struggles of transformation and adaptation to changing circumstances in the 17th century. Pamuk indicates that the 17th century was a period of monetary instability and even disintegration that had an adverse impact on the Ottoman economy. However, the 18th century witnessed the recovery of the Ottoman monetary system and economic expansion as well as fiscal stability. In addition, the Empire considerably strengthened monetary ties between the

²⁹² Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire (Studies in environmental and history)*, (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 52.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 186.

center and periphery in the 18th century too.²⁹⁴ However, a series of wars which resulted in major territorial losses, the penetration of European products into the Ottoman market, and the incapability of competing with industrializing economies in Europe weakened the Ottoman trade system and Ottoman crafts in the 18th and 19th centuries.

International trade increased significantly all around the world during the 18th and 19th centuries. However, this increase was limited in the Ottoman Empire. For instance, while international commerce globally increased sixty-four times during the 19th century, the increase was limited to ten-to sixteen times in the Ottoman Empire. The limited development of commerce in the Ottoman territories decreased the importance of the Ottoman market which was the crucial one for the West Europeans in the 16th and 17th centuries. However, although the global commercial importance of the Ottoman Empire declined in the 18th century, it was still one of the most important trade partners of the leading economic powers, including, France, Britain, and Germany.²⁹⁵

The study of Ottoman crafts and craftsmen have not been popular among researchers as it has been difficult to find direct testimonies of their activities. Some of their activities were recorded in the court or tax registers, but the recorded information was not sufficient to understand most of the daily activities of the artisans. The history of craftsmen in Ottoman Empire cannot be considered independently from the industrial developments in Europe and political developments in the Ottoman Empire. It is a fact that industrial developments in Europe and the penetration of cheap European products to the Ottoman territories weakened Ottoman

²⁹⁴ Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, 229.

²⁹⁵ Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, 126

crafts. On the other hand, the political crisis that started in the late 16th century, a series of wars, many of which resulted in territorial losses, and demographic changes affected artisans directly in the 18th and 19th centuries. The territorial losses caused shortages in raw materials which was crucial for artisans. In addition, Ottoman craftsmen had to provide their fellow guildsmen joining to the army with the necessary capital.²⁹⁶

In response to global and regional social, economic, and political developments, the Ottoman administration modified the taxation system based on the need of the time period. While some of the taxes applied in the early years of the empire remained active until the end of the empire, others were repealed and replaced by new ones. During this transformation, the distribution, collection, and rates of taxes were subjected to change as well. At local level, the inhabitants of Antakya were influenced by all these social, economic, and political developments. In this chapter, the impact of global and regional economic developments on trade, artisans, and taxation system of the district of Antakya, and the main features of the district's economy between 1750 and 1840 will be discussed.

Trade in Antakya

Wars and government policies were the two most important factors which affected both regional and international commerce in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th and 19th centuries. Wars hindered commercial activities because transferring goods across borders and even inside the empire was dangerous. In addition, when wars ended to the detriment of the Ottoman Empire,

²⁹⁶ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Ottoman Guilds in the late Eighteenth Century: The Bursa Case", in *Making a Living in the Ottoman Lands 1480 to 1820*. Ed by Suraiya Faroqhi. (Istanbul: ISIS Press), 98.

they brought territorial losses which disrupted Ottoman economic unity, and weakened or destroyed market relationships and patterns that had continued for several centuries.²⁹⁷

The Ottoman Empire used capitulations as a tool for the organization of the foreign trade during the mercantilist age. The capitulations played significant role in the establishment of economic relations between the Ottoman Empire and the powerful Western powers, namely, the French, English, and Dutch. Besides forming economic ties with these powers, the capitulations also served political purposes, such as forming coalitions with these powers. Besides these purposes, the capitulations were significant for protecting trade routes, securing strategic goods, and maximizing tax revenues.²⁹⁸

Providing capitulations encouraged Western merchants to increase their business in the Levant. The privileges granted to them in the 18th and 19th centuries made the French, British, and Dutch merchants feel safe in the Ottoman territories. Some of these political and economic privileges included testamentary rights, freedom of worship, burial, and dress, assistance for ship repairs, providing aid against attacks by corsairs, and permission to take their complaints to both non-Muslim and Muslim community leaders. To protect these privileges, the Sultan sent decrees to local authorities ordering them to respect the privileges granted to Western merchants.²⁹⁹

Government policy on commerce which was providing capitulations played a vital role in Ottoman economic and social history. Due to Ottoman policies in favor of free trade, the barriers related to Ottoman domestic and international commerce were reduced or disappeared in the 19th

²⁹⁷ Quataert , *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, 126

²⁹⁸ Mehmet Bulut, "The Ottoman Approach to the Western Europeans in the Levant during the Early Modern Period." *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (Mar., 2008), 259.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 259-260.

century.³⁰⁰ In addition, the location of the Ottoman Empire was significant for European merchants as it was the most important link between the Western European core and the peripheral zones in Asia.³⁰¹

International trade became more important in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, but the balance of trade, in terms of import and export rates, was against the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans mostly exported agricultural products, such as silk, cotton, tobacco, wool, cereals, and hides. In return, they imported some "colonial goods", such as sugar, dyestuffs, coffee, and quantities of textiles mostly from India and Europe.³⁰² Even though international trade was becoming more important in the 18th and 19th centuries compared to previous centuries, the Ottoman Empire remained overwhelmingly an agrarian economy during its whole history. The majority of the population, around 80 percent, made their living from agriculture or agriculture related businesses. However, with the rise of commercialization, a set of changes were experienced in the economic life of Ottoman subjects. The idea of manufacturing goods for sale to others, rather than just to meet their need and pay taxes, was adopted by many Ottoman subjects. Commercialization of agriculture increased agricultural production as well as the area of land under cultivation.³⁰³

Western merchants could not penetrate the interior markets in the Ottoman Empire until the 1820s. Much of the local production in urban and rural manufacturers remained secluded

³⁰⁰ Quataert , *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, 127.

³⁰¹ Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and The World Economy, the Nineteenth Century*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 37.

³⁰² Quataert , *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, 128.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, 130-131.

from global trends.³⁰⁴ The interior regions met their demands with the products exported from other Ottoman cities. The district of Antakya was one of these cities which provided exported agricultural products to interior Ottoman cities. Before to the penetration of the Western merchants into Aleppo and Antakya, the agricultural products produced in Antakya were sold to the cities, such as Adana, and Ankara, or Istanbul. In the 19th century, the living standards and economic power of many Europeans increased which allowed them to buy greater quantities of a wider variety of goods. In parallel to increasing purchasing power in Europe, merchants began to import quality products from other countries.³⁰⁵

Managing the sale and distribution of grain became an important practice in Ottoman economic policy during bad harvest years. The Eastern Mediterranean enjoyed a sizeable grain surplus, but the Ottoman rulers forbade the exportation of grain to Western merchants to meet domestic needs. There were many cases of transfer of grain which had been harvested from the plains of Amik and Süveydiye through the ports of Süveydiye and Iskenderun to Istanbul in the 18th and 19th centuries.³⁰⁶ Therefore, foreign merchants were both welcomed and unwelcomed by the Ottoman government. They were welcomed because they brought the products which were not available in the Ottoman lands. However, they exported scarce goods which could contribute to domestic shortages in the Ottoman Empire. The government did not hesitate to prevent the exportation of basic materials, such as food stuffs and raw materials when the possibility of

³⁰⁴ Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and The World Economy, the Nineteenth Century*, 38.

³⁰⁵ Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, 130-131.

³⁰⁶ Bulut, "The Ottoman Approach to the Western Europeans in the Levant during the Early Modern Period", 265-266.

scarcity emerged. When the needs of the domestic economy were met, the state tolerated exportation.³⁰⁷

Regional and international trade in Antakya was carried out through two ports, Iskenderun and Süveydiye. Iskenderun (Alexandretta) is located in a gulf along the southern shores of Anatolia and Syria.³⁰⁸ While it has considerable importance in the present day, the settlement in this locality did not have much significance until the mid-19th century. Evliya Celebi passed through the town in the 17th century and described the port by saying "a combination of wine shop, food service, and lodging, so characteristic of European inns but rarely found in the Ottoman Empire."³⁰⁹ He also observed that there was no business district or even a single shop-lined street, and no public house and bath.³¹⁰ There were only a few non-Muslims living around the port, but there was neither church nor mosque around it. His observations suggest that there were many foreign merchants who visited the town in the 17th century, and some of the facilities built in the town were built based on the needs of the foreign merchants. Based on the observations of Evliya Çelebi, one may conclude that Iskenderun belonged to a very specific category of settlement found in a few places in the other parts of the Ottoman Empire as well as medieval northern Europe. There were only a few permanent

³⁰⁷ Şevket Pamuk, "The Rise, Organization, and Institutional Framework of Factor Markets, 1500-1800." Paper presented at the Global Economic History Network Workshop on "The Rise, Organization and Institutional Framework of Factor Markets". Utrecht, (June 24-26, 2005), 11

³⁰⁸ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Trade and Traders in 1660s Iskenderun", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 5-6 (1991), 107.

³⁰⁹ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*. ed. by Ahmed Cevdet, Kilisli Rıfat Bilge, and Maarif Vekaleti. (Istanbul, vol. III, 1896-1938), 46-47.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 46-47.

residents, but during the season of arrival of ships, the area was visited by some people until the end of the season.³¹¹

The port of Iskenderun was the main port of Antakya and Aleppo, but it was not much more than docks in the 17th century. Compared to other ports in Istanbul and Izmir, Iskenderun would never develop into a full-fledged port city. Several products, namely silk, cotton, finished cloths, tobacco, spices, olive products, and others, which were produced locally or coming from East Anatolia, the Iraqi provinces, or Aleppo were loaded onto the waiting merchant ships, mostly from Britain, France, Germany, and Italy.³¹² For instance, Abraham Parsons witnessed some of the products being sent to Iskenderun from Baghdad for shipment to Europe in the 1770s. He states that “from Baghdad great quantities of piece goods are sent to Smyrna and Constantinople; but most of the drugs are sent to Scanderoon, from whence they are shipped for London, Venice, Amsterdam, Marseilles, and Leghorn...”³¹³ Another traveler, J. R. Wellsted, who came to the city in the 19th century, describes Antakya as a city that exported silk, carpets, morocco leather in different colors, gums, opium, mastic emery, almonds, wine, oil, figs, and raisins.³¹⁴ Abraham Parsons, who visited Antakya and Iskenderun in the 1770s, wrote that “more silk produced in the neighborhood of Antioch, within a circuit of thirty miles, than in the rest of Syria, the greatest part of which is brought up and sent to Aleppo, where it is re-sold and picked clean; some of it is manufactured, and the remainder shipped of at Scanderoon, a few bales of

³¹¹ Faroqhi, “Trade and Traders in 1660s Iskenderun”, 17.

³¹² Joshua M. White, “Shifting Winds: Piracy, Diplomacy, and Trade in the Ottoman Mediterranean, 1624-1626.” In *Well-Connected Domains: Towards an Entangled Ottoman History*, edited by Pascal Firges, Tobias Graf, Christian Roth, and Gülay Tulasoğlu. (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 37.

³¹³ Parsons, *Travels in Asia and Africa*, 155.

³¹⁴ J.R. Wellsted, *Travels to the City of the Caliphs*, vol. II (London, 1840), p. 70.

which are sent to France, but the greatest part to England, under the denomination of Antioch silk.”³¹⁵.

Another port used in Antakya province was the port of Süveydiye located at the point where the Orontes River flows into the Mediterranean Sea. The port was connected to Aleppo by a main road which was built in the 1820s.³¹⁶ Some of the products shipped to that port were transferred to Antakya along the Orontes River with small ships. However, the port was not as active as the port of Iskenderun since products were shipped to Damascus, Hama, and Homs via the port of Tripoli. Thus, the port was mostly used for products shipped to or from Antakya, and sometimes Aleppo.

The port of Iskenderun was mostly used by British merchants. British merchants appeared in the Ottoman territories in the late 16th century when three merchants, with the support of the Queen, showed their desire to get involved in commercial activities in the Ottoman territories.³¹⁷ The first English ambassador, William Harborne, who was a merchant and supported by the queen’s government, cooperated with Edward Osborne and Richard Staper, the founders of the Levant Company, to increase the activities of English merchants in the Ottoman territories.³¹⁸ In the letter sent to the queen in 1579, Harborne informed the queen of the trade permit provided to the English merchants by the sultan. He also stated that the British

³¹⁵ Parsons, *Travels in Asia and Africa*, 72.

³¹⁶ Kasaba, “Diversity in Antakya: A Historical Perspective,” 213.

³¹⁷ Nimet Kurat Akdes, *Türk-İngiliz Münasebetlerinin Başlangıcı ve Gelişmesi (1553-1610)*, (Ankara: TTKB, 1953), 182-186.

³¹⁸ Halil Inalcik, “The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600,” in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, ed. by Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 368.

merchants, like the French, Venetians, and Poles, would be under protection of the sultan.³¹⁹ The Ottoman rulers welcomed English merchants in 1579, and allowed them to settle down in several Anatolian cities as well as in Aleppo, Damascus, Beirut, and Iskenderun. English merchants used the port of Iskenderun for shipping the materials arriving from Iran, India, and Aleppo. The English merchants using the port asked the Sultan to grant them additional privileges, such as reduction of the amount of custom dues paid by them in the 17th century. The Sublime Porte responded the requests of the English merchants by implementing a new tariff for English merchants involved in commercial activities all around the Empire. English merchants were asked to pay a tax called *selametlik*, in the amount of 300 *akçes*, for their ships loading goods from Ottoman ports. They were exempted from all other tariffs and custom dues during the 17th century.

English merchants constituted the majority of the foreign merchants in Antakya. Those who settled in Antakya and Aleppo were involved in economic relations with the local people of Antakya. Besides commercial activities, there were several examples of giving loans to people of Antakya by British merchants. For instance, an English merchant living in Aleppo, applied to the court in 1736, and claimed that he gave a 13.500 *guruş* loan to people in Antakya. However, the local people made up several excuses for not repaying their loan. The English merchant informed the ambassador of England in Istanbul of the case, and the ambassador reported the case to the imperial council in Istanbul. After the evaluation of the case in the council, Halil Ağa was appointed as *mubaşir*, agent, for the investigation of the case in Aleppo. At the end of the investigation, the central administration in Istanbul sent orders demanding that the people of

³¹⁹ Ibid., 368.

Antakya to pay their loan to the English merchant.³²⁰ However, the people of Antakya resisted the orders of Istanbul, and did not pay their loan to the English merchant. The British Embassy in Istanbul charged the top-level ambassador, who used the title of *kıdvetü'l-ümera*, to retrieve the money of the English merchant from the inhabitants of Antakya. In the end, the notables and inhabitants of Antakya and the proxy of the English merchant, Anastas, came into agreement for the payment of the loan. According to that deal, the inhabitants of Antakya would pay 15 pouches (*kese*) *akçes* instead of 13,500 *guruş*.³²¹

An English traveler, who visited the town in the first half of the 19th century, explains the reason why the inhabitants of Antakya borrowed money from British merchants. He claimed that the notables of the region who controlled most of the lands in Antakya and its sub-districts were involved in moneylending in the 19th century. Moneylending was a profitable investment since it offered relatively high returns. Those notables, who had borrowed money several times from Western merchants living in Antakya and Aleppo, used the money to provide loans with high interest rates to villagers.³²² However, this was a risky business because foreign lenders encountered occasional delays. As it can be seen from the example mentioned above, the foreign lenders had to revise the payment schedules, and if that did not work, they would apply to the court or embassy, in case of foreigner lenders, to get their money back.

³²⁰ Gün, "XVIII. Yuzyilda Antakya'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapisi (1708-1777)", 94, and A.Ş.S., Nr.2, s.87/103

³²¹ Gün, "XVIII. Yuzyilda Antakya'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapisi (1708-1777)", 97. In the 18th century 1 *kese akçes* was equal to 50,000 *akçes*. In addition, 120 *akçes* were equal to 1 *guruş* after the 1680s. for further details see: Şevket Pamuk, "Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326-1914," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, ed. by Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 947-975. After the calculation, the amount which was paid to the British merchant was equal to 6250 *guruş*.

³²² Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 192.

The increase in international trade naturally changed the composition of the Ottoman merchant community. The Ottoman Muslim merchants gradually lost their importance when foreigners dominated the trade and preferred to work with non-Muslims due to religious and linguistic similarities. Ottoman non-Muslims were employed in the foreign embassies and consulates that were established throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. Being employed in these places provided two significant privileges to non-Muslims, -exemption from the poll tax and trade privileges.³²³ These foreign merchants found many non-Muslim partners and helped them to acquire trade certificates (*berats*) which provided them with the capitulatory privileges that foreign merchants had, which put them in advantageous position against Muslims merchants. Having these certificates granted some advantages, such as lower tax rates which lowered business costs. As the number of Ottoman non-Muslims who benefitted from fiscal and commercial privileges reached a level at which the Ottoman treasury suffered tax losses, the empire was forced to set quotas on the numbers of Ottoman non-Muslims who benefitted from the privileges.³²⁴ However, domestic trade between interior cities and port cities was still dominated by Muslim merchants.³²⁵

Merchants had several functions in Ottoman society and economy. Distribution of raw material, food, and finished goods to both local shops and shops in other regions were the most important functions of the merchants. In addition, they played role in exporting the local products and importing luxury goods.³²⁶ One could point to two types of merchants in the

³²³ Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*. (Oxford University Press, 1996), 93.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 93.

³²⁵ Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, 129.

³²⁶ Kia, *Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, 83.

Ottoman Empire: the ones who operated their businesses at the *bedesten*, the covered Turkish bazaar, and those who carried their business in the public houses or streets. The number of the merchants in Antakya was registered in different court records. According to available documents, the number of merchants in Antakya was 70 in 1743, 49 in 1750, 38 in 1765, 30 in 1776, and 32 between 1823 and 1826.³²⁷

Table 3.1. Numbers of merchants according to Ottoman court records of Antakya

Date	1743	1750	1765	1776	1824	1829
Number of merchants	70	49	38	30	32	40
Their % among artisans	3,0	3,6	2,2	2,7	7,86	5,64

The large merchants, *tüccar*, constituted only one segment of the commercial sector. Most of the merchants were retailers who sold their products in shops in the neighborhood markets and larger bazaars, or peddled their wares in the streets or villages.³²⁸ Merchants were not specialized in particular lines of goods, and used opportunities to diversify their trade. They could take their trade elsewhere anytime if it would bring them more profit. In addition to the merchants living in Antakya, several merchants from other cities, namely Tokat, Adana, Aleppo, Damascus, and Tripoli, who found it possible to make greater profits in Antakya, arrived in the city to sell their products in the 19th century.³²⁹ These merchants usually lived in the *hans* or rented houses in the city. Other tradesmen who came to the city from outside were called *çerçiler*, peddlers. They were selling all kinds of small items and were exchanging commodities,

³²⁷ Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 187.

³²⁸ Abraham, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 169.

³²⁹ BOA, ML.VRD. CMH., Defter No:573, p. 12-13.

and they were present in almost every quarter of the city. Some of them travelled from one village to another to sell their products as well.

The Ottoman administration acted carefully to protect the ideal order and balance between social groups, namely the peasantry, the guilds and the merchants. In the existing order, the sultan and the central bureaucracy occupied the top of that order. However, in parallel to the developments in society and economy, the ideal order witnessed some changes over time even though the government took preventative measures to protect the prevailing order and social balance. From this point of view, rapid accumulation of capital by merchants, guild members or any other groups was not welcomed by the state due to the fact that it would cause the rapid disintegration of the existing order. Therefore, the government had an ambiguous attitude towards merchants. On the one hand, they were considered indispensable for the functioning of the urban economy. However, some of their activities increased the prices of raw materials which brought an extra burden on the guild organizations and more generally the dwellers of the cities.³³⁰

Almost every town along around a major route had business-oriented structures called *han* which served as entrepots and hostelries for the merchants who visited town. *Hans* were large buildings which offered merchants rooms for the storage of materials as well as offices and lodgings. Middle-sized or large towns had other centers called *bedestan* (a covered market).³³¹ *Hans* and *bedestans* were the places where most of the wholesale trade took place. There were

³³⁰ Pamuk, "The Rise, Organization, and Institutional Framework of Factor Markets, 1500-1800", 9.

³³¹ Suraiya Faroqhi, "The Anatolian Town and its Place within the Administrative Structure of the Ottoman State (1500-1590)" in *From Mantzikert to Lepanto, The Byzantine World and the Turks 1071-1571*, ed. Antony Bryer and Michael Ursinus, Byzantinische Forschungen, XVI, (1991), p.215

23 *hans* in Antakya between 1709 and 1829, and most of them were located in the bazaars or in close proximity to the bazaars. Abraham Marcus argues that most of the *hans* specialized in certain commodities and monopolized their sale in Aleppo.³³² The same kind of practice is observed in the *hans* of Antakya as well. Several *hans* took their names from the commodities sold in them, such as Cloth Han (Bez Hanı), Tobacco Han (Tütün Hanı), Mulberry Han (Dut Hanı), and Soap Han (Sabun Hanı).³³³ That kind of centralization assisted the tax farmers in following the transactions in particular commodities, and allowed the guilds to control the distribution of materials among their members based on their determined quotas.³³⁴

Historical Development of Guild Organizations in the Ottoman Empire: Ahi-Order Organization, the Lonca System, and the Gedik System

Guild organizations in the Ottoman Empire were described by Abraham Marcus as “not a monolith, but dozens of individual organizations governed by different and often diametrically opposed market rules which changed over time and were, in addition, given to a measure of evasion.”³³⁵ The guild organizations enjoyed limited autonomy in the Ottoman Empire. They decided the rules of entry and promotion in the organization, they managed the purchase and distribution of raw materials among its members, and they determined and controlled pricing policies. Besides these, they had some administrative and social responsibilities as well. Throughout the centuries, the rules, administration style, and organizational structure of the guilds changed in response to social and economic developments. There were three

³³² Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 284.

³³³ Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 194-195.

³³⁴ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 284.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 173.

organizations, the Ahi-Order organization, the Lonca system, and the Gedik system which organized guilds in the Ottoman Empire between the 15th and 19th centuries.

The Ahi-order organization emerged in Anatolia in the 13th century. The organization could be explained as a system that brought together ethic and art, production, and trade. The establishment of strong and dependable relations between wealthy and poor, manufacturer and consumer, and state and subjects were the main purposes of the organization.³³⁶ Karagül states that "the Ahi-Order Organization was a vocational civil structuring by being based on a powerful education and training system with the aim of bringing up individuals who had good social ethics and having the conscious of responsibility for their elders, community and the state. In this structuring, first the persons having high level of good manners have been brought up." The organization played a significant role in restoring communal order and placing the economic activities in a healthy structure in the Ottoman Empire.³³⁷

The Ahi-Order Organization was efficient until the 17th century. The social, economic, and political transformation experienced from the beginning of the 17th century led the organization to slowly lose its efficiency between the 17th and 19th centuries. Migration from villages to the cities, the opening of business places by those without Ahi-Order training, the ability to adapt the organization to industrialization which had started in Europe, and the penetration of cheap foreign products into the Ottoman market could be mentioned as the factors,

³³⁶ Mehmet Karagül, "Ahi-Order Organization from Ottoman Empire until Today and Its Economical Development Relation." *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, Vol. 2 No. 21, (November 2011), 216

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, 224.

which led to the fall of the Ahi-Order organization.³³⁸ In addition, industrial developments in Europe, which increased the need for raw materials, turned Anatolia into an important raw material supplier for these countries. Growing demand for raw materials increased prices which made the small enterprises belonging to the Ahi-Order organization incapable to buy expensive raw materials to produce goods.³³⁹ Another problem was the penetration of cheap European products to Ottoman market from the beginning of the 17th century. Small enterprises could not develop a technique for large production to compete with European products which often forced them to close down.

The principles of the Ahi-Order Organization developed according to the Turkish-Islamic perception. The principles and rules of the organization excluded non-Muslim artisans since *Akhi* membership was based on religion. However, the economic transformation in the 16th century forced Ottoman officials to create a new organization which embraced non-Muslim Ottoman artisans. The *Lonca* System largely replaced the Ahi-Order Organization in the 16th century. The origin of the word comes from the words "loggia" in Italian or "loj or loge" in French. The new organization did not embrace some of the rules of the previous organization, and adapted new rules and principles which were compatible with the new social and economic trends of the 16th and 17th centuries. In the new organization, the role of Islamic principles was reduced, and

³³⁸ Ekrem Erdem, *Ahilik, Ahlakla Kalitenin Buluştuğu Bir Esnaf Teşkilatlanma Modeli*, (Ankara: Detay Yayıncılık, 2008), 89-93.

³³⁹ Mehmet Özbirecikli, "The Institutions Forming the Socioeconomic Structure of Turkish Private Enterprises between the 13th and 19th Centuries: Akhism, the Lonca System and the Gedik System." *Pecunia*, núm. 11 (julio- diciembre 2010), 142.

Muslim and non-Muslim Ottoman subjects as well as foreign merchants began to work together under this organization.³⁴⁰

The *Lonca* System brought together the small businesses all around the Ottoman Empire. In the early years of the application of the system, Muslim and non-Muslim artisans were organized within a *lonca*, however, the *lonca* of Muslims, Armenians, and Greeks were separated in the following decades. However, the new system did not bring dramatic changes in Ottoman economic life since some of the small businesses still insisted on being operated within the economic framework of *Akhism*.³⁴¹

Each artisan group formed its own *lonca*, and elected the master of the *lonca* from among its members. Gülvahaboğlu claimed that there were 148 different kinds of *loncas* in the 16th century in the Ottoman Empire.³⁴² Some of these were tailors, tanners, boot makers, imams, locksmiths, silk producers, ceramic makers, bakers, dyers, pickle makers, dancers, bird seller... The available tax registers and court records indicate that each artisan group in Antakya formed its own *lonca*, and was governed by the elected master of the *lonca*. In the early 18th century, carpenters, bakers, barbers, butchers, hammersmiths, pack-saddle makers, blacksmiths, and bookbinders were organized under the *loncas* that they had formed, and they were ruled by the master called Shaikh.³⁴³ From that point, the organization of the artisans in Antakya showed

³⁴⁰ Mehmet Özbirecikli, "The Institutions Forming the Socioeconomic Structure of Turkish Private Enterprises between the 13th and 19th Centuries: Akhism, the Lonca System and the Gedik System", 143.

³⁴¹ Mithat Gürata, *Unutulan Adetlerimiz ve Loncalar*. Ankara: Gürata ,1975), 84.

³⁴² Adil Gülvahaboğlu, *Sosyal Güvenlik Öncüsü Ahi Evren-i Veli ve Ahilik*. (Ankara, 1991), 181-182.

³⁴³ Özdemir, *Antakya Esnaf Teşkilatı (1709-1860)*, 17.

similarities to those at Ankara, Konya, Bursa, Selanik, Kayseri, Tokat, Sivas, and some other Ottoman cities.

The *Lonca* system began to lose its efficiency in the 18th century. The main reason behind the weakening of the system was incidents of extortion. The *lonca* officials extorted extra money from enterprise owners and non-Muslim artisans under the names of lamb money, festival money, or feast money which brought an extra economic burden on artisans. In addition, many artisans who carried out their trades in the shops belonged to the pious foundations. The administrator of the foundations attempted to increase rents which put extra pressure on artisans. In general, many Ottoman craftsmen were in grave trouble in the late 18th century due to a series of wars which resulted in territorial losses, extraordinary taxes, and economic decline. Artisans, especially those in Istanbul and Bursa, developed the notion of *gedik* for the purpose of protecting their livelihoods.³⁴⁴

The literal meaning of the word *gedik* is 'gap, slot, empty place', the word was used in a different sense by tradesmen in the 18th century. They used the word to signify the implements of a craftsman and the contents of his workshop. *Gedik* was defined as something that could be sold only to a person from the same guild. The logic behind that system was to limit the number of enterprises, and consequently to limit rent increases by reducing competition for empty workplaces. The available archival materials that I examined for Antakya offers very limited information on the application of the *Gedik* system by the artisans of the city. These materials provide us with clues that the artisans of the city applied this system, but we do not know to what extent it was applied and what its exact impact on the artisans of the city was.

³⁴⁴ Faroqhi, "Ottoman Guilds in the Late 18th century: The Bursa Case", 98-99.

Guilds in Antakya between 1750 and 1840

Following the dissolution of the Ahi-Order Organization and the *Lonca* system, the craftsmen of Antakya were organized into guilds, which did not belong to any larger system or organization. There were 93 professional guild organizations known to have existed in Antakya in the 18th and 19th centuries. However, the number of the guild organizations showed differences from time to time. In his analysis of the court records of Antakya, Özcan Tatar indicates that 58 professional guild organizations existed in Antakya in 1764.³⁴⁵ In another study on the Antakya court records and tax registers, Rifat Özdemir shows that there were 38 guild organizations in Antakya in 1824.³⁴⁶ Since the number of the organizations was compiled from references in the court records of the city and tax registers, the real numbers remain unclear, as the available materials did not count some of the professions. To clarify that point, no mention of guilds appears for singers, dancers, prostitutes, midwives, and domestic servants working in Antakya.

The available court records suggest that the number of artisans decreased in Antakya. The numbers of artisans gradually decreased, except for 1764, from 2332 to 733 between the years of 1743 and 1829. The most important reason behind this decrease was the political and economic developments in the Ottoman Empire and in Europe. Artisans all around the Empire were in grave trouble by the late 18th century. In addition to the ongoing wars, which resulted in territorial losses, rent increases, the exportation of basic raw materials to Europe, which extremely increased raw material prices, and the penetration of European products into local

³⁴⁵ Özcan Tatar, “XVIII. Yüzyılda Antakya Esnafının Gruplara Göre Dağılımını Üzerine Bazı Tespitler”, in *VI. Antakya Tarih ve Kültür Sempozyumu*. (Antakya: Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2002), 191-192.

³⁴⁶ Özdemir, *Antakya Esnaf Teşkilatı (1709-1860)*, 53-54.

markets made matters worse. Several artisans in Antakya operated their businesses on very small profit margins, and they were often not able to deal with these rent increases and increasing raw material prices, which left no choice to them but to stop running their stores.

Table 3.2. Numbers of artisans in Antakya

Years	1743	1750	1756	1762	1764	1776	1829
Number of Artisans	2332	1355	1161	1120	1839	1100	733

The Ahi-Order Organization was effective in organizing guilds in Antakya until the 17th century, but it lost its efficiency in the 18th and 19th centuries. The available court and tax registers indicate that there was only one guild organization, that of the tanner (*debbağ*), organized and administrated according to the Ahi-Order principles in Antakya in the 19th century. The leader of the tanner guilds used the title of *Ahi Baba* which had been used by the leader of the Ahi-Order Organization. Since Ahi Evran, the founder of the Ahi-Order Organization in Anatolia, was a tanner, all the leaders of the tanner craft organizations in Anatolia used the title of *Ahi Baba*. Tanners in Antakya followed that tradition and the leaders of their organization used the same title even in the 19th century when the Ahi-Order organization had lost its influence all around the Empire. This title was not specific to the leader of the tanners guild organization in Antakya since it was used by the leaders of the same craft organization in Ankara, Adana, and Konya in the 18th and 19th centuries.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁷ Rıfat Özdemir, *Antakya Esnaf Teşkilatı (1709-1860)*, (Antakya: Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2002), 10-16.

The narrow professional specialization was characteristic of all branches of the economy in the Ottoman Empire. The artisans of the Ottoman Empire formed guild organizations in order to protect narrow professional territories and interests. Each of these guilds was led by its headmen and collectively binding rules. While some of the guilds were incorporated into an entire professional group, others preferred to form a narrower organization around a segment of trade. Abraham Marcus indicates that the silk spinners of Aleppo formed several guilds. The silk spinners who worked in one large workshop made up one guild, other silk spinners having shops in different parts of the city were organized in other guilds in the 19th century.³⁴⁸ The same type of guild organization was observed in Antakya as well.

The majority of trades and guilds in Antakya fell into three areas of production and trade: food stuffs, textiles, and construction. These branches of the economy aimed to meet the basic needs of life as well as luxury goods. Inhabitants of the city spent a significant amount of money for feeding themselves and their families. Poor people especially spent a large amount of their income only for purchasing the basic food to feed themselves. Shops for the preparation and sale of food, such as grocery stores, bakeries, mills, coffee shops, rice stores, pastry shops, sherbet stores, barley stores, and kebab shops were in operation all across the city.

A significant number of craftsmen were employed in the textile industry in Antakya in the 18th and 19th centuries. Domestic consumption and foreign demand, especially for silk and silk-products, made Antakya an important center for cloth production. It is a fact that the city was not the principal center of cloth production in the region, since Aleppo dominated the

³⁴⁸ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 158-159.

regional textile industry. Some of the silk produced in Antakya was sold to Aleppian cloth producers or British merchants, and the remaining raw materials were used by the craftsmen of the city. Some people in the city worked in workshops by joining in the process of spinning, weaving, dyeing, and tailoring. Most of the cloth produced in these workshops was sold in the local shops, and the amount of the exported clothes to other regions is not indicated in the available materials.

Another important area was construction. During the 18th and 19th centuries, earthquakes shook the city on several occasions. One of the most devastating one hit Antakya in 1822, and caused large-scale damage and casualties. There were numerous court records reporting that houses, stores, and public buildings were damaged, and that they were in need of repair as soon as possible. All these developments shaped a construction industry supported by many specialized craftsmen and dealers in various building materials in Antakya.

Jews and Armenians did belong to the guilds of their particular trades. They tended to congregate in certain occupations, but rarely monopolized them. The jewelers, construction, and merchant guilds were dominated by non-Muslims in Antakya. There were also a number of non-Muslims working as herbalists (attar), grocers, tinsmiths, tailors, and cotton-sellers in Antakya in the 18th and 19th centuries. Although some of the guilds consisted exclusively of non-Muslims, the head of the guild was chosen from among the Muslims. This practice was not specific to Antakya since we observe the same practice in the election of *kethüda* (guild warden) or head of a guild in Istanbul and Bursa.³⁴⁹ However, this practice did not mean that the Muslim head of a

³⁴⁹ Faroqhi, *The Bursa Case*, 102, and Nalan Turna, "The Everyday Life of Istanbul and its Artisans, 1808-1839." (New York: Binghamton University State University of New York Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, 2006), 136.

guild did not protect non-Muslim artisans or was free to do whatever he liked. In case of confronting a problem regarding a Muslim guild master, the non-Muslims could ask the court for the appointment of a new head of the guild.

Guilds had the autonomy to elect their leaders. Most of the time, the state showed respect to the internal autonomy of guilds; however, it supervised the appointment of the guild leaders'.³⁵⁰ Artisans were pragmatic and realistic in choosing their guild leaders. They elected the person whom members of the guild trusted for his wisdom, piety, honesty, and skills. After the election, they applied to the court for the appointment of the elected person as the leader of the guild. The next step was the evaluation of the application. If the Sultan approved the person, he gave a *berat-i şerif* which confirmed that post. The appointment process of guild master was very similar to that of the appointment of *Ahi Baba* or *Lonca* master in the 16th and 17th centuries. If the person showed inability to manage guild affairs, or was involved in crime, the members of the guild could apply to the court to have their leader expelled. They also provided to the court the name of a new leader, whom they regarded as a deserving person, and requested that he be appointed as the new leader. In some cases, leaders of guilds resigned from their position for personal reasons. In that case, the person who had resigned provided a list of nominees. After the resignation, he had to submit the *berat-i şerif* to the court, and the court investigated the nominee to make sure that he was capable of managing guilds affairs. If the person was eligible to be the new leader of the guild, his name was sent to Istanbul for the approval of the Sultan.

³⁵⁰ Halil İnalçık, "The Appointment Procedure of a Guild Warden (Kethüda)," Festschrift Andreas Tietze zum 70 Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden und Schülern, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 76 (1986), 139.

The leaders of the guilds used different titles in Antakya in the 18th and 19th centuries. The leaders of the *debbağ* (tanner) guilds were called *ahi baba* while leaders of the guilds of carpenters, muleteers, and attars used the title of sheikh. In addition, several guilds used the title of *başı* (head) to refer to their leaders. For instance, the leader of the butcher guilds used the title of *kassapbaşı* (head of the butchers), and the head of the baker guilds used the title of *ekmekçibaşı*, which means head of the bakers. In making and modifying guild arrangements, the leaders of each guild were helped by other administrators of the guild, called *nakib*, *kethüda* (chamberlain), and *duacı* (prayer reciter).

The heads of the guilds had responsibilities to the state and to the artisans. Their duties towards the state could be divided into administrative, economic, and social duties. Firstly, they served as a bridge between the state and the guilds. When the state issued a new order or introduced a new regulation concerning artisans, the state officials informed the artisans through the head of their guilds. Another responsibility of the guild masters was assisting the state officials in the determination of tax rates that would be applied to the artisans of the city. They had to decide fair tax rates that would not bring a huge burden on artisans; however, it is not clear how influential their advices were in the determination of tax rates. In the extraction of the taxes, the state also demanded that the head of each guild help tax collectors, and in the 19th century, as Özdemir claimed, they were in charge of collecting taxes from the artisans of the entire city.³⁵¹

In the time of war or crisis, the head of guilds as well as artisans were expected to maintain order in their domains, protect the lives and property of the dwellers of the city, and to

³⁵¹ Özdemir, *Antakya Esnaf Teşkilatı (1709-1860)*, 33-34.

provide the required materials to the state.³⁵² In the time of war in the 18th and 19th centuries, the state was in need of additional supplies to meet the army's needs. In that case, the state officials contacted the administrators of each guild to buy the needed materials to overcome the deficiencies of the army. Guilds' administrators were also responsible for determining and controlling prices in the market, controlling scales and measurements, and providing basic living materials, such as bread, oil, meat, wood, and clothes, especially in the time of famine. For instance, 12 bakers and 12 butchers applied to the court to release a statement announcing that they would continue to provide bread and meat to the dwellers of the city until the next harvest season. Even when the city was hit by scarcity in the 1730s, they stated that they would continue to work regardless of the developments, and they would not let the inhabitants of the city suffer from scarcity.³⁵³

In term of the responsibilities towards artisans, the most significant responsibility of guilds' leaders was being fair in managing the guilds' affairs. They exercised a major say in shaping policies and overseeing their execution. They were the people who distributed and set prices for raw materials, approved promotions in their guilds, and allocated taxes.³⁵⁴ Another responsibility of the masters of the guilds was to train young generations or non-guild members to get them ready for their job. In many guilds, a person who did not serve a master or who was not trained as an apprentice did not have a right to open a store. Untrained store-owners were mostly not allowed to be members of a guild, so it was vital for them to be trained by a master before they opened their stores. The presence of ethical values in each guild symbolized

³⁵² Turna, "The Everyday Life of Istanbul and its Artisans, 1808-1839", 150.

³⁵³ A.Ş.S., Nr.2, b. 1a, 1b.

³⁵⁴ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 175.

solidarity and honesty. All members of the guilds were expected to follow the ethics and traditions of their guilds. In addition, solving problems between artisans from one's guild or between one's guild and another one was expected from the leaders of guilds. If they were not able to solve these problems, they encouraged the parties to apply to the court to seek justice.

Collective action was one of the most important principles for the members of each guild. Guilds acted together to achieve equality among their members. Successful entrepreneurs in each guild supported weaker artisans who did not have entrepreneurial spirit and lacked professional reputation. They encouraged their members to be fair and to have group solidarity in order to secure economic benefits for the members even if benefits were not equally distributed.³⁵⁵

Another important characteristic of the Ottoman guild system was the specialization of every branch of craft and industry. Each store was highly specialized. There were stores selling only copper products, while others dealt with iron products; different kind of footwear were sold in different stores. If a person needed to buy slippers and wooden clogs, most of the times he needed to visit different specialized stores.³⁵⁶ We observe the same pattern in Antakya as well. Being a mid-sized Ottoman city, Antakya needed to have all kind of goods and services. The craftsmen of the city processed foods and produced several kinds of materials from cloth, wood, stone, leather, and metal. Production and trade were organized in small stores in the city since there were no factories, business corporations, or supermarkets available in the 18th and 19th centuries in Antakya.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 167.

³⁵⁶ Kia, *Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, 87-88.

Agricultural products produced in the sub-districts (*nahiyes*) of Antakya were sold in the bazaars. The bazaars located in the city proper were very similar to other bazaars. The main bazaar was located in the city proper, and there were some small ones both in the quarters of Antakya and the sub-districts of Süveydiye, Kuseyr, Cebel-i Akra, and Altınözü. We understand from travelers' accounts that the bazar located in the city center was a big one. J. S. Buckingham, who visited the city in 1816, observed that " all the articles in demand are found here in abundance; and the manufactures of the town itself consist in coarse pottery, cotton, cloth, some silk twit, several tanneries, and sadlery..."³⁵⁷

Urban life in the Ottoman Empire was mostly centered in the market place. Almost every Ottoman city had a market district, called *çarsı* in Turkish and *suq* in Arabic, where both the production and sale of goods were carried out.³⁵⁸ Covered markets were significant public spaces in any Ottoman city since they served as centers of social and economic life. Every Ottoman city had a covered market place where the stores were run by the guilds. While some of these markets consisted of only specific guild members or specialized products, some of them consisted of various guild members who sold different kinds of commodities. There were 17 covered markets stocked with goods both imported and locally manufactured in Antakya. Dwellers of the city visited markets to purchase shoes, clothes, spices, drugs, jewelry, copper utensils, spices, perfumes, nails, and other products. In some parts of the city a few markets offered specialized commodities. These markets were named after the products sold in these areas, namely Kefşger Çarşısı (shoemaker's market), Çıkırıkçı Çarşısı (Spinning wheel market), Neccar Çarşısı (Carpenter's market), Kavukçular Çarşısı (turbanmaker's market), and stores that were mostly

³⁵⁷ Buckingham *Travels among Arab Tribes*, 557.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 79.

occupied by particular guilds. Coffeehouses that provided an area of rest both for artisans and customers were available in almost every marketplace. All the coffeehouses in the city were run by janissary-artisans, and they were also used as a place where artisans gathered together to discuss both local and general economic and political developments.

Small artisanal enterprises made up the local industry of Antakya. In terms of organization, these enterprises were labor intensive in their organization, and had a low level of productivity. The craftsman who owned his own store and tools purchased raw materials, mostly from the sub-districts of the city, worked on them by himself or with the help of his employees, and then offered his products at the local market. Since domestic or international trade was not as common as in Aleppo or Damascus, most of these products were produced to be sold at the local market. That is why, the needs or preferences of the local inhabitants played a significant role in the design, quality, and price of the products produced by the local craftsmen of the city. In addition, political developments and crises were determinative on purchasing preferences of the community. For instance, during wars or natural disasters people were inclined to spend money only on bread and basic necessities which limited the productivity of the artisans. Therefore, craftsmen avoided producing goods in large amounts without having any prior guarantee for the purchase of their products.

Like in other parts of Anatolia and the Middle East, Antakya did not witness any significant technological progress between 1750 and 1840. The tools and techniques used in production were transmitted from one generation to the next with little alteration. Most of the masters imitated what they learned from their elders, and transmitted their skills to new trainees. These craftsmen mostly used hand tools and rudimentary equipment operated manually. Since

mechanization remained alien to the work places in Antakya in the 18th and 19th centuries, production was slow and productivity was fairly low compared to European industries, but the quality of workmanship of artisans was appreciated, especially by European merchants and travelers.

The state and guild members had conflict of interest on several occasions which created a considerable amount of tension between them. While the guilds tried to protect their independence, the state attempted to supervise the guilds and intervene into their affairs. The guilds in the provinces were freer of state supervision and intervention. Guild members did not show any significant resistance against the state's interventions in their affairs until the 18th century. However, the growing numbers of janissaries among guild members all around the empire increased the ability of the guilds to resist to intervention and pressure of the central administration.³⁵⁹ Janissaries played an important role in artisanal activities in Antakya as well. Janissaries were elite infantry units in the Ottoman Empire between the 15th and 19th centuries. Being elite infantry units, they were forbidden from involving themselves in trade and getting married during their tenure. However, they gradually abandoned their military duties since they came closely embedded into Ottoman provincial society after the 16th century. Some janissaries did not fulfill military duties as they settled, got married, and also got involved in artisanal activities.³⁶⁰ Dina Khoury's discussion of the janissaries of Mosul is significant to indicate how janissaries failed to fulfill their duties. She states that "the janissaries were no longer an elite

³⁵⁹ Pamuk, "The Rise, Organization, and Institutional Framework of Factor Markets, 1500-1800", 33.

³⁶⁰ Heath W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 111..

fighting force stationed in the city; they had become part of the population and taken on a variety of occupations ranging from artisanal production to tax farming and trade.”³⁶¹

Being one of the most significant forces protecting the city, janissaries were representing the authority of the Sultan in Antakya. They could consist of infantry, armorers (*cebeci*), and artillerymen (*topcu*). These janissaries were under the control of the janissary *serdar* who was appointed by the janissary *ağa* in Istanbul or Aleppo. Since the 17th century onward, janissaries were involved in economic activities all around the empire even though they were forbidden from it. The numbers of janissary-guildmen and merchants showed significant increase in Belgrade, Aleppo, Salonica, Sarajevo, Istanbul, and Damascus in the 18th century.³⁶² The janissaries living in Antakya were also involved in economic activities. The *tevziat listesi* (list of distribution) in the court record of Antakya from the year of 1764 indicates that janissaries were actively involved in artisanal activities.³⁶³ The list shows the names of janissaries in 39 different occupations out of 45 occupations listed in the register. They dominated some of these 39 occupations, namely barley sellers, greengrocers, barbers, cotton sellers, sweet fruit drink makers and sellers (*şerbetçi*), tobacco sellers, coffeehouse holders, hat makers and muleteers.³⁶⁴ Janissaries often invested in coffeehouse and barbershop tools. They owned all the coffeehouses in the city, more than half of the barbershops in the second half of the 18th century, and they constituted %41 of bath attendants (*hamamci*). Coffeehouses, barbershops, marketplaces, and public bathhouses were important locations since people met and exchanged ideas on recent

³⁶¹ Khoury, *State and Provincial Society*, 133.

³⁶² Bruce McGowan, “The Age of Ayans, 1699-1812,” in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, ed. by Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 698-708.

³⁶³ A.Ş.S. 8, 11/22.

³⁶⁴ A.Ş.S., Nr.8, s.11/22.

political and economic developments, and criticized the state in these places. These locations were the areas where cultural activities took place and a public opinion was created.³⁶⁵ These areas also represented a domain of private and collective activity. When the civil society was being critical of the central administration, they met in these areas to discuss their possible ways of solution. Controlling these areas was significant for the janissaries as they were critical of the central administration in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Therefore, these spheres gave janissaries an opportunity both to express their skepticism of political authorities, and organize riots between the 17th and early 19th centuries.³⁶⁶

The public crises encountered in the Ottoman Empire in the early 19th century were associated with the degradation of the janissaries. Due to their criminal activities, such as racketeering, ignoring state orders, and corruption, both the central government and the urban population started to consider the janissaries as a corrupted organization. In addition, Janissaries brought extra financial burdens to the empire since they both held multiple pay certificates (*esame*) and those who were involved in artisanal activities did not pay tax because of tax exemption provided to the members of the ruling class (*askeri*).

The state decided to abolish the Janissary Corps in 1826. As a reaction to the abolition of the Janissary Corps, the janissaries and some artisans cooperated on a daily basis in order to restore the abolished Corps. They mostly met at the coffeehouses or barbershops which were mostly run by the janissaries to exchange ideas, but the government sent orders to the governors of each province for the removal of the janissary barracks, also forbidding the use of any title

³⁶⁵ Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*, 228.

³⁶⁶ For further details see: Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*, (NY: Cornell University, 1997),

associated with them. The governors and other state administrators were strictly warned on that issue. Following the abolition of the janissaries, the government conducted a survey to identify the janissary artisans or artisans who had established close relations with janissaries in order to expel them. In that case, some of the janissaries asked for help from the guild wardens or leaders to avoid being expelled by the government, but guild leaders could not help janissaries due to the strict government warning on janissaries.³⁶⁷ After everyday life returned to normal, some of the expelled artisans petitioned for clemency, and the government mostly accepted their demands. In some cases, the government asked for some of the respected people in the area to provide guarantees for the expelled artisans before accepting their apologies. However, the city experienced another significant political development which was the Egyptian invasion of the early 1830s that deeply changed the social, politic, and economic life in the region.

The Ottoman administration did not hesitate to intervene in domestic and international trade in order to regulate the market and ensure the supply of goods for the army, palace, and the urban economy. However, this intervention was selective, and it depended on the capabilities, resources, and organization of the administration. The Ottoman Empire had limited administrative resources, organization, and capacity during the 16th through the 19th centuries. The Ottoman authorities were not able to comprehensively and effectively intervene in markets as they used to do in the 15th century under the reign of Mehmed II. After the recognition of their limited power in the 16th and 17th centuries, the Ottoman authorities abandoned comprehensive interventionism, and began to apply selective interventionism in the 18th and 19th centuries.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁷ Turna, "The Everyday Life of Istanbul and its Artisans, 1808-1839", 75.

³⁶⁸ Pamuk, "The Rise, Organization, and Institutional Framework of Factor Markets, 1500-1800", 12-13.

Narh, price regulation, is an excellent example to illustrate the state's selective intervention and regulation. Şevket Pamuk, who studied price ceiling (*narh*) lists of Istanbul between the 15th and mid-19th century, indicates that *narh* lists were not prepared regularly. They were issued mostly during extraordinary periods, such as wars, crop failures, or currency debasements when prices in the market showed sharp fluctuations or upward movements. In the absence of such problems, the local administrators did not tend to issue *narh* lists to fix prices in the market.³⁶⁹

Most of the shopkeepers were free to sell their products or services to whomever they wanted. One of the few limitations that was applied on them was the regulation of prices. Artisans, administrators, notables, and inhabitants of the city gathered together to form a commission, called *narh* commission, in order to fix prices for the products. After accounting for all the expenses, the commission usually added between 10% and 20% interest depending on the nature of labor involved.³⁷⁰ Based on the products produced in the city or imported into the city, the commission fixed prices a few times during a year. However, the officials could not control prices due to the conditions in the market. Since most of the products were handmade, it was hard to come up with a single price for them. In addition, both the government and the guilds were not equipped to monitor the markets closely in order to hinder cheating and black market activity.³⁷¹ Several complains of selling products, especially by the janissaries, over the fixed price reached to Istanbul. Nalan Turna who worked on the artisans of Istanbul found that Janissaries sold meat above the fixed price or made bread with lower weight.³⁷² Abraham

³⁶⁹ Ibid., 14.

³⁷⁰ Cafer Çiftçi, "Osmanlı'da Meyve Alım-Satımı: Mekânlar, Görevliler, Vergiler ve Standartları", *EJOS*, VIII, (2005), 13.

³⁷¹ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 172.

³⁷² Turna, "The Everyday Life of Istanbul and its Artisans, 1808-1839", 44.

Marcus points out the same kind of problems in Aleppo in the late 18th century. Inhabitants of Antakya also suffered from the same problem. For instance, a petition sent to the Sultan by a resident of Antakya mentioned that since many of the artisans in Antakya were members of the ruling class, *askeri*, in the 18th century, they refused to fix prices for their products sold in the market. The residents asked the Sultan to order officials to fix prices at least for the basic products, such as bread and meat sold in the market.³⁷³

Regulation of prices on all goods and services did not seem possible in the 18th and 19th centuries of Antakya. Even though they fixed prices for different kinds of products, local administrators only controlled food prices, especially during periods of scarcity. In his dissertation on Antakya Abdulkadir Gül indicates that the government set fixed prices mostly on food in the 18th and 19th centuries. Gül indicates that, the government set prices only for meat and wheat in 1736, yoghurt, chicken, onion, chickpea, salt, honey, pumpkin, eggplant, watermelon, cantaloupe, plum, pear, and cookie (*kahke*) between 1743 and 1745, and meat bread, onion, and grain in 1764. Of the dozen or so items whose prices were fixed by government order in the 18th century, the daily wage of carpenters and construction laborers formed the only non-food items.³⁷⁴ There were some examples pointing to state controlled prices in the markets, whereby those who attempted to sell the basic food products above the set prices were punished. For instance, the state set prices for meat sold by the butchers in Antakya in 1824, and ordered a price increase in every four months. However, Hacı Mustafa, the *kassabbaşı* of Antakya, head of butchers, did not follow the regulations, and increased meat prices in the city without consulting the local administrators. In response to his actions, Hacı Mustafa was

³⁷³ A.Ş.S., Nr.2 s.121/91

³⁷⁴ Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 206.

dismissed from his position by the government, and Mehmed and Ahmet Ağa who promised to sell the meat according to fixed prices were appointed as new *kassabbaşıs*.³⁷⁵

The prices increased sharply in the 16th through the early 19th centuries in the Ottoman Empire. As the most important short-term reasons for these price fluctuations, we could point to harvest conditions and wars. However, debasements could be mentioned as the main reason for long term price increases in the Empire. Currency debasements created waves of inflation in the late 18th century which lasted until the 1850s, and during that time period prices increased 12-15 times in Istanbul.³⁷⁶ Besides these reasons, prices fluctuated constantly in accordance with supply and demand. On several occasions merchants increased prices of the raw materials which caused price increases in markets as well. Craftsmen applied to the court on several occasions in order to complain about merchants who increased the prices of certain raw materials.

Price fluctuations observed in Antakya in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In addition to the short and long term reasons of price rises, some local economic and political developments in the first half of the 19th century led to the increase of prices in Antakya. For instance, due to scarcity in Damascus in 1815, a significant amount of grain, cereal, wheat, and some other materials were sold to Damascus. Despite the good harvest in these years, bread and other basic necessities became expensive after wheat and other grains were transferred to relieve a severe shortage in Damascus. In the following years conditions worsened considerably after the invasion of the city by the governor of Egypt in 1832. The invasion of the city caused political and economic instability in the city. While this unstable environment caused the decline of

³⁷⁵ A.Ş.S., Nr.18, s.9/20.

³⁷⁶ Şevket Pamuk, "Prices in the Ottoman Empire, 1469-1914." *International Journal Middle East Studies*, 36 (2004), 458.

agricultural production in Antakya between 1832 and 1840, the available grains were purchased by the Egyptians to meet needs of their soldiers. Under these circumstances, the city suffered from scarcity of products in the markets whereby grain prices skyrocketed.³⁷⁷ The invasion also had a negative impact on the guilds. Tekin claimed that under Egyptian rule, guild organizations lost their influence and power. This development created chaos in the market places since the head of the guilds could not fix prices for food items which accelerated price increases in the market.³⁷⁸

Taxation

Following the conquest of a new land, the Ottomans usually sent officials to the region to survey all taxable resources and activities. These tax registers are known as *tahrir defterleri*, however, in later periods the empire conducted subsequent surveys in order to update its current revenue sources. Officials used these registers for several purposes, such as to make legal claims to lands, to estimate the empire's tax revenues, and to assign some of the revenues to administrative and military officials as compensation for their services.³⁷⁹

The Ottoman tax codes, known as *kanunnames*, indicate that the tax instruments used by the Ottomans were not complicated as they faced several limitations in their capacity to bring together the information needed to administer taxation. Instead, the Ottomans applied simpler and more feasible taxes such as lump-sum taxes on shops, production taxes which were levied as simple proportions of output or based on the amount of the land, and personal taxes with

³⁷⁷ Mehmet Tekin, "Osmanli Doneminde Hatay." *Guneyde Kultur Dergisi*, (Ocak-Subat 2000), 14.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

³⁷⁹ Metin M. Coşgel, "Efficiency and Continuity in Public Finance: The Ottoman System of Taxation." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Nov., 2005), 570.

standard rates in a district or province. However, since the taxes were applied on various groups of people and activities, the resulting system was still inevitably complex. Coşgel states that the types and rates of taxes could differ significantly between regions.³⁸⁰ The quality and sitconditionuation of the land, and the availability of irrigation systems played a significant role in determining the tax rates.³⁸¹

The taxation system was modified based on the needs of the time period. While some of the taxes applied in the early years of the empire remained in force until the end of the empire, others were either abolished or replaced by new ones. During this transformation, the distribution, collection, and rates of taxes were subjected to changes as well. The most significant taxes collected in Antakya between 1750 and 1840 were *avarız* and *bedel-i nüziül, öşür, imdad-ı seferiyye, imdad-ı hazarriyye, and jizya*. The determination of tax rates and the distributions of tax burdens among villagers were carried out by the officials of the city, namely the *voyvoda, kadı* (judge), *naib* (judge's assistant), *şehir kethüdası* (city's warden), *şehir ayarı* (notable), *esnaf şeyhi* (guild master) or *kethüdarları* (guild wardens), and *eşraf* (respected people of the city). These officials and notables met twice during the year to determine the rates of two taxes, *imdad-ı hazariyye* and *imdad-ı seferiyye*, as well as the expenses of the city. These expenses included surveys and investigations made in the city, expenses of officials who visited the city, the cost of repair of official buildings in the city, transportation and communication expenditures, expenses made by the state during extraordinary events, such as fire, earthquakes, or scarcity, and some other expenses. After determining all these expenses, the officials added

³⁸⁰ Ibid., 570.

³⁸¹ Frede Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period, with Special Reference to Circumstances in Iraq*. (Copenhagen: Branner and Korch, 1950), 109-110.

court charges, such as *harc-ı ilam* (decree fee), *harc-ı hazine* (treasury fee), *katibiyye* (scribe's fee), *ihzariye* (*ihzar* fee) and *muhziriyye* (bailiff fee) before they compiled the tax register which was called either *miüfredat* (yearly book) or *tevzi defteri* (distribution book).³⁸² These taxes were apportioned on the basis of small fiscal units called *avarızhanes*.

Avariz and Nuzül

Avarız was initially an extraordinary tax which was collected in the form of services or in currency and on irregular basis from the early 15th century onward. The central government ordered the population to pay that tax to meet expenses in extraordinary circumstances.³⁸³ While the *avarız* was collected in the form of cash, *nüzül* was levied mostly in kind- usually barley, or meals needed for military campaign. The form of the assistance needed, cash or kind, determined what the tax would be called.³⁸⁴ These taxes were collected alternately, rather than simultaneously, and they were both applied to the same tax houses. These taxes were collected the orders of the sultan sent from Istanbul, and they were in effect throughout the Ottoman period until the Tanzimat era in the mid-19th century.³⁸⁵

Although these taxes were collected in the form of irregular taxes which were levied at the time of military campaigns in the late 16th century, they began to be applied annually to the most of the Rumelian and Anatolian provinces in the beginning of the 17th century.³⁸⁶ As these

³⁸² Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 221.

³⁸³ Charles W. Wilkins, *Forging Urban Solidarities: Ottoman Aleppo 1640-1700*. (Leiden : Brill. 2010), 22-23.

³⁸⁴ Bruce McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe, Taxation, Trade and Struggle for Land, 1600-1800*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 106.

³⁸⁵ Mustafa Akdağ, *Türkiyenin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi*, (İstanbul, c.2, 1994), 266-277.

³⁸⁶ Süleyman Demirci, "Avariz and nüzul levies in the Ottoman Empire: An assessment of tax burden on the tax-paying subjects. A case study of the Province of Karaman, 1628-1700." *Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 1 (2001), 2.

two taxes were annualized, they both began to be collected together in the form of cash.³⁸⁷ The *avarız* levies were one of the most significant regular sources of revenue for the empire between the 17th and the 19th centuries. The term *avarız* implied several kinds of levies set by the empire in the sultan's name, and therefore was referred to in full as *avarız-ı divaniye*. *Avarız-ı divaniye* was a 'blanket term' for various dues which started as extraordinary levies which were paid in the form of cash or service based on the need of the government.³⁸⁸ These levies were paid by all Ottoman tax-payers regardless of location, urban or rural, and religious affiliation.

The method of collection was one distinction between regular and irregular taxes. While the irregular taxes were collected from small fiscal divisions, which consisted of a few households each, regular taxes fell with equal weight on each household without considering its size or prosperity.³⁸⁹ *Avarız* taxes were levied on the basis of *avarız* households (*avarız-hane*). The term refers to an administratively-defined 'tax house unit.' *Avarız-hanes* consisted of only one real household (*gercekhane*) in the 15th and 16th centuries, but there was no rule that shows how many real households constituted of an *avarız-hane* after the 16th century. An *avarız* household unit could consist of between four and fifty demographic households, based on the region and the type of *avarız* tax.³⁹⁰ The number of the real households in an *avarız-hane* unit was determined based on the government's needs, administrative practices, and reflected the estimated financial situation of the tax-payers in a given area. The main principle was that each

³⁸⁷ McGowen, *Economic Life in Ottoman Empire, Taxation, Trade and Struggle for Land, 1600-1800*, 108-109.

³⁸⁸ Demirci, "Avarız and Nüzul Levies in the Ottoman Empire: An Assessment of Tax Burden on the Tax-paying Subjects. A Case Study of the Province of Karaman, 1628-1700", 2-3.

³⁸⁹ McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe, Taxation, Trade and Struggle for Land, 1600-1800*, 106.

³⁹⁰ Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Historical Dictionary of the Ottoman Empire*, 27.

avarız-hane unit had to pay the same amount in *avarız* levies, but the numbers of the actual households composing an *avarız-hane* depended on the prosperity level of the region. For instance, in an averagely prosperous area 6-7 real households comprised one *avarız-hane* which had to pay 400/600 *akçe* per year depending on the type of levy, in wealthier areas 3 or 4 real household units might comprise one *avarız-hane* to contribute the same amount. In poor areas, 12 or more real households comprised one *avarız-hane* to yield the required amount.³⁹¹ Since the fortunes of each family changed over time, officials in each district, who were well aware of the economic conditions of their area, could alter the distribution of the tax burden within the respective area.³⁹²

Based on the available materials, the *avarız-hane* unit in Antakya consisted of 5 *hanes* in 1678, 6,58 *hanes* in 1700, and 8,56 *hanes* in 1736. Rifat Özdemir who made an extensive research on the demography of Antakya in the 18th and 19th centuries states that there is not sufficient data to determine the number of demographic *hanes* that constituted a single *avarız-hane* after the first half of the 19th century.³⁹³

³⁹¹ Süleyman Demirci, “Avarız and Nüzul Levies in the Ottoman Empire: An Assessment of Tax Burden on the Tax-paying Subjects. A Case Study of the Province of Karaman, 1628-1700”, 3.

³⁹² Wilkins, *Forging Urban Solidarities: Ottoman Aleppo 1640-1700*, 24.

³⁹³ Özdemir, “Antakya'nin Fiziki ve Demografik Yapisi”, 143.

Table 3.3. The *avarız* and *bedel-i nüzul* levied in the district of Antakya between 1749 and 1827

Date	Number of <i>avarız-hane</i> unit in the district of Antakya	Cash <i>avarız</i> and <i>bedeli nüzul</i> per <i>avarız-hane</i> unit in <i>guruş</i>
1749 ³⁹⁴	349	4006,5 11.48
1752 ³⁹⁵	378	4111.5
1762 ³⁹⁶	355	3835,5
1765 ³⁹⁷	355	3829,5
1802 ³⁹⁸	180,5 (only sub-districts)	2080,5
1803 ³⁹⁹	180,5 (only sub-districts)	2080,5
1827 ⁴⁰⁰	196,5 (only sub-districts)	2070

The table above offers the amount and years of the *avâriz* and *bedel-i nuzul* collected from the dwellers of Antakya. While the available court records provide us the numbers of the *avarız-hane* units both in the neighborhoods of Antakya and its sub-districts in the 18th century, they provide the numbers of *avarız-hane* units only in sub-districts of Antakya in the 19th century. The amount of the *avâriz* levied per *avarız-hane* unit changed between 10,7 and 11.5 *guruş* in the 18th century. However, the available records do not offer any information on how many real household comprised one *avarız-hane* in the 19th century. The amounts of the *avâriz* levied from the people living in the city and rural areas were different. Dwellers living in the

³⁹⁴ Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 216

³⁹⁵ Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 216

³⁹⁶ Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 216

³⁹⁷ A.Ş.S., Nr.8, s.142/104

³⁹⁸ A.Ş.S., Nr.10 s.44/43

³⁹⁹ A.Ş.S., Nr.10 s.103/96

⁴⁰⁰ A.Ş.S., Nr.18, b.158.

neighbors of Antakya paid 10,5 *guruş* and 8 *akçes* while people living in the sub-districts of Antakya were required to pay 11 *guruş* in 1749. The amount of *avâriz* paid per *avarız-hane* unit in the city was 11 *guruş*, while it was 9 *guruş* and 10 *sümn* in the sub-districts. In 1762, the dwellers in both the city and its sub-districts paid the same amount which was 11 *guruş* per *avarız-hane*. However, the tax was levied in different amounts in 1764 when the people living in the city proper were asked to pay 10,5 *guruş* and 8 *akçes*, and the villagers were required to pay 11 *guruş*.⁴⁰¹ In general, the total amount of *avarız* collected in the district of Antakya did not show extreme changes, and the amount per *avarız-hane* unit also was steady in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Öşür (Tithe)

Öşür ('Ushr in Arabic), tithe, was the kind of the tax that started to be applied in the early years of Islamic history. The *fiqh* works describe tithe as a tax on the land owned by a Muslim, or as a tax applied on commercial goods owned or paid for by a Muslim or non-Muslim.⁴⁰² The tithe tax was applied in several Islamic states or empires, and reached the Ottoman time with some modifications.⁴⁰³ From the earliest years of the empire, *öşür* was one of the major taxes collected from agriculture.⁴⁰⁴ The rate of the tax varied between 1/10 and 1/2 based on the fertility of the land, variety of products, irrigation system, and local customs and traditions. The tithe was one of the primary sources of revenue for the Ottoman Empire. Donald Quataert

⁴⁰¹ Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 217.

⁴⁰² The meaning of *fiqh* is Islamic jurisprudence. *Fiqh* derived from the four-legal school of thoughts in Sunni Islam, and the Ottoman Empire officially accepted the *Hanefi* school.

⁴⁰³ T. Sato, "Ushr," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, (New Edition, vol X), 917.

⁴⁰⁴ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change, 1590-1699," *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, ed. by Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 535.

indicates that two taxes on agriculture -the tithe and the land tax- made up 40 percent of all taxes levied in the empire in the mid-19th century.⁴⁰⁵

In the traditional Ottoman land tenure system, the *sipahi*, the cavalryman holding a *timar* in return for military service, was responsible for collecting the tithe from the peasant households. The tithe was collected in kind, or in cash. Especially, the tithe applied to grains, legumes, and fibers was collected in kind as they were kind of long-lasting products. Grains collected in kind formed the major source of revenue for the *sipahi*.⁴⁰⁶ On the other hand, the tithe applied to fruits or other kind of non-durable products was levied in the form of cash. The tithe was also applied to vineyards, fruit trees, and orchard lands. Tax rates for these items were indicated in detail in *kanunnames*. The age, height, and type of the fruit trees and the numbers of the vines on the vineyards were the key elements in the determination of the tithe rates. For instance, the Ottoman officials levied two *akçes* for each walnut tree, 1 *akçe* for 4 fig trees, and 40 *akçe* for 100 olive trees in the 16th and 17th centuries in Antakya.⁴⁰⁷ The available court records do not provide information on the rates applied on the same items in the 18th and 19th centuries. The tithe was collected under different names depending on the item that it was applied to, such as *resm-i bağ* (land tax), *resm-i bostan* (orchard tax), *resm-i kovan* (bee hive tax), *resm-i harir* (silk tax), and *resm-i ağ* (fishing tax).

The usual rate of the tithe was one-tenth. However, the rates could differ significantly between regions, even between towns within a region.⁴⁰⁸ The tithe was collected in

⁴⁰⁵ Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, 130.

⁴⁰⁶ Kia, *Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, 96.

⁴⁰⁷ Ahmet Gündüz, *16. Yüzyılda Antakya Kazası (1550-1584)*, (Antakya: Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2009), 152.

⁴⁰⁸ Cosgel, "Efficiency and Continuity in Public Finance: The Ottoman System of Taxation", 573.

different amounts in the sub-districts of Antakya. For instance, the rate of the tithe was one-fifth in the sub-district of Kuseyr and Cebel-i Akra, while it was one-sixth in the sub-district of Süveydiye in the 16th century. The court record on the tithe collection from the 19th century indicated that the rate that was applied to the sub-district of Kuseyr was still same in 1827.⁴⁰⁹ We observe a variety in the tithe rates in the different villages of a sub-district. For instance, the rate of the tithe was one-fifth of the product in most of the villages of the sub-district of Kuseyr, while it was one-seventh in the village of Zernebo which belonged to the same sub-district.⁴¹⁰

After the disruption of the *timar* system, the state started giving preference to tax farming (*iltizam*) as the it was less risk averse and provided much needed cash income.⁴¹¹ The collection of the tithe was carried out by a tax contractor called *mültezim*. The *mültezim* was the person who obtained the right of tax collection by offering the highest bid when the state auctioned taxation rights. However, the tax collector put extra economic pressure especially on villagers in order to maximize his profit since he obtained tax collections right for a short time period. In the case of complaints regarding excessive pressure placed on the tax-payer population by tax contractors, the state appointed an official, called *muhassil*, for the collection of tithe. However, the incapability of these officials in collecting the taxes forced the state to work with tax contractors again. Tax contractors were active in Antakya until the end of the 19th century. For instance, the tax collection right of silk and weaving products in Antakya for the year of 1827 was awarded to Katib-zade El-Hac Mustafa who gave the highest bid, 70.000 *guruş*. The amounts that he would levy from silk producers and weavers were given in details in the document. Therefore, the tax

⁴⁰⁹ A.Ş.S., Nr.17, s.12/23; A.Ş.S., Nr.17, s.13/24.

⁴¹⁰ Gündüz, *16. Yüzyılda Antakya Kazası (1550-1584)*, 152-153.

⁴¹¹ Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference. The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 231.

contractor could not ask more than the amount mentioned in the document while he was levying the tax in Antakya.⁴¹²

The central administration took the complaints on unfair tax collection seriously. Several orders were sent to the local administrators to the control of the activities of the tax collectors, and to make sure that they did not collect more than the fixed amount. For instance, the dwellers of some towns and villages in Aleppo, Antakya, and Cebel-i Akra applied to the court of Aleppo claiming that the tax collectors were collecting more than the determined amount. After evaluating of the complaint, the *timar* and *zeamet* holders who charged the dwellers with extra taxes and fees were determined. The governor of Aleppo sent an order to these *timar* and *zeamet* holders of Aleppo, Antakya, and Cebel-i Akra to warn them not to levy taxes more than the determined amount.⁴¹³ On the other hand, the tax contractors experiencing difficulties in tax collection process could apply to the court to get help from the central government. For instance, one of the Imperial Council clerks, Mehmet Izzet, who was the *mutasarrif* of the district of Com in Antakya, assigned a local official for the collection of the tithes from the district. However, when the official, *subaşı* Ahmet, arrived to the district to levy the tax, some of the dwellers of the district rejected paying the tax. The *mutasarrif* sent a petition to the governor of Aleppo in order to ask him to send an order to the people of the district to not resist collection of the tithes.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹² Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 181.

⁴¹³ Halep 5 Numaralı Ahkam Defteri, 69/169, RA, 1200 (hijri).

⁴¹⁴ Halep 5 Numaralı Ahkam Defteri, 64/156, 1200 (hijri)

İmdad-ı Seferiyye and İmdad-ı Hazariyye

Global economic developments, long-lasting wars, and internal problems contributed to shortage of cash in the Ottoman Empire in the 17th centuries. The central government tried to solve the problem by borrowing large sums of money from the wealthy citizens who would collect levies from the subjects of the empire in the way of reimbursement.⁴¹⁵ The levies were called *imdadiye* or *imdad-ı seferiyye* which means "urgent war contribution". The *imdadiye* was levied irregularly, only at the time of war, in the 17th century; however, the central government began to levy the *imdadiye* in the form of a general tax in the 18th century.⁴¹⁶ At the beginning, *imdad-ı seferiyye* was designed to meet the costs of maintaining the provincial troops. However, the tax was also used to pay salaries of local administrators, such as governors, *mutasarrifs*, and *voyvodas* in the 18th and 19th centuries.

İmdad-ı Seferiyye was collected once a year in the month of Muharram according to the *hijri* calendar. The first step of levying the *imdad-ı seferiyye* was the determination of the amount. Initially, the amount that was requested from each province by the central government in Istanbul were sent to the governors of each province. At the provincial councils, the amount was divided among the districts of the province. In that case, the amount requested from Antakya and its sub-districts was determined by the provincial council of Aleppo, and it was sent to the *kadı* of Antakya. After the addition of all the expenses that would be made during the collection of the tax, the amount was equally shared among the districts of Antakya, and was expected to be collected within 20 days.⁴¹⁷ The tax was collected from almost everybody, including religious

⁴¹⁵ Ahmet Tabakoğlu, "İmdadiyye", *D.İ.A.*, (c.22, İstanbul 2001), 221-222.

⁴¹⁶ M. Alaaddin Yalçınkaya, "The Provincial Reforms of the Early Tanzimat Period as Implemented in the Kaza of Avrethisarı", *OTAM* 6, (1995), 348.

⁴¹⁷ Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 227.

(ulema) and military class (*askeri*) which was uncommon practice in term of tax collection in the Ottoman Empire.

Another tax that was introduced by the government in the first half of the 18th century to overcome monetary difficulties during peace-time was *imdad-ı hazariyye*. The literary meaning of the tax was emergency peace time contributions. This tax was collected in the same way as the *imdad-ı seferriyye* from each *kaza* with the help of *kadı* and *ayan*, and it was collected in two installments.⁴¹⁸ The tax was collected under the names of *imdad-ı hazariye* or *hazariyye akçesi* in the spring (*rûz-ı hızır*) and fall (*rûz-ı kasım*). Initially, the tax was collected to help the state to deal with monetary difficulties during the peace-time, but the tax was used to meet the expenses of the provincial governors afterwards.

Table 3.4. The sum of İmdad-ı Hazariyye tax paid in Antakya in the 18th and 19th Centuries

Date	First Installment (<i>guruş</i>)	Second Installment (<i>guruş</i>)	Total (<i>guruş</i>)
1736 ⁴¹⁹	4462,5	4000	8462,5
1749 ⁴²⁰	2231	2231	4462
1752 ⁴²¹	1750	1750	3500
1762 ⁴²²	2421,5	2431	4852
1776 ⁴²³	1750	1750	3500

⁴¹⁸ Yalçinkaya, "The Provincial Reforms of the Early Tanzimat Period as Implemented in the Kaza of Avrethisarı", 348.

⁴¹⁹ Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 232

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ A.Ş.S., Nr.5, s.63/37, s.196/118.

⁴²² A.Ş.S., Nr.7, s.37/16, s.112/63

⁴²³ Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 236-237.

Table 3.4. (Cont.)

Date	First Installment (<i>guruş</i>)	Second Installment (<i>guruş</i>)	Total (<i>guruş</i>)
1802 ⁴²⁴	2381	2381	4762
1805 ⁴²⁵	10000
1822 ⁴²⁶	4160
1823 ⁴²⁷	4462,5

The table shows the *imdad-ı hazariyye* amounts collected in the 18th and 19th centuries in Antakya. In the years of 1736, 1749, 1752, 1762, 1776, and 1802, the tax was collected with two installments in Spring and Fall. The amounts indicated in the table includes only the tax amounts that were requested by the council of Aleppo, and do not cover the additional fees and expenses. The additional fees and expenses associated with tax collection were added to the determined amount of the *imdad-ı hazariyye*, and they were all collected together with the original amount of the *imdad-ı hazariyye*. The requested amount was apportioned between people living in neighbors of Antakya and its sub-districts of Kuseyr, Cebel-i Akra, Süveydiye, and Altinöz. The table also shows the tax amount applied in the 18th and 19th centuries showed inconsistency. Related to campaigns and need of cash for the central government, the tax amount increased or decreased sharply which made it difficult for the dweller of the city to estimate the amount of the tax which would be paid in the ensuing years. For instance, the amount paid in 1805 was four time higher than the one paid in 1802 which brought extra burden to the inhabitants of Antakya. Several complaints on sharp increase in the amount of *imdad-ı hazariyye* were sent to the council

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 237

⁴²⁵ A.Ş.S., Nr.10, s.184/170

⁴²⁶ A.Ş.S., Nr.17, s.49/93

⁴²⁷ A.Ş.S., Nr.17, s.88/193

of Aleppo, asking for deduction for the tax amount of 1805. The council of Aleppo took into consideration the request of the inhabitants of Antakya, and reduced the amount around 25%.⁴²⁸ That case shows that the council of Aleppo determined the tax amount without considering the economic situation of the people living in the province.

Jizya (Poll Tax)

The majority of the population in Antakya consisted of Muslims. However, there were a significant number of non-Muslims, namely Greek Orthodox, Armenian, and Jews living both in the city proper and in the rural sub-districts of Antakya. The Greek Orthodox Christians were the earliest inhabitants of Antakya. The city was one of the most important religious centers for Christians during the Roman and the Byzantine periods. However, a new period began after the conquest of the city by Muslims. During this period, the city lost its Roman, Byzantine, and Christian character. After the conquest, the socio-political structure of the city changed. The demographic character, culture, and the urban settlement structure of the regions underwent an explicit transformation in the early middle ages. Especially under the Mamluk Sultanate, most of the Christians living in Antakya were forced to leave the city.⁴²⁹ The return of the Christians to Antakya began in the mid-16th century, a few years after the occupation of the city by the Ottoman Empire. The Christian population increased until the 19th century. Under Ottoman rule, non-Muslim communities were allowed to maintain their physical existence, language, sense of history, cultural traditions, and religious integrity.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁸ A.Ş.S., Nr.10, s.184/170

⁴²⁹ Bahadır, "The Transformation of the Socio-Political Structure in the Beginning of the Islamic Reign in Antioch", 199.

⁴³⁰ Benjamin Braude, "Introduction", in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Abridged Edition*, 25.

Ottoman authorities recognized the rights of believers in the monotheistic faith to remain at peace with the Muslim community, *umma*, as long as they accepted Islam's political authority over them. The non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire were called *ahl al-dhimma*, literally the “people of contract” whose right of having property, life, and freedom of worship was guaranteed in return for an extra tax called *jizya* (poll tax) and the promise not to cooperate with enemies of the Empire.⁴³¹ All adult male non-Muslims, aged between 14 and 75, were liable to pay the poll tax to the Ottoman state. Women, children, elders, handicapped people, mentally retarded persons, and members of religious class were exempted from paying the poll tax. In addition to the of guarantee their life, property, and freedom of worship, they were also exempted from the military service.⁴³²

The tax was seldom financially debilitating as the rate was determined based on one's ability to pay. Based on the financial condition of the persons, the tax was collected in three different rates, called *'ala* (high), *evsat* (middle), and *edna* (low). *'Ala* was paid by the upper class non-Muslims, while *evsat* was levied from the middle classes based on their income level. *Edna* was mostly collected from the lower class or part-time workers. State officials made inspections every three years, called *nev yafte yılı*, in order to register non-Muslim adult males who were eligible to pay the poll tax, and to subtract the names of dead persons from the tax payers list.⁴³³ This tax varied according to region and period until the time of Köprülüzade Mustafa Paşa , who served as the grand-vizier of the Ottoman Empire between 1689 and 1691. He attempted to reform the poll tax by fixing a certain amount for each class.⁴³⁴

⁴³¹ Master, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism*, 19.

⁴³² Halil İnalçık, “Cizye”, *DİA*, c.8, İstanbul (1993), 42-48

⁴³³ *Ibid*, 43-44.

⁴³⁴ Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 242.

As the poll tax was of religious nature, the Ottoman Empire showed additional interest to collecting and spending it. The tax was usually levied the official, called *cizyedar*, appointed by the central government, or representatives of the non-Muslims, employing special tax collectors was insufficient to prevent corruption and abuse at was experienced in the early 19th century. The increase of complaints as well as the ineffectiveness in tax collection forced the Empire to apply the tax farming system for the collection of the poll tax. Starting under the reign of Mahmud II (1808-1839), the poll tax started being collected by *mültezims*.⁴³⁵ Prior to the tax collection, some of the officials of the district of Antakya, namely the *kadi*, the *voyvoda*, *jizya* officials came together to discuss the rules and regulations needed to be followed by the tax collectors. Levying the tax on time, collecting the taxes precisely, treating taxpayers fairly, and avoiding levying the tax on those who were exempted were demanded from the district's official by the central government.

Table 3.5. Jizya Amounts in Antakya

Date	'Ala	Evsat	Edna	Total Person	Total Amount (<i>guruş</i>)
1753 ⁴³⁶	120	960	120	1200	6900
1762 ⁴³⁷	120	960	120	1200	6900
1765 ⁴³⁸	120	960	120	1200	6900
1802 ⁴³⁹	110	880	110	1100	6325

⁴³⁵ Yavuz Ercan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Gayrimüslimlerin Ödedikleri Vergiler ve Bu Vergilerin Doğurduğu Sosyal Sonuçlar", *Belleten*, LV/213 (1991), 374.

⁴³⁶ Gül, "Antakya Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1709-1806)", 244.

⁴³⁷ A.Ş.S., Nr.7, s.113/205

⁴³⁸ A.Ş.S., Nr.8, s.4/12

⁴³⁹ A.Ş.S., Nr.10, s.40/41, s.92/99

Table 3.5 (Cont.)

Date	'Ala	Evsat	Edna	Total Person	Total Amount (<i>guruş</i>)
1804 ⁴⁴⁰	110	880	110	1100	23100
1823 ⁴⁴¹	70	800	125	995
1842 ⁴⁴²	19	1214	520	1753	36820

The number of *jizya* payers in neighbors of Antakya and its sub-districts remained stable in 1200 in most of the second half of the 18th century. In the first decade of the 19th century, only 1100 *jizya* payers were listed as living in the district of Antakya. Significantly, there was sharp increase and decrease in the number of *jizya* payers in the 1820s. While the number of the taxpayers dropped to 995 in 1823, the number was almost doubled by raising to 1753 in 1842. These numbers might be explained with migration and newcomers, or with errors made by the tax collectors. Even if there was a decline in the number of male non-Muslim taxpayers, we cannot be sure that there was a demographic decline in the city in the early 19th century. It is a fact that several complaints reached Istanbul charging the officials with granting some non-Muslims illegal exemptions that would decrease the number of tax payers registered in the court records and *jizya* registers. Officials in Antakya might have provided the same kind of exemptions to non-Muslims since the same kind of exemptions were given to non-Muslims in Aleppo in the 18th and 19th centuries.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴⁰ A.Ş.S., Nr.10, s.141/155, s.144/157

⁴⁴¹ A.Ş.S., Nr.17, s.85/185

⁴⁴² BOA, ML.VRD. CMH., Defter No:401, p.64-94.

⁴⁴³ Master, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism*, 56.

Table 3.6. The jizya rates in Antakya based on different categories of tax-payers between 1753-1844

Date	'Ala (guruş)	Evsat (guruş)	Edna (guruş)
1753	11	5.5	2.5
1762	11	5.5	2.5
1765	11	5.5	2.5
1802	11	5.5	2.5
1804	40	20	10
1844	60	30	15

The amount of *jizya* levied from Antakya and its sub-districts increase remained stable in the second half of the 18th century. However, the Ottoman officials increased the *jizya* rates due to increasing military expenses and shortage of cash in the Empire. The sum of the *jizya* levied from the district of Antakya rose fourfold in 1804 which made the tax irksome for the non-Muslims. Another sharp rise in the tax rate was experienced in 1844 when the amount increased around 50%. In order to avoid paying large sums of taxes, some of the non-Muslims hid their properties or misinformed the investigators in order to present themselves as members of the lower class whose members paid the lowest amount of *jizya*.

Conclusion

The economy of the district of Antakya was responsive towards regional and general political and economic developments in the Ottoman Empire. Some major political development in the Empire, such as the continuous wars in the second half of the 18th and early 19th centuries, financial crises, scarcity, incapability to compete with European industry, and inflation and increasing rent prices, and some local political and economic developments, such as the invasion

of the region, including the district of Antakya, by the Egyptian governor, shortage of the basic raw materials significantly affected trade, artisans, and tax rates in the district of Antakya in the 18th and 19th centuries. Particularly, following the Egyptian invasion, a chaotic environment developed in the district, which caused to decrease in the numbers of artisans and agricultural productivity, and increase in prices of basic needs and raw materials.

One can say that economy of the district of Antakya shows the same characteristic of other mid-sized Ottoman districts in the sense of being pre-industrial, but the economy was not simple and unchanging. The district of Antakya played a relatively important role in regional domestic and international trade in the 18th and 19th centuries. Belonging two ports made it possible to ship both the local products and materials arriving from East Anatolia, Iraqi provinces, and Aleppo. All these materials were shipped to Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and some other countries from these ports. These Western powers used Levant and Anatolia as a source of cheap and raw materials for their industries in the 17th and 18th centuries. An important amount of the raw materials sold to Western European powers returned to the district of Antakya as machined products at lower prices than the one produced by local manufacturers, which had negative impact on guilds in the 18th and 19th centuries. In addition to the merchants of Antakya, several merchants from Anatolian provinces, Arab provinces, and Europe came to the city to involve in commercial activities. With the arrival of foreign merchants, new economic patterns began to be observed in the district. While most of the local production were produced based on the needs of local population, the regional and international demand changed size, quality and quantity of the products in the 19th century. However, the district was not as active commercial center as Aleppo or Damascus, in which the Christian subjects growing richer through foreign trade and the Muslims were suffering from financial problems in the 18th and 19th centuries. That

development was one of the reason of the riots, which turned into conflicts between Muslims and non-Muslims in Aleppo, Nablus, and Damascus in the 1850s and 1860s. Therefore, the limited penetration of industrialization and foreign merchants to the district of Antakya which prevented the major changes in financial position of different ethnic and religious groups in the district in the 18th and 19th centuries hindered a possible conflict among these groups.

The number of the professional guild organizations known to have existed in the district of Antakya was 93 in the 18th and 19th centuries. Each guild was free to elect its head who would have responsibilities to the state and the artisans. As the district of Antakya did not experience substantive technological progress, contrary to European cities, in the 18th and 19th centuries, the tools and techniques of production did not change. The main purpose of the guilds was meeting local needs which played significant role in the design, quality, and price of their products, but with penetration of the European merchants into the region, the demands of these merchants were also taken into consideration. Although they had freedom of selling their products to whomever they wanted, the central government asked them to sell their products at regulated prices determined by the local commissions. But, the government failed in monitoring prices in the market areas which did not discourage some of the shopkeepers from selling their products over the fixed prices. Therefore, one can claim that artisans enjoyed their autonomous spaces as the state had limited ability to control both the internal affairs of guilds and the economy.

The social, economic, and political developments forced the Ottoman government to modify the taxation system according to the needs of the time period. The officials applied taxes on land, persons, and shops. The determination of the tax rates and the tax burden distribution among dwellers of the district of Antakya were carried out by governor of the province of

Aleppo and officials of the city. The most important taxes applied in Antakya between 1750 and 1840 were *avarız* and *bedel-i nüzül*, *öşür*, *imdad-ı seferiyye*, *imdad-ı hazarriyye*, and *jizya*. In addition to these taxes, the government applied some other taxes at the time of extraordinary events, such as wars, festivals, natural disasters, etc. In the light of the archival documents used in this study, it can be said that the tax burden on the tax-paying population did not remain the same, and, in some cases, rose significantly during the period under study. Being obligated to pay several taxes was financially debilitating for the dwellers of the Antakya, which forced them to send several complaints to the provincial council of Aleppo or to the central government in Istanbul regarding high tax rates or tax collector's corruption.

CHAPTER IV: MINORITIES IN ANTAKYA

Non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire and the Millet System

The Ottoman Empire ruled in three different continents for over four centuries. Many people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, including Muslims, Christians, Jews, Armenians, Turks, Greeks, Arabs shared these territories. The Ottoman Empire successfully governed these multi-ethnic and multi-religious communities despite the complexity of the ethnos-religious make-up of the region, in which religious and ethnic differences have triggered many conflicts.⁴⁴⁴ In this context, too many communities from different religious and ethnic background came together to create a shared sensibility which allowed differences to survive.⁴⁴⁵ The reason behind the Ottoman success in ruling all these different subjects until the 19th century was the successful application of the concept of *millet*s by the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁴ Mehmet Yetisgin. "The Ottoman Way of Governing Multi-Ethnic and Multi-Religious Groups." (Journal of The Center for Ottoman Studies Ankara University, No. 21 (Spring 2007), p. 136.

⁴⁴⁵ Benjamin Braude, "Introduction", in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Abridged Edition*, ed. by Benjamin Braude (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2014), 1.

⁴⁴⁶ For *millet* system see: Daniel Goffman, "Ottoman Millets in the Early Seventeenth Century," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 11 (Fall 1997): 135–158; H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East*, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1957); Benjamin Braude, "Foundation Myths of the Millet System." in *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. By Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes&Meier Publishers, Vol. 1, 1982); Kemal H. Karpat, "Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era." in *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes&Meier Publishers, Vol. 1, 1982); Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 130-143; Richard Clogg, "The Greek Millet in the Ottoman Empire," in *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. By Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes&Meier Publishers, Vol. 1, 1982); Roderic H. Davison, "The Millets as Agents of Change in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," in *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. By Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes&Meier Publishers, Vol. 1, 1982).

It is believed that the *millet* system was the framework within which the Ottoman state ruled its non-Muslim subjects. The main aim behind the *millet* system was approaching the non-Muslims as members of religious community, not as individuals. The leader of each *millet* community, a patriarch or rabbi, was responsible to the state for their respective community, and to his respective community regarding relations with the state. Through this system, *millet* communities maintained their fiscal and juridical autonomy.⁴⁴⁷ According to Benjamin Braude before the 19th century, the *millet* system was not well institutionalized, but rather it was loosely conceptualized as set of arrangements, largely local, with considerable variation over time and place.⁴⁴⁸ Although the term *millet* refers to a religiously-defined community, the term was not employed in the official documents until the 19th century. Prior to that time, the terms of *taife* or *cemaat* were preferred to refer to these religious and ethnic groups in these documents. The European lexicographic understanding of the term of the *millet*, which referred to a religious community or a nation within the empire, entered the Ottoman institutional dictionary with the reforming decrees of Mahmud II and Abdulmecid.⁴⁴⁹ One of the earliest usages of the term of *millet* to refer these groups occurs in an order published in the *Takvim-i Vakayi* in 1835.⁴⁵⁰

Another scholar, Kemal Karpat, who discusses the *millet* system in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century, describes the *millet* system by saying “the *millet* system was a socio-cultural and communal framework based, firstly, on religion, secondly, on ethnicity which in turn often reflected linguistic differences. Religion supplied to each *millet* a universal belief system while

⁴⁴⁷ Benjamin Braude, "Foundation Myths of the Millet System." in *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. By Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes&Meier Publishers, Vol. 1, 1982), 69.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 69-88.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 73-74.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 73.

ethnic and linguistic differences provided for divisions and subdivisions within each one of the two Christian *millets*.”⁴⁵¹ Religious regulation provided to a hierarchy of authority culminating in the chief prelate, that is patriarch or rabbi, of each community and ultimately in the ruler, the sultan. Language was both a tool of communication and a distinguishing mark of the ethnic subdivisions. Linguistic differences were not very significant until the 18th century when the Greek language started to function as a means to Hellenize the Orthodox *millet*.⁴⁵²

Armenians, Orthodox, and Jewish were identified as autonomous ethno-religious communities administrated by a religiously recognized authority or communal council. Members of the religious communities consisted of different nationalities. It is important to note that the Orthodox were dominantly Greek in Istanbul, Arab in the Middle Eastern provinces, and Serbian and Bulgarian in the Balkans. Turks, Arabs, and Kurds constituted the majority of the Muslim population, but it is important to note that Muslims were also unofficially divided into Sunni and Shias. The Jewish community had no recognized leader who had any influence outside of Istanbul. On the other hand, Orthodox and Armenian Churches were allowed to have a patriarch who represented them in different areas in the Empire.⁴⁵³ In addition, Muslim, Armenian, Orthodox, and Jewish courts were permitted to flourish in the Ottoman court system. A multi-tiered court system for their subjects coming from different religious and ethnic backgrounds was employed by the Ottoman administration. The Muslim courts were ruled by Hanafi law and

⁴⁵¹ Kemal H. Karpat, "Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era." in *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes&Meier Publishers, Vol. 1, 1982), 142.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, 142.

⁴⁵³ Fatma Muge Göçek, "The Legal Recourse of Minorities in History: Eighteenth Century Appeals to the Islamic Court of Galata." in *Minorities in the Ottoman Empire*. ed. By Molly Greene (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2005), 56.

custom on personal matters, including inheritance, marriage, divorce, custody, and guardianship for all members of society. The Jews, Orthodox, and Armenians had their own courts, which were free to administer justice in all matters except for criminal cases.⁴⁵⁴ The Christian and Jewish leadership could excommunicate, banish, fine, and chastise their members concerning internal matters, but not in issues involving Muslims and Muslim authority.⁴⁵⁵

One of the most important benefits of the *millet* system to the Ottoman Empire was incorporating these communities into the Ottoman administrative, economic, and political system. The *millet* system provided for a degree of religious, social, cultural, and ethnic continuity within these communities. Therefore, the travelers who passed through the Ottoman territories in the 17th and 18th centuries observed sharp differences of custom, language, and religion among different communities living in different regions. However, they also observed a common economic, social, and political outlook that showed the successful application of this system.⁴⁵⁶ Travelers also observed that the Ottomans allowed non-Muslim minorities to continue their religious and cultural traditions by not imposing assimilation policy. Each of the communities that made up the *millet* system had a community leader who was responsible for

⁴⁵⁴ For Jews in the Ottoman Empire see: Avigdor Levy, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*. (Princeton: Darwin Press, 2003); Joseph R. Hacker, "Ottoman Policy toward the Jews and Jewish Attitudes toward the Ottomans during the Fifteenth Century," in *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes&Meier Publishers, Vol. 1, 1982), 117-126; Bruce Master, *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Mark A. Epstein, "The Leadership of the Ottoman Jews in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes&Meier Publishers, Vol. 1, 1982), 101-116.

⁴⁵⁵ Göçek, "The Legal Recourse of Minorities in History: Eighteenth Century Appeals to the Islamic Court of Galata", 58-59.

⁴⁵⁶ Karpát, "Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era", 142.

internal affairs of their community. The government protected the communities from both internal and external aggression. Each *millet* established its own institutions, such as educational and religious institutions, to provide services that the state did not take care of. They had their separate schools, hospitals, and hotels until the 20th century.⁴⁵⁷

Minorities were not legally confined to segregated urban areas in the manner of Europe's medieval Jewry. However, a strong sense of religious identification, communal self-organization, and sectarian sensitivities and prejudices played a significant role in shaping the of Christian and Jewish neighborhoods, where they settled and had social, educational, and religious institutions in many Ottoman urban centers. For instance, the majority of Christians in Damascus lived in the quarters of Bab Sharqi and Bab Tuman, and the Jews in Mahallat al-Yahud in the 16th and 17th centuries. However, the demographic character of the quarters changed over time, and some Muslims moved to these quarters, and lived in these areas.⁴⁵⁸ In the 18th and 19th centuries, Christians and Jews also crossed the sectarian lines and moved and lived in the quarters that were mostly inhabited by Muslims. For instance, Christians in Antakya lived in a few communally defined quarters in the 18th century, but the *jizya* registers of the 19th century show that they moved to several quarters in Antakya, and began to live in quarters dominantly inhabited by Muslims.

Tolerant co-existence of different communities and consciousness of inter-communal coexistence were the two main elements that kept the *millet* system functioning until the 19th

⁴⁵⁷ Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 151.

⁴⁵⁸ Najwa al-Qattan, "Across the Courtyard: Residential Space and Sectarian Boundaries in Ottoman Damascus", in *Minorities in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. By Molly Greene (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2005), 14.

century. Karen Barkey defines toleration as the absence of persecution of people, but not their acceptance as full and welcomed members or communities. Toleration refers to the relations between various religious and ethnic groups and authorities that emerged as a result of networked, negotiated, and pragmatic forms of rule.⁴⁵⁹ In the Ottoman context, toleration referred to cultural understanding towards the non-Muslim citizens. It is a fact that non-Muslims were second-class subjects according to Islamic laws, but they were not persecuted under Ottoman rule, and the Ottoman Empire tolerated them so long as they did not disturb the peace or go against the Islamic rules and principles.⁴⁶⁰ Maintaining intercommunal peace and order was beneficial to both to the rulers and non-Muslim communities. That is why, intercommunal relations were maintained both from the top down by the state and from the bottom up by the communities. The key policy in maintaining intercommunal relations was tolerance. As a result of this policy multiple, bounded, yet also overlapping corporate networks of religious and ethnic communities were integrated into the Empire, and created separate places for the non-Muslims.⁴⁶¹

It is important to point that in accordance with the precepts of Islamic law the Ottoman Empire did not tolerate the conversion of a Muslim into Christianity or Judaism while it allowed Jews and Christians to become Muslims. There were several different types of conversion, such as individual or collective, voluntary, and forced. Enhancing social status and economic motivations were the main reasons behind the early conversions of Christians to Islam in the Ottoman Empire. According to Islamic law, non-Muslims had to pay jizya and all other taxes

⁴⁵⁹ Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 110.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 114.

that were collected from Muslims. To avoid heavier taxation, some non-Muslims would convert to Islam.⁴⁶²

The Ottoman Empire offers several examples of intercommunal coexistence that provided benefits both to communities and rulers of the empire. Intercommunalism is described by Nicholas Doumanis as follows: “it [intercommunalism] refers to accommodation of difference between cultural, ethnic, or religious communities that happened to occupy the same street, neighborhood, village, or rural environ.”⁴⁶³ In the course of the interaction between communities a spirit of neighborliness is created, and people began to have shared values. However, intercommunalism is a neglected area in history since historians have given more attention to moments of rupture, and considered nations, societies, or cultures as internally homogenous and externally different and bounded objects.⁴⁶⁴

Intercommunalism served several purposes. First, it is considered as a preventative measure against conflict that could be expected between different ethnic and religious groups living in a close proximity. Second, since collaboration is crucial for social order and common prosperity and interest, such as managing bazaars, conducting local or religious festivals, and imposition of their service request to the government, all groups could appreciate it. Third, the Ottoman *millets*, Muslims, Christians, and Jews, preferred to live in a friendly environment, and members of these communities attended to social and religious organizations set up by the members of other groups. Fourth, intercommunalism was a way to protect the reputation of being

⁴⁶² Ibid., 125-126.

⁴⁶³ Nicholas Doumanis, *Before the Nation: Muslim-Christian Coexistence and its Destruction in Late Ottoman Anatolia*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2.

⁴⁶⁴ Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History*. (Berkeley, CA, 1982), 6-7.

a local that both provided interest to each group and encouraged members of different religious and ethnic groups to behave as if they were an organic community. Lastly, intercommunality was a way for each community to protect its boundaries since communities observed sensibilities and interests of other communities.⁴⁶⁵

The different communities living in the Ottoman Empire showed tolerance to each other; however, not all the communities had the same social status. In general, the social status of the Muslims was higher than that of non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire. Non-Muslims were prohibited from building houses taller than Muslim ones, riding horses, and building new houses of worship if there were Muslims around. Non-Muslims could not marry a Muslim woman, whereas a Muslim man could marry a non-Muslim woman; they were obliged to wear distinctive clothes so that they might not be confused with Muslims, and they were forbidden to carry guns until the second half of the 19th century.⁴⁶⁶ In addition, the testimony of the non-Muslims was accepted in the sharia courts if they swore an appropriate oath on either the Torah or the Gospels. However, the testimony of two non-Muslim men was equal to that of one Muslim man.⁴⁶⁷ Non-Muslims also had to pay a tax called jizya. Non-Muslims shared the same neighbors with the Muslims, entered commercial contracts with them, and worked together. However, it is clear from the injunctions that the social status of a Muslim was higher than that of a non-Muslim in the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁵ Doumanis, *Before the Nation: Muslim-Christian Coexistence and its Destruction in Late Ottoman Anatolia*, 2-3.

⁴⁶⁶ Salahi R. Sonyel, *Minorities and the Destruction of the Ottoman Empire*. (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society Printing House, 1991), 4.

⁴⁶⁷ Bruce Master, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 32.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 23.

Most of the Muslims and non-Muslims lived in harmony in the Ottoman Empire until the late 18th century. In the 19th century the Empire experienced the rise of the intercommunal conflict, especially in the Levant. However, Donald Quataert claims that even though intercommunal violence increased in the 19th century, inter-Ottoman group relations during most of the Ottoman history were above the standards of the age.⁴⁶⁹ The most important reason for the continuation of the intercommunal relations was that the non-Muslims had little gains when they cooperated with Christian rivals of the Empire, such as Venice, Austria, and Russia before the 19th century. When the Western powers penetrated into Ottoman territories and became more influential, the non-Muslims co-operated with these powers to demand new rights and economically benefit from them. Although there was tolerance towards the non-Muslims they were officially excluded from the all-important offices of the state, and were subjected to restrictions. In parallel to these developments in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, there was a growing influence of France and Britain in the Eastern Mediterranean. These powers established close economic relations with non-Muslims of the region. Penetration of these powers caused socio-economic changes in favor of non-Muslims since foreign merchants were interested in dealing with Christian and Jewish intermediaries due to their familiarity with Western languages, and experience in commerce.⁴⁷⁰ These developments led to increasing tension between Muslims and non-Muslims which triggered intense conflicts between each other, especially in the Levant and the independence struggles among different nations in the Balkans.

⁴⁶⁹ Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, 175

⁴⁷⁰ Doumanis, *Before the Nation: Muslim-Christian Coexistence and its Destruction in Late Ottoman Anatolia*, 24-25; Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, 93.

The Ottoman Empire hosted a significant number of non-Sunni minorities, especially in Eastern Anatolia and the Syrian provinces. Compared to the Ottoman state's attitudes towards non-Muslims, the Ottoman attitude towards non-Sunni minorities, namely Alawis, Druze, Yazidis, Kizilbash, and Ismailis was different. The Ottoman Empire perceived non-Sunni minorities as heretics, and these minorities were not eligible for benefiting from the protections which had been provided to non-Muslims, People of the Book, by the Pact of Umar in the early years of Islam. It is a fact that these groups were welcomed by the Ottoman state in the early years of its existence since Sufi and Turkic groups were important factors in the process of occupation and Islamization of the Balkans and Anatolia.⁴⁷¹

The conquest of Mamluk Egypt and Syria, the establishment of control over the Holy Lands, and becoming the powerful Islamic Empire in the 16th century, gave Ottoman sultans the right to claim for themselves the status of leaders of Islamic world, specifically as an upholder of Sunni orthodoxy. The ongoing dissent created by the Sufi orders in the 16th century, the Safavid threat in Eastern borders of the empire, and the increasing sympathy towards the Shah of Safavids among non-Sunni minorities in East and West Anatolia forced the Ottoman authorities to apply oppression policy in the 16th and 17th centuries. As a result of this policy, those who refused to fit the Ottoman organizational mode were persecuted by the Ottomans.⁴⁷² Several fatwas were issued to eliminate these non-Sunni minorities whose members, in theory, were considered heretics, disbelievers, and apostates. These fatwas began to be issued since the

⁴⁷¹ Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, 60, 125-126. For Islamization of the Balkans see: Michel Balivet, "Aux origines de l'islamisation des Balkans Ottomans," in *Les Balkans à l'époque ottomane, La revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 66 (1992/4): 11-20. Anton Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kisve Bahasi etitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670-1730* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

⁴⁷² Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, 163.

beginning of the 16th century condemned all the male members of these communities to death, and declared their wives, children, and properties as booty for soldiers and Sunni Muslims.⁴⁷³ The oppression on these heterodox groups increased in the 17th century when a purist Islamic movement, the Kadızadeli movement, became very influential in the urban spaces of the empire.⁴⁷⁴ After the penetration of European powers and some reform movements in the 19th century, the heterodox groups faced less oppression so long as they did not revolt against the Empire and paid their taxes on time.

The majority of the population in Antakya consisted of Sunni Muslims. However, there were significant numbers of non-Muslims and non-Sunni groups, namely Greek Orthodox, Armenian, Jewish, and Alawis (Nusayris) mostly residing in the sub-districts of the city. The minorities living in the city proper did not enclose themselves in exclusive quarters, and they shared their neighborhood with residents from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Three of these minorities, Greek Orthodox, Armenians, and Alawis, which constituted more than 90 per cent of the minorities of Antakya, will be the main subject of this chapter. The areas which inhabited by these minority groups, their social and economic life, the relationship between the

⁴⁷³ Zeynep Türkyilmaz, "Anxieties of Conversion: Missionaries, State and Heterodox Communities in the Late Ottoman Empire." (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Los Angeles: University of Los Angeles, 2009), p. 158. Colin Imber, *Ebus-Su'ud : The Islamic Legal Tradition, Jurists-Profiles in Legal Theory*. (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1997), 75-92. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebussu'ud Efendi'nin Fetvalarına göre Kanuni Devrinde Osmanlı Hayatı: Fetava-yı Ebussu'ud Efendi*. (İstanbul: Şule Yayınları, 1998), 173-176.

⁴⁷⁴ The Kadızadeli movement, which was conservative and short lived, gathered many followers and fanatics in the main core cities of the empire. The movement supported the idea of conservative return to traditions and to pure Sunni Islam, which encouraged people for exclusion and destruction of heterodox groups in the empire. As being an orthodox conservative movement, the Kadızadeli challenged the Ottoman toleration on different groups, and encouraged the state to be tough on "difference." Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, 164, 183-183; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler, 15-17. Yüzyıllar*. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2013), 447,449.

Ottoman state and the representatives of these communities, their relations with each other and the Sunni population, and the discriminations that they faced will be discussed.

Greek Orthodox

The term 'Orthodox Christian' was more or less equal to the term 'Rum' which referred to the descendants of the Eastern Roman Empire. The term 'Rum' was commonly used by the Ottoman officials to refer to Greek Orthodox subjects for centuries. In the Turkish and Ottoman historiography, the term represents all the people under the different Orthodox Patriarchates and churches in the Ottoman territories.⁴⁷⁵

The Greek Orthodox Christians were the earliest inhabitants of Antakya, and the present-day communities are their spiritual descendants. The city was the one of the most important religious centers for Christians during the Roman and the Byzantine periods. However, Arab Orthodoxy was in a deep crisis in the 13th and 14th centuries. The intense conflicts between the Crusaders and Muslims during that time period caused the persecution of Arab Christians, including those living in Antakya, by both sides. Moreover, the pandemic of Black Death, which led to death of thousands of people in the mid-14th century, made conditions worse for both Christians and Muslims living in the region. A new period began after the conquest of the city by Muslims. During this period the city lost its Roman, Byzantine, and Christian characters. After the conquest, the socio-political structure of the city was changed. The demographic character, culture, and urban settlement structure of the region showed explicit transformation in the early middle ages.⁴⁷⁶ Especially under the Mamluk Sultanate, most of the Christians living in Antakya

⁴⁷⁵ Ayşe Özil, *Orthodox Christians in the Late Ottoman Empire: A Study of Communal Relations in Anatolia*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 9.

⁴⁷⁶ Bahadır, "The Transformation of the Socio-Political Structure in the Beginning of the Islamic Reign in Antioch", 199.

were forced to leave the city, and the Monastery of St. Paul, the famous Cathedral of St. Peter, and some other churches were destroyed.⁴⁷⁷ While some of the Christians moved to Aleppo, some of them escaped to mountain areas, which provided them a natural shield against the Mamluk oppression in the sub-district of Antakya. The return of the Christians to Antakya began in the mid-16th century a few years after the occupation of the city by the Ottoman Empire.

The Christian revival which started in the 16th century can be explained by the nature of Ottoman society, which was more tolerant to non-Muslims compared to the Mamluks. During the “Golden Age” (15th and 16th centuries) of the Ottoman Empire, there was a steady economic growth and increasing centralization of authority. Under these conditions, many Greek Orthodox moved from rural areas to city centers, where they would contribute to the economic and cultural dynamism of the Christian community in the region. During that period, the first non-Muslims appeared in the quarters of Antakya.⁴⁷⁸ Even though the Ottoman Empire faced several internal and external problems as well as a social, economic, and cultural transformation between the 17th and 18th centuries, the empire was relatively stable and tolerant towards non-Muslims, which created a favorable environment for the survival and development of the Arab Orthodoxy. However, the position of Christians in the Middle East radically changed during the 19th century. The general military, political, and economic developments allowed Western powers to increase their influence in the internal policies of the Ottoman Empire. That development transformed the local Christian communities living in the Levant into clients of France, Russia, and England. The

⁴⁷⁷Francoise Micheau, "Eastern Christianities (eleventh to fourteenth century): Copts, Melkites, Nestorians and Jacobites," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Eastern Christianity*, ed. Angold. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 388; Bouchier, *A Short History of Antioch, 300 B.C.- A.D. 1268*, 269.

⁴⁷⁸Constantin A. Panchenko, *Arab Orthodox Christians under the Ottomans: 1516-1831*. (New York: Holy Trinity Seminary Press, 2016),493.

Ottoman attempts to provide equal rights to Christians to reduce the impact Western Powers among non-Muslims, but the relations between minorities in Syria and Western power became more powerful in the 19th century. The presence of Western powers in the region further strengthened the position of the Christian communities, which caused great anger and anxiety among the Muslim population, and triggered unprecedented scale of religious conflicts and massacres of Christians, mostly in Aleppo and Mount Lebanon.⁴⁷⁹

Compared to Christian communities living in Aleppo and Mount Lebanon, religious conflicts between Muslims and non-Muslims did not take place in the district of Antakya in the 19th century. Even though the Christian population in the district of Antakya increased until the 19th century, the penetration of European powers to the district was limited, which was not sufficient to strengthen the position of Christian communities. On the other hand, under Ottoman rule, the Greek Orthodox community was allowed to maintain its physical existence, language, sense of history, cultural traditions, and religious integrity.⁴⁸⁰ The Patriarch of Antioch played an important role for the protection of the social, economic, and political rights as well as cultural values of the Greek Orthodox in Antakya.

The Patriarchate of Antioch and its Impact on Social, Economic, and Politic life of the Greek Orthodox of Antakya

Following the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Empire, a structure of patriarchal leadership emerged. After the conquest, Mehmed II recognized not only the religious privileges of the Patriarch of Constantinople, but, all in all, he gave him considerable political

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., 497-498; Moshe Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine 1840-1861*. (Oxford University Press: 1968).

⁴⁸⁰ Benjamin Braude, "Introduction", in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Abridged Edition*, 25.

authority as well. The authority of the Patriarch was extended over all the Orthodox Christians living in the Ottoman territories.⁴⁸¹ The Patriarchate of Constantinople had a great influence over the Eastern Patriarchates that had been established in the earlier centuries. The Eastern Patriarchates, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, were rich in historical terms but weak in spiritual and political terms. They could not stand against the decision given by the central government as well as by the Patriarch of Constantinople.⁴⁸²

The conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II in 1453 forced the Eastern Patriarchates to seek a supporter that would replace the Byzantine Empire. The Patriarch of Jerusalem interacted with the Ottoman Empire before the conquest of the region by the latter in order to get the support of the Ottoman Empire. The patriarch of Jerusalem came to the Ottoman court to congratulate Mehmed II for the conquest of Constantinople, and for confirming his rights in several locations within and outside of Jerusalem.⁴⁸³ Following the conquest of Palestine in 1517, Selim I issued an *ahidname* for the Patriarchate of Jerusalem with confirmed the continuation of rights and privileges that they had had until the Mamluk Sultanate.⁴⁸⁴ On the other hand, there was not a similar interaction between the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria during the reign of Mehmed II and Selim I. Available Ottoman primary and secondary sources do not offer any information on correspondence between the Ottoman administration and the

⁴⁸¹ Halil Inalcik, "The Status of Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans", *Turcica* 21-23 (1991), 407.

⁴⁸² Hasan Çolak, "The Relations between Ottoman Central Administration and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria: 16th and 18th Centuries." (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 2012), 15.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, 47-50.

⁴⁸⁴ R. S. Hattox, "Mehmed the Conqueror, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Mamluk Authority", *Studia Islamica* 90, (2000), 116.

Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria following the conquest of the region.⁴⁸⁵ But it is clear that the Eastern Patriarchates successfully adapted themselves to the changing political conditions in order to preserve their privileges and power over their subjects.

Ottoman archival sources and the scholarly researches confirm the subordination of the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem to the Patriarch of Constantinople in the eyes of the Ottoman administration.⁴⁸⁶ This argument is supported by Western scholars as well. Zachariadou states that “the patriarch [Constantinople] exercised an authority parallel to that of the sultan. This was furthered by the Ottoman conquest in 1517 of Syria and Egypt, which brought the three eastern patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria under Ottoman rule. In spiritual and dogmatic matters, they had always been nominally subject to the authority of the ecumenical patriarchate, but now they came under its more effective control.”⁴⁸⁷ Another scholar, Steven Runciman, points out that the Ottoman central administration wished to centralize everything at Istanbul, which put the Eastern Patriarchates into a position of inferiority in comparison with that of Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Eastern Patriarchs did not lose the ecclesiastical rights or autonomy, but they had to negotiate with the Ottoman central administration through the Patriarch of Constantinople.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁵ Çolak, “The Relations between Ottoman Central Administration and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria: 16th and 18th Centuries,” 55.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., 16-17.

⁴⁸⁷ Elizabeth Zachariadou, “The Great Church in Captivity 1453-1586”, in M. Angold (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, (Vol. V. Eastern Christianity, Cambridge, 2006.), 184-185.

⁴⁸⁸ Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 176-177.

The rise of Catholic powers' influence in the region in the 17th century was a turning point in relations between the Patriarchate of Antioch and the Ottoman Empire. During that period, the Patriarchate of Antioch became the one with the strongest connections with the Catholic world.⁴⁸⁹ The Latin missionaries were welcomed by the Patriarchate of Antioch, which was in seek of getting support of Western powers, compared to Patriarchates of Jerusalem and Alexandria that had better relations with the central administration at that time. Due to the deteriorating relations between the Ottoman administration and the Patriarchate of Antioch in the 17th century, the latter had to establish relations with the external powers which, at that time, was France. The Patriarchs sent several letters to the French court concerning difficulties they faced in the Ottoman Empire and the unfair treatment by the provincial administrators.⁴⁹⁰

The Ottoman administration did not welcome Catholic missionaries after the second decade of the 18th century. The most important reason behind this attitude on the part of the Ottoman authorities toward Catholic missionaries was the ongoing battles against two Catholic powers, Venice and Austria, during the 1720s and the complaints of the Eastern Patriarchs regarding the activities of Catholic missionaries.⁴⁹¹ One of the most important development in the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Antioch was the conversion of Orthodox flock to Catholicism. As mentioned earlier, compared to other Eastern Patriarchates, the Patriarchs of Antioch established close relations with the Catholic world during the first two centuries of the Ottoman rule.⁴⁹² Increasing activities of the Catholic missionaries in the region and conversion

⁴⁸⁹ Çolak, , “The Relations between Ottoman Central Administration and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria: 16th and 18th Centuries”, 78.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., 79.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., 120.

⁴⁹² Ibid., 150.

of several officers of the Patriarchate of Antioch as well as people among the Greek Orthodox to Catholic Christianity was not welcomed by the Ottoman administration and the Patriarchate of Constantinople. With the support of the Ottoman administration, the Patriarch of Constantinople put pressure for termination of the election of an Arabic-speaking patriarch, and encouraged election of a Greek-speaking patriarch for the Patriarchate of Antioch.

The patriarch of Antioch was elected by a Synod council consisting of bishops. After electing a person for the position of Patriarch of Antioch, they sent his name to the Sultan for approval. The Sultan gave a *berat* that demonstrated the Patriarch of Antioch's duties and privileges. However, the influence of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and Ottoman administration played significant role in election of the Patriarch of Antioch. In the 16th century, the *berats* were short, and did not provide comprehensive knowledge on the duties and appointment process of the Patriarchs. In the 18th century, the state became more involved in the internal affairs of the Patriarchates. For instance, in two *berats* given to Athanasios and his successor Silvestros, we observe the differences.⁴⁹³ In Athanasios' case, the central administration did not get involved in the appointment of the patriarch, and local powers, such as *kadi* and prominent members of the local Christian population in the region sent petitions for the appointment of Athanasios. On the other hand, it is remarkable that Silvestros derived all of his support from the center. Patriarchal elites in Istanbul, including the Grand Dragoman of the Porte and the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, played a significant role in his appointment as the Patriarch of Antioch. In addition, comparing the two *berats*, the *berat* of Silvestros is much longer and detailed, and it hints at the boundaries of the Patriarch's legal rights in relation

⁴⁹³ Ibid., 159-162.

to Ottoman administrators.⁴⁹⁴ It is clear that similar patterns were observed in other patriarchal *berat* given to the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem in the 18th century.

Most of the patriarchs in the 18th century were born in the Greek-speaking lands of the Empire, which were away from the patriarchates that they would occupy. We observe that development in Antioch when Silvestros, a Cypriot monk from Mount Athos, was appointed as patriarch of Antioch in 1724.⁴⁹⁵ The trend of appointing patriarch of Antioch from among Greek-speaking clergymen lasted until the late 19th century. After that time, the patriarchs of Antioch, with the intervention of Russia, were elected from among the Arabic-speaking local clergy, and that tradition has been retained to these days in the Patriarchate of Antioch

According to the 1862 Rum Nizamnamesi the patriarch candidates had to have some distinguished abilities. First and foremost, they must have moral values. In addition, they had to have comprehensive knowledge of science, and be master on church affairs. The activities that they had been engaged in before their candidacy were also important. If they had been involved in actions aimed at the protection of the Patriarchate and other churches and had gained the trust of the central administration, this would increase their chance to be elected. In addition to these requirements, they ought to have the ranking of bishop, and have a father who was an Ottoman subject.⁴⁹⁶

In the early 18th century, the rights and duties of the Patriarch of Antioch could be grouped in four categories: Firstly, he had to be regarded as the Patriarch by the communities

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., 160-162.

⁴⁹⁵ Çolak, “The Relations between Ottoman Central Administration and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria: 16th and 18th Centuries”, 154.

⁴⁹⁶ Rum Patrikligi Nizamati, Dustur II. 1289, 904-905.

living under his patriarchate in Antioch, Aleppo, Adana, Cildir, Ahisha, Erzurum and their dependencies in accordance with the established custom, law, and their rites. Secondly, he could prevent anybody from outside to interfere when he attempted to obtain possessions of the dead priests, monks, and kaligorias, and all the materials bequeath for the poor of their churches were to be taken care by the kadı under the testimony of Orthodox witnesses. Thirdly, the Patriarch was not to be interfered in the matters concerning with family law. The patriarch of Antioch was not responsible to the Pashas and their tribunals: he was subject to the jurisdiction of the Porte alone. In ecclesiastical matters, he was judged by a Synod. The Patriarch of Antioch had his representative at Istanbul for the attendance to the affairs of his See.⁴⁹⁷ However, his requests would be communicated to the Sultan through the Patriarch of Constantinople.⁴⁹⁸ Lastly, the Patriarch had the right of controlling vineyards, gardens, farms, mills, and other kind of materials that were part of the endowment of the church, and the sheep in the way his predecessors had done.⁴⁹⁹

The Patriarchs were provided concessions. They were addressed in the documents with their official titles, took place among the members of the administrative council of their region, were allowed to wear the same clothes as Muslims, carry weapons, and ride a horse, and were exempted from any kind of customs and fees. Another concession the Patriarchate of Antioch had was independent in marriage and divorce affairs. For instance, in a case taking place in Damascus in 1853 Abdul Kavhi, a Greek Orthodox, married his daughter to one of his relatives.

⁴⁹⁷ BOA.D.PSK.7/6 (17 February 1720)

⁴⁹⁸ John Mason Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church, The Patriarchate of Antioch*. (London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons, MDCCCLXXIII), 215-216.

⁴⁹⁹ BOA.D.PSK.7/6 (17 February 1720), Çolak, "The Relations between Ottoman Central Administration and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria: 16th and 18th Centuries", 95.

However, her husband became sick after a while. The wife asked her father to apply to the Patriarchate of Antioch to get them divorced. After the application, the Patriarchate decided to send the wife to her father's house for a while, and if her husband was not recovered from his illness, they would get divorced. As a response to that decision, the husband applied to the governor of Damascus to get his wife back. Asaf Pasa, the governor, demanded court decree from the kadi for justification of the action of sending the person's wife back to his house. After getting the court decision as well as the decision of the council, they ordered the father to send his daughter to her husband's house. The father objected to that decision by referring to the decision of the Patriarchate of Antioch, and refused to send his daughter back. He asked the Patriarch for help, but it did not change anything. The Patriarchate of Antioch asked for help the Consulate of England, but it did not produce any result to convince the governor of Damascus. The governor sent some officers to bring the lady to her husband's house by force even though some of the administrators warned the governor by reminding him of the privileges that the Patriarchate of Antioch had on the issues of marriage and divorce. In the end the case was brought before the central administration in Istanbul, which decided that the privileges that had been provided to the Patriarchate were still valid, and advised the provincial governor not to interfere in marriage and divorce issues of the Greek Orthodox.⁵⁰⁰

Collection of alms, revenues of the church endowments, and inheritances both from regions within and outside the jurisdiction of the patriarchates were the main source of income for the Eastern Patriarchates in the 18th century. In addition to these, the Greek Orthodox paid

⁵⁰⁰ BOA, HR. MKT. 79/30 (26 N. 1270), and Meyli Kılıç, "Tanzimat Sürecinde Antakya Ortodoks Rum Patrikhanesi ve Antakya'da Dini Hayat." (Unpublished Master Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2004), 27.

some special taxes, namely the *patriklik tax*, *miri rusum*, and *panayir (fair) tax* in order to support the Patriarchate of Antioch.⁵⁰¹ Eastern Patriarchs also founded economic relations with other parts of the Ottoman Empire. The donations that were made from these regions, namely from the Orthodox rulers of Wallachia, Moldavia and Russia, were a significant source of revenue for them. However, the amount of donation made by those powers depended on their political interests. For instance, when Russia lost its interest in the Mediterranean due to consecutive wars to its West and North, it ceased providing economic support to the Patriarch of Antakya.⁵⁰²

The practice of collecting alms and the incomes of the church waqfs could be observed among both Greek Orthodox communities and non-Greek Orthodox groups, including Armenians, Syrians, and Nestorians.⁵⁰³ Silvestros followed the practice of collecting alms both from the regions that were under the control of Patriarchate of Antioch, and from Ottoman Rumelia that was not within his normal jurisdiction. Silvestros sent a petition to the Porte for the request of the solving problems that were given by the *ehl-i örf* while he collected alms from his region for the maintenance of the poor clergy. In addition to the problems caused by the *ehl-i örf*, Silvestros complained about groups of people that interrupted him when he was traveling around for practicing their ceremonies. In response of that letter, the Ottoman Empire sent a document asking kadıs of Antakya, Damascus, Adana, Tarsus, and Payas for prevention of the troubles given by the *ehl-i örf*.⁵⁰⁴ These documents demonstrate that the Ottoman central

⁵⁰¹ Inalcik, “The Status of Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans”, 422-425.

⁵⁰² Constantin A. Panchenko, *Arab Orthodox Christians under the Ottomans: 1516-1831*. (New York: Holy Trinity Seminary Press, 2016),328.

⁵⁰³ Çolak, “The Relations between Ottoman Central Administration and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria: 16th and 18th Centuries”, 241.

⁵⁰⁴ BOA.KK.d.2542/3, 67a (23 January 1739).

administration was concerned with protection of the patriarch and his deputies while they were collecting alms from his flock for the maintenance of the clergy.⁵⁰⁵

The Ottoman administration took into consideration the complaints of Greek Orthodox and Catholics living under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Antioch. For instance, in the competition between Silvestros and Serafeim for the office of Patriarch of Antioch, the Ottoman Empire supported Silvestros in the 18th century since his policies were approved by the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Ottoman administration provided Janissaries who assisted him in executing the prosecution of trouble makers. However, the support given to Silvestros was abused by him. Several complaints concerning the mistreatment of Catholics in Aleppo by Silvestros were sent to Istanbul.⁵⁰⁶ By getting the support of the Ottoman administration and the Patriarchate of Constantinople, Silvestros wanted both to establish his control over the metropolitanates as well as other offices of the Patriarchate of Antioch and to challenge the established authority of the pro-Catholic party.⁵⁰⁷ Although, the Ottoman Empire supported Silvestros, they took seriously the complaints of Catholic Christians of Aleppo that resulted in the dismissal of Silvestros from his position even if only for a short period of time. In addition, the archbishopric of Aleppo was detached from the control of Patriarchate of Antioch, and transferred to Patriarchate of Constantinople for a short period of time in the 1730s.

The Patriarchate of Antioch was responsible for marriage, burial procedures, and inheritance, and that the Church court would be able to give decisions on civil law concerning the

⁵⁰⁵ Çolak, "The Relations between Ottoman Central Administration and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria: 16th and 18th Centuries", 243.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., 196.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid., 210.

Orthodox Christians. It was the institution to which the Greek Orthodox would occasionally apply when they were mistreated by the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the Greek Orthodox as well as other Christians could get help from the Ottoman administration when they faced the oppression from their religious or community leaders.

Social and economic life of the Greek Orthodox in Antakya and its sub-Districts

The number of the Greek Orthodox population living in the area controlled by the Patriarchate of Antioch in the 18th century was not clear, but the available materials indicate that their population was around 300,000 in the 19th century. Most of the population, living in eastern and southeast Anatolia as well as Syria and Lebanon were ethnically Arab, and the remaining of Greek Orthodox population was Greek. In the district of Antakya, the majority of the Greek Orthodox were ethnically Arab, and a small number of them were Greek. The Arab and Greek inhabitants of the city were actively using their own languages. John Macdonald Kinneir, who traveled to Antakya in 1813, observed that the inhabitants of Antakya could speak Turkish, Arabic, Greek, and Armenian, which confirms that there were some Greeks living in the city in the 18th and 19th centuries.⁵⁰⁸ Ottoman official registers point out that the Greek Orthodox community of Antakya spoke Arabic, although they do not provide any information on Greek-speaking Christian dwellers of the city.

Antakya hosted groups from different religious and ethnic background. The city center was inhabited by Muslims, Christians, and Jews, as well as Armenians. Christians were located in several quarters in Antakya, namely Şenbek, Mahsen, Mukbil, Sarı Mahmud, Cenine, Günlük,

⁵⁰⁸ John Macdonald Kinneir, *Journey Through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Koordistan, in the Years 1813 and 1814; with the Remarks on the Marches of Alexander, and Retreat of the Ten Thousand*. (London: John Murray, Albemarle-Street, 1818), 154

Kastel, and Kantara. Based on *jizya* registers of 1846 the number of Greek Orthodox taxpayers living in the quarters of Antakya were 9 in Şenbek, 44 in Mahsen, 4 in Mukbil, 81 in Arı Mahmud, 75 in Cenine, 7 in Günlük, 45 in Kastel, 37 in Kantara, and 5 without known place of residence. All the quarters inhabited by the Greek Orthodox were scattered inside the ancient walls of the city. The quarters of Mahsen, Sari Mahmud, Şenbek, and Mukbil hosted the elite Christian families, paying high taxes based on their income. 11 of the 14 wealthy Christians were living in Mahsen and Sari Mahmud with Muslims and a small number of Jews. Fred Arthur Neale describes one of the Christian quarters that was shared with Muslims by saying "... we enter upon that portion of the town inhabited by the Christian Ryah population, who consist principally of masons, builders, cotton-weavers, labourers, and tillers of the ground. Each house has a pleasant little court-yard attached to it, with vines trailed all round, and an occasional olive or orange tree growing in the centre of the yard."⁵⁰⁹ Children gathered together to play under the shade of these trees, while dogs and fowls congregated to avoid from burning sun-ray.⁵¹⁰

During the day in these quarters Christian women spent most of their time dealing with housework while men pursued their businesses. Neale states that "the women are busily occupied about the evening repast, the girls are fetching water from the fountain, most of the men are absent at their respective occupations, and the boys are at a neighboring day-school ..." ⁵¹¹ His observations point out that Christian women in Antakya, like Muslim women, did not take part in economic life, and their most important duty was being wife and mothers and busying themselves with household works. One of the differences between Christian and Muslim women

⁵⁰⁹ Fred Arthur Neale, *Evenings at Antioch*. (London: Eyre and Williams, 1854), 47.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*, 48.

was their dressing style. As Bartlett, who travelled to the region in the first half of the 19th century, points out, the Christian women in Antakya dressed differently from Muslim women. He observed that Christian women living in the Christian quarter were clad in tunics, or short embroidered vests, wore silk pantaloons that reached little more than half way down the leg, and yellow leather shoes. The kids in this house dressed the same as most children of wealthy families in the East.⁵¹²

Christians did not have strict privacy rules as much as their Muslim neighbors. During the summer time, the street-doors of the Christian houses were left open, probably to allow fresh air to penetrate the house. On the other hand, the doors of Muslim Turkish neighbors were all kept closed due to privacy issues.⁵¹³ In addition, Christians welcomed travelers to their houses when they visited the city, and they did not ask any remuneration even from the wealthiest traveler. Girgius Adeeb was one of the Christian dwellers of the city who hosted several travelers in his home. His house was located in the vicinity of the ancient wall of the city, and it had a view of the Orontes River. Barlett. stayed at Adeeb's house in the first half of the 19th century, and describes the house by saying ".... it rests upon the ancient wall of the city, and from the diwan windows on the left you look upon the Orontes and the distant mountains, and in the opposite direction is a glimpse of the walled heights above the city: the harem, or woman's abode, is on the right, in light, and near the door is the well, and servants fetching water, not muffled, like the Turkish females, for Girgius is a Christian."⁵¹⁴ There was a playing area for kids in the inner yard of the house. Guests spent their nights in the guest room that had a broad

⁵¹² W. H. Bartlett, *Syria, The Holy Land, Asia Minor*. (London; Paris; America: Fisher Son, vol. I, 1836), 59.

⁵¹³ Neale, *Evenings at Antioch*, 48.

⁵¹⁴ Bartlett, *Syria, The Holy Land, Asia Minor*, 58.

low divan.⁵¹⁵ It is clear that Girgius Adeeb was a wealthy Christian due to fact that he had a big house with a large inner yard and extra rooms for guests. Another indication is that he hosted several merchants, officials, and notables in his house to reunite and drink raki, a traditional alcoholic drink.

Muslims and Christians lived together on a daily basis in several quarters of Antakya. In that aspect, Antakya shows similarities with other cities in the Ottoman Empire where different religious and ethnic groups lived together. As a result of this spatial mixing, a set of norms about ethnic and religious boundaries developed in these regions. On the other hand, it is clear that Muslims and Christians built deep ties in several areas, especially in the Syrian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. For instance, Muslims, Christians, and Jewish dwellers of Palestine built deep relations between each other, and they shared their courtyards, visited each other on religious holidays, established business partnerships, and bought and sold properties. Muslim girls learned Judeo-Spanish from their Sephardi Jewish neighbors; Christian and Muslims musicians performed local music at Muslim weddings, and visited the tomb of local saints.⁵¹⁶ We have several examples of same kind of intercommunal relations between Christians and Muslims in Antakya as well. Borrowing money, being a guarantor to a non-Muslim, selling and buying properties, and visiting each other during religious holidays were some of the examples of communal relations that we find in the court records of Antakya and travelers' accounts.

While Christians adapted some Islamic habits and traditions, Muslims were influenced by their Christian neighbors. For instance, people followed fashion in clothing since it was

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., 58.

⁵¹⁶ Michelle Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth Century Palestine*. (California: Stanford University Press, 2010), 18.

reflection of status. As Abraham Marcus states, shifting trends in dress that originated in Istanbul and Iran was closely followed by members of the upper and lower classes, especially after the 19th century when European style clothing became widespread in the Ottoman territories.⁵¹⁷ Muslims adopted or borrowed some of their Christian neighbor's clothes to wear on special occasions. The same kind of interaction was observed in Antakya when Muslim dwellers of Antakya adapted different pleasures and habits considered incompatible with the Islamic way of living by the ulama of the city. Although the Ottoman administration showed tolerance to intercommunal relations among its communities, it was concerned about the increasing influence of Christians over Muslims in Antakya. According to a letter that was sent to the mufti of Antakya in the early 1820s, Muslims interacted closely with non-Muslims in their daily life, and they had tendencies for living like non-Muslims. According to the letter, Muslims had started to dress up in a way different from the traditional Turkish-Islamic style, adopted various forms of entertainment, became busy with fraud, and began to violate the private lives of other people, thus sowing discord among Muslims, and increased murder of hatred in Antakya.⁵¹⁸

The population in the Ottoman Empire is described as consisting of two generalized categories: ruling (*askeri*), and those ruled (*reaya*). *Reaya* could be further divided along economic lines into merchants, artisans and peasants. The religious differences were only a minor determinant in practical activities in the sphere of work and business. Of course, Muslims

⁵¹⁷ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 229.

⁵¹⁸ A.Ş.S., Nr. 17, s.7/12. (... alel husus bir günden beru halk giyünüb kuşanmağa ve dürlü dürlü zevki rahata ilişmişler günagün teşyi' ile uğraşmaya düşüb hududu'l-hayatı tecavüze başlamış olduklarından hasrı nıfak çoğalıb herkes birbirını çekemeyerek beyne'l müslimin nefret-i kelime-i cinayeti nemud olmaktan naşı...). The letter warned the Muslims of Antakya to correct their behaviors and to began live in the Islamic way. (... terk-i ihtişam ve ziyet ve taraf-ı İslam-ı esvabı sa'adet eyleyesiz cerubet-i sagrin zaruret-i iltimasın eylemeniz matlub idiğu beyanıyla işbu mektub muharrer ve tisyar kılındı)

occupied most professions in the city since they were the majority, but non-Muslims practiced several professions, and played a role in commercial activities. Commerce was one of the most important economic activities in the city since the city had two ports, one in Süveydiye and one in Iskenderun. The location of the city created an environment in which buying and selling merchandise was a major economic activity for the city dwellers. Merchants had several functions in Ottoman society and economy. Distribution of raw materials, food, and finished good to both to local shops and the shops in other regions were the most important function of the merchants. In addition, they played a role in exporting the local products and importing luxury goods.⁵¹⁹

In Antakya, all the elements of the various ethnic and religious groups, namely Muslims, Greek Orthodox, Armenians, and Jews were involved to some degree in commerce. Among the non-Muslim groups in Antakya, the Greek Orthodox were the main group involved in commerce in the 18th and 19th centuries. Based on the jizya registers of the year 1846, 25 of 307 registered Greek Orthodox in quarters of Antakya were merchant (*tüccar*).⁵²⁰ Being a *tüccar* was prestigious, and brought high income. Having high income made it possible to have a desirable lifestyle and to improve the social status of one's family. It is fair to claim that Greek Orthodox merchants made a high income since 10 of the 14 persons who paid the highest rate of jizya ('ala) based on their income were merchant (*tüccar*). These people built a great fortune that effectively made them members of the upper class. Since they belonged to one of the few elite groups of the city, they could establish close relations with officials of the city. As mentioned earlier, Girgius Adeeb, visited by Bartlett, was one of the merchants who had a large house with a huge inner

⁵¹⁹ Mehrdad Kia, *Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*. (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2011), 83.

⁵²⁰ BOA. ML. VRD. CMH, 573, p. 3-7.

yard and several rooms, and hosted the city's elites, including notables, merchants, and officials due to his prestigious occupation.⁵²¹ Based on the tax amount which was paid, the 15 of 25 merchants registered in the *jizya* registers were members of the middle class. They paid 30 gurus as *jizya* while upper class merchants paid 60 gurus. Despite differences in success and wealth, being a merchant was a prestigious occupation in Antakya in the 18th and 19th centuries.⁵²²

After the penetration of Europeans into the Levant in the mid-18th century, Christians living in the region experienced economic and cultural transformation. The Christian merchants in the Arab Levant obtained new privileges, which generated competition for resources between Muslims and non-Muslims. The social chasm between Muslims and Christians in many regions of Ottoman Syria was widening since the economic status of the Christians rapidly improved due to the patronage of Europeans. That social and economic transformation in the region generated intercommunal discord in Aleppo in the 19th century.⁵²³ However, the numbers of non-Muslims involved in commerce in the district of Antakya was not as high as those in Aleppo. In addition, the Europeans, except for British, did not penetrate Antakya as much as they did Beirut, Damascus, and Aleppo. Therefore, it is not surprising that there is not any available documentation showing an incident of intercommunal dissonance in Antakya in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Most of the non-Muslims in Antakya were members of the middle class who made their living working in the marketplace or tending to their own small stores. The marketplaces in Antakya, as it was in Aleppo, had no factories, or business corporation. All the production and

⁵²¹ Bartlett, Syria, The Holy Land, Asia Minor, 59.

⁵²² BOA. ML. VRD. CMH, 570-575.

⁵²³ Master, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, 129.

trade took place in small stores and artisanal workshops that were run mostly by their owners. These small enterprises run by Greek-Orthodox were highly specialized, selling perfumes, dry plants, natural medicines, clothing, dyes, silk, jewelry ... etc. The numbers of stores owned by Christian artisans was 38 in 1829.⁵²⁴

Food, textile, and construction were the three areas that accounted for most of the production and trade in the city. Regardless of their income, people spent a significant amount of money on food, there were numerous foodstuff stores. However, neither the Greek Orthodox nor other non-Muslims ran shops in the city center selling or processing food, such as, grocery stores, bakery stores, barley stores, and mills. On the other hand, the Greek Orthodox played a significant role in the areas of construction and textile. During the 18th and 19th centuries, earthquakes shook the city on several occasions. One of the most devastating hit Antakya in 1822 and caused large-scale damage and casualties. There were tens of court records reporting that houses, stores, and public buildings were damaged, and were in need of repair as soon as possible.⁵²⁵ All these developments shaped a developed construction industry supported by many specialized craftsmen and dealers in various building materials in Antakya. The Greek-Orthodox of the city staffed of most of that industry. According to the *ihtisap* (accounting) registers, non-Muslims accounted for 29 of 32 the members of architect guilds (*mimar esnafı*) in 1829.⁵²⁶ In 1846, 52 Greek-Orthodox residents of the district registered as architects in the jizya registers.⁵²⁷

⁵²⁴ These numbers were registered in Ihtisap Defteri that recorded the name of the artisans that paid revenue tax. For details see: Rifat Ozdemir, *Antakya Esnaf Teskilati (1709-1860)*, (Antakya: Mustafa Kemal Universitesi, 2002), 85-86.

⁵²⁵ See Court Records of Antakya, number 17 (A.Ş.S., Nr. 17).

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*, 73-74.

⁵²⁷ BOA. ML. VRD. CMH, 573.

A significant number of Greek-Orthodox craftsmen worked in the textile industry in Antakya. The main raw materials of the textile industry, cotton and silk, were prevalently produced in several areas in Antakya and its hinterlands. Some people in the region planted mulberries for the silk-worms, and had looms for manufacturing silk. Abraham Parsons, who traveled to the city in 1772, claims that Antakya was one of the biggest silk producers in the region: “more silk is produced in the neighborhood of Antioch, within a circuit of thirty miles, than in the rest of Syria.”⁵²⁸ Some of the silk that was produced in the city was sent to Aleppo where it was cleaned and processed, and some was sent to the port of Iskenderun. From there the silk was shipped to France and England under the brand of “Antioch silk.” Manufacturers in Antakya kept a great quantity of silk for the purpose of manufacturing clothes. Walpole, who traveled to the city in 1801, supported that claim by saying that the staple commodity in Antakya was well known to be silk. The silk in that district was divided into four kinds; that of Antakya, of Süveydiye, of the mountains, and of Belen. According to Walpole, large portion of the silk was sent to Aleppo.⁵²⁹

Some Greek Orthodox worked in specialized workshops by participating in the process of spinning, weaving, dyeing, and tailoring. There were 6 tailor stores 4 of which were owned by non-Muslims in Antakya in 1829.⁵³⁰ In the jizya registers of the year of 1846, there were 42 Greek Orthodox entered as tailors in the district of Antakya. All of them were located in Antakya proper, and none in the sub-districts of Antakya. Some of the tailors made sufficient

⁵²⁸ Parsons, *Travels in Asia and Africa*, 72.

⁵²⁹ Robert Walpole, *Travels in Various Countries of the East*. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1820), 133.

⁵³⁰ These stores were Yosef Dükkanı (Yosef's store), Andon oğlu dükkanı (Son of Andon's store), Siman Kıvık dükkanı (Siman Kıvık's store), and Verid oğlu Süleyman dükkanı (Son of Verid Süleyman's store). Özdemir, *Antakya Esnaf Teskilati (1709-1860)*, 73.

income to be members of the middle class. 20 of the tailors paid 30 guruş for jizya tax, the amount paid by the middle class, while 22 of them paid 15 guruş jizya, indicating that they belonged to the lowest income group. On the other hand, all the Greek Orthodox weavers were living in the sub-districts of Antakya, mostly in Süveydiye and Cebel-i Akra. There were 73 Greek Orthodox registered as weaver in the district of Antakya. The majority of the weavers were member of the middle-class, and were living in the hinterland of the city. Another profession that was related to silk was *kazzaz*, silk seller and manufacturer, that was carried out by 17 Greek Orthodox in the district of Antakya. There were some other professions, like *hallaç* (cotton fluffer) and *sebbağ* (dyer) connected to silk and cotton industries, and practiced by a relatively small number of Greek Orthodox in the district.⁵³¹

The Ottoman laws did not set a minimum age of employment, nor did they not impose a mandatory age of retirement. Due to the lack of social security, people started to work when they were children, and kept working as long as their health allowed. Abraham Marcus claims that some of the young boys started working at the age of 6, and they did odd jobs, such as running errands, carrying loads, helping craftsmen, and learning trades.⁵³² Craftsmen and storekeepers were keen on employing young boys or teenager due to the fact that children were paid less than adults. There were several examples of Greek Orthodox teenagers and young people, aged between 15 and 18, recorded in the jizya registers. For instance, 19 teenagers at the age of 15 were registered as tax-payers in the jizya registers in 1846. Most of them were working in the textile industry as tailors and silk sellers, and all were paying the lowest rate of jizya. However,

⁵³¹ BOA. ML. VRD. CMH, 573.

⁵³² Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 157.

the occupations of some the teenagers were not known since they were only registered as “active workers”, *fa'al*.⁵³³

Most of the young people in the villages of the Ottoman Empire did not receive formal education. Many were trained as agricultural workers by their fathers, older brothers, and uncles.⁵³⁴ At the beginning, they had small responsibilities, such as watching over family sheep and goat, but their responsibilities increased as they grew older. They began to help their fathers in the sowing and harvesting, and sometimes they took full responsibility in managing the family farm. The only difference between child labor in the city proper and the rural areas around Antakya was that while they worked on family owned land in the rural areas, they were employed by out-of-family employers in the city proper. These people constituted the lower classes of the Greek Orthodox in the district of Antakya. The number of the Greek Orthodox teenage laborers in the surrounding rural areas of Antakya was greater than in the city proper. In the *jizya* registers, there were 50 persons at the age of 15 whose majority of them were registered as active laborers.⁵³⁵

The Issue of Church Construction and Religious Life

Ottoman rulers applied some restrictions concerning worship areas of the non-Muslims. According to the Pact of Umar, *dhimmi*s were not allowed to build new worship areas after the Islamic conquest of their region. The Pact of Umar legalizes only the non-Muslim religious buildings that had already been built before the Islamic conquest. *Dhimmi*s were allowed to use their old places of worship, but they were not allowed to build new ones. When they wanted to

⁵³³ BOA. ML. VRD. CMH, 573, 2-9, 13-18, 25-31.

⁵³⁴ Mehrdad Kia, *Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, 103.

⁵³⁵ BOA. ML. VRD. CMH, 573, 2-9, 13-18, 25-31.

repair and restore their legally recognized worship places, they were strictly warned not to make any additions, or not to make substantial changes in the original construction of the worship buildings.⁵³⁶

This pact symbolized the superiority of and the domineering position of Islam in the territories ruled by Muslim authorities. However, the Ottoman authorities did not strictly apply the rules of the Pact of Umar all around the Empire, and the application of the rules of that pact varied from region to region. In the villages and towns which were completely populated by Christians, and located in a distance from Muslim towns and villages, the Ottoman authorities provided permission for construction of a new church. The fatwas given by grand muftis in the Ottoman Empire created a base for application of that kind of policy. In fatwa given by Çatalcali Ali Efendi, who served as grand mufti in the second half of the 17th century, he indicates that non-Muslims, whose villages consists entirely of them and is far away from the areas populated by Muslims can erect a place of worship. The construction of new churches often occurred in Balkans, in which Christians constituted majority of the population. In her article, Rossitsa Gradeva indicates that non-Muslims repaired, made new additions, and even built new churches in Balkans in between 16th and 18th centuries.⁵³⁷ On the other hand, Christians were not permitted to build a church or make additions to it at the time of restoration in the areas where Muslims and non-Muslims lived together. A permission for restoration of old churches was given by Ottoman authorities, but the kadı, judge, usually observed the restoration process so

⁵³⁶ Oded Peri, *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times*. (Boston: Brill, 2001), 53.

⁵³⁷ Rossitsa Gradeva, "Ottoman Policy Towards Christian Church Buildings." *Balkan Studies*, Issue:4 (1994): 14-36.

closely. If the Christians made even a minor addition during restoration, the central government could claim a right to demolish the church.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, there were two significant developments regarding providing permission to build new places of worship to non-Muslims. The first development was the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, which was signed between the Ottoman Empire and Russia in 1774. Taking into consideration of the articles of that treaty, the treaty has been considered a turning point in the Near East. After defeating the Ottoman Empire, the Russians gained strategic territories around the Black Sea, achieved a special position in Moldavia and Wallachia, gained privileges to extend her commercial activities in Black Sea and Mediterranean, and obtained a right to open Russian consulates at any place in the Ottoman territories.⁵³⁸ As a result of that treaty the poor military and political power of the Ottoman Empire was revealed power while Russian's international power strengthened. The most important and controversial articles of that treatment were the ones, number seven and twelve, that provided Russia a right to protect Greek Orthodox community and Greek Orthodox churches throughout the Ottoman Empire. In addition, the right of constructing an Orthodox church in Istanbul promised a hope for other Christians subjects, who wanted to build a church in their region.⁵³⁹

The second significant development was the Tanzimat Reforms between 1839 and 1876. The first great reforming edict of that era was the Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane (the Imperial Rescript of the Rose Chamber, which was issued in 1839. The main principles of that decree can be separated into three parts: the welfare of the Ottoman subjects; administration and government;

⁵³⁸ Roderic H. Davison, "Russian Skill and Turkish Imbecility": The Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji Reconsidered." *Slavic Review*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Sep., 1976): 464.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, 463-483.

and the status of non-Muslim subjects of the Empire. The most remarkable part of that decree was the promise of equality before the law for both Muslims and non-Muslims alike.⁵⁴⁰ It is important to mention the fact that the time of the proclamation of the decree coincided with the Egyptian occupation of Syria, so the Ottoman administration desired to get support of Western powers against the rebellious governor of Egypt. Non-Muslims gained new rights in the Ottoman Empire after the promulgation of another decree, the Hatt-ı Hümayun, in 1856. This decree confirms the main principles of the previous decree, which was all distinction based on race, religion, and language were removed. One of the result of these reforms was to provide permission to non-Muslims to build a new place of worship. However, Bruce Masters claims that a hint of the older tradition remained in the clause for the building of new churches as non-Muslims were asked to get a permission from the central government before they built their places of worships, especially in the areas in which they shared with Muslims.⁵⁴¹

In addition to these turning points regarding to provide permission for non-Muslims to build churches, there was a regional turning point in Antakya that was the occupation of the Syrian provinces of the Ottoman Empire by the Egyptian governor. Following their control of the region, Ibrahim Pasha, the son of governor of Egypt, removed restrictions on the building of new churches, and permitted Christians to practice their faith openly. During the Egyptian rule, many Christians moved to quarters of Antakya, and they were allowed to construct a new church at the district of Cenine where Greek Orthodox and Muslims lived together.⁵⁴² After the

⁵⁴⁰ Ma'oz, Moshe, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine 1840-1861*. (Oxford University Press: 1968), 4-11.

⁵⁴¹ Master, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, 138.

⁵⁴² Kılıç, "Tanzimat Sürecinde Antakya Ortodoks Rum Patrikhanesi ve Antakya'da Dini Hayat", 82.

Ottomans retook control of the city in 1840, the Greek-Orthodox asked for permission to repair the church which would be accepted by the Ottoman rulers in the 1850s.⁵⁴³

Christians made several requests and attempts for both construction and repair of houses of worship in Antakya after the promulgation of the Tanzimat Reforms in 1839. The Ottoman authorities in the region and local Muslims closely supervised the repair of the houses of worship. They sent several reports to Istanbul to inform the central government of ongoing church construction. A document written in 1845 demonstrates that the Christians, called *Isevi taifesi* (“Community of Jesus”) in the document, in the district of Cenine built a new house on the property of the mosque. The house was used for the purpose of teaching the Bible and to teach children the principles of Christianity. However, the house was built without the permission of the administrator of the *waqf*, Suleyman Ağa. What is more, Christians, for some reason, extended that building without getting any permission, and transformed it into a church. At the end of the document, the city council urged the central government to take necessary actions to address these developments.⁵⁴⁴ Another report sent in 1853 stated that the Christians attempted to transform a one-room house belonging to a mosque *waqf* called Ihsaniye Cami Vakfi in the district of Cenine into a church.⁵⁴⁵ Local people were complaining about the increasing activities of the Greek Orthodox aimed at the construction of new churches. The local people claimed that several houses belonging to the Ihsaniye Cami *waqf* were demolished by the

⁵⁴³ BOA, HR.MKT. 30/52.

⁵⁴⁴ BOA. HR.SYS. 15/27/1.

⁵⁴⁵ BOA. A. MKT.UM. 118/81.

Christians for the purpose of construction of new churches.⁵⁴⁶ They demanded Istanbul to stop the ongoing construction of houses of worship carried out by the Greek Orthodox.⁵⁴⁷

Some travelers also noted the reaction of Muslims in Antakya against the attempts of Christians at building churches. Although the non-Muslims obtained permissions either to construct or to repair churches from the Ottoman government, the local Muslims would react to prevent such attempts. Buckingham, who had been in Antakya in the early 19th century, claims that "the Christians have made several unsuccessful efforts to build a church for themselves here; but, though they are not wanting in wealth, and successive *firman*s have been obtained from Stamboul for that purpose, yet, the fanaticism of the Turks and some unfortunate fatality which they think attached to the town itself, has hitherto always obstructed its execution. They resort, therefore, to a cave on the east of the town for the performance of their religious duties, in which they are additionally devout, from the apparent persecution under which they live, in this respect as well."⁵⁴⁸

In the pamphlet of memoirs of the Patriarch of Antioch, Methodius, which was translated from Russian to English, there is information on the request for the construction of a church. The request was made by Abu-Sabbas, a pious Christian, in 1813. He asked for permission to build a church at his own expense from the Sultan. The Sultan gave him a decree to this effect, and he was about to set to work. However, the mullah⁵⁴⁹ of the city opposed that decision by accusing Abu-Sabbah of having the intention to build not a temple but a fortress. It is reported that "the

⁵⁴⁶ BOA. HR. MKT. 56/53

⁵⁴⁷ BOA. MVL. 124/59.

⁵⁴⁸ Buckingham, *Travels among the Arab tribes inhabiting the countries east of Syria and Palestine...*, 558.

⁵⁴⁹ Possibly the kadi or mufti

sovereign believed the mullah, and hanged the pious Christian for his godly intention, together with three priest and a deacon, who were also impeached by the mullah of evil designs against the Sultans's power. From that time divine service is performed, as before, in the cave of the Turkish shepherds."⁵⁵⁰

The Greek Orthodox asked for help from Russia to convince the Ottoman Empire to allow them to build new churches. In fact, the expanding Russian influence on Middle East was not Russians priority in its imperial goals until 19th century. However, Russians began to show more interest on Middle East under the leadership of Catherine, when Russians embarked on ‘Oriental Project’, which had the aim to be more influential in the Levant, protector of Greek Orthodox communities living in Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, and Armenia, and to prevent Christian Powers of Europe to be protector of the Holy Places. During the Russo-Ottoman war of 1768-1774, Syria entered into the field of conflict between these two forces. The Russian fleet moved to the Mediterranean to support any revolts against Ottoman central government in the Levant. The major outcome of that support came when the Druzes, which revolted against the Porte in 1773, were able to capture Beirut with the help of the Russian troops in 1774. The war ended with decisive victory of Russia, but the Russians did not ask to keep Beirut as it had been a policy of expediency in supporting local revolts which assisted the defeat of the Ottoman Empire. In addition, Catherine’s main purpose was still to control Constantinople and the Straits, so the Russians interests on Arab lands had to wait until next century.⁵⁵¹ At the same time, the articles of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca allowed Russia to protect rights of Greek Orthodox

⁵⁵⁰ Mason Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church, The Patriarchate of Antioch*, 208.

⁵⁵¹ Derek Hopwood, *The Russian Presence in Syria and Palestine 1843-1914*. (London: Clarendon Press-Oxford, 1969), 4-12.

living in the Ottoman territories. The Patriarch of Antioch and Jerusalem had close relationship with Russia before that treaty since they played an important role in the development of the Russian church in the 16th and 17th centuries. However, after that treaty, the Russians both strengthened their relationship with these churches, had an opportunity to put pressure on the Ottoman Empire to prevent anti-Orthodox propaganda in the Holy Places, helped the Greek Orthodox to repair or build new churches in their areas, and appointed agents and opened consular in Syria and Palestine in the first half of 19th century.

The Orthodox asked for help from the Russian consulates that were available in several regions whenever they felt under pressure or faced problems. In that case, the Greek Orthodox of Antakya wanted the Russian consulate in Aleppo to convince Ottoman authorities to construct a new church in Antakya. The consulate of Russia in Aleppo asked the Ottoman officials to provide permission to the Greek Orthodox to build a new church close to their district. In the document, it is pointed out that the closest church to them was about an hour distance from the city proper which made it necessary to build a new church close to their area. This document clearly demonstrates how Russia was involved in domestic policies of the Ottoman Empire and how it protected and supported the Greek Orthodox of the Empire.⁵⁵²

In a letter sent to the Russians by the Patriarch of Antioch in 1842, he openly requested help from the Russians. In the letter, it is pointed out that "having stated our conditions as well as we could, we apply to all you Orthodox inhabitants of the Russian Empire, that, moved by heartfelt pity and Christian compassion towards the shocking misfortunes of the most ancient See of Antioch, you would graciously receive our above mentioned deputed Archbishop and his

⁵⁵² BOA. HR. SYS. 1786/11.

fellow travelers, and that you would be generously pleased to afford succor in so important and saving an action as that of supporting Orthodoxy in Syria, each according to his means, in order that we may be enabled to renew and repair the churches and monasteries which have decayed and been deserted, to establish printing presses, and to institute Christian schools for the education of the clergy and other Orthodox Christians, that we may not appear in every respect the last among other nations."⁵⁵³

Travelers provide substantial information on churches in Antakya, especially St. Peter's church located close to the east gate of Antakya. The church that was actively used by Greek Orthodox derived its name from Apostle Peter who preached the Word of God in Antioch for the first time. He resided both in Antioch and Jerusalem until his departure for Rome. Following the steps of Apostle Peter, the Apostles Barnabas and Paul taught a number of people their discipline. Their disciples in Antioch were the first to be called Christians that would later spread over the world.⁵⁵⁴ Abraham Parsons, who had been in the city in the 1770s, describes the church by saying "the walls are very strong, and are yet in such a state, that, with little repair, they may last many hundred years, but the roof has fallen in so long since, that the oldest inhabitant now living does not remember any part of it standing; and yet the Greeks here have no other place of worship, nor will the Turks suffer them to build any, nor to repair this, without paying such a sum of money as the Greeks of Antioch could not raise, even at the expense of all their fortunes."⁵⁵⁵ The church was small, around fifteen paces broad, and twenty in length, and it did not have a door.

⁵⁵³ Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church, The Patriarchate of Antioch*, 211.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 200.

⁵⁵⁵ Parsons, *Travels in Asia and Africa*, 70.

Richard Pococke, who visited the region in the 1730s, claims that there were remains of three or four churches in Antakya. Saint Peter and Paul churches were two of these remaining churches located at the eastern hill at north. Although the location of these churches were inconvenient, the Greeks decided to build the church in that location due to the fact that saint Peter or saint Paul either lived or preached the gospel there. Another church in Antakya was the church of Saint John, where the Greeks had their service every Sunday and holiday, brought an altar, and buried their dead near it. The last church that was mentioned by Pococke is the church of Saint George. He states that the Greeks claimed that the church belonged to them, but they allowed another Christian community of the city, the Armenians, to make use of it.⁵⁵⁶

Another observation was made by a Russian traveler, Basil Gregorovitch, on the St. Peter Church. He reported that Christians performed their divine service on Sundays and holidays in the cave in which the church was located. During the hot days and whole nights, the Turkish shepherds drove their flocks into this cave. The priest and some Orthodox Christians came to the church for the purpose of cleaning all the filth, and performing divine service. The traveler claims that when their service ended, the cave was again occupied by the Turkish shepherds. It is a fact that the church was located in the mountain, and has been described as a cave by other missionaries and travelers as well. However, his observation of the church was used mostly by the Turkish shepherds as resting area does not match with the information provided by other travelers.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁶ Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries, vol. II, part I, Observations on Palestine or the Holy Land, Syria, Mesopotamia, Cyprus, and Candia*, 192

⁵⁵⁷ Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church, The Patriarchate of Antioch*, 208.

The Greek Orthodox in Antakya practiced their prayers in the few churches located in their region. Christians appeared at the church on Sundays or during festivals in Antakya. When they appeared in the church on Sundays or during festivals, they donated money to meet the needs of the church, poor and sick Christians, clergy and teachers.⁵⁵⁸ Since some Christians had limited means, the tributes due for them were paid by wealthy Christians. In the church, the women were separated from the men, and they were hidden behind curtains and lattices. Neale describes the Greek Orthodox of Antakya by saying "in a word, in the Orthodox people of those parts, there is religious life, there is obedience to the hierarchical authority, even though exercised by strangers, zeal for the House of God, a desire to have their children instructed, devotions towards the monasteries, and brotherly love."⁵⁵⁹

Religion was one of the most important elements that brought the dwellers of the villages around Antakya together. Teaching the values, customs, traditions, and practices of their religion to their children was among the main responsibilities of the parents living in rural areas. For Christians, following the rules of Christianity and adjusting their life according to the teachings of Christianity was essential for Christian villagers. However, the majority of the villagers in the Ottoman empire were illiterate which prevented them from reading their holy book.⁵⁶⁰ Therefore, most of the Christian villagers around Antakya accepted local customs and traditions which included heterodox beliefs and practices, as part of their belief system. For the Greek Orthodox in the district of Antakya, Sunday and some other religious holidays were the times when they

⁵⁵⁸ Kia, *Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, 227.

⁵⁵⁹ Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, The Patriarchate of Antioch, 227.

⁵⁶⁰ Justin McCarthy, *The Ottoman Turks: An Introductory History to 1923*. (London, New York: Wesley Longman Limited, 1997), 276.

broke up the monotony of their daily lives. They usually did not work on that day, dressed in special clothes, and attended the ceremonies in the church of their village or town.

While Christians practiced their religion in their religious places, they had to obey the restrictions set by the Ottoman administration. Non-Muslims were demanded to open their churches and monasteries to Muslim visitors, and to offer accommodation to Muslims travelers. They were also warned not to provide sanctuary to anyone in their places of worship. There were some other restrictions in regard to worship at their religious places. The Ottoman Empire prohibited loud or public expression of their religious practices. Displaying a crucifix outside the church and ringing the church bells were also prohibited.⁵⁶¹ These restrictions lasted until the early 1830s in Syria and Antakya, when Egyptians occupied the region. The Egyptian government improved legal status of non-Muslims, eliminated the sartorial regulations of the Islamic law for non-Muslims, and allowed Christians, especially Catholic sects, to practice their faith openly.⁵⁶² The same type of policies were applied for all non-Muslims living in the Ottoman Empire with the implementation of the Tanzimat Reforms, which guaranteed freedom of practice of religion for all non-Muslims living in the Ottoman Empire.

Dwellers of the Musa Dagh: Armenians

The history of Armenians under Ottoman rule has been a very controversial subject. Several historians have published a sizable amount of scholarly works on the history of the community. The scholarly works on the history of Armenians under the Ottomans should be approached carefully due to the nationalistic trends in both Turkish and Armenian historiographies. In Armenian historiography, there is an over-emphasis on the Armenian

⁵⁶¹ Peri, *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times*, 53.

⁵⁶² Master, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, 136.

people's victimhood at the hands of Turks. In these works, Turks have been described mostly as oppressors while Armenians have been referred to as the community that experienced the worst oppression in the world. Such works also glorify the Armenian nation as a people with a distinctive, specific national identity even before the advent of nationalism in the Ottoman Empire. The works of nationalist-minded Turkish and some other Ottoman historians on Armenians and other non-Muslims often have a nationalistic and political bent which prevents them from being objective. For instance, Salahi Sonyel describes Armenians as highly nervous and over-capable people.⁵⁶³ Another historian, Feroz Ahmad, suggests that Armenians and other non-Muslims were exploiters and traitors. He claims that many of the non-Muslims became foreign citizens and worked for the interests of the Western powers against the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁶⁴

Armenians have occupied an important place in the history of Anatolia. They had their own independent state, Greater Armenia, located in most of present day eastern Anatolia until the end of the Middle Ages. Following the Mongol and Turkic conquests of Anatolia, two powerful Islamic Empires, the Ottoman and the Safavid, ruled the territories that had belonged to Greater Armenia. Under Ottoman rule, some Armenians living in eastern Anatolia migrated or were relocated in order to repopulate other areas in the Ottoman Empire. That is why, Armenians scattered all over Anatolia as well as Syria during the Ottoman period. On the other

⁵⁶³ Salahi Ramadan Sonyel, *The Ottoman Armenians*. (London: K.Rustem & Brother, 1987), 3.

⁵⁶⁴ Feroz Ahmad, "Vanguard of a Nascent Bourgeoisie: The Social and Economic Policy of the Young Turks 1908-1918," in *Türkiye'nin Sosval ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071-1920)/Social and Economic History of Turkey(1071-1920)*. ed. Osman Okyar and Halil Inalcik (Ankara: Meteksan, 1980), 329.

hand, some Armenians had been living along the Mediterranean coast, namely in Cilicia and the sub-districts of Antakya before the Ottoman conquest of the region.⁵⁶⁵

Armenians that lived along the Mediterranean coast mostly inhabited the sub-districts of Antakya, especially the mountain called Musa Dagh. Musa Dagh, the Mount of Moses, features several elevations ranging from 125 to 1,355 meters above the sea level. The Armenian villages were mostly located on the southeast side of the mountain.⁵⁶⁶ Since the mountain was located on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, winters were mild and rainy, and the region did not experience severe snowstorms. As the climate was healthy, some people from nearby urban areas would take refuge there when epidemics, such as cholera, hit the city in the mid-19th century. Toward the end of the 19th century there were six major Armenian villages in Musa Dagh: Bitias (Batiayaz), Haji Habibli (Hacı Habibli), Yoğun Oluk, Kheder Beg (Hıdır Bey), Vakef (Vakıflı), and Kebusiye. While three of these villages, Bitias, Kheder Beg, and Vakef had formed during the 18th and 19th centuries, the time of exact formation of the other Armenian villages in the Musa Dagh remains obscure.⁵⁶⁷

There are two major claims regarding the formation of these villages in the region. The first one is that the Armenian community in the region emerged following the conquest of the area by King Tigranes II the Great of Armenia (r. 95-55 BC). After the conquest of Syria, he implemented repopulation policies that entailed the resettlement of some Armenians to Musa Dagh. The second claim is that as Musa Dagh is located in the southern edge of Cilicia where the

⁵⁶⁵ Aida Alice Setrakian, *Armenians in the Ottoman Legal System (16th 18th Centuries)*. (Unpublished Master Thesis, Montreal: McGill University, 2005), 23.

⁵⁶⁶ Vahram Leon Shemmassian, "The Armenian Villagers of Musa Dagh: A Historical-Ethnographic Study, 1840-1915." (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, 1996), 7.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 9-11.

Armenians had their medieval state between 11th and 14th centuries, due to climatic and geographical similarities some Armenians decided to move to the region, and formed Armenian villages.⁵⁶⁸

These villages were mentioned in some traveler's accounts. Pococke, who traveled to the region in 1738, reports that "we traveled three hours in a very bad road, and coming to the south side of the mountain, passed by a ruined church called Motias [Bitias], and soon after saw to the left the first of the three Armenian villages in this country, which is called Alchaphah [Haji Habibli]. We passed by a large ruined convent called Gebur, where there are remains of a lofty church. In another hour we arrived at the second Armenian village called Ionelac [Yoghun Oluk]; these villages have each of them a church, and are governed by Christians, called caias [kahya], or deputies, appointed by the Turkish governors; but they are liable notwithstanding to the oppression of the Turkish officers, who are sent among them to collect their rents and taxes, and when they have made fine improvements, they often take them entirely out of their hands. Traveling still on the side of the hills, we went westward, crossing several deep beds of mountain torrents, with steep hills on each side; and ascending a hill a little to the north west, came to the third Armenian village, called Kepse [Kebusiye]."⁵⁶⁹ Pococke's observation proves that at least three Armenian villages did exist in the 18th century. However, there was no mention of the villages of Kheder Beg, Bitias, and Vakef in the *jizya* tax register from the year 1846. The Ottoman official who compiled the register probably did not consider these villages as distinct villages, and combined them with other Armenian villages. Shemmassian states that the village of Vakef belonged (administratively) to Yoghun Oluk until the beginning of the 19th century,

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid., 11-13.

⁵⁶⁹ Pococke, *A Description of the East*, II, pp. 181-182.

which might be the reason why the village was not mentioned as such in the *jizya* registers of the first half of the 19th century.⁵⁷⁰ Another area inhabited by Armenians was Keseb that is located in another mountain called Jabal Akra (the Bold Mountain). Keseb, which hosted around 6000 Armenians in the early 20th century, was part of the district of Antakya until 1870. The area was situated within the *kaza* of Jisr el-Shughur after that time. Compared to Musa Dagh, Jabal Akra did not have as much arable land which provided limited income from farming. That is why, some people left the town to work in Antakya, Cilicia, and some major cities in Syria.⁵⁷¹

Armenians inhabited four quarters of Antakya, namely Sofular, Kapı Bölüğü, Dört Ayak, and Duttibi in 1846. According to the registers of 1842, there were some Armenians living in the quarter of Rikabiye, but they probably moved to other quarters inhabited mostly by Armenians since their names are not available in the registers of 1846.⁵⁷² The quarters of Antakya did not host many Armenians, but the city was very important for them since it constituted the administrative center of the synonymous district encompassing Musa Dagh. In addition, the city proper itself was the closest urban center where rural Armenians traded some of their products and bought various goods to meet their personal and household needs. Therefore, it is important to note that any kind of social, political, and economic crisis in Antakya would affect the economic life of Armenians living in the sub-districts.⁵⁷³

The earliest indications of the number Armenian population in Antakya and its sub-districts were provided to us by travelers. James Silk Buckingham, who traveled to village of

⁵⁷⁰ Shemmassian, “The Armenian Villagers of Musa Dagh: A Historical-Ethnographic Study, 1840-1915”, 17.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., 35-36.

⁵⁷² BOA. ML.VRD.CMH., 138.

⁵⁷³ Shemmassian, “The Armenian Villagers of Musa Dagh: A Historical-Ethnographic Study, 1840-1915”, 33.

Haji Habibli in 1816, estimated the population of the village at 100 inhabitants.⁵⁷⁴ Another traveler, Eusebe de Salle, reported that there were over 100 houses at Yoghun Oluk in 1838.⁵⁷⁵ Frederick Arthur Neale estimated the population of Bitias around two thousand in the 1840s.⁵⁷⁶ However, the numbers must be approached cautiously since some of the numbers based on observations of travelers were underestimated or overblown.

Shemmassian refers to a census of the population of Antakya published by a French diplomat. Although the French diplomat did not give any reference to his census, he provides us with numbers of Armenians inhabiting the district of Antakya and its sub-districts. He claims that there were 250 Armenians living in the quarters of Antakya proper, and around 6000 in the sub-districts of Antakya in the 19th century.⁵⁷⁷ In the *jizya* registers of the year 1846, 920 Armenian tax-payers were recorded. According to tax registers, the numbers of Armenians living in the quarters of Antakya proper, which was 25, was much less than the number claimed by the French diplomat. However, it is important to remember the *jizya* registers recorded only adult male tax-payers. Women, children, the elderly, the handicapped, the insane, and members of the religious class were exempted from paying the *jizya*. Most Armenians, as mentioned above, lived in the sub-district of Antakya. The numbers of Armenians recorded in the tax registers of 1846 was 327 in Yoghun Oluk, 292 in Keseb, 204 in Hacı Habibli, and 72 in Kebusiye. The names of

⁵⁷⁴ Buckingham, *Travels Among the Arab Tribes Inhabiting the Countries East of Syria and Palestine*, 553.

⁵⁷⁵ Shemmassian, "The Armenian Villagers of Musa Dagh: A Historical-Ethnographic Study, 1840-1915", 22.

⁵⁷⁶ Fred Arthur Neale, *Eight Years in Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor from 1842 to 1850*. (London: Colburn and CO. Publishers, Vol. II, 1851), 81.

⁵⁷⁷ Shemmassian, "The Armenian Villagers of Musa Dagh: A Historical-Ethnographic Study, 1840-1915", 23.

the villages of Bitias, Vakifli, Khidir Beg were not mentioned in the official tax registers.⁵⁷⁸

Based on tax registers and travelers' accounts, the population of the quarters of Antakya proper was around 13,000, and it was again around 13,000 in the sub-districts of Antakya. Even though the Armenians constituted around 2% of total population in the city proper, they constituted almost half of the total population in the sub-district of Antakya.

The collaboration of the non-Muslims with imperial powers, and the privileges that they obtained from them led to the rise in prominence of many Ottoman non-Muslims.⁵⁷⁹ The Ottoman Empire used capitulations as a tool for the organization of the foreign trade during the mercantilist age. The capitulations played a significant role in the establishment of economic and political relations between the Ottoman Empire and the powerful Western powers. Besides these purposes, the capitulations were significant for protecting trade routes, securing strategic goods, and maximizing tax revenues.⁵⁸⁰ Providing capitulations encouraged Western merchants to increase their business in the Levant. The privileges granted to them in the 18th and 19th centuries made the French, British, and Dutch merchants to feel safe in the Ottoman territories. The Western countries granted the trade capitulations privileged Western and non-Muslim merchants at the expense of Muslim ones in the Ottoman Empire. Non-Muslims comprised a significant part of the Ottoman merchants since they entered Western trade protection acted as their intermediaries, which allowed them to pay less duty fee.⁵⁸¹

⁵⁷⁸ BOA.ML.VRD.CMH.d.00573.

⁵⁷⁹ Stephan Astourian, "Testing World-System Theory, Cilicia (1830s-1890s): Armenian-Turkish Polarization and the Ideology of Modern Ottoman Historiography." (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation University of California, Los Angeles, 1996), 470.

⁵⁸⁰ Mehmet Bulut, "The Ottoman Approach to the Western Europeans in the Levant during the Early Modern Period." *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (Mar., 2008), 259.

⁵⁸¹ Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*. (Oxford University Press, 1996), 34.

Non-Muslims in the Balkans and on the Mediterranean coast received favorable treatment from the British and the French trading interests. Many Greeks, Armenians, Copts, and Maronites worked for the Western commercial interests and opened their offices in various locations in the empire.⁵⁸² Armenians began to dominate the business of the vilayet of Adana in the 19th century. The same pattern was observed in Ayintab as well around the same time period. Kemal Karpat related the predominance of Armenians in the crafts and small businesses to European privileges and *berats* provided to them, while Stephan Astourian claims that *berats* only had little impact on the economic success of Armenians.⁵⁸³ It is a fact that the Armenian middle class was very experienced in trade and handcrafting even before the influx of European goods and European privileges. The roots of being involved in small businesses went back to the Middle Ages, and it had been an important part of Armenian social life.⁵⁸⁴

The claim that non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire were mostly involved in international trade and the distribution of European goods has its deficiencies. Some Turkish and Western scholars have failed to examine the documents reflecting the scope of diverse economic activities that Armenians were involved in several different regions of the empire. Astourian claims that around 80 percent of Armenians inhabited the six eastern provinces of Anatolia, namely Erzurum, Van, Bitlis, Diyarbakir, Harput, and Sivas. Many of them were landless

⁵⁸² Kemal H. Karpat, "Structural Change, Historical Stages of Modernization, and the Role of Social Groups in Turkish Politics," in *Social Change and Politics in Turkey: A Structural-Historical Analysis*, vol. VII of Social-Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East, ed. Kemal H. Karpat (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), 40.

⁵⁸³ Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914; Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 95, Astourian, "Testing World-System Theory, Cilicia (1830s-1890s): Armenian-Turkish Polarization and the Ideology of Modern Ottoman Historiography", 476.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 477.

peasants living under hard conditions under the arbitrary ways of Kurdish and Turkish notables.⁵⁸⁵ However, the Armenians living in the central Anatolia, for instance Kayseri, were not living in those miserable conditions.

The geographic conditions of the region that they lived in played a significant role in the economic activities of Armenians living in Anatolia. The Armenians living around Tokat and Sivas as well as Kayseri were mostly producing agricultural goods while the ones living in Ankara were manufacturing sheep and goat wool as well as *tiftik*. The Armenians in Bursa were involved in occupations related to tobacco and silk. In the 18th and 19th centuries, they strengthened their position in the trade between the East and the Mediterranean. The ones living in Istanbul and Izmir were leading bankers, money changers, intermediaries between foreign and domestic merchants, and regional and international traders.⁵⁸⁶

Most of the Armenians of Antakya made a living as artisans in the city proper and agriculturalists working in the sub-districts of the city. The majority of the Armenians in the quarters of Antakya were working as artisans, such as jewelers, weavers, aba makers, boilermakers, and barbers. On the other hand, the majority of the Armenians living in the sub-districts made their living as agriculturists. The *jizya* tax registers provides us with information on the occupation of non-Muslims, but, in the tax registers of 1846, most of the Armenians living in Keseb, Kebusiye, Yoghun Oluk, and Hacı Habıblu were recorded as active workers, *fa'al*. There were only a few occupations recorded, such as farmers, weavers, shepherds, peasants, cotton fluffiers, shoemakers, abamakers, dyers, tinsmiths, boilermakers, and *basmacıs* (artisans who put designs on clothes and cheesecloths). As it is pointed out, artisanship was neglected, and

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid., 477.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid., 509-510.

most of the occupations mentioned in the registers were related to agriculture that demonstrated that agriculture was the main economic activity for Armenians living in the sub-districts of Antakya.⁵⁸⁷

It is important to mention John Barker, a British consul general in Egypt, who had an significant impact on agricultural developments in Musa Dagh. After leaving his post in Egypt, he moved to Khidir Beg in the 1830s, and died there in 1849.⁵⁸⁸ One of his most important contributions to the local economy was replenishing and improving degenerating silkworm eggs by procuring regular supplies of fresh, superior ones from France and Italy. The new eggs that provided a one-third increase in annual silk production were distributed to silk cultivators in Musa Dagh and some other regions in Syria. That development improved the economy of Armenian silk cultivators living in the area.⁵⁸⁹ His second contribution was introducing new fruits, vegetables, and plants to the region as well as the improvement of existing ones. He brought seeds from all around the world, including China, India, Persia, Armenia, Egypt, Malta, Italy, France, England, and Spain. Charles Barker explains the goals of John Barker: "he labours to introduce among the Grandees of Antioch, Aleppo, and most of the principal towns of Syria, a taste for horticulture, of which, till now, they have not had the slightest idea; while, at the same time, he is anxiously endeavoring to give Europe the benefit of such of the fruits of Asia Minor and Syria, as he thinks will prove superior to those they already possess."⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁷ BOA.ML.VRD.CMH.d.00573, p.11, 19-25, 32-43.

⁵⁸⁸ Shemmassian, "The Armenian Villagers of Musa Dagh: A Historical-Ethnographic Study, 1840-1915", 37.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid., 39.

⁵⁹⁰ Charles Fiott Barker, *Memoir on Syria*. (London, 1845), 37.

Some of the observations of travelers who visited the region in the first half of the 19th century contradict the Ottoman tax registers. Wellsted describes Antakya as a city that exported silk, carpets, morocco leather in different colors, gums, opium, mastic emery, almonds, wine, oil, figs, and raisins. After mentioning the exported products, he claimed that the inland trade was carried on mostly by Jews and Armenians.⁵⁹¹ In the registers of 1846, there are no local Armenians in the quarters of Antakya and in its sub-district registered as merchants.⁵⁹² However, there were 51 non-Muslims, all of them originally from other cities, but having businesses in Antakya. Several of them were either merchants or distributors of imported goods; however, they were not categorized based on their religion. Therefore, it is hard to figure out how many of those non-locals who were dominating the inland trade were Armenian merchants.

It is well known that Armenians in the Ottoman Empire played an important role in regional and international trade even before the penetration of the European merchants into Ottoman commercial life. No doubt, some of the Armenian traders benefited from Western protection and privileges as well as the protection of local administrators.⁵⁹³ The notes of Fred Arthur Neale, who was in the city around the mid-19th century, show us that some of the Armenian bankers were protected by local officials. He reported that “[Y]ou observe that the housh or yard attached to his house is much larger and infinitely superior to the general run of the houses, even amongst the wealthier Turkish nobles in the city. The reason of this is the peculiar position of Hawajar Naum [the Armenian]; the immediate protection he enjoys from the local government as a banker enabling him to set taxes and avenia at defiance, and to indulge in

⁵⁹¹ J.R. Wellsted, *Travels to the City of the Caliphs*, vol. II (London, 1840), p. 70.

⁵⁹² BOA.ML.VRD.CMH.d.00573, p 12-13.

⁵⁹³ Astourian, “Testing World-System Theory, Cilicia (1830s-1890s): Armenian-Turkish Polarization and the Ideology of Modern Ottoman Historiography”, 521.

a display of a luxury which, but for this, would draw down upon him the rapacious clutches of the wealthier Effendis.”⁵⁹⁴

Religious Representation of Armenians in Antakya

The Armenian Patriarch, whose authority came from the Ottoman sultan was in charge of governing the Armenian *millet*. This institution was established after the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman in 1453. Although there was an Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem, all Armenians living in the Ottoman territories were ultimately under the responsibility of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Other patriarchates were mostly in charge of local affairs.⁵⁹⁵ Even though the Armenian Patriarch of Istanbul had jurisdiction over all Armenians in the Empire, they could not exert their authority over all Armenians until 19th century. The Armenian patriarch had several responsibilities vis-à-vis the government and in relation to the good conduct of his power. In order to accomplish these responsibilities, he had to form close relations with the high-ranking Ottoman Pashas. The government controlled Armenians and collected the community's annual tributes through the Patriarch. He was the connection between the Armenian communities and the government, and in case of injustice, obtaining rights, or securing positions, the Armenians and their church officers communicated with the government through him. He also held responsibility for the community's spiritual administration, public instruction, charitable and religious institutions, and determining the civil status of members of his group.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹⁴ Neale, *Evenings at Antioch*, p. 86-87.

⁵⁹⁵ Setrakian, “Armenians in the Ottoman Legal System (16th-18th Centuries)”, 32.

⁵⁹⁶ Avedis K. Sanjian, *The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Dominion*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965),32.

The Armenians of Musa Dagh adhered to their distinct churches, namely Apostolic, Orthodox, Gregorian, or National Church until the 1840s. However, after the penetration of Protestant missionaries in the mid-1840s, and Catholic missionaries in the 1880s, the supremacy of the traditional Armenian churches was challenged. There was a conflict between the Armenian patriarchate of Constantinople and the catholicosate of Cilicia since the catholicosate of Cilicia opposed the state-sanctioned authority of Patriarch. The Armenian Apostolic church, including the one in Musa Dagh supported the catholicosate of Cilicia against the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople.⁵⁹⁷

Armenians in Court in Antakya: Conversion, Trade, and Orphans

Christians voluntarily attended the Islamic court for cases that concerned their individual affairs. There were several practical considerations, such as greater efficiency and better enforceability, which encouraged non-Muslims to make recourse to Islamic courts. Al-Qattan claims that the personal and financial interests of non-Muslim litigants who used Islamic courts were better served by the Sharia law.⁵⁹⁸ One of the shortcomings of the using the court records was the failure to distinguish non-Muslims from one another. For instance, the Armenians were most of the time indicated as Christians which made it hard to distinguish them from Greek, Catholic, or Maronite Christian litigants. Most of the Christians from different sects used similar surnames. Even though there are some distinct Armenian names that we witnessed at the court records of Antakya, it is difficult and sometimes impossible to determine their sect based on their

⁵⁹⁷ Shemmassian, "The Armenian Villagers of Musa Dagh: A Historical-Ethnographic Study, 1840-1915", 68.

⁵⁹⁸ Najwa Al-Qattan, "Dhimmi in the Muslim court: documenting justice in Ottoman Damascus, 1775-1860", (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1996), 154.

names.⁵⁹⁹ In some cases the scribe (*katib*) at the court specifically emphasized that the litigant was Armenian, which is the only way for us to know that the non-Muslim mentioned in a court record was Armenian. The range of legal issues that were brought into the court by Armenians often varied based on the region. However, some common issues such as conversion, marriage, divorce, inheritance, and financial transactions were among the main ones brought into the Sharia courts.

The Ottoman authorities and religious class opposed to conversion from Islam to Christianity. The main motivation behind that opposition was the Sharia law, which demand that the apostate was liable to execution. Many Ottoman grand muftis issued fatwas regarding the issue of conversion. The most important of these fatwas was the one issued by Ebu's Su'ud Efendi, which was "Question: What is the Şer'i ruling for a dhimmi who reverts to infidelity after having accepted Islam? Answer: He is recalled to Islam, if he does not return, he is killed." Before execution, the male apostates were given three days to reconsider their decision. if the apostates return to Islam, they would be forgiven by the government; otherwise, they would be executed.⁶⁰⁰ On the other hand, Conversion to Islam was a simple procedure. A person left his or her "vain religion" for the "religion of truth" that is Islam. There are examples of conversion of non-Muslims to Islam in the court records. A person had to register the conversion at the court to remove the convert's name from the list of *zimmi* tax payers. The convert also abandoned his

⁵⁹⁹ Ronald Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571-1640*. (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 146.

⁶⁰⁰ Selim Deringil, "There is No Compulsion in Religion: On Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire: 1839-1856," 550

name and took a suitable Muslim name.⁶⁰¹ Although conversion was not very common in the Ottoman Empire, there are several instances of conversion from one faith to another. Jennings, who made a comprehensive research on court records of Kayseri, gives some examples of Armenians converted to Islam and other sects of Christianity. For instance, Meryem who had been Greek Orthodox left her belief, and accepted the Armenian religion.⁶⁰² Another case happened in Aleppo when Yusuf ibn Abdullah transferred his affiliation from his Armenian religious community to Maronite Christianity in 1753.⁶⁰³

An instance of conversion from the Armenian religion to Islam occurred in Antakya in 1833. The motivation behind the conversion was undoubtedly to simplify an extra-communal marriage. According to the case, Mehmed bin Ismail and Mehmed bin Hüseyin applied to the court with the claim that Mirna bint-i Hanna came to Islam at the house of Abdulhaluk with the testimony of some Muslims. She left the vain religion consciously, and accepted the religion of Islam. She was given the name Fatma. They asked the court to accept their witness to the conversion of the Armenian woman to Islam. After their request, their informed the court that Fatma, with her consent, got married to Mehmet Efendi a month earlier with the testimony of some other Muslims.⁶⁰⁴ Since it was a case of conversion from another religion to Islam, the witnesses of the case were members of the ulama as well as notables and local officials, namely the main and the second imam of the city, the district governor (kaymakam), and a person from the family of the Civelekzade that was the most influential family in the city at that time.

⁶⁰¹ Ronald C. Jennings, "Zimmis (Non-Muslims) in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records: The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Oct.,1978), 240-241

⁶⁰² Ibid., 242.

⁶⁰³ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 40.

⁶⁰⁴ ASS 23, b.251.

Armenians applied to the court for the cases concerned with property and financial transactions. The court registers of Antakya also served as land and property registration books. Although they do not list owners of properties by using a systematic method, they recorded changes in the ownership of buildings and property when such changes took place. These entries are intermixed with the daily entries of other occasions recorded at the court.⁶⁰⁵ There were several examples of buying and selling properties by Armenians in Aleppo, Ayıntab, Kayseri, and other regions of the empire. Especially in Aleppo non-Muslims were involved in 14-16 % of transactions every year.⁶⁰⁶ An example that is available in the court record of Antakya provides us with information on both the transfer of inheritance and its subsequent sale. After the death of Rumyan veled-i Yoniz, who had an Armenian name, his inheritance was shared between his two sons and his daughter, Mariyanna. One of the sons applied to the court to sell the vineyard he had inherited from his father to a Muslim woman whose name was Hacı Fatma bint-i Es-Seyyid Ebubekir. However, he had to get the approval of his sister, Mariyanna, to complete the selling process even though he owned over 70 percent of the vineyard. After he obtained Mariyanna's approval, the vineyard was sold to the Muslim woman under the testimony of several Muslims.⁶⁰⁷ This document demonstrates that both Muslim and non-Muslim women in Antakya were involved in selling and buying properties, and they both regularly and freely used Ottoman

⁶⁰⁵ Jennings, "Zimmis (Non-Muslims) in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records: The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri," 247.

⁶⁰⁶ See: Abraham Marcus, "Men, Women and Property: Dealers in Real Estate in 18th century Aleppo," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 26, no.2 (1983), 147., Ronald C. Jennings, "Zimmis (Non-Muslims) in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records: The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri," 247-250.

⁶⁰⁷ A.Ş.S., Nr.23 b.112. İzzettin Karamanoğlu, "23 No'lu Antakya Şer'iye Sicili, 1247-1249/1831/1834." Master's Thesis, Mustaf Kemal University, 2003, 215-216.

courts to register some of their purchases and selling as well as to complain about problems that they faced in.

The protection of orphans in Ottoman society was a significant theme which cut across the ethical and legal discourse. The kadi was the supervisor of orphans' affairs, and he had a right to appoint a new guardian (*vasi*) if he decided that the orphan needed one. He could appoint guardians for anybody in the community, including non-Muslims. The majority of the guardians appointed by the court were close relatives of the orphans. Canbakal claims that all appointed guardians undertook an obligation vis-à-vis the public authorities when they accepted the appointment. She states that "their acceptance was expressed by the term *ta'ahhiid* (engagement, contract) which was also used when accepting any public duty, such as the trusteeship of a *waqf*."⁶⁰⁸ The most important responsibility of the guardian was to protect the orphan's interest and to maintain the integrity of the child's assets by providing him or her a certain amount of the inherited money or from alimony.⁶⁰⁹ Non-Muslims could apply to the court to request the appointment of a guardian for orphans. For instance, after the death of Panusis son of Halik, the court appointed a guardian for his children. In that case, the children of the deceased father, Gayan, Ratnus, and Menyus, inherited money and some properties. However, these Armenian children could not protect their interests and were not at an age at which they could manage their budget. That is why, the uncle of these children applied to the court for the request of his appointment as the guardian (*vasi*). The court accepted that request and appointed him as legal guardian of these children with the responsibility of protecting them, their interests, and

⁶⁰⁸ Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town 'Ayıntab in the 17th Century*, 153.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 154.

properties. He would be their guardian until the children reached majority (*reşit*).⁶¹⁰ The care of orphans in the Ottoman Empire demonstrates the efficiency of the extended family as an agency of welfare and support.

The non-Sunni Muslim Community of Antakya: Alawites and their Social, Economic, and Religious life in Ottoman Antakya

The Alawites, also known as Nusayris, make up a small minority group that is widely dispersed in western Syria and in southern Turkey, including the areas of Antakya, Adana, Tarsus, and Alexandretta. Their religious belief is considered a branch of Shia Islam. According to their belief, Ali, the fourth caliph, and his descendants, known as Imams, were the only legitimate heirs and successors of the Prophet Muhammed. The sect has had a secretive character due to the fact that the members of the sect were exposed to the oppression of Sunni rulers and non-Nusayri groups throughout history. Therefore, they believe that secrecy has been an indispensable strategy for them to survive.

The sect was founded by Muhammad Ibn Nusayr al-Namiri al-Bakri al-Abdi in the ninth century. The sect was known as Nusayri until 1920. However, since the term was perceived to be insulting for the members of the community, the usage of that term has been rejected by the leaders of the sect since that time. They adopted the name of Alawi (followers of Ali) in order to make the sect look like a branch of Shia Islam, and to show that its principles are compatible with Islam. The sect was founded in Iraq, but in the following century two centers emerged under the leadership of Husayn al-Hamdan al-Khasibi. These centers were the Iraqi center, and the center of Aleppo. The second center was founded in Syria since the Shi'ite Arab dynasty, the

⁶¹⁰ A.Ş.S., Nr.23 b.228.

Hamdanids, allowed the Alawis to live in the country.⁶¹¹ Since that time period, the Alawis began to move to Syria, especially to the west coast of the country. They settled in the rugged mountain of Bargylus or al-Lukam, which would later bear their name, Jabal al-Nusayriyya.

The areas that were inhabited by the Alawis remained under the control of Sunni Empires from the 12th century until the end of the Ottoman Empire. The Ayyubid Sultanate, the Mamluks, and the Ottoman Empire, respectively, controlled the region one after the other. The coastal mountain ranges of Northern Syria were inhabited by other sects, such as the Druzes, and the Christian Maronites as well as the Alawis, and these groups co-operated with the Westerners against the Sunni Muslim powers in order to break the oppression. However, that co-operation brought more state oppression against these heterodox groups. The notion of jihad, holy war, was extended to cover heterodox groups in the 14th century. Three important fatwas were issued against the Alawis by Ibn-i Taymiyya⁶¹², a famous religious scholar in Mamluk history, to provide religious and moral validation for the oppression of the Alawis and other rebel elements.⁶¹³ These fatwas were a source of inspiration for most of the radical Muslims to fight against the Alawis, and the fatwas are still used in these days in Syria by jihadists to fight against the Alawis and other sects.⁶¹⁴ The Alawis faced oppression under the Ottoman Empire in the

⁶¹¹ Yaron Friedman, "al-Husayn ibn Hamdân al-Khasîbî: A Historical Biography of the Founder of the Nusayrî-'Alawite." *Studia Islamica*, 93, (2001):102.

⁶¹² Ahmad ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328), the Damascene jurist and theologian, is one of the key inspirer of Wahhabism and other fundamentalist reform movements. He issued three fatwas that put the members of the Alawi sects on target, and encouraged Sunni Muslims to fight against the Alawis by saying that it is a religious duty for real Muslims. See: Yaron Friedman, "Ibn Taymiyya's Fatawa against the Nusayri-Alawi Sect." *Der Islam*, 82 (2) (2005): 349-363; Stefan Winter, *A History of 'Alawis*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 56-61.

⁶¹³ Yaron Friedman, "Ibn Taymiyya's Fatawa against the Nusayri-Alawi Sect." *Der Islam*, 82 (2) (2005), 350-360.

⁶¹⁴ Nibras Kazimi, *Syria Through Jihadist Eyes: A Perfect Enemy*. (Hoover Institution Press, 2010.), 9.

early years of the Ottoman occupation. The most important reason behind that oppression was the competition between the Ottoman Empire and the Safavid Dynasty in eastern Anatolia. These two states held opposing religious views that were skillfully used for political purposes. In that competition, the Alawis supported the Safavids due to similarities in their belief systems. This competition made Selim I very suspicious of all Shi'ites, and his suspicions extended to the Alawis. He took some preventive measures to suppress the sympathy of heterodox groups towards the Safavids. One of these measures was getting fatwas from religious scholars to fight Shi'ites both in Anatolia and Syria.⁶¹⁵ The fatwas that legitimized the massacres of the Alawis, which caused the death of thousands of community members.⁶¹⁶ There are not sufficient documents for the social, economic, and political life of the Alawis in the 17th and 18th centuries. It is because of that reason that the historical transformation of the Alawites and their experience as a heterodox community under the Ottomans has remained unexplored. The limited number of sources indicate that the Alawis showed their obedience to the Ottoman Empire and paid their taxes on time.⁶¹⁷ The Alawis have appeared more often in Ottoman documents since the beginning of the 19th century. Most of the documents featured complaints about various purported actions of the Alawis, like refusing to pay taxes, attacking the neighboring villages, and resisting the conscription policies of the Ottoman Empire. The aggressive activities of the community continued until the beginning of the 1830s when the regions inhabited by the Alawis were invaded by the Egyptians.

⁶¹⁵ Matti Moosa, *Extremist Shiites: The Ghulat Sects Contemporary Issues in the Middle East* (Syracuse, N. Y: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 274-275.

⁶¹⁶ Yvette Talhamy, "The fatwas and the Nusayri/Alawi of Syria." *Middle Eastern Studies*, 46, no. 2(March 2010):182.

⁶¹⁷ Türkyilmaz, "Anxieties of Conversion: Missionaries, State and Heterodox Communities in the Late Ottoman Empire", 164.

After the occupation of Antakya by the Egyptians, the city experienced the application of several reforms regarding social, political, and economic life as well as military affairs. These reforms were more advanced and well-organized than the reforms had been applied by the Ottoman officials theretofore, and paved a way for the upcoming Tanzimat reforms (following the Ottoman re-conquest of the area in 1840). However, the policies of disarmament and conscription implemented by the Egyptians were not welcomed by dwellers in the area, especially those living in the mountains. The strict implementation of these policies triggered uprisings in Syria and lasted until the end of Egyptian rule in Syria. The Alawis were one of these groups that revolted against the Egyptians which brought disastrous results for the community, such as the destruction of their land and villages, the disarmament and conscription of the population, and being forced to migrate. During the revolt and process of the evacuation of the Egyptians, the Ottomans armed the local population living in the mountains, including the Alawis. Ibrahim Pasha warned the Ottoman officials to cease this policy. He told one of the Ottoman Pashas “You, with the assistance of English, have expelled me; you have again put arms into the hands of the mountaineers; it cost me nine years and ninety thousand men to disarm them. You will yet invite me back to govern them.”⁶¹⁸ However, the Ottoman government did not take into consideration his advice, and the arms provided to Alawis were used against the Ottoman Empire when they revolted under the leadership of an Alawi, Ismail Khayr Beg, in 1857.

The Alawis mostly inhabited on the mountains along the Mediterranean Sea. The mountains on the coast of the Eastern Mediterranean hosted people from many different ethnic

⁶¹⁸ Frederick Walpole, *The Ansayrii and Assassins: With Travels in the Further East in 1850 to 1851. Including a Visit to Nineveh Part Three*. (Kessinger Publishing, 2004), 127.

and religious backgrounds, namely Armenians, Maronites, Druzes, and Alawis. The most important reason for minorities to live in the mountainous areas was because the mountains were a refuge from soldiers and state officials. Mountains are also the areas where the central administration could not penetrate easily.⁶¹⁹ The minorities living in the mountains were less likely to be influenced by the policies of the state that were mostly designed for the benefit of the majority, and in the Ottoman case, this restricted the social, economic, and political lives of the minorities. These policies did reach the mountains only partially, which gave more freedom to minorities to practise their culture, traditions, and way of life. Braudel states that “there was no tight urban network so no administration, no towns in the proper sense of the word, and no gendarmes either, we might add. It is only the lowlands that one finds a close-knit, stifling society, a prebendal clergy, a haughty aristocracy, and an efficient system of justice. The hills were the refuge of liberty, democracy, and peasant ‘republics’.”⁶²⁰ The mountains around Antakya represent the main characteristics typical of most mountains along the coast of the Mediterranean. The mountains had some urbanized villages and small towns. In these areas, people were hard-working and level-headed, comfortable, and lived a modest life. The Alawis, Armenians, and Greek Orthodox Christians mostly inhabited these areas located in the sub-districts of Antakya.

The Alawis (Nusayris) have settled around the most northwestern area of the Eastern Mediterranean. The group in Syria have inhabited the area to the south of Homs, on the plateau between Masyaf and Orontes, in northeast Hama, Latakia, Idlib, Aleppo, and Damascus. The

⁶¹⁹ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, Vol. I, 1995), 38-39.

⁶²⁰ *Ibid.*, 39-40.

sect settled in Süveydiye, Antakya, Alexandria, and the southern part of the Cilicia region in Turkey. The majority of the sect lived in the Latakia region until the 18th century.⁶²¹ However, due to internal conflicts between the Alawi tribes, the destructive earthquake in Latakia in the late 18th century, and the policies of Ibrahim Pasha, several Alawi groups moved to the north, towards the Cilicia region.⁶²² The Alawis mostly inhabited two sub-districts of Antakya, namely the districts of Süveydiye and Cebel-i Akra. The most important reason for them to settle and live in these districts was the predominance of highland terrain. They mostly inhabited the foothills of Musa Dagh and the Bold Mountain, Cebel-i Akra. Among the names of the villages the Alawis have lived in since the 18th century are Aydiye, Cüdeyde, Dikmece, Karaçay, Mağaracık, Mengüliye, Muğayrun, Saylıca, Tavla, Cilli, Dersuniye, Düveyr, and Harbiye. The areas where the Alawis lived were described by Buckingham as valleys full of trees and cultivation, studded over with well-built cottages.⁶²³ The Alawites living in the Cilicia region, the sub-districts of Antakya, and in the other Ottoman provinces stayed connected to each other. Samuel Lyde observes this communication by saying "there is also a colony at Tarsous, on the coast north of Suadeiah. From Tarsous [Tarsus] they come to Suadeiah [Suveydiye] for the purpose of traffic. Thus, a communication is kept up between them, which is cemented by the freemasonry of a common religion, and by the suffering of common oppression from the Mussulmans."⁶²⁴

⁶²¹ Heinz Halm, "Nusayriyya." *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, VIII (Leiden : E. J. Brill, 1995). 146.

⁶²² Muhammed Emin Galib Et-Tawil, *Nusayriler, Arap Alevilerin Tarihi*, trans, Ismail Ozdemir (Istanbul: Civi yazilari, 2000), 297-298.

⁶²³ Buckingham, *Travels among Arab Tribes*, 552.

⁶²⁴ Samuel Lyde, *Ansyreeh and Ismaeleeh: A Visit to the Secret Sects of Northern Syria*. (London: Hurst and Blackett Publishers, 1853), 20.

The mountains forced their inhabitants to be self-sufficient for the essentials of life. They encouraged people to produce everything as well as they could, and to cultivate wheat, vines, and other crops even if the climate was so harsh. Braudel claims that, in the mountains of Mediterranean society, the civilization, and economy all bear the marks of backwardness and poverty.⁶²⁵ The villages where Alawis lived were underdeveloped. It is well known that living isolated in the mountains prevented them from integrating themselves into the major economic activities of the city, and that was the main reason for economic underdevelopment. Samuel Lyde, who visited the areas where the Alawis lived in the mid-19th century, provides an idea of how the Alawi villages looked. He observed that "the first sight of the village was not prepossessing. It was small, its houses built of rough stones, their walls plastered with cow dung, which was being dried in the sun for fuel. I contended myself with inspecting the interior of one or two of the better houses, and found them to consist of one room, of which the ceiling was supported by pillars formed of stones belonging to some ancient buildings."⁶²⁶ He also observed some other villages, comparable smaller ones, in the mountains. Although the villages were smaller than the one he observed, and the houses more scattered over the valley, they were in better condition.⁶²⁷

The available sources do not provide precise numbers for the population of the Alawis in Antakya. The Ottoman officials did not follow the practice of registering Alawis as a distinct community in the tax registers, so many Alawis were recorded as (Sunni) Muslims in the

⁶²⁵ Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 33.

⁶²⁶ Lyde, *Ansyreeh and Ismaeleeh: A Visit to the Secret Sects of Northern Syria*, 6.

⁶²⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

Ottoman official documents.⁶²⁸ In addition to that, being a closed religious community, performing *taqiyya* (religious dissimulation), avoiding interaction with foreigners, and living in the rural areas obstructed scholars' and travelers' efforts at estimating the population of the community. While none of the travelers who had been in the district of Antakya before 1840 provided any numbers regarding the population of the Alawis in the area, there are some travelers and scholars who estimated the population of the sect living in the whole of Syria and the Cilicia region. The population of the community was estimated to be around 80,000 in 1820, and 69,000 in the 1830s. A German traveler, Kremer, distinguished the Alawi population living in the Cilicia region and Syria. He claimed that the Alawites living in the Cilicia region were around 5000, and in Syria, including Antakya and its sub-districts were between 120,000 and 180,000 in the second half of the 19th century.⁶²⁹ Springett, the author of *Secret Sects of Syria and Lebanon*, claims that "about 1856 Dr. Vandyck, of the American Board of Mission at Beyrout, while giving the number of Druzes as 100,000 gave that of the Ismaeeli⁶³⁰ and Nusairis together as 200,000, of which the largest proportion would be Nusairis."⁶³¹

⁶²⁸ Naim Urkmez, Aydin Efe. "Osmanli Arsiv Belgelerinde Nusayriler Hakkinda Genel Bilgiler," *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi*, Sayı 54. (2010): 128.

⁶²⁹ Necati Alkan, "Alman Kaynaklarına Göre Osmanlı Nusayrileri," *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi*, No. 54. (2010), 143-144.

⁶³⁰ Isma'ilis is another sect of Shia Islam. The name of the sect refers to Ismail who is the son of the sixth Imam, Jafar es-Sadiq. Ismail passed away before his father in 755, which made his brother Musa al-Kazim to succeed his father. However, a group of Shiites refused to accept Musa al-Kazim as Imam since they believed that Ismail was a rightful Imam. Therefore, this group accepted Muhammad b. Ismail, a son of Ismail, as spiritual successor of the sixth Imam, and continued to follow Ismail and his successors as the line of Imamate. Later, the Isma'ilis were divided into several branches, such as the Druzes, the Qarmatians, and the Nizaris. See: Heinz Halm, *Shiism*, trans by. Janet Watson and Marian Hill (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 162-206., Farhad Daftary, *The Isma'ilis: Their History and Doctrines, Second Edition*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

⁶³¹ Bernard H. Springett, *Secret Sects of Syria and Lebanon*. (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1922), 119.

Agriculture was the major economic activity of the Alawis. Most of the members of the community worked either as peasants in their lands or as agricultural laborers on the lands of the rich Turkish proprietors of Antakya. Samuel Lyde, who had been in the region in the late 1840s and early 1850s states that “Mr. Barker, whose long connection with those of Suadeiah [Süveydiye] makes his opinion of value, has told me that he considers the Ansyreeh [Alawis] peasantry at least equal in intelligence to that of any country in Europe, and all the intercourse which I had with them led me to the same conclusion.”⁶³²

Some of the Alawis allowed other communities living in the neighboring villages to use their lands. For instance, Armenians living in Yoghun Oluk and Kheder Beg cultivated religious properties adjoining the Alawi village of Kurt Deresi.⁶³³ The Alawis shared the Süveydiye valley with the Greeks and Armenians, and these communities consisted of an industrious, peaceable and honest sort of peasantry. Besides having good relations with Armenians, some of the Alawis living in Musa Dagh spoke the local Armenian dialect.⁶³⁴ Some of the Armenians possessed lands within the peripheries of the Alawi villages. They produced silk in the farmhouses established in these villages. There was co-operation between the Alawis and Armenians during the silk production process. The cultivation of seeds took place in the farm houses belonging to or run by the Alawis, while Armenian proprietors hired Armenian experts to teach silk production to their Alawi tenant farmers.⁶³⁵

⁶³² Lyde, *Ansyreeh and Ismaeleeh: A Visit to the Secret Sects of Northern Syria*, 22.

⁶³³ Shemmassian, “The Armenian Villagers of Musa Dagh: A Historical-Ethnographic Study, 1840-1915”, 17.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁶³⁵ *Ibid.*, 47.

The Alawis were the sole inhabitants of the plain, and they preferred to live away from the city centers. That is why they remained out of the main economic activities in the city. They mostly came to the city to purchase staple food products, which were not available in the rural areas, or for necessary business activities. Since they were recorded in the tax registers as (just) Muslims, it is not possible to determine the numbers of Alawi artisans, if there were any, in Antakya. The available traveler literature does not provide any information about whether there were any Alawi artisans or not both in the city proper or the surrounding rural areas. It is possible that there were some Alawi artisans in some villages, but if there were not any in the villages, the Alawis would purchase the necessary artisanal goods from Greek or Armenian artisans living in the neighboring villages. The most important reason behind that claim is that they were too oppressed by the inhabitants of the Sunni towns to have any great love for them, and the cooperation between non-Muslim farmers and the Alawis in the plain of Süveydiye.

As we have seen before, as People of the Book, the non-Muslims could benefit from the promised protection, while they were subjected to the obligations stipulated by the Pact of Umar. However, the Alawis and some other heterodox groups have had “fuzzy” connections to Islam. Alawi Islam was considered by the Sunni majority to have constituted a transgression of the Sharia, and therefore Alawi beliefs were often seen as blasphemous (from the perspective of Sunni Muslims). Members of the group, at least in theory, were declared heretics, disbelievers, or apostates, and their legal status was ambiguous.⁶³⁶ In several cases, the members of the community were described as infidels or heretics in state documents. In a fatwa issued by the mufti of Aleppo in the 16th century, the Kizilbash, another branch of Shia Islam whose members

⁶³⁶ Türkyilmaz, "Anxieties of Conversion: Missionaries, State and Heterodox Communities in the Late Ottoman Empire", 158.

mostly inhabited eastern Anatolia, and the Alawis were declared infidels, whose blood could be shed and whose property, women, and children could legitimately be confiscated or enslaved, respectively.⁶³⁷ Two state documents from the 18th and 19th centuries indicate that the state's perception of the Alawis as heretics and infidels did not alter. In a document from 1745, the term *fellah* was used to refer to the sect (*fellah ta'bir olunur Nusayri ta'ifesi*). The term *fellah* was used for uneducated common peasants in general, and it did not refer to the belief system of the community. However, due to the fact that most of the Alawis were farmers, this term came to mean both "ignorant rustic" and "heretic Alawi."⁶³⁸ In another document dated 1858, the words "a group of infidels Nusayris" (*kafir Nusayrilerin bir firkası*) were used to refer to members of the community.⁶³⁹

Thus, the confessional identity of the Alawis created disadvantages for the members of the community. The Alawis were subjected to an unfair tax, called *dirham al-rijal*. This tax was one of the many taxes collected from the Alawite rural population, alongside the other taxes paid by the Muslim population. The reason behind levying that tax onto the community was that since the Alawis did not practice either the fasting or the ritual prayers, and they did not follow a number of precepts of the Islamic religion, that prevented the community from being fiscally part of the Ottoman confessional system.⁶⁴⁰ The tax was levied on a per capita basis which was a method similar to the collection of the *jizya* capitation tax from Christians and Jewish

⁶³⁷ Selahattin Tansel, *Yavuz Sultan Selim*. (Ankara: Milli Egitim Basimevi, 1969), 34-38.

⁶³⁸ Gisela Procházka-Eisl and Stephan Procházka, *The Plain of Saints and Prophets: The Nusayri Alawi Community of Cilicia (Southern Turkey) and its Sacred Places*. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 22-23.

⁶³⁹ B.A. MVL. 750/107. Belge 3, 16 Şevval 1274 (May 30, 1858).

⁶⁴⁰ Türkyılmaz, "Anxieties of Conversion: Missionaries, State and Heterodox Communities in the Late Ottoman Empire", 176.

subjects.⁶⁴¹ There was no systematic collection of this tax. While it was collected in some districts inhabited by Alawis in the provinces of Hama and Tripoli, it was not levied on the Alawis living in some other districts. In addition, by the 19th century the Ottoman rulers ceased collecting this tax from the Alawis living all around the Empire. In addition to the *dirham al-rijal*, the Ottoman rulers demanded that some of the Alawis living in the Cilicia region, a region in north part of the district of Antakya, pay the *jizya*, the obligatory tax paid by non-Muslims. Turkyilmaz indicates that the Alawi dwellers of Adana, Tarsus, and Cilicia sent a petition to complain about the unfair tax demands of the Ottoman authorities. In the petition, they pointed out that they were members of the Islamic community which exempted that from paying *jizya*.⁶⁴² Most likely, *dirham al-rijal* and *jizya* were not collected from the Alawis living in the sub-districts of Antakya as the limited archival materials do not offer any information on the collection of these taxes from the members of the community.

The Ottoman officials appointed sheiks and the Alawi tribal leaders as tax collectors. The reasons behind that policy were the inability of the central government to collect taxes from the minorities living in the mountains in the 18th and 19th centuries, and the high cost of sending tax collectors to small villages in the mountains. The local chiefs and sheiks were more effective in collecting taxes. When they faced problems during the tax collection process, they asked the Ottoman officials to send troops to the region to help them. It was a fact that the Alawis did not pay their taxes regularly due to several reasons, such as bad harvests and conflicts between

⁶⁴¹ Stefan Winter, "The Alawis in the Ottoman Period" in *the Alawis of Syria War, Faith, and Politic in the Levant*. ed. by Michael Kerr and Craig Larkin. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 51.

⁶⁴² Turkyilmaz, "Anxieties of Conversion: Missionaries, State and Heterodox Communities in the Late Ottoman Empire," 177.

tribes. When the members of the community could not pay their taxes, they faced oppression. Being oppressed by the local chiefs, religious leaders, and Ottoman rulers sank the Alawis to a low point.

The sheikhs have had an important role in Alawi society. They were not only religious leaders, but leaders whose ideas played a significant role in the social, economic, and political lives of the members of the Alawi community. It is believed that the sheikhs know the inner reality, the hidden world to which the rank-and-file members of the community had no access, but through the sheikhs. Sheikhs have also been very influential in socio-political life. They served as a bridge between the government and the Alawi community, determined religiously appropriate dates for significant events, such as harvesting and wedding dates, and decided the names of the newly born children.⁶⁴³ The sheikhs were also among the few who could read and write in the villages, so Alawis who wanted to communicate with the government by writing a petition usually had to do that through the sheikhs. In addition, the sheikhs played a significant role in resolving disagreements among community members. When the Alawis had such cases, they applied either to the Sharia court or to their sheikhs. The sheikhs acted as judges, and tried to solve the cases that occurred among the members of the community.

The Ottoman provincial administrators had better relations with the Alawi sheikhs than the tribal chiefs⁶⁴⁴ of the community. After the formation of the local councils in the 1840s, the

⁶⁴³ Dick Douwes, "Knowledge and Oppression; the Nusayriyya in the Late Ottoman Period," in *La Shi'a Nell'impero Ottomano*. (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1993), 150-159.

⁶⁴⁴ Tribal chiefs in the Alawi community acted as intermediaries between the state and the community members. They were the notables of their region, who obtained tax farming rights of their region, and managed most of the economic life in the areas inhabited by the Alawis. However, they were not as influential as the sheiks as the latter both acted as intermediaries between the community and the state and controlled religious life.

Ottoman officials preferred to invite the Alawi sheikhs instead of the tribal chiefs for the representation of the community in the local councils due to the sheikhs' reconciliatory approach towards the Ottoman government.⁶⁴⁵ The central government or missionaries who wanted to open schools in Alawi villages had to convince or co-operate with sheikhs before implementing their policies. For instance, the central government co-ordinated its activities with sheikhs in order to collect taxes from the Alawis in the sub-districts of Antakya. On the other hand, missionaries had to convince sheikhs to open schools in the mountains inhabited by the Alawis. Samuel Lyde, a Protestant missionary who came to the region for the purpose of converting the Alawis to Christianity, wanted to open schools in the mountains inhabited by the Alawis. However, he had to get permission both from the Ottoman central government and from the Alawi village sheikhs. Samuel Lyde states that "the most important part of my trip still remained, namely, a visit to Sheikh Hhabeeb Eesa, who was agreed on all hands to be in chief reputation among the Ansyreeh. His cousin, Sheikh Ibraheem Saeed, had said of him, that if he was averse to schools, it would be impossible to form them, and wherever I went I was asked whether I had yet seen Sheikh Hhabeeb."⁶⁴⁶

The Alawis were admitted to the Sharia courts as litigants in general, but they experienced discrimination due to their confessional identity in the Syrian provinces of the Empire. There were some cases that indicated that the Alawis were not treated as Muslims, or were not considered equal to Sunni Muslims. To give a couple of examples of the discrimination against the Alawis: an Alawi woman could get divorced from her Alawi husband by 'converting' to (Sunni) Islam, and while Christians' testimonies against Sunni Muslims were invalid in the

⁶⁴⁵Douwes, "Knowledge and Oppression; the Nusayriyya in the Late Ottoman Period," 162.

⁶⁴⁶Lyde, *Ansyreeh and Ismaeleeh: A Visit to the Secret Sects of Northern Syria*, 192.

Sharia courts, they could testify against an Alawi.⁶⁴⁷ In addition, Alawis' testimonies against Sunni Muslims were not accepted in some cases. The reason why their testimonies were not accepted against Sunni Muslims was because the members of the community were considered adherents to *aqida-i fasida*, a "corrupt faith."⁶⁴⁸

A case from 1735 clearly demonstrates how the Alawis were discriminated due to their identity. One of the members of the community, Ali ibn Muhammad Rayhan, showed up in court on the accusation of having pierced the walls and broken into the plaintiff's house located in the village of Mizrakli, whereby he was also alleged to have stolen some goods from the plaintiff's house. In order to substantiate the plaintiff's claims, two witnesses, likely Sunni Muslims, from Antakya were summoned to the court. They confirmed that Ali ibn Muhammad was not only a habitual criminal, but also came from an Alawi background. The witnesses also said that the Alawi defendant was using gross words and obscene expressions, and insulted religion, faith, and "the four venerable caliphs" which was as serious as the crime that he attempted. Based on the crime he attempted and his attitudes towards Islam, he was ordered to be put to death with a fatwa issued by the local mufti.⁶⁴⁹

On the other hand, we have several examples of cases indicating that Alawis were not always subjected to discrimination in the courts. They applied to the court, like Sunni Muslims, to solve problems mostly between community members. In these cases, there were not any terms used to insult members of the community. For instance, Ali son of Hasan, came to the court to

⁶⁴⁷ Türkyilmaz, "Anxieties of Conversion: Missionaries, State and Heterodox Communities in the Late Ottoman Empire", 182.

⁶⁴⁸ Dick Douwes, "Knowledge and Oppression; the Nusayriyya in the Late Ottoman Period," in *La Shi'a Nell'impero Ottomano*. (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1993), 165-167.

⁶⁴⁹ Winter, "The Alawis in the Ottoman Period", 57.

solve the land dispute that he had in Büyük Karaçay, a village inhabited by Alawis. He was accepted to the court, which gave a fair decision.⁶⁵⁰ In another case, Alawis applied to the court to solve inheritance disputes between the children of Neyyani bint-i Hasan after her death in 1833. All plaintiffs and the defendant were listened to, and the court made again a fair decision after having listened to all sides.⁶⁵¹ There are some court records dealing with Alawis that refer to the concession of tax farming contracts to Alawi notables. These contacts provide furnish information mostly on the extent of the contracts, and the oath of contractors to execute *iltizam* faithfully as well as their submission of pre-determined amounts of taxes on time.⁶⁵²

Conclusion

Antakya and its rural hinterland have had multi-ethnic and multi-religious characteristics which have persisted until these days. The city has been seen as border point between Anatolia and the Arab lands, and it served as home to people from both regions. Besides, people from different religious backgrounds shared the quarters of the city. People from six different ethnicities and three different religions, namely Muslim Turks, Muslim Arabs, Greek Orthodox, Christian Arabs, Armenians, Jews, and Alawis shared the same city between 17th and 19th centuries. Sharing the city created a social cohesion among various groups. The language, music, cuisine, and material culture of each community of Antakya became indistinctive. The relations between the Greek Orthodox and Muslims that shared the same quarters established deep social, economic, and cultural relations. On the other hand, the same kind of relations were not observed between Muslims and minorities living in the sub-districts of the city. The Greek Orthodox,

⁶⁵⁰ A.Ş.S., Nr.20, b.67, s.107. .

⁶⁵¹ A.Ş.S., NR. 2, b. 179.

⁶⁵² A.Ş.S., NR. 2, b. 179; Winter, "The Alawis in the Ottoman Period", 55.

Armenians, and Alawis lived mostly in the villages inhabited mostly by the community members in the mountains. Living in these areas reduced their interactions with Muslim dwellers.

In Antakya, all the elements of the various ethnic and religious groups, namely Muslims, Greek Orthodox, Armenians, and Jews were involved to some degree in commerce. Among the non-Muslim groups in Antakya, the Greek Orthodox were the main group involved in commerce in the 18th and 19th centuries. The Armenians and the Greek Orthodox living in the quarters of Antakya were active in the construction and textile industry. Agriculture was the main economic activity of the Greek Orthodox, Armenians, and Alawis living in the sub-districts of Antakya. From that side, it showed similarities with the economic activities of minorities living in the rural areas of eastern and central Anatolia. The agricultural activities of minorities within these groups made Antakya known in Europe for the cultivation of cotton, madder, silk products, and olives. Silk products were shipped off from Iskenderun that allowed the city to form ties with outside world.

One of the main problems of non-Muslims living in the Ottoman territories was the repair and construction of places of worship. The Greek Orthodox and Armenians experienced the same restrictions in the Empire until the mid-19th century. However, there were a few cases in which they were allowed to build a new place of worship. For instance, Christians living in Antakya were allowed to build a new church in 1813, but the conservative Muslims of the district prevented them from building it. After the promulgation of the Tanzimat reforms which were informed by the principle of equality of all sultan's subjects, non-Muslims gained new rights in the Ottoman Empire. After the promulgation of the Hatt-ı Hümayun of 1856, all distinctions based on race, religion, and language were removed. One of the results of these reforms was the clear granting of the right to build new places of worship for non-Muslims. They

applied several times to Istanbul to get permission for the construction of a new place of worship after the promulgation of the Tanzimat reforms. Although they got the required permission from the central administration for construction, they were opposed by Muslims dwellers of their quarters when they attempted to build a new church in the shared quarters.

Mehmed II provided new rights to the Greek Orthodox and Armenian Patriarchates to revive these institutions that had lost all their popularity and power in the previous centuries. Patriarchs became representatives of their communities after new rights were provided to them by the Ottoman rulers. They would be ruled according to their rules and regulations they would have freedom of worship. The Patriarchate would be responsible for marriage, burial procedures, and inheritance, the Church court would be able to give decisions on civil law concerning the Orthodox, these rules would be promulgated by the Ottoman administration, and the patriarchs were allowed to collect alms from their people in order to meet needs of the Patriarchate. Although the Patriarchate of Antioch played a significant role in terms of representation and protection of the Greek Orthodox in Antakya, the Armenian Patriarch in Istanbul was not involved in the social and economic affairs of the Armenians living in the district of Antakya. On the other hand, the Alawis were mostly represented by their religious leaders between 1750 and 1840. The state used the sheikhs to implement their policies and to collect taxes from the Alawis living in the mountains, while sheikhs communicated the problems of their communities to the Ottoman local administrators. The sheikhs were not officially recognized by the Ottoman government, but they acted like Patriarchs in terms of representing the community and the solving of social and economic problems that occurred among the community members.

The Greek Orthodox, Armenians, and Alawis did not hesitate to rely on the Sharia courts on various occasions. They applied to the court to resolve cases concerned with property and

financial transactions, religious conversion, marriage, divorce, and inheritance. However, some restrictions applied to them in court. For instance, Christians' testimony was valid only if they swore an appropriate oath on the Gospel, and the testimonies of two non-Muslims were equal to that of one Muslim man. It is difficult to conclude that the Alawis had a clearly defined status in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th and 19th centuries. Their status depended on where they lived and the attitude of the local Sunni and Christian populations. To clarify, they were treated as members of the Muslim community in Latakia, but they were not treated so in Hama and some other places in the Syrian provinces. The testimonies of Alawis were accepted at the Antakya court even though they were not accepted at the Hama and Alexandretta courts. There are examples demonstrating that the confessional identity of the Alawis created problems for them in court, but such examples are not sufficient to make a conclusion that they were always discriminated in court due to their beliefs.

CHAPTER V: WOMEN IN ANTAKYA UNDER OTTOMAN RULE

The history of Middle Eastern families could not be considered a well-researched area until recently. Some of the historiography on the Middle Eastern family focused only on the families of notables, high ranking officials, or royal families. These works did not analyze the family as an institution, its development over time, and the relations between family and society in the Middle East. This gap has begun to be filled by some historians recently. However, studying the historical evolution of Muslim families in the Middle East has posed some difficulties for historians since family life in these communities has been private, which made it an unattractive subject for historical research. The issue of privacy limits the available historical material on marriage and divorce, household structure, inheritance, economic ties, and kinship roles in Middle Eastern families in the past.⁶⁵³ Another problem for historians is that the household types in the Middle East differ widely based on class, religion, ethnicity, region, and economic conditions. Since household patterns vary widely, including from one part of the Middle East to another, it is hard to speak of one monolithic Middle Eastern family type.⁶⁵⁴

The Ottoman Empire ruled most of the Middle East, North Africa, and the Balkans between 1516 and 1914. Situated on three continents, and comprising people from different ethnicities and religions, the Empire was characterized by a marked ethnic, religio-cultural, socio-economic as well as ecological diversity. Taking into considerations all these factors, it is impossible to claim that there was a “typical” Ottoman family. However, Margaret Meriwether points out that “Ottoman rule provided an overreaching political structure, a unified system of

⁶⁵³ Margaret L. Meriwether, *The Kin Who Count: Family and Society in Ottoman Aleppo, 1770-1840*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999), 2.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

law, and widely shared social norms and cultural values to the peoples of the Empire and a well-known political and economic context in which to explore the diverse forms of the Ottoman family.”⁶⁵⁵

In parallel to research on the Middle Eastern family, the amount of research regarding women in both Middle Eastern societies at large and the Ottoman Empire in particular has increased. Due to the relative scarcity of scholarly works on women and the deficient descriptions of women by Western observers, women in the Middle East were long thought to have occupied a despised and servile position in the social and economic life of Muslim societies. They were considered property of either their husbands or fathers; it was thought that Muslim women had no right to manage and control their property, no right of divorce, and that they could not enjoy substantial inheritance benefits. With the development of Middle East scholarship, the role of women in social and economic life has grown to be a major new research interest for scholars. This new research has revealed that women have had an active role in the social and economic life of Islamic civilization. The works of these scholars, mostly based on Islamic court records, estate inventories, and family endowment deeds, have paved a way for understanding some common misconceptions related to marriage, divorce, inheritance, women’s charitable endowments, and the role of women as real estate holders.

Family law in the Ottoman Empire remained intact until 1917, when the Ottoman Law of Family Rights (Hukuk-i Aile Kanunnamesi) was issued. In response to foreign threats and internal social, economic, and political problems, the Ottoman Empire initiated military, economic, and institutional reforms roughly after 17th century. In general, these reforms, which

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., 6.

had the purpose of making the empire more powerful as well as to increase the degree of central control over the imperial subjects, were carried out following European models. However, as family was considered sacred, the Ottoman administration did not look to Europe, but the Shari'a law in the matters concerning legal rules governing issues of marriage and divorce, inheritance, child custody, and alimony. In the absence of codified law, the Shari'a, which was corpus of legal text and interpretations, constituted the Islamic legal tradition, and provided the framework for legal thought and practice in the Ottoman Empire up until 1917.⁶⁵⁶ Another reason why such a major reform of family law was not applied until 20th century is because marriage and divorce were regulated by principles of the holy texts of each religious groups, and any reform attempt on these issues meant an open confrontation with the Muslim, Jewish, and Christian religious establishments.⁶⁵⁷ Since the marriage, divorce, allowance, inheritance, and guardianship patterns remained intact, and indicated similar patterns in the Ottoman Empire between 15th and earlier 20th centuries, I utilized some court cases on aforementioned subjects, which were out of the research period of that dissertation, in order to substantiate the general themes with local cases. In this chapter, some of the most important aspects of the social and economic life of women in Antakya will be discussed, including marriage, divorce, request of alimony, inheritance, major economic activities, women's charitable endowments, and clothing.

⁶⁵⁶ Judith E. Tucker, "Revisiting Reform: Women and the Ottoman Law of Family Rights, 1917." *The Arab Studies Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Fall 1996), 4.

⁶⁵⁷ Darina Martykanova, "Matching Sharia and 'Governmentality': Muslim Marriage Legislation in the Late Ottoman Empire", in *Ioannis Xydopoulos, Andreas Gémes, Florencia Peyrou (eds.), Institutional Change and Stability. Conflicts, Transitions, Social Values*, Pisa, 2009, 153.

Marriage

Marriage is a social institution which has been fundamental to the family, the community, and to humanity in general. Marriage was perceived as extremely important in the Ottoman Empire because it was considered to be a social institution essential for the maintenance of the social order. This generated high social pressure on single people to get married. This social pressure applied even to divorced or widowed women in Ottoman society. Single men and women who had reached marriageable age were perceived as a threat to the social and moral order. Darina Martykánová claims that the community considered single men potential sexual predators, a threat for women and young boys, rioters, and trouble makers. On the other hand, single women of marriageable age were perceived as vulnerable beings, lacking both physical force and capacity for self-control. Due to this, society considered them persons in need of male protection and supervision.⁶⁵⁸ In addition, sexual satisfaction in the marital context was seen as a significant issue in the case of both men and women. Women were expected to satisfy their legitimate partners in order to prevent them from disrupting the established social order by looking for sexual satisfaction outside the house. There were also some legal arrangements emphasizing the importance of the satisfaction of the wife's needs during the marriage. A woman was given the option to apply to court and ask for the annulment of her marriage if her husband was sexually incapable.⁶⁵⁹

Until the 19th century, the Empire's intervention in marriage affairs was limited. Every religious community living in the Empire had its own traditions and rules concerning marriage.

⁶⁵⁸ Darina Martkanova, "Matching Sharia and 'Governmentality': Muslim Marriage Legislation in the Late Ottoman Empire", in Ioannis Xydopoulos, Andreas Gémes, Florencia Peyrou (eds.), *Institutional Change and Stability. Conflicts, Transitions, Social Values*, Pisa, 2009, 156.

⁶⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 156.

For instance, religious authorities played a significant role in marriages within Christian communities since marriage was considered a sacred bond which had to be sealed in front of a priest. In the case of marriages in Muslim or Jewish communities, a verbal or written contract was made between two families or between the man and woman themselves. In the case of intercommunal marriages between a Muslim man and a Christian or Jewish woman, marriages were regulated according to Islamic law. It is worth noting that Muslim women were not allowed to marry Christian or Jewish men in Islamic society. The state supervised religious officials who, in turn, regulated and administered marriage contracts. *Muftis* (jurisconsults), *imams* (prayer-leaders), and *kadis* (judges)—members of the Muslim religio-legal establishment (the *ulema*)—took part in the administration of all marriage-related arrangements, including divorce. These authorities were appointed by and subordinate to the state, which actively influenced their activities, if one considers the state’s indirect intervention in the administration of marriage contracts.⁶⁶⁰ However, it is impossible to know to what extent exactly the state put pressure on the *ulema* in its interpretation of the Sharia in marriage cases.⁶⁶¹

The Empire issued a law for registration of marriages during the classical period, but it did not remain in force for long. People were asked to get permission from the *kadi*, and to register their marriages in the court.⁶⁶² However, people did not follow the regulation by making use of the *imam* for sealing their marriage contracts, and the state continued to consider the unregistered marriages valid.⁶⁶³ However, the social, political, and economic transformation in

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid., 157-158.

⁶⁶¹ Halil Cin, *İslâm ve Osmanlı Hukukunda Evlenme*, Ankara 1974, 283-284.

⁶⁶² Martkanova, “Matching Sharia and ‘Governmentality’: Muslim Marriage Legislation in the Late Ottoman Empire”, 158.

⁶⁶³ Ibid., 158.

the 18th and 19th centuries forced the central government to take action on that issue. In the context of the fiscal and administrative reforms in the 19th century, the family came to be considered as a fiscal unit, as it had been during the classical period, which was subject to the state's control and inspection. The state required its subjects to inform it about family-related events, such as marriage, births, and deaths. As a consequence of this policy, the number of marriage contracts registered in court records showed an increase, especially during the Tanzimat period.⁶⁶⁴

In Islamic law, a marriage contract (*akd*) becomes real when couples verbally declare the words confirming their will to marry. Couples would express their will to marry in the presence of witnesses. In general, marriage in the Ottoman Empire was a contract between both the individuals and their families since most of the marriages were arranged by the families. Children, adult women, and in some cases even adult men were helped by their relatives to find an appropriate person to marry. One could point to marriages concluded at a young age in both Muslim and non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman Empire. Some girls got married, with the permission of their legal guardians, even before puberty. In that case, married children stayed in their parents' houses until they reached maturity. After reaching that age, the married couple could start living together.⁶⁶⁵

According to Hanafi legal doctrine, the most prevalent Muslim legal doctrine in the Empire, a child that has not yet reached puberty is considered a "minor person". The sign of reaching maturity for a boy is the first nocturnal emission. According to Hanafi doctrine, a

⁶⁶⁴ İlber Ortaylı, "Ottoman Family Law and the State in the Nineteenth Century", *OTAM: Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*, Issue 1, (1990), 324.

⁶⁶⁵ Martkanova, "Matching Sharia and 'Governmentality': Muslim Marriage Legislation in the Late Ottoman Empire", 160-161.

person that has reached puberty could make most decisions affecting his or her life. The average age of reaching puberty for girls was twelve to thirteen, and for boys thirteen to fourteen. In some cases, the age of sexual maturity could be as low as nine for girls, and twelve for boys. On the other hand, the maximum age of minority for both girls and boys was considered fifteen. A young adult could contract a marriage, or consummate if it had been contracted for him or her by a guardian as soon as he or she reached sexual maturity.⁶⁶⁶ The father was accepted as the natural guardian of children. If he was no longer alive or was absent, the paternal grandfather became the natural guardian. If they both were absent, another member of the family, usually the mother, was appointed as guardian of the child with the permission of the *kadi*. Since the natural guardian had the right to make decisions for his child, including marriage, the child had almost no right to protest, even if the guardian's choice of marriage partner was not a suitable match.⁶⁶⁷

Mahmoud Yazbak claims that decisions made on behalf of children by a non-natural guardian could be challenged in the court by the child as soon as she reached sexual maturity. Therefore, any woman whose marriage contract was made by someone, other than her father and paternal grandfather, could apply to the court for annulment.⁶⁶⁸ A *fatwa*⁶⁶⁹ given by Çatalcalı Ali

⁶⁶⁶ Mahmud Yazbak, "Minor Marriages and Khiyār al-Bulūgh in Ottoman Palestine: A Note on Women's Strategies in a Patriarchal Society." *Islamic Law and Society*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (2002), 391.

⁶⁶⁷ Judith E. Tucker, *In the House of the Law: Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine*. (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1999), 46.

⁶⁶⁸ Yazbak, "Minor Marriages and Khiyar al-Bulugh in Ottoman Palestine: A Note on Women's Strategies in a Patriarchal Society", 404.

⁶⁶⁹ *Fatwas* are important sources in understanding of social issues happening in Islamic communities. Even though the name of questioner, other persons, place, and time are not given in the *fatwas*, and some of them are in fact theoretical constructions, most of them are based on real cases. The social problems brought in front of the jurists in the form of questions reflects some familial issues, such as child marriage, dowry, marriage, divorce, guardianship, and inheritance. These *fatwas* were also effectively used by the people who asked for them in the Ottoman court to support their claims. A *fatwa*, which was issued by one of the prominent muftis

Efendi in the 17th century supports the idea that the woman whose marriage contract was made by her mother had a right to refuse the marriage.⁶⁷⁰ Dror Ze'evi, who conducted comprehensive research on the court records of 17th-century Jerusalem, found cases that indicate women's right to act according to their will and refuse the arranged marriage carried out by their respective fathers or legal guardians before having reached maturity.⁶⁷¹

There is a case of invalidation of marriage that took place in Antakya in 1736. In that case a marriage contract between Hatun bint-i Ali and her cousin, Mehmed, was arranged by her guardian since she had not reached sexual maturity by that time. However, her guardian did not receive her approval before the arrangement of the contract. Hatun applied to the court when she turned fifteen years old by saying she was now mature, could meet her needs by herself, and had the ability to make the right decisions. She declared to the court her desire, which was the annulment of the contract arranged between her guardian and her husband. The judge made a decision in her favor, and invalidated the contract arranged by her guardian.⁶⁷²

in the previous centuries, can be used for same cases in the following centuries. There are many examples of utilizing the *fatwas* issued by Mansur al-Kausaj and Abd Allah bin Ahmad bin Hanbal, who lived in the 9th century, in the Ottoman courts in the 18th and 19th centuries. See: Harald Motzki, "Child Marriage in Seventeenth-Century Palestine," in *Islamic Legal Interpretation, Muftis and their Practices*, ed. Masud et al. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1996. 132; Uriel Heyd, "Some Aspects of the Ottoman Fetva," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 32 (1969).

⁶⁷⁰ "Hind-i sağıreyi veliyy-i akrabası anası Zeynep, Zeyd'e tezvic ittikten sonra Hindi baliğe olub bade'l akd mezbure 'alima olduğu anda nefsinin ihtiyar ve işhad idüp, hıyâr-ı buluğla akd-ı mezburu Zeyd'in huzurunda hakime fesh itdirmeğe kadire olur mu? El-Cevap: Olur." Çatalcalı Ali Efendi, Fetava-yi Ali Efendi ma'an-nukul. (Istanbul: Tabhane-yi Amire, vol. I), 41.

⁶⁷¹ Dror Ze'evi, "Women in 17th-Century Jerusalem: Western and Indigenous Perspectives." *IJMES* 27, No. 2 (May, 1995), 169.

⁶⁷² Dogan Gün, "XVIII. Yuzyilda Antakya'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapisi (1708-1777)." (Ankara: Ankara Universitesi Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 2006), 115. ASS 2 39/48

Arranging a marriage was a process that took a few months, sometimes more than a year. The first step was sending a *görücü* (viewer), a very common tradition. The *görücü* was a woman sent by the family of the groom to scout for a bride. Usually she was the mother or a very close female relative of the groom, but could also be another woman hired for that purpose. The tradition of being looked at was considered a serious matter by most girls in the Ottoman tradition. Girls were so nervous during the visit of the *görücü* since the first impression that they gave her would likely determine the *görücü*'s decision.⁶⁷³ When the boy's family liked a particular girl, it remained for the girl's father to give his consent. If the two sides were relatives or familiar with each other, the girl's father would usually give his consent easily. In cases where little was known about the boy's family, the girl's father would ask for time to investigate the resources and status of the family. If the family of the girl was satisfied with the boy's family, they would arrange a second visit to talk on the trousseau and dowry, and decide the dates for engagement, which constituted the second step in the marriage process.⁶⁷⁴

It is important to mention that the consent of the bride was also important in this process. There were a few cases of arranged marriages, in which the bride did not give her consent, and the issue ended up at court. In one case that happened in Kuseyr, a sub-district of Antakya, Sari Hüseyin forced his daughter, Huriye, to marry a person called Mehmed without getting her consent. Mehmed and the girl's father reached an agreement on the dowry, which was paid by the groom's family. However, the girl was unwilling to get married to Mehmed, and she ran off to a person, probably her love from her village. Mehmed's family applied to the Antakya court, but

⁶⁷³ Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady: A social History from 1718 to 1918*. (New York: Green Wood Press, 1986), 61-62.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 65.

the case was referred to the council of Aleppo in 1736. In the end, the court demanded that Mehmed renounce the marriage contract on the condition that the payment of the dowry, 100 *guruş*, be returned to him.⁶⁷⁵

In Ottoman society marriage was perceived as a material and contractual act that happened when the bridegroom and the bride's family reached an agreement on the amount of a marriage compensation, called dowry, to be paid directly to the bride.⁶⁷⁶ The dowry was divided into two payments. The first payment, called *ağırlık*, was paid before the marriage contract was signed for the purpose of providing financial support to the couple to arrange their house before the wedding. The second payment was called *nikah* money, deferred marriage payment, the amount that would be paid to the woman in case of divorce or her husband's death.⁶⁷⁷ These payments and material preparations before the wedding were arranged to provide economic security to the bride during the marriage and to meet the standard of living she would expect to enjoy.⁶⁷⁸

According to Sharia rules, the minimum amount of the dowry must be no less than 10 *dirhem*, which was around 1.2 *guruş*. Although the dowry is an Islamic concept, its amount was determined by customs so long as it was higher than the minimum amount. The amount established before the marriage must be paid by the husband since the dower was a wife's lawful possession. If a certain amount was not established in the contract, a fair amount that reflected the woman's status would be determined by both sides. Elbirlik states that if the amount of dower

⁶⁷⁵ A.Ş.S., Nr.22, s.232/159.

⁶⁷⁶ Leyla Kayhan Elbirlik, "Negotiating Matrimony: Marriage, Accessed Divorce, and Property Allocation Practices in Istanbul, 1755-1840." (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Harvard University, 2013), 36-37.

⁶⁷⁷ Davis, *The Ottoman Lady: A social History from 1718 to 1918*, 65.

⁶⁷⁸ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 203.

was not stated in the marriage contract, the size of the average dower on the paternal side of the bride's family would be taken into consideration to determine the sum.⁶⁷⁹ According to the study by Abdulkadir Gül on Antakya court records in the 18th century, the amount of *mehr* paid to the woman in case of divorce or her husband's death varied between 5 *guruş* and 2000 *akçe*. Based on these amounts, he claims that the average amount of *mehr* was between 50-100 *guruş*.⁶⁸⁰ The court records of Antakya indicate that the nominal values stated for deferred dower ranged from 30 to 305 *guruş*, with an average of around 115 *guruş* in the first half of the 19th century. It is important to point out that the amounts mentioned in the court records of Antakya signified only the deferred portions of the dowry, which consisted of between one-third and one-fifth of the total amount.

Following payment and material preparations, both sides decided an appropriate day for the *akd*, signing of the contract. Most of the time, the *akd* took place at the home of the bride in the presence of the respective fathers of both the bride and groom, the imam, and witnesses. The *imam* read aloud the conditions of the contract, and asked the bride to show her consent for the marriage by saying "yes" three times. The *imam* signed the contract, and prayed for them to have a happy marriage. After signing the contract, families of the groom came together in a little banquet, which would later turn to a *düğün*, a public announcement of the marriage that gave a social sanction to the marriage. Depending on the wealth of the families, the *düğün* would last

⁶⁷⁹ Elbirlik, "Negotiating Matrimony: Marriage, Accessed Divorce, and Property Allocation Practices in Istanbul, 1755-1840", 209.

⁶⁸⁰ Abdulkadir Gül, "Antakya'da Ailenin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı Hakkında Bazı Değerlendirmeler (XVIII. Yüzyıl)", *EÜSBED*, 2013 [VI] 2, 404-405.

between a day or a week of feasting and celebration, which constituted the last step of the marriage process.⁶⁸¹

Polygamy

Polygamy was an infrequent practice in the Ottoman Empire. Polygamous marriage was legal in the Ottoman Empire, but, in practice, most of the population preferred monogamous marriage as attested by archival sources and travelers' notes. Ahmet Tabakoğlu claims that the percentage of polygamous marriages in the Ottoman Empire between the 15th and 18th centuries, based on inheritance registrars cover that period, was between 5-12%, which changed from one city to another.⁶⁸² Several studies focusing on polygamy in a variety of Anatolian cities between the 16th and 19th centuries indicate that polygynous marriages were a rare practice in Ottoman cities. In his comprehensive study on Edirne, Ömer Lütfi Barkan indicates that the number of polygynous marriages were around 7 % in Edirne in the 16th and 17th centuries. This percentage was 8 in Bursa in the late 17th century.⁶⁸³ In his study of estate inventories of Bursa, Haim Gerber supports this indication by stating that “polygamy evidently existed only in theory, at least in Bursa.”⁶⁸⁴ Another study conducted by Rifat Özdemir on Tokat's estate inventories dated 1771 to 1810 points out that the proportion of polygynous marriages in Tokat, a city located in central Anatolia, was around 16 %.⁶⁸⁵ In his dissertation on social and economic

⁶⁸¹ Davis, *The Ottoman Lady: A social History from 1718 to 1918*, 66-67.

⁶⁸² Ahmet Tabakoğlu, “Osmanli Toplumunda Aile”, in *Sosyo-Kültürel Degisim Sürecinde Turk Ailesi*. (Ankara: Ülke Yayin Haber, 1993), 62.

⁶⁸³ Elbirlik, "Negotiating Matrimony: Marriage, Accessed Divorce, and Property Allocation Practices in Istanbul, 1755-1840", 79.

⁶⁸⁴ Haim Gerber, “Social and Economic Position of Women in an Ottoman City, Bursa, 1600-1700,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* Vol. 12, No. 3 (Nov., 1980),232.

⁶⁸⁵ Rifat Özdemir, “Tokat'ta Aile'nin Sosyo-Ekonomik Yapısı (1771-1810)”, *Belleten*, LIV/211, (Ankara, 1991), 993-1052.

history of Antep in the first half of the 18th century, Hüseyin Çınar indicates that the percentage of polygynous married males was around 16 %, which was very close to the percentage in Tokat.⁶⁸⁶ Polygyny was an infrequent practice in Middle Eastern cities as well during the Ottoman period. Madeline C. Zilfi asserts that some travelers visited to Cairo in the early 19th century indicated that only 5 % of the population in Cairo practiced polygynous marriages.⁶⁸⁷ In his pioneering analysis on Aleppo in the 18th century, Abraham Marcus states that polygamy was restricted in actual practice to a small minority of households in Aleppo.⁶⁸⁸ The polygamous marriage percentages given in these scholarly works indicate that that type of marriage was not prevalent practice both in Ottoman Anatolia and Middle East between 16th and 19th centuries.

In similarity to other Anatolian and Middle Eastern cities, polygamy was an infrequent practice in Antakya during the Ottoman period. According to Abdulkadir Gül's study on the Antakya court records in the 18th century, out of 145 cases, there were only 13 that mentioned men who had more than one wife. 132 of the men, who constituted of 91,03 % of the total number, had only one wife, which confirmed that although polygamy was a legal practice, it was not common in the society in Antakya in the 18th century.⁶⁸⁹ In the court records of Antakya dated 1815-1830, out of 73 cases, the proportion of polygynous marriages was only 9,5 %. There were 6 cases of married individuals having two wives, while only one person had three wives.⁶⁹⁰

⁶⁸⁶ Hüseyin Çınar, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Ayıntâb Şehri'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Durumu," İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, (Ph.D. dissertation, İstanbul, 2000), 157-158.

⁶⁸⁷ Madeline C. Zilfi, " We Don't Get Along": Women and Hul Divorcein the Eighteenth Century," in *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era*, ed by. Madeline C. Zilfi. (New York: Brill, 1997), 268.

⁶⁸⁸ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 199-200.

⁶⁸⁹ Gül, "Antakya'da Ailenin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı Hakkında Bazı Değerlendirmeler (XVIII. Yüzyıl)", 406.

⁶⁹⁰ See Antakya Ser'ie Sicilleri, no: 17,18,20,21, 23.

The persons in polygamous marriages shared some common characteristics. Polygamy was more common in the better-off families because paying additional dowry to a second wife, providing her a room, and supporting her daily needs were not affordable for most of the middle and lower-class people.⁶⁹¹ Elbirlik supported this claim by asserting that polygamy was practiced mostly by the higher ulema, administrative officials, and members of the wealthy classes.⁶⁹² We observe the same pattern in Antakya. Most of the people practicing polygamous marriage in Antakya had the title of *şeyh*, *el hac*, *es seyyid*, *bey*, *ağa*, or *zade* that were the indication of either high position or wealth.⁶⁹³ In his study, Abdulkadir Gül evaluates the economic, social, and political status of the people in polygamous marriages, finding that out of 11 polygamous men who had two wives (each), 9 were members of the *askeri* class (military and administrative class), and the other two were wealthy *reaya*. Those who had three wives were all members of the *ilmiye* class (religious class).⁶⁹⁴ One of these persons, El-hac Mehmed Efendi, who had three wives, was a very wealthy person as well. The amount of his possession was 44,311 *guruş* while the sum of possession of more than 60 % percent of the population was under 500 *guruş*.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹¹ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 199-200.

⁶⁹² Elbirlik, "Negotiating Matrimony: Marriage, Accessed Divorce, and Property Allocation Practices in Istanbul, 1755-1840", 181.

⁶⁹³ These titles used by different individuals regarding their social and economic background, as well as their administrative and religious status. The honorific title of *sayyid* was used by male descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. The title of *ağa* were mostly used by rank and file janissaries. The title of *bey* was mostly used by wealthy and respected individuals. The title of *el-hac* was given to Muslims who performed duty of pilgrimage. The title of *şeyh* was used by tribal leaders of a village or tribe or by leader (mostly religious) in a Muslim community.

⁶⁹⁴ Gül, "Antakya'da Ailenin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı Hakkında Bazı Değerlendirmeler (XVIII. Yüzyıl)", 406.

⁶⁹⁵ A.Ş.S., Nr.9, b.23.

In another study on court registers of Antakya in the 18th century, Budak finds six persons who had two wives. The value of these men's possessions ranged between 345 and 6103 *guruş*. The possessions of five of these persons, Mümadi-zade El-Hac Ahmed Efendi bin Hüseyin Efendi, Yağcı-zade Hüseyin Beşe bin Hasan, Dalkılıç-zade Hacı İsmail bin Ali, El-Hac Ahmed bin Mustafa, Köse Hasan bin Halil were valued at much higher than the average. Among the persons having two wives, only the possessions of Mehmed bin Ahmed were under the average, which still indicated that polygamy could be practiced by members of the low or middle class in Antakya.⁶⁹⁶ However, based on evidence from the available court registers, polygamous marriages were rarely practiced by most of the population. Those who practiced that kind of marriage share the common characteristic of being better-off families or being members of the higher *ulama* or bureaucratic classes. In addition to those, the practice of polygamy was forbidden to Christians by their own rules, and there were only a few cases of polygynous marriages among Jews.

Childbirth

The most significant event for women following their marriage was the birth of a child. Having children, especially a boy was important for Ottoman families. Children, especially boys, were considered a source of pride and delight, as the continuation of the family line and as an insurance when the parents became elderly. Giving birth and raising children responsibly

⁶⁹⁶ Hüseyin Fatih Budak, "Osmanlı Aile Araştırmaları Bakımından Amasya ve Antakya Şer'iyye Sicillerinin Karşılaştırmalı İncelenmesi (1710–1780)." (Unpublished Master Thesis, Sivas Üniversitesi, 2008), 59-60.

improved considerably the status of the women in the family.⁶⁹⁷ The news of pregnancy of a woman was welcomed with joy and happiness, especially if she was pregnant for the first time.

Midwives enjoyed great respect in society due to their role in the birth of the child. Many families in Ottoman society had their own favorite midwives. When pregnancy reached the final stage, the woman either called the midwife to her house, or went to the midwife's house. When the child's head appeared during the delivery, the midwife uttered the *tekbir* ("God is Great"), and with the arrival of the child, midwives and all other women around her pronounced the *shahada* (the Muslim "Declaration of Faith"). The practice of placing a Qur'an at the head of the couch to protect the mother from evil eyes was the next step. When the father came to see the child for the first time, he held the child toward Mecca and uttered the Muslim's declaration of faith in his right ear. The last step of the birthing process was informing relatives and neighbors about the successful delivery of the child. In their first visit of the newborn, the relatives and neighbors gave presents to the child.⁶⁹⁸

However, some children were unplanned. In many cases, Ottoman families intended to limit births for economic reasons. When the birth control measures taken ended in disappointment, abortion performed by midwives, *ebes*, would be a common practice. Ottoman (religious) officials tried to limit the practice of abortion by issuing related *fatwas* until the mid-19th century. Following the Tanzimat reforms, the practice of abortion was declared a crime. The demographic changes taking place in the 19th century were the most important reason behind issuing the law. The population decrease across the Empire in the 19th century forced the

⁶⁹⁷ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 200-201.

⁶⁹⁸ Kia, *Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, 207-208.

government to restrict (and, if possible, prevent) all practices that could be considered a reason for population decrease.⁶⁹⁹ In a decree from 1790, it was stated that abortion was practiced by several people around the empire even though it was against Sharia law. The decree emphasized that abortion was a sin, and it could cause the death of women as well. The decree urged people to abandon the practice.⁷⁰⁰ In another decree sent to people of Niğde in 1838, it was declared that the practice of abortion must be abandoned since it was against Sharia law, and caused population decrease in the Empire.⁷⁰¹

The Ottoman administration attempted to prevent the practice of abortion to increase childbirth rate in the Empire. The average of children (per family) in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century was around 2,30.⁷⁰² However, this number varied in the different parts of the Empire. For instance, Abraham Marcus states that more than half of the families in Aleppo in the 18th century had four or five children.⁷⁰³ A sample of 70 families show that that the average stood at 1,76 children per family in Antakya in the 18th century. However, in these registers, 32 families were registered as childless. In the court records of Antakya between 1823 and 1834, the average stood at 2,74 children per family. Most of the families, out of 67, had between 2 and 4 children; only six of them had 5 or more.⁷⁰⁴ The records indicate that majority of the persons

⁶⁹⁹ Fatma Şimşek, Haldun Eroğlu, Güven Dinç, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Iskat-ı Cenin”, *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, Volume 2/6 Winter (2009), 595.

⁷⁰⁰ BOA, C.ADL, 108/2, 9 L 1204.

⁷⁰¹ Belkis Konan, “Osmanlı Devletinde Çocuk Düşürme Suçu,” *AÜHFD*, C.57 Sa.4. (2008), 328.

⁷⁰² Ömer Demirel, Adnan Gürbüz, Muhittin Tus, “Osmanlı Anadolu Ailesinde Ev, Eşya ve Giyim-Kusam (XVI-XIX. Yüzyıllar)”, *Sosyo-Kültürel Değişme Sürecinde Türk Ailesi*, II, Ankara 1992, 108.

⁷⁰³ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 200.

⁷⁰⁴ These samples were chosen among the court records concerning inheritance cases. Following a death of a person in the Ottoman society, the possessions of the deceased person were portioned among his family members according to Islamic principles and rules. The names of the family members and their kinship to the deceased person (son, daughter, wife... etc), and the

having more than 4 children married at least once. However, they usually married after the death of their first wives.

People having polygamous marriages usually had more children than those having monogamous marriages. For instance, El-Hac Mehmed Efendi, a resident of Antakya, and Mümadi-zade Ahmed Efendi both had 12 children each. While El-Hac Mehmed Efendi had three wives, Ahmed Efendi had two wives. The numbers of children of other people having polygamous marriages in the 18th century were Hüseyin -- 6 children, Mehmed -- 5 children, Mustafa -- 2 sons and a daughter, Hasan -- 2 children, and Ismail -- 1 child.⁷⁰⁵ We observe the same pattern in Antakya in the first half of the 19th century as well. The majority of the persons having more than 5 children had polygamous marriages.

Parents in Antakya displayed a desire to limit childbirth due to the economic reasons. That's why they limited the number of children between 2 and 4. Those people having more than 4 children mostly had better financial situation. As it can be seen, the two persons having 12 children had the title of Zade and Efendi which indicated high class status. Another example to support that claim is that the inheritance of Mustafa Ağa who had 6 children from 3 wives. His estate, after all the expenses and debts had been taken out, was estimated at 18,710 *guruş* which was a very high amount at that time.⁷⁰⁶

amount of the portion that they received were indicated at the end of the cases, which allow us to figure out how many children that the deceived person had. In order to find these samples, I examined the court record of Antakya numbered 18, 20, 21, and 23, and I founded the records regarding to the inheritance. These records provided information on how many children that the deceived person had. Antakya Ser'iyе Sicilleri, no: 18, 20, 21, 23.

⁷⁰⁵ Fatih Budak, "Osmanlı Aile Araştırmaları Bakımından Amasya ve Antakya Şer'iyye Sicillerinin Karşılaştırmalı İncelenmesi (1710–1780)", 62.

⁷⁰⁶ A.Ş.S., Nr. 23, b.63.

Divorce

Most of the marriages in the Ottoman Empire practiced with the free will of women. Women living under Ottoman rule had a right to divorce.⁷⁰⁷ There was a common perception in the Ottoman Empire that unhappy and troubled family relationships would bring harmful results both to the family and society at large which encouraged authorities to permit divorce even if reluctantly.⁷⁰⁸ The Ottoman Empire followed the Hanafi school's normative principles of the Sharia which allowed divorce and accepted it as men's unilateral right. The marriage could be dissolved in various ways under Sharia laws. There were three forms of dissolution of marriage: *talak*, *hul*, and *tefrik*.

The first one, *talak*, divorce by repudiation, was the most frequently used practice to dissolve marriage. It was a verbal act which required no formality or the presence of witnesses. The husband needed only to pronounce the phrase "boş ol" ("be divorced") in order to dissolve the marriage. After pronouncing this phrase, the man had to abstain from marital relations with his (former) wife in the following three months; this "waiting period" was known as *iddet*. During the three-month waiting period, the man could change his mind and take her back without having a new marriage contract; otherwise, at the end of *iddet*, the divorce would come into force, and would be considered irrevocable.⁷⁰⁹ After the *talak*, the law prevented a woman from marrying another person for the duration of three menstrual cycles for the purpose of avoiding possible conflicts and confusion about the pedigree of the child in the case of

⁷⁰⁷ Ronald C. Jennings, "Divorce in the Ottoman Sharia Court of Cyprus 1580-1640", *Studia Islamica*, vol. 78, (1993), 155-167.

⁷⁰⁸ Bilgehan Pamuk, "Conditional Divorce in Ottoman Society: A Case from Seventeenth-Century Erzurum". *Bilig*, Winter (2008), 113.

⁷⁰⁹ Davis, *The Ottoman Lady: A social History from 1718 to 1918*, 119.

pregnancy.⁷¹⁰ In the case of the wife realizing that she was pregnant during the waiting period, there could be no divorce until after she gave birth.⁷¹¹ However, a woman could apply to the court to demand her husband to pay the *nafaka-i iddet* (“waiting period alimony”) until she gave birth. For instance, Havva, a daughter of Mehmed, applied to the court of Antakya by saying she realized that she was pregnant after they had decided to divorce. In the presence of her husband in the court, she demanded him to pay the *nafaka-i iddet* until the time she would give birth.⁷¹² In addition, a man was free to marry another woman during the waiting period while the woman was strictly forbidden to marry another man. If the woman married another man before the end of the waiting time, her marriage would be annulled.⁷¹³

Madeline Zilfi asserts that the *talak* was an informal practice which required no formality or the presence of officials. That's why, the documents concerning *talak* practice do not often appear in the 17th- and 18th- century court records.⁷¹⁴ Judith Tucker observes the same pattern of scarcity of the registered cases of *talak* in her study of 18th-century Syrian and Palestinian Islamic court registers (*sicils*) as man had the privilege of divorcing their wives without the mediation of any officials.⁷¹⁵ The court records concerning *talak* in the 18th century convey some of the sorry consequences of that practice, especially when couples failed to reach an

⁷¹⁰ Elbirlik, "Negotiating Matrimony: Marriage, Accessed Divorce, and Property Allocation Practices in Istanbul, 1755-1840", 129.

⁷¹¹ Davis, *The Ottoman Lady: A social History from 1718 to 1918*, 119.

⁷¹² A.Ş.S., Nr. 31, s.94/186.

⁷¹³ Elbirlik, "Negotiating Matrimony: Marriage, Accessed Divorce, and Property Allocation Practices in Istanbul, 1755-1840", 143.

⁷¹⁴ Madeline C. Zilfi, "'We Don't Get Along': Women and Hul Divorce in the Eighteenth Century" in *Women in the Ottoman Empire : Middle Eastern women in the early Modern Era* ed by Madeline C. Zilfi (Leiden ; New York : Brill, 1997), 269.

⁷¹⁵ Judith E. Tucker, *In the House of the Law: Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 79-84.

agreement. In some cases, the woman applied to the court to certify her situation as a divorced woman, and to seek the court's intervention for getting the sums and goods that had to be paid by her husband as a divorce compensation. The husband had to pay the already mentioned three-month waiting period maintenance (*nafaka-i iddet*), the delayed portion of the dower, *mehr-i müeccel*, if the entire dower had not been paid in full at the time of marriage, a childcare stipend if they had any children, and an allowance to meet the needs of the wife and her children. All these financial consequences of the practice of *talak* discouraged men from seeking divorce arbitrarily, and encouraged them to have a second thought about ending the marriage.⁷¹⁶

A case that took place in Antakya provides us with further information about the *talak* form of divorce. In this case, the woman who applied to the court was able to acquire a portion of her promised dower, allowance for the waiting period, child support, and her personal possessions. The case presented in the Antakya court by Emine in 1861, illustrates how women in Antakya could claim their rightful property following a divorce. Emine, in the presence of her (former) husband in the court, stated that they had divorced due to disagreements between one another. Emine then presented the material claims she had vis-à-vis her husband, including her deferred dower of 300 *guruş*, allowance for the three-month long waiting period, child support of the following 7,5 years for her daughter of 15 months, and her possessions worth 660 *guruş*. The two parties came to a resolution and Hüseyin confirmed the possessions of Emine, and agreed to give her the money and possessions that she demanded.⁷¹⁷

Another instance shows how a woman could manage to obtain her right at the court after *talak* divorce. Habet, daughter of Hüseyin, a resident of the quarter of Dörtayak, presented

⁷¹⁶ Zilfi, "'We Don't Get Along': Women and Hul Divorce in the Eighteenth Century", 269-271.

⁷¹⁷ A.Ş.S., Nr. 31, s.36/68.

herself in the Antakya court in 1833, claiming that her husband, Hasan bin Hamis, divorced her with a *talak-i sulus* five days ago. She demanded a deferred dower in the amount of 50 *guruş* which her husband had promised her at the time the marriage contract was concluded, and her alimony payment for the waiting period.⁷¹⁸ In another case in 1833, Ayşe, daughter of es-Seyyid Mehmed, applied to the court by stating she had been divorced with *talak* by her husband, Eyüb, son of Osman. In the court, in the presence of her husband, she stated that her husband paid her 50 *guruş* deferred dower and 80 *guruş nafaka-i iddet*, alimony payment for the waiting period. The two parties agreed to recognize each other's possessions, and confirmed that all the financial consequences of the *talak* divorce were paid by the husband.⁷¹⁹

In a number of *talak* cases, women could only acquire the promised dower, and allowance for the waiting period, called *nafaka-i iddet*. They gave up the possessions that they had had during the marriage. For instance, Huri, daughter of Ismail, showed up in court, in the presence of her husband, to declare their decision of divorce. In the court, she rightfully demanded her husband to pay her deferred dower of 200 *guruş*, and allowance for the waiting period. However, she declared that she would return some of her possessions: a jewelry gift from her (former) husband worth 450 *guruş*, furniture worth 100 *guruş*, 14 olive trees located in her husband's village, and another 14 olive trees in other area. This case suggests that there had been private negotiations among the spouses before they appeared in court, and that they resorted to the court (only) to formalize an arrangement they had already negotiated privately.⁷²⁰

⁷¹⁸ A.Ş.S., Nr. 23, b.116.

⁷¹⁹ A.Ş.S., Nr. 23, b. 260.

⁷²⁰ A.Ş.S., Nr. 31, s.75/149.

Another category of divorce was the *hul* dissolution. The term *hul* connotes the "removal" of the garment of the marriage that implies the "liberation" of a woman from the marriage contract by initiating divorce.⁷²¹ This right was granted her by her husband in return of her renunciation of her dower and maintenance. Elbirlik states that *hul* divorce was an act of negotiation to bring an end to a failing marriage.⁷²² Either side could apply to the court for divorce; however, Zilfi claims that wives appeared too often in the court to initiate the divorce process.⁷²³

The *hul* divorce offered the husband some advantages. The husband did not have to fulfill any of the financial obligations that he had to in the case of a *talak* divorce since the woman offered him material compensation in return for divorce. This compensation consisted of the woman's giving up the full amount or rest of the dowry, the three-month maintenance stipend that had to be paid by her husband during the waiting period, and the childcare stipend, in exchange for her freedom from the marriage.⁷²⁴ Since the *hul* divorce had brutal economic consequences for women, they either preferred to negotiate with their husbands to obtain some part of the promised dowry paid by husband in case of divorce, or to manipulate the court in order to obtain economic support after the divorce.⁷²⁵ It is clear that although the *hul* was an option for a woman who wanted to obtain a divorce, it was not the female equivalent of *talak*. In

⁷²¹ Zilfi, "'We Don't Get Along': Women and Hul Divorce in the Eighteenth Century", 270. Elbirlik, "Negotiating Matrimony: Marriage, Accessed Divorce, and Property Allocation Practices in Istanbul, 1755-1840", 160.

⁷²² Elbirlik, "Negotiating Matrimony: Marriage, Accessed Divorce, and Property Allocation Practices in Istanbul, 1755-1840", 160-161.

⁷²³ Zilfi, "'We Don't Get Along': Women and Hul Divorce in the Eighteenth Century", 271.

⁷²⁴ Jennings C. Ronald, "Divorce in the Ottoman Sharia Court of Cyprus, 1580-1640", *Studia Islamica*, LXXVIII (1993), 157-158.

⁷²⁵ Elbirlik, "Negotiating Matrimony: Marriage, Accessed Divorce, and Property Allocation Practices in Istanbul, 1755-1840", 161.

the case of the *hul* the husband's consent was necessary to make the divorce valid, but *talak* was effective even if the wife strongly opposed it. Zilfi states that "it is true that a husband's veto power over marriage and divorce was virtually unassailable, but the *hul* option gave women important leverage for bettering their marital lot."⁷²⁶

The case of Huri, daughter of Ahmed, a resident of sub-district of Kuseyr, provides us a good idea about the pattern of a typical *hul* case in Antakya. In late March 1710, Huri stated her case in the sharia court of Antakya in the presence of her husband, Isa bin Mehmed. She wanted to divorce her husband due to dissent they had experienced. In the court she declared that she acquitted her claims to her formerly established postponed dower (*mehr-i mü'eccel*) in the amount of fifty *guruş*, the allowance for her official three-months waiting period, her cash in the amount of one *guruş*, and a pair of golden bracelets. After they both renounced the possessions, the couple was pronounced divorced by the court of Antakya.⁷²⁷

The last category of divorce was *tefrik*, the annulment of marriage by the court. The right of annulment of marriage was granted to a woman when she faced abuse, ill-treatment, desertion, or sexual abstention. In addition, if the husband could not provide maintenance, was sick, was prisoned, or failed to appear for a long time, the court could divorce the couple.⁷²⁸ Women had a right to write petition to the court for complaining about all ill-treatment she had experienced. When they brought the required evidence showing the marriage was defective and harmful, the court could force men to divorce. Elbirlik claims that the dissolution of marriage was an

⁷²⁶ Zilfi, "'We Don't Get Along': Women and Hul Divorce in the Eighteenth Century", 275.

⁷²⁷ A.Ş.S., Nr. 1, s.60/171.

⁷²⁸ Ali Yüksek, "İslam Aile Hukukunda Boşanma Yetkisi ve Kadının Boşanması," *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 7/32, 350-352.)

infrequent occurrence in the 18th century because of Hanafi jurists' discouragement of this type of divorce.⁷²⁹

Tefrik served to end a defective marriage on the initiative of the complaining spouse. For instance, Fatma, daughter of Ahmed, applied to the court for divorce by saying that she and her husband, Ali son of Omar, were incompatible. She also said that they had reached an agreement on the payment of her deferred dowry and the allowance for the three-month waiting period. In the presence of her husband, she asked the judge to formalize their divorce since they both had reached an agreement which was accepted by the court.⁷³⁰

Women had to prove that their husband's promises before the divorce in order to make a claim on them. In November 1825, Fatma, daughter of Kara Halil, made a petition in the court claiming that her husband, Seyyid Hasan, son of Ahmed, promised to give her a 15 shekel (*miskal*) small gold, one piece of 5 shekel gold, a pair of gold earrings, and a shirt.⁷³¹ Since Hasan never supplied these items, Fatma asked the judge to take these items that she claimed from her husband. However, Hasan claimed that these items were his possessions, and they had had an agreement, in the presence of two witnesses, before the divorce regarding the possession of these items by himself. The witnesses, Helvacioğlu Mehmed and Çavuşoğlu Said, confirmed that that agreement had been made by the couple. The judge accepted the testimony of these two persons, and declined Fatima's request.⁷³²

⁷²⁹ Elbirlik, "Negotiating Matrimony: Marriage, Accessed Divorce, and Property Allocation Practices in Istanbul, 1755-1840", 172-173.

⁷³⁰ A.Ş.S., Nr 23, b. 258.

⁷³¹ ...on beş miskal bir aded altun-i sağır ve kırk fındık deb'iyeli beş miskal bir aded altun zerir ve on dört fındık deb'iyeli bir çift altun menküş küpe ve seksen fındık deb'iyesinden bir çevirme kur altun ve bir aded muselsel gömlek ...

⁷³² A.Ş.S., Nr. 18, b.82/174.

Upon the disappearance of a husband (*ga'ib*), a woman had to prove her husband's death, or to bring witnesses to the court to prove her husband's permission for divorce in the case of his disappearance.⁷³³ The case of Havva, daughter of Ahmed, regarding her missing husband, Ahmed ibn-i Keçeci Mahmud, is important since Havva wanted to obtain a divorce by court decision due to her husband's disappearance. Havva brought three witnesses to the court of Antakya in 1833, Hüseyin, Züleyha, and Ummühan to prove her husband's abandonment. According to these witnesses, Havva's husband disappeared 4 years earlier, and he declared in front of them that if he failed to appear after a time period, she would be allowed to divorce him, and to marry someone else.⁷³⁴ After listening to the testimony of witnesses, the court decided in favor of Havva by divorcing her from her husband.⁷³⁵

There were several cases in the court records of women being pregnant at the time of divorce. It was a common practice for these pregnant women to apply to the court for alimony if their husbands initiated for divorce. According to Hanafi doctrine, the child would be considered a legitimate offspring of the father even the child was born during the waiting, after waiting period, or after the death of the father. It was upheld by Hanafi law that the guardianship of children by their mother or a close female relative, until they reached at the age of 9 for girls and 7 for boy, was more favorable for children due to the fact that women were more experienced and compassionate in child raising.⁷³⁶ It was required by law that the father had to provide for his children until they reached that age. However, if the mother decided to remarry another man

⁷³³ Elbirlik, "Negotiating Matrimony: Marriage, Accessed Divorce, and Property Allocation Practices in Istanbul, 1755-1840", 176.

⁷³⁴ deđin gelüb sana mülakat olmaz isem benden boş ol kimesneye var...

⁷³⁵ A.Ş.S., Nr.23, b. 253.

⁷³⁶ Elbirlik, "Negotiating Matrimony: Marriage, Accessed Divorce, and Property Allocation Practices in Istanbul, 1755-1840", 224.

after the divorce, the father would not be required to provide for the child's maintenance. Another case in which the father would not be forced to pay allowance to the mother and the children was the occurrence of *hul* divorce which was initiated by women. In that case, the mother was responsible for the custody and care of the children until they reached puberty which was between the ages of 9 and 11 for a girl and 9 and 11 for a boy.⁷³⁷

The term of allowance in the Ottoman context refers to the maintenance provided by the husband both during marriage and after divorce. It is a fact that the husband was not obliged to provide alimony to the wife in case of *hul* divorce, but in other cases women could request alimony from their husbands.⁷³⁸ The husband was obliged to provide allowance even if the woman was working somewhere or had a substantial amount of income or other material resources. The allowance that was supposed to be provided by the husband consisted of housing, foodstuffs, clothing, the meeting of medical needs, and even a concubine if it was needed.⁷³⁹ In case that the husband did not provide alimony, the wife had a right to apply to the court in order force him to pay alimony. If he failed to provide the designated support to the woman, the court could either put him in prison, or sell his properties to provide maintenance both to the wife and her children. Another action taken by the court, if the husband had no cash and property, was providing a loan to the woman in the name of her husband.⁷⁴⁰

There were several cases concerning alimony following divorce in the court of Antakya. These cases indicate that men could neglect their duty of providing maintenance for the wives

⁷³⁷ Ibid., 226-227.

⁷³⁸ Ibid., 214-215.

⁷³⁹ Sevgi Gül Akyılmaz, "Osmanlı Miras Hukukunda Kadının Statüsü", *Gazi Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, C. XI, S. 1-2, 2007, 482-483.

⁷⁴⁰ Halil Cin, Gül Akyılmaz, *Türk Hukuk Tarihi*. (Konya, 2008), 341.

they divorced and their children. Most of the cases in the court of Antakya concerning *nafaka* were related to asking child-support after divorce. For instance, in her presence in the court, Fatma stated that she had given birth to a son, Hüseyin, who was the offspring of her husband, Said. The son was in the care of his mother for upbringing and nurturing. Fatma demanded that the court obtain funds from her husband since his son was in need of allowance for maintenance. The court forced the husband to provide 14 *guruş* monthly as child support.⁷⁴¹ In another entry recorded in 1833, Fatma, daughter of Hasan, presented herself in the court with a demand for allowance from her (former) husband, Mustafa. She stated that after the divorce, she gave birth to a child. Her three-month old daughter, Hafize, had no support and she was in need of child support, *nafaka*. The term *nafaka*, or alimony, was used to denote child support in that case. She demanded the court to force her husband to provide her with the necessary allowance of 15 *paras* daily as child support. The court gave a decision in favor of Fatma, and asked Mustafa to provide the requested child support for his daughter.⁷⁴²

Divorce had many disruptive consequences for the household, such as breaking up households altogether and dispersing parents and children in different households. Each divorce case created dislocations which affected the couple, the children, and the extended family. The divorced woman often returned back to either her brother's or father's household after the incident of divorce. She also brought her children, if she had any, to the household which changed the composition and size of households.⁷⁴³ Compared to men, women suffered more from a broken marriage since they could lose their source of daily support. While some women

⁷⁴¹ A.Ş.S., Nr. 23, b.133.

⁷⁴² A.Ş.S., Nr. 23, b.141.

⁷⁴³ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 198-199.

obtained monetary compensation and child stipends in the case of *talak* or *tefrik* divorce, in the type of divorce known as *hul*, women had to sacrifice their dowry, three-month waiting period support, and child support to divorce their husbands. Abraham Marcus claimed that some women offered cash or some of their properties in return for their husbands' termination of the unwanted marriage. Those women who were unable to provide for themselves and their children returned to their father's or male relative's houses. The kin of poor women did not usually have a good economic background to provide permanent financial support for themselves and the newcomers which, most of the time, forced women into remarriage.⁷⁴⁴ However, these marriages were rarely registered at the court records which limits our knowledge on that subject.

Women as Guardians

Broken marriages created crises and rearrangements in the life of orphans and victims of the broken marriages. Some of the children continued to live with a parent while many others had to live in the house of their relatives who had the right to make the daily decisions affecting their welfare. The orphans inherited property to maintain their life from their assets which were directed by an appointed guardian called *vasi*.⁷⁴⁵ The guardian had to have an ability to protect both the orphans and their assets, manage their property, and teach them principles of Islam. Therefore, in most of the court registers concerning on appointment of a guardian, the necessity of choosing the guardian among religious people, who was known to be pious, was emphasized. The responsibility of the guardian ended when the orphans reached maturity. At that time, both the orphan and the guardian appeared at the court in order to hand over the materials that had been protected and managed by the guardian to the orphan.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid., 206-207.

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid., 208.

In the earlier Islamic legal practice, some women were not accepted to be *vasis* (guardians) of the children since the family members of their deceased husbands were considered the better option for children. Mothers became possible candidates for guardianship of children after death or disappearance of their husbands. However, they were not automatically appointed as their children's guardians because the patrilineal rights of male relatives on the paternal side had priority. Tucker claims that if the father passed away without determining the guardian of his children, a paternal grandfather would be appointed as guardian for them. In case of appointing his wife as a guardian before his death, it was almost impossible for other relatives to claim guardianship of the children. The mother also obtained the right of freely determining the name of the guardian of her children in case of her death before the children reached to maturity. That is why, appointing the mother as guardian of the children would cancel the privileges of the patrilineal family over the children.⁷⁴⁶ However, the general practice of appointment of guardians for children contradicts with the Tucker's claim. At the Antakya court women seem to have served as *vasis* for their own children more often than members of the families of the deceased husbands. The paternal uncle, sisters, aunts, and grandparents on both sides were all eligible to be guardians of the children in the Ottoman Empire. However, the mother was mostly appointed as *vasi* for her children following her husband disappearance or death.⁷⁴⁷

Women were recognized by *muftis* as appropriate guardians for children by a deceased husband. These widows were responsible for managing their children's affairs until they attained

⁷⁴⁶ Judith E. Tucker, "The Fullness of Affection: Mothering in the Islamic Law of Ottoman Syria and Palestine", in *Women in the Ottoman Empire*. Ed. by Madeline C. Zilfi (New York: Brill, 1997), 248-249.

⁷⁴⁷ Jennings, "Women in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records: The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri", 74.

their legal majority. The mother-guardian had the same rights and status that any male guardian had, and like the male guardians, she was free in management of her children's property. She had a right to use her children's money to make repairs on their property, or she could sell her children's property so long as it was sold in a fair price, and the money was transferred to the account of the children. For instance, in her presence in the court of Antakya in 1822, Dudu, daughter of Emin Ağa, stated that she was recognized as the legal guardian of her minor son, Ali, after the death of her husband, Mimarzade Mehmed Efendi. After the death of her husband, his son inherited a white mulberry garden located in Harbiye. However, the son, probably the only child, took the debt of his father over as well. Dudu Hatun states that as a legal guardian of her son she sold the white mulberry garden, which was known as Şeyh Yusuf garden, to Ömer for the sum of 1200 *guruş*.⁷⁴⁸ She would probably use the money to pay the debt which was taken over by her son, and to meet the needs of her son. In addition, the mother guardian could arrange marriage for her minor daughter. However, the mother guardian did not have as much power as the father-guardian had, since the mother-guardian could marry her daughter to a man who met all legal conditions and offered a fair *mahr* to keep the bride's social and economic status. However, the father-guardian could marry his daughter to anybody that he wished.⁷⁴⁹

The mother-guardian, on the other hand, had fewer responsibilities than a father-guardian. The father-guardian had to pay the cost of support of his child out of his pocket. However, a woman was not obliged to pay the cost of support from her own pocket, and any expenses paid by the mother to meet the children's needs would be deducted from the child's

⁷⁴⁸ A.Ş.S., Nr. 17, s.46/87.

⁷⁴⁹ Tucker, "The Fullness of Affection: Mothering in the Islamic Law of Ottoman Syria and Palestine", 247.

present or future income. The court might assign a specific amount of *nafaqa* that she was authorized to spend, but if she exceeded the limited order to meet her children's needs, she should still be fully reimbursed. The only thing that she needed to do for reimbursement was to take an oath in front of the *kadı* which was considered sufficient evidence. However, if it was clear that she was lying about either the amount or purposes of her overspending, she would be demanded to bring witnesses to the court to confirm her case.⁷⁵⁰ For instance, the *kadı* of Antakya assigned Emine, daughter of Hasan, as guardian for her son, Halil, after the death of her husband, Kurdođlu Mustafa in 1823. In the court it was stated that Halil was in need of guardian since he was unable to protect and maintain the shares that he had inherited from his father. As guardian, his mother, Emine, was expected to control the substantial fortune that he had inherited from his father until he was capable of managing their own money. Emine also demanded the court to provide her alimony in order to meet the needs of her son. The court decided to provided 5 *paras* daily to her as a support to meet cost of living of her son.⁷⁵¹ In another case, the court of Antakya recognized the woman, Safiye, daughter of el-Hac Mahmud, as a legal guardian of her two minor daughters, Fatima and Hafize, after the death of her husband, Ibrahim, a resident of quarter of Antakya, in 1823. Safiye had permission to protect and manage her daughters' inheritance from their father. Safiye asked the judge to fix a support (*nafaqa*) to meet the daily needs of her daughters. The judge fixed 20 *paras* to meet the daily needs of the daughters. The mother was authorized to spend this on them, Fatima and Hafize, and to be reimbursed from the money that was inherited by daughters from their father.⁷⁵² This case indicates that mothers were

⁷⁵⁰ Tucker, "The Fullness of Affection: Mothering in the Islamic Law of Ottoman Syria and Palestine", 248.

⁷⁵¹ A.Ş.S., Nr. 17, s.71/155.

⁷⁵² A.Ş.S., Nr. 17, s.53/101.

always seeking the approval of their guardianship by the court in the context of assignment of *nafaqa* for the kids and having a right to manage the child support on their behalf.

In some cases, a woman could be asked to prove that she was appointed as a guardian of her children before the death of her husband. In the case brought to the court of Antakya in 1765, a woman was asked to prove that she was designated as the guardian of her children before her husband's death. In the case, Rahime, daughter of Süleyman, was asked by the court to prove that she had been appointed as guardian of her children by her husband, Abdurrahman Efendi. In her presence in the court, Rahime stated that her husband passed away while he was performing the duty of pilgrimage in Mecca. She claimed that her husband had designated her as guardian of her son, Ibrahim Halim, in order to protect and maintain his inheritance inherited from his father. Rahime also invited the witnesses, Ahmed Efendi, es-Seyyid Monla Ahmed, Halifzade Monla Ahmed, and Monla Hüseyin, who had testified her appointment as guardian of her son. In their presence in the court, these witnesses confirmed that her husband had appointed her as a guardian of her son five months before he passed away. After the statement of the witnesses, the court recognized Rahime as legal guardian of her son, and provided her the right of managing and protecting the possession of her son's affairs.⁷⁵³ In the next case, Rahime asked the judge to fix *nafaqa* to meet her son's needs. The court fixed 10 paras daily, and authorized his mom to spend this money on him.⁷⁵⁴

There are also several examples of appointment of women from the patrilineal side as guardian. The paternal uncles were considered as trusted persons who could take care of the

⁷⁵³ A.Ş.S., Nr. 8, s.83/110; Özcan Tatar, "8 Numaralı Antakya Şer'iye Sicili, 1178-1179/1764-1765." Master's thesis, Fırat University, 1998, 218-219.

⁷⁵⁴ A.Ş.S., Nr. 8, s.83/111.

children of their deceased brothers. That's why, they were appointed as a guardian in many occasions. For instance, after the death of Mustafa, son of Halil, the court recognized Fatma, daughter of Halil, as legal guardian of her brother's children, Hasan and Feslime. As a guardian, she obtained all the rights that the mother-guardians had, including protecting their possessions, managing their inheritance, and arranging marriages. She had permission to spend from children's inheritance from their father on them. The aunt also asked the judge to fix a certain amount of *nafaqa* to spend on need of the children.⁷⁵⁵ In another example, the court appointed Emine for the guardianship of her brother's children, Mustafa and Hatice, after his brother's death on May 1830. However, this time the paternal aunt did not ask the judge to fix *nafaqa* for the kids.⁷⁵⁶ There is also an example of the appointment of a woman as guardian from the mother's side as well. For example, when a *vasi* was needed for Ahmet, son of Ayşe, his grandmother Fatma from mother side was appointed in 1823.⁷⁵⁷

Property Ownership, Inheritance and Endowment

According to Sharia (Islamic) law, the family is patriarchal and patrilineal. Islamic law provides more authority to men over women. However, the patriarchal nature of the family was not absolute since wives, daughters, mothers, and some maternal relatives had a right to inherit. In addition, women obtained some rights in marriage, guardianship of children, and inheritance or purchase of property which reduce the dominance of men in family.⁷⁵⁸ Islamic inheritance law which emerged in the early years of the Islamic state divided the inheritance of the deceased

⁷⁵⁵ A.Ş.S., Nr. 21, b.19.

⁷⁵⁶ A.Ş.S., Nr. 21, b.24.

⁷⁵⁷ A.Ş.S., Nr. 17, s.63/134.

⁷⁵⁸ Meriwether, *The Kin Who Count: Family and Society in Ottoman Aleppo, 1770-1840*, 155-156.

person by applying a carefully spelled out system among heirs. Meriwether states that there are two categories of legal heirs recognized by the Islamic law: all male agnates and heirs specifically designated by the Qu'ran.⁷⁵⁹ Based on that system, all sons received the same amount, the largest share. Daughters got half of what the sons inherited. In case of spouses, the wife received an eighth of her husband's estate if there were any other heirs.⁷⁶⁰ The reason behind giving greater inheritance shares to men was that men had the responsibility of providing for the livelihoods of their mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters who did not have those responsibilities.⁷⁶¹

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the conditions of inheritance were very related to the region in which the woman lived and the social group to which she belonged. Inheritance patterns showed differences among urban dwellers, villagers, and pastoralists. The patterns of inheritance regarding women could differ even within these different groups. For instance, for pastoral communities in Middle East, such as Bedouin of Cyrenaica, customary law was much more important than Islamic law. Women belonging to that community were deprived of inheritance. Differences were observed in villages as well. While women could inherit only in the absence of a brother in some Anatolian villages, upper and lower class women in a Lebanese Shi'a village inherited property.⁷⁶² In cities, women were more likely to inherit. Mary Ann Fay states that peasant women could not inherit the usufruct of agricultural property while middle and upper class women were heirs, overseers (*naziras*), endowers, and active buyers and sellers of property

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid., 156.

⁷⁶⁰ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 209.

⁷⁶¹ Ahmet Akgündüz, *Sarayda Harem*, (İstanbul: Hayat Press, 2011), 30.

⁷⁶² Meriwether, *The Kin Who Count: Family and Society in Ottoman Aleppo, 1770-1840*, 166.

in the Middle East in the 18th century.⁷⁶³ The same tradition continued in the 19th century as the family law in the Ottoman Empire was not subject to any substantial changes.

There were several ways for women to obtain wealth, including the inheritance of wealth from their family, the donation of property to them, their dowry, and income made from their profession in the Ottoman Empire. However, inheritance was the most important source for their wealth. The most common resources inherited by women included urban residential and commercial property, agricultural areas in the suburbs around the city, household goods and textiles, and cash.⁷⁶⁴ In addition to the kind and value of the property inherited by women, the timing of inheritance was also important. Compared to men, women had access to financial provisions early in their lives. Women did receive a sum of money, *mahr*, from their husband and support in form of cash, jewelry, or household goods from their family for their marriage. Obtaining these materials and money when upon getting married provided early access to resources for women, so they did not have to wait for inheritance to gain access to resources. In addition, if the family of the woman passed away when she was young, she would have access to her inheritance early in her life since the estates were divided between family members right after the death of the father or the mother.⁷⁶⁵ Another important factor that determined the importance of inheritance for women was the number of heirs. If the woman was part of a crowded family, that had many sons, the amount that she would inherit would be relatively small, even if the family was wealthy. Meriwether claims that if there were only one son, or no

⁷⁶³ Mary Ann Fay, "Women and Waqf: Property, Power, and the Domain of Gender in Eighteenth-Century Egypt", in *Women in the Ottoman Empire*. Ed. by Madeline C. Zilfi (New York: Brill, 1997), 32-33.

⁷⁶⁴ Meriwether, *The Kin Who Count: Family and Society in Ottoman Aleppo, 1770-1840*, 167-168.

⁷⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 168.

son in the family, women would have access to significant resources deriving from inheritance.⁷⁶⁶ However, this was not the case all the time since the deceased person's possessions could be shared among his mother, brothers, and sisters. In that case, the wife or the only daughter of the deceased person would not have access to significant resources. For instance, after the death of Ahmed Ağa, a resident of Antakya, his estate was shared between his wife, daughter, mother, sister, and his brother's son. The total sum of his possessions was 7,850 *guruş* which was a significant amount at that time, and his only daughter received 3,925 *guruş* while his wife got 981.25 *guruş* of his possession. The remainder was shared between his mother, sister, and nephew.⁷⁶⁷

The possessions of the deceased person were shared by several relatives, each of whom obtained only a small portion of it. Since the circle of legal heirs was usually wide and mortality high, people had a chance to inherit property from their relatives a few times during their life. In some cases, their share amounted to only a few piasters.⁷⁶⁸ After the death of Ali, son of Mehmed, a resident of Antakya, his possessions were shared among his wife, son, daughter, and mother in 1766. After taking out all the debts and expenses, the total amount of his possession was 14.25 *guruş*. His wife received 2 *guruş* as well as her deferred dowry which was 20 *guruş*, his son got 6 *guruş* and 29 *para*,⁷⁶⁹ his daughter received only 2 *guruş* and 3 *akçe*, and his mother received 2 *guruş*.⁷⁷⁰ Since the total wealth that he left was low, and the number of heirs was high, their shares amounted to only a few *guruş* each.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid., 170.

⁷⁶⁷ A.Ş.S., Nr. 20, s.10/19.

⁷⁶⁸ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 209.

⁷⁶⁹ The approximate exchange rates in the 18th and early 19th centuries were 1 Ottoman *guruş*=40 *para*= 120 *akçe*. See: Halil Inalcik, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, 967.

⁷⁷⁰ A.Ş.S., Nr. 8, s.67/90.

Women could use and invest in their property, if they had full authority over it, without getting any permission from anybody. Even when married, women still could have the full right of usage of their property, and they did not have to share it with their husbands since a complete regime of property separation between spouses was accepted by Islamic law. Therefore, women were not required to have the assent of their husbands to utilize their properties, and their husbands did not have any right to prevent or get involved in the investments related to their wives' properties.⁷⁷¹ However, we do not know to what extent women could exercise these rights in the Ottoman Empire, especially in the rural areas.

In the cases when women faced some problems or disagreements concerning their properties, they could apply to the court to get help in protecting their properties. For instance, in 1785, two women, Nefise and Naim, applied to the court by stating that their estate, located in Cebel-i Akra, a sub-district of Antakya, was occupied by a person named Bekir. They claimed that Bekir not only occupied their estate for almost 10 years, but also seized the products, mulberry and cotton, of the estate. The women appointed Seyyid Mustafa Ağa as their proxy, and urged the court of Aleppo to take immediate action to solve the problem by taking their property back from Bekir and giving it to their representative.⁷⁷²

Having money and owning property gave only limited power to women, and usually did not provide too much control over their lives. However, having control over these resources gave a woman some economic security and allowed her to make economic decisions that would affect

⁷⁷¹ Halil Cin, *Islam ve Osmanlı Hukukunda Evlenme*, (Konya: 1988), 193

⁷⁷² Halep 5 Numaralı Ahkam Defteri, 61/146.

her whole family. In addition, it helped women to protect their status since a wealthy woman could not be easily discarded or ignored.⁷⁷³

Women of the middle and upper-middle classes were engaged in buying property and moneylending in Antakya in the 18th and 19th centuries. Since it was difficult for a married woman to work outside of the household, moneylending became an important method to increase their wealth. They were involved in moneylending for the purpose of making profit out of the cash they obtained by selling properties inherited from their husband or family, or from the dower received from their husband. In Antakya's court records, there were several examples showing that women were involved in selling and purchasing properties. According to court registers, women could buy or sell properties multiple times in a single year. For instance, Mehmed Efendi, the proxy of Ayşe Hanım bought a mansion, located in the quarter of Şenbek. In the testimony of witnesses, Ahmed Efendi, the owner of the mansion, declared that he sold the mansion to the proxy of Ayşe Hanım for a total of 7,500 *guruş* in September 1823.⁷⁷⁴ In another entry from September 1823, the aforementioned Ayşe appointed her brother, Mehmed Efendi, as her proxy regarding the registry of her property purchase. Ayşe Hanım was involved in another property purchase by buying another house from the same quarter in the same month. This time, she bought a one-bedroom house from a non-Muslim, Zarif veled-i Ceber, for a total amount of 1,000 *guruş*.⁷⁷⁵

Moneylending was also a common practice among spouses in Antakya. It was mentioned that there was the concept of a separate economy between the spouses, so a woman had a right to

⁷⁷³ Meriwether, *The Kin Who Count: Family and Society in Ottoman Aleppo, 1770-1840*, 173.

⁷⁷⁴ A.Ş.S., Nr. 17, s.15/26.

⁷⁷⁵ A.Ş.S., Nr. 17, s.15/27.

apply to the court if her husband did not pay his loan to her. There were some examples when a husband or a wife appeared in the court to accuse the other for not returning a particular possession or not paying a loan. In 1760, Hafife, daughter of Süleyman applied to the court regarding her husband Mehmed, known as Miri Katib. Hafife claimed that she had given his husband goods in the amount of 5000 *guruş* as a loan three years earlier. When she asked for these goods, her husband refused to give her whatever he had borrowed. She demanded the court to urge her husband to return these goods or to repay the equivalent sum. Without asking for any evidence, the court decided in favor of Hafife, and made the husband repay the equivalent sum back to her.⁷⁷⁶ In the court records examined, there were many cases concerning property purchase among spouses. A case of property purchase between husband and wife was registered in court by Tandırcı oğlu Osman Ağa. In presence his wife, Halime Hatun, he stated that he sold his house to his wife in 1828. In his testimony, Osman Ağa stated that he sold the house for a total of 2000 *guruş* which was a high amount in this period.⁷⁷⁷

The experiences of women in the court of Antakya were not always positive. The case of Havvace, daughter of Hizr, is an example of how women had to prove their moneylending activity in order to reclaim the lent money back. Havvace stated in the court that she gave Mehmed, son of Abdullah, 750 *guruş* as loan. When she demanded the money back from him, Mehmed denied borrowing money from her. The judge asked Havvace if she could prove the transaction, but she was unable to offer any evidence for moneylending to Mehmed. The judge gave a decision in favor of Mehmed, and made Havvace to give up her case.⁷⁷⁸ In another case

⁷⁷⁶ Halep 2 Numaralı Ahkam Defteri, p. 255

⁷⁷⁷ A.Ş.S., Nr .20, s.4/7.

⁷⁷⁸ A.Ş.S., Nr. 23, b. 287.

1834, Esma, daughter of Kasim, presented her case regarding Süleyman, son of Ali in the Antakya court. In the presence of Ali and two other witnesses, Esma stated that her one-bedroom house located in the district of Sofular was occupied by Süleyman for years. In his response to Esma, Süleyman stated that Esma sold her property to another woman, Meryem Hatun, 8 years earlier for the amount of 200 *guruş*. After the house was bought by Meryem, he paid to her a total sum of 490 *guruş* to purchase the house which was confirmed by two witnesses who also attended to the case. When interrogated, Esma was unable to provide evidence for her claim.⁷⁷⁹ This case shows that selling property among women was a common and profitable practice, but that it was not always well documented.

Polygamy was not a widespread practice in the Ottoman society. In the rare cases of polygamous marriages, the estate of the deceased husband would be distributed evenly among each wife. For instance, the estate of Mustafa Ağa, a resident of Antakya, was distributed equally among his three wives, Emine, Rahime, and Ayşe, whereby each of them received 779 *guruş*.⁷⁸⁰ Another man with two wives, Mehmed, son of Hasan, left his wives, Emine and Hadice, 80 *guruş* each.⁷⁸¹ However, there were some examples of disagreements that occurred among the wives and children of deceased people. In 1830, after the death of Ibrahim, his wife, Dudu, and his children, Ahmed, Şakir, Ibrahim, Fatma, and Yapulu, and as well as his children from his second wife, whose name was not mentioned, claimed that the second wife of the deceased person took the two-bedroom house located in the quarter of Koca Abdi, the white mulberry garden in sub-district of Antakya, and 260 olive trees located in Kuseyr, sub-district of

⁷⁷⁹ A.Ş.S., Nr. 23, b. 297.

⁷⁸⁰ A.Ş.S., Nr. 23, b.63.

⁷⁸¹ A.Ş.S., Nr. 23, b. 321.

Antakya. They asked the judge for assistance to take their share from inheritance of their father. In her response, the second wife claimed that her husband sold these properties to her. She paid 2600 *guruş* for the house, 1200 *guruş* for the garden, and 2500 *guruş* for the olive trees. In order to confirm the purchase, she brought two witnesses, Yusuf and Hasim, to the court. After listening to the testimony of these witnesses to the property purchase had happened between the spouses, the judge urged the plaintiffs to give up their claim.⁷⁸²

The court records also included cases concerning the rights of unborn children who could obtain a share of inheritance. People could bequeath one third of their estates to their unborn offspring.⁷⁸³ In the court records I examined, there were several entries regarding a pregnant wife whose husband had died before the birth of their child. For instance, Ahmed Beşe ibn-i Abdullah, living in the quarter of Dörtayak, had died in 1765. At the time that he passed away, his wife was pregnant. The deceased's estate was worth 378,5 *guruş* before his debts were paid off. His wife, Fatma, received 47 *guruş*, and the unborn child was granted 165 *guruş*. The share of the unborn child was around 43 % of the entire inheritance of Ahmed Beşe.⁷⁸⁴ In another case, a resident in the quarter of Kantara in Antakya, el-Hac Mehmed Efendi, passed away in July 1765 before his pregnant wife gave birth. The deceased's estate was worth of 404,25 *guruş*. His wife, Emine, obtained her due deferred dowry in the amount of 55 *guruş*, and the unborn offspring was granted the highest portion, 235 *guruş*, even though there was no information on the gender on the offspring. The wife of the deceased person was granted 50 *guruş* while the

⁷⁸² A.Ş.S., Nr. 21, b. 47.

⁷⁸³ Elbirlik, "Negotiating Matrimony: Marriage, Accessed Divorce, and Property Allocation Practices in Istanbul, 1755-1840", 304.

⁷⁸⁴ A.Ş.S., Nr 8, s.37/54.

daughter of the deceased person received 117 *guruş* and 36 para which was equal to the half of the what unborn offspring was granted.⁷⁸⁵

Another subject concerning on the relationship of women to property is *waqf* (pious endowments). Women property owners, from the Ottoman royal family down through the social ranks, were involved in the foundation of endowments. Mary Ann Fay claims that according to the Ministry of Awqaf's records, 496 *waqfs* were established in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century. The number of the male donors was 393, and the number of the female donors was 126, the latter constituted 25 percent of the total numbers of donors.⁷⁸⁶ In addition, in some cases women founded some endowments with other male relatives or unrelated men. Women endowed commercial, residential, and agricultural properties, including apartment houses, mills, waterwheels, gardens, coffeehouses, a public bath, and agricultural lands.⁷⁸⁷ There were various *waqf* types in the Ottoman Empire, such as public endowments, family endowments, endowments founded by the royal family, endowments founded by artisans in the provinces, and endowments consisting of vast landholdings. All these *waqf* types were subject to certain legal requirements.⁷⁸⁸ Women mostly founded either public or family *waqf*. The public *waqfs* were founded for the purpose of maintaining religious institutions, to pay religious officials, and to feed the poor people of the area. However, Abraham Marcus claimed that only a small amount of help reached to the poor from the hundreds of charitable endowments established in the 19th century. The donors preferred to support worship areas, public water fountains, schools, and

⁷⁸⁵ A.Ş.S., Nr. 8, s.55/80;

⁷⁸⁶ Fay, "Women and Waqf: Property, Power, and the Domain of Gender in Eighteenth-Century Egypt", 35.

⁷⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁷⁸⁸ Margaret Meriwether, "Women and Waqf Revisited: The Case of Aleppo, 1770–1840" in *Women in the Ottoman Empire*. Ed. by Madeline C. Zilfi (New York: Brill, 1997), 130.

other causes.⁷⁸⁹ The other major *waqf* type, family *waqf*, benefitted the members of the donor family and their descendants until all the family members died out.⁷⁹⁰

Women were involved in *waqf* as founders, beneficiaries, and administrators. Women could be named as endowers by their fathers, mothers, husbands, or brothers. Meriwether points out that when individuals other than children or descendants were named as the second class of beneficiaries after the death of the endower, some uncommon distinctions emerge between men and women endowers. In Aleppo, women were designated as endowers by their husbands in 85 per cent of the cases while husbands were rarely named by their wives as endowers. For instance, Ümmühan, a resident of Antakya, set up an endowment with two houses, a water-well, two lemon trees, and two yards that she owned. She would be administrator of the *waqf*, and she would benefit from the income of the *waqf* as long as she was alive. After her death, her brother's son and his descendants would run the endowment until the line of her brother's son died out. Importantly, this endowment was not set up with the immediate family (husband or children) in mind.⁷⁹¹

While we know that women in the Ottoman Empire were founders and beneficiaries of endowments, it is not very clear to what extent women controlled these endowments, through their serving as *mütevellis* (*waqf* superintendants). Baer has claimed that women played a much smaller part in controlling endowments since on most occasions they designated men as administrators of the endowment.⁷⁹² Meriwether, who made extensive research on the *waqf*

⁷⁸⁹ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 216.

⁷⁹⁰ Meriwether, "Women and Waqf Revisited: The Case of Aleppo, 1770–1840", 132.

⁷⁹¹ A.Ş.S., Nr. 4, s.18/29.

⁷⁹² Gabriel Baer, "Woman and Waqf: An Analysis of the Istanbul Tahrir of 1546", in *Asian and African Studies*, (University of Haifa, Vol.17, 1983), 13-14.

registers of Aleppo, supports the claim that women *waqf* founders mostly administered their *waqfs* until the end of their life, but they designated mostly their male relatives, son, husband, brother, and nephew as the administrator of the *waqf*.⁷⁹³ We observe the same pattern in Antakya as well. For instance, in the year of 1762, El-Hac Hasan Efendi, a member of the military class, set up a family endowment probably with the aim to prevent the government from confiscating his possessions. The endowment consisted of a grocery store, a bakery, mulberry gardens, a store in the bazaar, and a house. After his death, the revenues that incurred from these places would be shared between his family members on the condition that male and female members of his family would get equal shares. In general, women had preference to give equal share to male and female beneficiaries of the endowment while men had a slight preference for providing male beneficiaries twice share of females.⁷⁹⁴ In that case, Hasan Efendi divided proceeds equally among male and female beneficiaries of the endowment, which indicate that how family endowments used as a way providing females greater access to family resources. However, in the register, it is also mentioned that he appointed only his sons Ahmed, Hüseyin, and Mehmed as administrators, *mütevellis*, of the endowments, and that they would administer the *waqf* equally. Although his daughters were designated as beneficiaries of the endowment, and would get equal shares together with his sons, they were not considered as administrators of the endowment.⁷⁹⁵ In another case, Senem Hatun set up an endowment by donating all of her property to it in 1753. Even though she was the founder of the endowment, and had a full right to be its administrator, she appointed her son, Mehmed, as *mütevelli* of the endowment while she was alive.⁷⁹⁶

⁷⁹³ Margaret Meriwether, “Women and Waqf Revisited: The Case of Aleppo, 1770–1840”, 143.

⁷⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁷⁹⁵ A.Ş.S., Nr. 7, s.30/56.

⁷⁹⁶ A.Ş.S., Nr. 5, s.141/217.

In some cases, women applied to the court to be endowment administrators. In Antakya, es-Seyyid Mustafa, son of Abdullah, set up an endowment for his family. This endowment included a garden, two stores, a house, and olive trees which were all located in Antakya. Es-Seyyid Mustafa designated his family members until his family died out. After the death of Ebu Bekir, son of the founder of the endowment, Seyyid Hüseyin, a resident of Antakya, claimed that all members of the family died out, so he applied to the court to be the administrator of the endowment. However, Fatma Şerife Hatun applied to the court in 1763 with a claim of being Ebu Bekir's daughter, and thus granddaughter of the founder of the endowment. She claimed that she was the legitimate heir to the *waqf*, and asked the court to appoint her as the *waqf*'s administrator. The court did not issue a decision on that matter since it was necessary to recheck the register of *waqfs*, which was located in Istanbul by that time.⁷⁹⁷

Another way of having property for women was repairing the damaged buildings that belonged to a *waqf*. There are a plenty of examples of conversion of *waqf* buildings into private properties in the court records of Antakya in the 1820 and 1830s when an earthquake hit the city and destroyed many of the *waqf* buildings. For instance, Hacı Fatma, a resident of quarter of Habibu Neccar in Antakya, presented herself in the court in 1826 by claiming that a bakery and a store in the district of Tut were demolished as a result of an earthquake. The *waqf* belonged to the family of Ayşe Hatun. However, the revenues of the *waqf* were not sufficient to rebuild the demolished buildings. Hacı Fatma stated that she rebuilt the demolished buildings using funds from her own budget. In return, she owned the buildings of the bakery and the store, however, she was asked by the owner of the property to pay rent, a total sum of 18 *guruş* for a year, for the

⁷⁹⁷ A.Ş.S., Nr. 8, s.3/9; Tatar, "8 Numaralı Antakya Şer'iye Sicili, 1178-1179/1764-1765," 84-85.

land.⁷⁹⁸ This document shows that besides inheritance, dower, selling properties, moneylending, and founding or being beneficiaries of a *waqf*, the repair and/or rebuilding of buildings that belonged to a *waqf* was another way for women to invest (and accumulate wealth).

Clothes

The dressing style of the Ottoman woman did not show excessive changes throughout centuries. The Ottoman lady of the 18th and 19th centuries dressed very similarly to the way her forebears had dressed in the 16th and 17th centuries.⁷⁹⁹ Admittedly, modifications applied to all kinds of clothing elements from head to foot, but these modifications were slight, at least to the modern eye accustomed to seasonal hemlines and décolletages.⁸⁰⁰ However, this does not mean that the Ottoman rulers did not apply any laws to regulate clothing styles in the Empire. The Ottoman rulers made several attempts to regulate clothing styles by issuing clothing laws in the 18th and 19th centuries. The clothing laws of 1720 and 1808, were a response to military defeats, territorial withdrawals, and economic contraction, which the empire suffered from throughout the century. By issuing clothing laws, the central administration sought to assure Ottoman subjects and elites that the world was still an orderly place, where they all sustain their respective social, economic, and political positions. Another motivation of these degrees was to consolidate the established social markers, underlining control of men over women, Muslims over non-Muslims, and elites over subject classes.⁸⁰¹

⁷⁹⁸ A.Ş.S., Nr. 18, s.101/226.

⁷⁹⁹ Davis, *The Ottoman Lady: A social History from 1718 to 1918*, 187.

⁸⁰⁰ Madeline Zilfi, *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 47.

⁸⁰¹ Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Aug., 1997), 407.

These decrees also focused on gender issues since some women adopted non-traditional clothes that created the impression of making immodest public display. A decree promulgated in the late 1720s stated that "good-for-nothing" women had adopted various innovations in the clothing by imitating the Christians living in Istanbul. The decree also stated that some women put pressure on their husbands for the purchase of these fashions which hurt the artisans and second-hand-clothes buyers who provided or sold the old styles. This regulation prevented women from wearing certain kinds of clothes, and forbade non-elite women from wearing ermine fur.⁸⁰²

Following the reign of Mahmud II, (1808-1839), a new clothing law was, which initiated drastic changes and contradicts with previous clothing laws, was issued in 1829. The 1829 law repealed the visible distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims and enabled the formation of a new elite without the distinctive markings. These new changes were indispensable for the empire to protect the multireligious entity, especially after the Greek rebellion in the 1820s. The clothing law of 1829 was an attempt to create a state-centered dress code, which eliminated the visible symbols between official and non-official strata as well as Muslim and non-Muslim. However, that law did not change much in dressing style of women. Wealthy Muslim and non-Muslim women distinguished themselves from lower class Ottoman women through extravagance, clothes made with imported fabric, and expensive jewelries.⁸⁰³

The clothes of elite women in the Ottoman Empire were made of valuable materials. Ladies of the court and upper-class women wore a pair of very full pants which reached their shoes and covered their legs. Over this hung their smock with wide sleeves hanging half way

⁸⁰² Ibid., 409.

⁸⁰³ Ibid., 421.

down the arm and closed at the neck with a button that could be a diamond button if they were wealthy. They also wore a tight waistcoat with long sleeves falling back. These wealthy women wore a caftan or a robe, which fit their bodies perfectly, reaching the feet. There was the girdle over the robe, which was made of either diamond or exquisite embroidery of satin, depending on women's material status. Women wore a loose robe called *cebe* over the caftan and the girdle. As a headdress, women wore a cap called *kalpak* which was fixed on one side of the head hanging a little way down with a gold tassel, and bound with diamonds. Women wore white knit leather shoes embroidered with gold as their footwear.⁸⁰⁴ Ottoman authorities issued several decrees showing their concern with clothing style of women due to economic reasons. They believed that the passion for extravagance for women was a waste of money, and it was detrimental to their budgets.

The most important rule in the Ottoman clothing style related to the covering of the body of the women. It was significant for a woman to protect her privacy. After reaching puberty, a young girl donned the veil and wore clothes covered that her body in order to prevent a man from seeing her body, with the exception of her father, husband, or brother(s).⁸⁰⁵ Traditional clothes served that purpose well. The traditional outside (upper) clothing for middle class or lower-class women consisted mainly of the *ferace* and the *yaşmak*. The *ferace* was a long, loose coat that reached from the shoulder to the ground. It had long sleeves and a wide collar. It was produced from various fabrics, such as satin, taffeta, fine merino, and other wools.⁸⁰⁶ *Yaşmak* is a Turkish type of veil. It is a two-piece veil, one part oblong and one part square which is

⁸⁰⁴ Kia, *Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, 215-216.

⁸⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 214.

⁸⁰⁶ Davis, *The Ottoman Lady: A social History from 1718 to 1918*, 188.

made of some fine, transparent white material. One of the pieces was tied across the face under the nose, and the other piece covered the hair and forehead down to the eyebrows. Both pieces were tied in the back.⁸⁰⁷ Even though Ottoman women kept wearing *ferace* and *yaşmak* as traditional outside clothes, these clothes changed their shapes and forms from the early 18th century onwards. With the beginning of a passion for ostentation, adornment, and extravagance among upper class women who had more interaction with European fashion, the shapes and colors of *feraces* started changing. In addition, women's *yaşmaks* became thinner and transparent.⁸⁰⁸

The Muslim woman of Antakya adopted the same clothing style. Buckingham, who traveled to the region in the early 19th century, describes the clothing of women in the city by saying: “the women wear upper cloths of white muslin, and veil their faces with a stiff black gauze, also in the Turkish style. The fashion of their boots is to have them as small and tight about the foot and ankle as possible, while the upper part swells out suddenly to a size large enough to admit the thigh, and loosely overhangs the lower part; they are made invariably of yellow leather, reach to about the beginning of the calf of the leg, and are bound with blue, raised in front, and furnished there with a blue silk tassel, resembling very much, in general form, the wide mock”.⁸⁰⁹ Another traveler, W. H. Bartlett, describes the clothing style of women in Antakya by saying: “... a party of Turkish ladies passed by, in long muslin wrappers and yellow boots, with their black conductors, to take the air while it was yet fresh and cool.”⁸¹⁰

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid., 189.

⁸⁰⁸ Betül İ. Argıt, “An Evaluation of the Tulip Period and the Period of Selim III in the Light of Clothing Regulations.” *Journal of Ottoman Studies*, XXIV, 2004, 12.

⁸⁰⁹ Buckingham, *Travel among Arab Tribes*, 559.

⁸¹⁰ W. H. Bartlett, *Syria, The Holy Land, Asia Minor*. (London; Paris; America: Fisher Son, vol. I, 1836), 25.

Even though Muslim women mostly wore clothes in the same style, the quality and prices of clothes varied based on wealth of the woman. For instance, *entari*, the dress proper, was one of the clothes that was worn by all women in Antakya. It was a long dress, reaching to the floor and sometimes trailing. I have come across *entari* in the inheritance of lower, middle, and upper-class women. However, the quality, fabric, design, and price of the *entari* varied depending on women's wealth. Low class women's *entari* was cheap, and had less layers and styles that would not hinder movements. Middle and upper-class women's *entari* was made of better fabric, and it had fancier weaves which made them more expensive. For example, Şerife Hüsniyye, a resident of Antakya, whose inheritance amounted to a total of 6131 *guruş*, had an *entari* worth 100 *guruş*. There is no information on the fabric, color, or weaves of the *entari*, but it was an expensive one.⁸¹¹ The *entaris* of two middle class women, whose possessions amounted to around 1120 *guruş*, were valued from 35 to 52 *guruş* each. The inheritance entry on the *entaris* of Zeyneb, a resident of quarter of Mahsen in Antakya, provides information on the prices of *entaris* in different colors and designs in 1765. She had red, white, and blue *entaris*, each of which had a different design. The red *entari* that had special weaves on it was worth 36 *guruş*. The *entari* with the blue flower patterns was valued at 11.5 *guruş*. Lastly, the white *entari* without any patterns and weaves on it was worth only 2.5 *guruş*.⁸¹²

Christian and Alawi women in Antakya also preferred to wear traditional clothes. Bartlett, who visited Antakya in the early 19th century, described the clothing of a Christian woman with these words: "the young woman, playing with the child, is clad in the tunic, or short vest, which is embroidered: the large and full pantaloons of silk reach little more than half way

⁸¹¹ A.Ş.S., Nr. 23, b.37.

⁸¹² A.Ş.S., Nr. 8, b.31/46.

down the leg; the shoes, of yellow leather, turn up sharp at the point; the child's dress, like that of most children of good condition in the East, is tasteful and picturesque, and more becoming and graceful to that age than the European costume."⁸¹³ He also states that the servants working at one of the wealthy Christian houses were not muffled like Turkish ladies.⁸¹⁴ Alawi women dressed a little bit differently from Christian and Muslim women. John Griffiths traveled to an Alawi village in 1805, and observed that "the women were dressed in loose vests, with a head-dress rising in a point, and unlike any we had seen: they were joyous, familiar, and vociferous."⁸¹⁵ Griffiths describes the Alawi women living in Antakya by saying "many of the women were not only clean, but much more attractive than has been expressed by several travelers, whose reports were rather grounded upon hearsay than positive evidence. Their limbs are finely formed, as is generally the case where Nature is not confined by the trammels of dress; and their teeth are beautifully white."⁸¹⁶

Some of the non-Muslim subjects of the Empire violated the clothing rules in the 18th and 19th centuries. Non-Muslims had to wear distinctive colors and fabrics, but they often resisted wearing their humiliating predetermined dresses in the 18th and 19th centuries.⁸¹⁷ Not surprisingly, there was substantial cultural interaction between Muslims and non-Muslims. While Christians adapted some Islamic habits and traditions, Muslims were likewise influenced by their Christian neighbors. For instance, people followed fashion in clothing since it was reflection of status. As Abraham Marcus states, shifting fashion trends originating in Istanbul and Iran were

⁸¹³ Bartlett, Syria, The Holy Land, Asia Minor, 59.

⁸¹⁴ Ibid., 58.

⁸¹⁵ Griffiths, *Travels in Europe, Anatolia and Arabia*, 325.

⁸¹⁶ Ibid., 329.

⁸¹⁷ Argit, "An Evaluation of the Tulip Period and the Period of Selim III in the Light of Clothing Regulations", 12-13.

closely followed by members of the upper and lower classes, especially after the 19th century when European style clothing became widespread in the Ottoman territories.⁸¹⁸ Muslims adapted or borrowed some of their Christian neighbors' clothes to wear on special occasions. The same kind of interaction was observed in Antakya when Muslim dwellers adapted different pass times and habits considered by the *ulama* of the city to be incompatible with the Islamic way of living. Although the Ottoman Empire showed tolerance to intercommunal relations among its communities, the government was concerned about the increasing influence of Christians over Muslims in Antakya. According to a letter that was sent to mufti of Antakya in the early 1820s, Muslims were warned to not adapt the clothing styles introduced by their Christian neighbors, and were urged to dress following the traditional (Muslim) way.⁸¹⁹

Commercial activities showed some improvements due to the active usage of the near-by port of Iskenderun in the 18th and 19th centuries. The port became a gathering and shipping point for the goods brought from eastern Anatolia, Aleppo, and Iran. In addition, many items shipped from France, Istanbul, Libya, Britain, and India flowed into that port, and were launched to the market of Antakya. These materials, shipped from both East and West, were consumed by the local people of Antakya. Some of the women showed interest in clothes, especially head coverings, foot coverings, and accessories made in England, Tripoli, Istanbul, Iran, India, and Damascus. Some of these materials could be encountered in women's inheritance deeds, e.g.

⁸¹⁸ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, 229.

⁸¹⁹ A.Ş.S., Nr. 17, s.7/12. (... alel husus bir günden beru halk giyünüb kuşanmağa ve dürlü dürlü zevki rahata ilişmişler günagün teşyi' ile uğraşmaya düşüb hududu'l-hayatı tecavüze başlamış olduklarından hasrı nıfak çoğalıb herkes birbirını çekemeyerek beyne'l müslimin nefret-i kelime-i cinayeti nemud olmaktan naşi...). The letter warned the Muslims of Antakya to correct their behaviors and to began live in Islamic way. (... terk-i ihtişam ve ziyet ve taraf-ı İslam-ı esvabı sa'adet eylesiz cerubet-i sagırın zaruret-i iltimasın eylemeniz matlub idiğu beyanıyla işbu mektub muharrer ve tisyar kılındı)

İngilizkari kuşak (British style girdle), Trablus kuşak (Tripoli-made girdle), Acem şalı (Iranian shawl), Hint yaşmak (Indian veil), Şam kuşak (Damascus made girdle), İstanbul yemenisi (a colored cotton kerchief worn over the head and tied above the forehead), and Frenk Çizmesi (European-made boots).⁸²⁰ Usage of these products indicates that the increasing contact between Western merchants and local people of Antakya in the 18th and 19th centuries led to changes in dressing style of women. It should be noted that these products were mostly adopted by middle or upper-class women, and they were perfectly used to display their wealth and social identification.

Conclusion

The women of Antakya applied to the court in many occasions in order to use the court's authority to negotiate a more egalitarian status vis-à-vis men. Women in Antakya were active participants in the public space and an essential element in the everyday life of the district in the 18th and 19th centuries. They used courts regularly and freely in order to register some of their purchases or selling as well as complain about a problem they had faced. They actively used court for the purposes of buying and selling property, registering debts or payments of debts., registering marriages or getting divorce, claiming inheritances, registering endowments, presenting cases of violence committed against them. The most important conclusion that may be drawn from the examination of the court records is that women had a secure position and some rights concerning their social and economic life in the Ottoman Empire in contrast to the popular image of 'oppressed women.' In addition, the active usage of the courts indicates the fact that

⁸²⁰ Ahmet Gündüz, "Antakya Şer'iyeye Sicillerine göre Antakya (1812-1853)", in VI. Antakya Tarih ve Kültür Sempozyumu. (Antakya, 2002), 141.

women both played an active role in the public sphere, which they had impact on it, and they expected achievement from actions within it.

Having a separate economy within marriage provided women better living in the 18th and 19th centuries. The acceptance of separate economies put Ottoman women in a better position than their European counterparts in the 18th century.⁸²¹ Having their own resources and properties made women active and visible agents in Antakya. The women of Antakya were involved in charitable endowments, mostly family endowments which benefitted the family members and their descendants until all the family members died out. Their involvement in waqfs as founders, administrators, and beneficiaries gave them an opportunity to exercise some control over their own and families' resources. In addition, it need to be emphasized that the court had willingness to protect and support the rights of women in relationship to waqf issues.

⁸²¹ Elbirlik, "Negotiating Matrimony: Marriage, Accessed Divorce, and Property Allocation Practices in Istanbul, 1755-1840", 264.

CHAPTER VI: AYANS IN ANTAKYA: THE RISE AND FALL OF AN AYAN FAMILY, KARA IBRAHIM AND FETHULLAH AĞA

The literal meaning of ayan, plural of the Arabic “ayn”, is notables. The term began to be used in the 16th century to refer to local notables in cities and towns. The ayans were some well-established local elites, with families of high social status coming from religious and scholarly backgrounds, even though the significance of these features was to give way to wealth and local connections.⁸²² These notables came from different backgrounds such as high-ranking officials like retired viziers or governors, *sancakbeyis* as well as other provincial officials like janissary leaders, *kadis*, *müderrises*, *mukataa emins*, *müftis*, *mültezims*, guild leaders and well-to-do merchants. The titles of ayan, which were *ayan-ı belde* (notable of town or city), *ayan-ı vilayet* (notable of province), or *ayan-ı memleket* (notable of the land), were limited to the district or province where they resided.⁸²³ These notables became powerful by building political and social networks, investing in lands and real estate in the towns and cities, and thusly accumulating wealth. Their local recognition was more important than their affiliation with the state as their power was purely based on local recognition.⁸²⁴ Even though ayans had some common characteristics, it is difficult to create a model of an ayan which will incorporate all of them within the Ottoman state. This fact is a reason for the study of ayans as individuals as each of them has a unique story of their rise to power and decline. In this chapter, the common characteristics of ayans in the Ottoman Empire, as well as a preminent ayan of Antakya in the

⁸²² Barkey, *Empire of Difference. The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, 244-245.

⁸²³ Robert W. Zens, "The Ayanlık and Pasvanoğlu Osman Paşa of Vidin in the Age of Ottoman Social Change, 1791-1815." (University of Wisconsin-Madison, Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, 2004), 45-46.

⁸²⁴ Barkey, *Empire of Difference. The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, 244-245

late 18th and early 19th centuries by the name of Fethullah Ağa and his family will be examined.

Following the conquest of a new region, especially in the Middle East and the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire formed relationship with local notables who would become intermediaries between the local dwellers and the central administration in the 16th century. Notables were usually helping the local people by solving their problems with administrators, guarding the town, and overseeing the administration of justice by acting as experts in monetary adjustments. They were also influential in the regulation of food provision and food production for their region. All their contributions intensified the social ties between the provinces, the office-holders, and the capital. In the 18th century, the ongoing wars both in the east and west escalated the competition between the sultan and the office-holders. The Ottoman administrative transformation from the *timar* system to tax-farms gave the provincial notables access to economic and social resources which would transform them into provincial households.⁸²⁵

The *timar* system was at the center of the Ottoman land tenure system. This system, which had been the backbone of the military and financial structure of the Ottoman Empire since the 14th century, became outdated in the 17th century as it could not produce the essential revenue to finance the new modes of warfare.⁸²⁶ The main object of the *timar* system was to guarantee the supply and provisioning of the *sipahi* cavalry. Even though the system initially met expectations, the *sipahis* were unable to compete against the firearms and infantry-based armies

⁸²⁵ Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*. (Oxford University Press, 1996), 60.

⁸²⁶ Zens, "The Ayanlık and Pasvanoğlu Osman Paşa of Vidin in the Age of Ottoman Social Change, 1791-1815." 15, and Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600*, trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (New York: Praeger, 1973), 104-118.

by the late-16th century. As the developing military technology made the cavalry nearly useless, two changes became essential for the Ottomans. One of these changes was the transition of the army from a cavalry-led military to one dominated by a well-trained infantry, and the second necessitated an increase in tax revenues in order to finance the training and equipment of soldiers in this new mode of warfare.⁸²⁷ However, the revenues generated by the timar system were insufficient to meet the need of the Empire.

The Ottoman Empire had to deal with another turmoil within its land tenure system between the 16th and 18th centuries. The new turmoil was the emergence of the *çiftlik* (large estates), which posed a threat to the state control of the land by allowing provincial notables to obtain wealth and power through land acquisition. Reclamation of *mawat* lands (abandoned or waste lands), and the conversion of the *miri* (state) lands into semi-private land holdings were the two significant reasons for the establishment of the *çiftlik* in the Ottoman Empire.⁸²⁸

The *miri* lands were either abandoned by the *reaya* due to the unrest caused by the revolts in the provinces, or they were forcibly taken from the *reaya* by notables or administrators. Poor harvests combined with the debasements of the currency and high inflation forced *reaya* to get loans from a local notable or administrator for the purpose of paying all the required taxes or purchasing seed for the upcoming season. Often, when the *reaya* failed to pay their debts, the *miri* lands that they had worked and held rights to would be seized by their debtor. These lands, which were added to notable's holdings, were transformed into quasi-private properties due to

⁸²⁷ Halil Inalcik, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 9 (1980), 283-337.

⁸²⁸ Zens, "The Ayanlık and Pasvanoğlu Osman Paşa of Vidin in the Age of Ottoman Social Change, 1791-1815", 20.

administrative inefficiency, which added an additional source of wealth and power to notables.⁸²⁹ Several large *çiftlik*s in the 18th century were also developed from reclaimed *mavat* lands. The *reaya* lost access to these lands, which they held the right to work for generations, and began to work as cheap laborers under these notables. All these developments led to the emergence of a new social class of landed provincial elite, which made the *reaya* more dependent upon these local notables.⁸³⁰

As the *timar* system became increasingly obsolete and inefficient, the state applied a new method of state revenue acquisition, called the tax farm, *iltizam*. The term *iltizam* refers to the method of collection. Although the implementation of tax farming in the Ottoman Empire is often referred to as a symptom of decline, Baki Tezcan claims that it was, instead, a symbol of a profound socioeconomic transformation that emerged as a response to social, economic, and political developments of the time.⁸³¹ The *timar* holder had to go to military campaigns in return for the land they held, but around 20% of *sipahis* did not join the army, and those who joined to military campaigns were not efficient in the 17th century. When the *timar* holders did not pay the *bedel-i timar*,⁸³² the state seized their *timars* and incorporated them within the tax farming

⁸²⁹ Halil Inalcik, "The Emergence of Big Farms, Çiftlik: State, Landlords and Tenants," in *Contributions a l'histoire economique et sociale de l'Empire Ottoman*. Eds. Jean-Louis Bacque-Grammont and Paul Dumont. (Louvain: Peeters, 1984), 112.

⁸³⁰ Zens, "The Ayanlık and Pasvanoğlu Osman Paşa of Vidin in the Age of Ottoman Social Change, 1791-1815", 24.

⁸³¹ Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 23.

⁸³² *Bedel-i timar* was paid by *timar* or *zeamet* owners in cash to substitute in lieu of military service.

system. Increasing expenses of war technology forced the state to create new revenues by placing more lands under the *iltizam* system.⁸³³

The central government seized many of the large and small revenue units, which were under jurisdiction of provincial administrators and members of the cavalry army. These revenue units were rented to financiers and entrepreneurs. At the beginning these revenue units were rented for short-term, but later in the 18th century they were transformed to life-term contracts, *malikanes*.⁸³⁴ These revenue units were rented to the person who offered highest bid at auctions. The *mukataa* auctions for tax farming rights were generally organized in Istanbul, which provided advantages to the well-positioned officials in the capital and provinces to hold these valuable tax collection rights. Contractors, *mültezims*, who rented these financial units, collected revenues in these enterprises, paid the amount agreed on in their contract to the state, and held the remaining amount as profit.⁸³⁵ Many of these *mültezims* settled down far away from their tax farms, which forced them to appoint a proxy, *mütesellim*, to administer their investment. The duty of *mütesellim* was usually assigned to local notables who were respected by the local community. Even though these duties were administrative in nature, they would grow into greater economic and military endeavors, which would result in the emergence of a new class of individuals who were not reliant on the central administration for their position of prominence,

⁸³³ Hülya Canbakal, “Ayıntab at the End of the 17th Century: A Study of Notables and Urban Politics,” (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1997), p. 82. Concerning *iltizam* system and its large-scale application in the Ottoman Empire, see: Abdul Rahim Abdul Rahman and Yuzo Nagata, “The Iltizam System in Egypt and Turkey: A Comparative Study,” in *Studies on the Social and Economic History of the Ottoman Empire* ed. Yuzo Nagata. (Izmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1995).

⁸³⁴ Ali Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Crisis*. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2016), 29.

⁸³⁵ *Ibid.*, 27-28.

but rather on the province where they settled down.⁸³⁶ Another development that helped the rise of the local notables was the sub-leasing of the tax farming right to local notables by *mültezims*. Many of the *mültezims* had never been in the region of the empire, in which their tax farms were located. As they were not influential in the region, they sub-leased the right to local notables to secure their investment, which gave local notables even greater authority over their finances and control of the community.⁸³⁷

Being *mültezim's mütesellim* was considered as a safe road to wealth and power by local notables. There was a great competition among the local notables of a given region in order to secure the right to serve in that position. Local notables resorted to intrigue, bribery, or outright force in order to obtain the right to serve as *mültezims' mütesellims*. To hold the post, they were required to safeguard the region and economic resources from bandits, which forced them to gather together large forces that would form their personal militia.⁸³⁸ Having these personal militias would make them an indispensable force within the Ottoman Empire in the 17th and 18th centuries. In addition to safeguarding their region from bandits, their militias protected the region from unwanted government interventions as well.⁸³⁹

The Empire needed to transform tax-farming rights as *mültezims*, who rented the revenue units for a short time period, exploited the taxpayers by collecting more than the pre-determined amount of tax, and seizing properties of *reaya* to make more profit in that short time. The

⁸³⁶ Zens, "The Ayanlık and Pasvanoğlu Osman Paşa of Vidin in the Age of Ottoman Social Change, 1791-1815", 28-29.

⁸³⁷ Ibid., 29-30.

⁸³⁸ Halil Inalcik, "Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman Administration," in *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, ed. by Thomas Naff and Roger Owen, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977), 31

⁸³⁹ Zens, "The Ayanlık and Pasvanoğlu Osman Paşa of Vidin in the Age of Ottoman Social Change, 1791-1815", 31.

Ottoman officials believed that the new tax-farming system, *malikane*, would restrain such behavior from occurring.⁸⁴⁰ The *malikane* system (life-term tax farms) was introduced in the areas where abuse was the greatest, such as the eastern and southeastern Anatolia and Syrian provinces in the mid-17th century. In addition to the high-ranking military and bureaucratic personnel, ayans with regional powers were the main receivers of the *malikanes*. The provincial ayan in these regions, namely the Umari family in Mosul, the Jalilis in southeastern Anatolia, and the Caniklioğlus and Çapanoğlus in central and eastern Anatolia held the lion's share of the largest *malikanes* in their regions.⁸⁴¹ The new tax farming system led to "the creation of a parcellated system of administration, dispersed among a wide variety of agents."⁸⁴² The ayans who could not acquire the large *malikanes*, joined provincials auctions in order to acquire smaller ones. These *malikanes* became the basis for most of the leading ayan families in the 18th century.⁸⁴³

The *malikane* system both paved a way for the enrichment of many ayan all around the Ottoman Empire and allowed them to obtain prominent state posts.⁸⁴⁴ The increasing inability of members of provincial administrators - from governors to the lower levels of *timar* holders- to administrate, levy taxes, and fight wars helped local notables step up by helping local officials

⁸⁴⁰ Ibid., 33.

⁸⁴¹ See: Dina Rizk Khoury, *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire, Mosul: 1540-1834*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 89–95; Margaret L. Meriwether, "Urban Notables and Rural Resources in Aleppo, 1770–1830," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 4 (1987): 55–73.

⁸⁴² Ariel C. Salzman, "Measures of Empire: Tax Farmers and the Ottoman Ancient Regime, 1695-1807." (Columbia University, Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, 1995), 242.

⁸⁴³ Zens, "The Ayanlık and Pasvanoğlu Osman Paşa of Vidin in the Age of Ottoman Social Change, 1791-1815", 31.

Ibid., 34.

⁸⁴⁴ Inalcik, "Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman Administration", 40.

implement orders. All these developments would encourage the local notables to create around themselves networks of officials, peasants, and artisans keen on ayan benevolence and wealth. They used their permanent location and local power to develop extensive networks in almost every activity, including tax collection, tax farming of the state revenues, providing troops for the military, moneylending, supplying the army, and managing landholdings of different sizes for commercial purposes.⁸⁴⁵

The Empire's frequent need for cash for provisioning military campaigns was another reason for the empowerment of provincial notables. For instance, the sultan raised the needed cash to provision the war by farming out even more public revenues and state lands following the Ottoman-Austrian war, which lasted 16 years between 1683-99. The local notables turned the cash crisis into an opportunity for themselves by serving provincial agents of the tax farmers or getting rights of tax-farming in their region. In addition, the continuous wars along the western and eastern borders created an environment for banditry and revolts as most regiments of the army were actively fighting in major wars, and many of them were not paid outside of campaigns. That situation fostered the authority of the provincial notables since they maintained security in the provinces.⁸⁴⁶

Population pressure and an increasing demand for mercenary military men played a significant role in drawing peasants away from agriculture in this period. Newly unemployed after the military campaigns ended, the *sekbans* who had been recruited by the empire created problems by threatening the local population and causing disturbances. The *sekbans* formed

⁸⁴⁵ Barkey, *Empire of Difference. The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, 245.

⁸⁴⁶ Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, 60-61.

companies, usually consisting of 50-100 men, and in some cases these companies united when they faced a common threat. As the central government was ineffective against the *sekbans*, the local populations in many provinces, particularly Anatolian provinces, sought arms in order to defend themselves against the *sekbans*. In that case, the central administration had to cooperate with the local notables to maintain security in the provinces which was one of the principal factors in the increasing influence of the local notables in the provinces.⁸⁴⁷ This call for cooperation or help was a de facto recognition of the ayans by the state as representatives of their communities. That recognition was transformed to de jure recognition when the state allowed people in provinces to elect an ayan to represent them.⁸⁴⁸

The central government made it the task of the ayans to maintain public order in the provinces by allowing them to establish permanent security forces in the first half of the 18th century. The maintenance of public order was the responsibility of provincial officials, such as viziers, governors, *sancakbeyis*, the *mütesellims*, *voyvodas*, and *subaşıs*. However, the establishment of standing security forces under the command of local notables resulted in significant changes. During the wars in the 18th century, the government preferred to rely on the notables for the maintenance of public order in the provinces and the performance of central administrative functions instead of leaving provinces unattended during military campaigns. As a result, the notables were appointed as deputies, which in turn became a major factor leading to the emergence of local notable dynasties in provinces.⁸⁴⁹

⁸⁴⁷ Inalcik, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", 297.

⁸⁴⁸ Zens, "The Ayanlık and Pasvanoğlu Osman Paşa of Vidin in the Age of Ottoman Social Change, 1791-1815", 54.

⁸⁴⁹ Inalcik, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", 311.

Local notables who collected revenues through tax-farming retained these revenues for the upkeep of their own households to meet their expenditure while they were maintaining security in the provinces. In addition, since they kept and provided soldiers as auxiliaries during the military campaigns, they used their wealth to equip and maintain these soldiers. Some of these notables had tens of thousands of soldiers under their command. For instance, Tepedelenli Ali Paşa in Janina (in Greece) had 80,000 provincial soldiers under his command in the early 18th century. Another ayan, Abdülhalim, the notable of Başkar, had 20,000 infantries and 3,000 cavalymen serving under him.⁸⁵⁰

In response to the increasing power and influence of notables in the provinces, the central government used two methods, confiscation and forced taxation, to keep them under control. The central government resorted to confiscation when the notable failed to pay taxes, which was interpreted as an indication of rebellion against the sultan's authority. There were several examples of confiscations of properties of notables in Anatolian, Balkan, and Arab provinces in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. For instance, the wealth of the Karaosmanoglu family, notables of Manisa in western Anatolia, was confiscated due to their rebellion against the sultan. The notables of Dimetoka in Greece and Antakya faced the same treatment when they behaved against the sultan's orders and failed to pay taxes in the late 18th century.⁸⁵¹ Another method that was applied to deplete the resources and influence of provincial notables was forced taxation. Because of the frequent Ottoman military campaigns in the 18th and 19th centuries, the demands for soldiers and their provisions increased. Several decrees were sent to the provincial notables

⁸⁵⁰ Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, 61-62.

⁸⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 63.

ordering them to provide soldiers and other necessary materials for the wars. For instance, the sultan ordered 57 notables in Anatolia to bring together 15,650 soldiers during the 1768-1774 Ottoman Russian war. Even though the empire needed soldiers for the upcoming campaigns, these orders had also the purpose of controlling the power of provincial notables. The sultan decreased the economic and military resources of the local notables by using military campaigns as an excuse.⁸⁵²

The provincial notables showed various reactions to the strict and sometimes impossible demands of the sultan. While resources of some notables were totally depleted and perished, others tried to establish connections with high-ranking officials in Istanbul in order to revoke the sultan's orders. Those who could not deal with the demands of the sultan rebelled against the injustice of his orders and his administration's actions. These rebellions, especially the one between 1595-1610 in Western Anatolia and the one in the Balkans during the years 1791-1808, rocked the Ottoman Empire as the sultan could not control either rebellion due to collaboration between the bandits and the provincial notables. In response to the rebellions, the sultan issued frequent confiscation orders to control the notables, who either opposed or revolted against him. Some of these notables whose wealth was confiscated in the late 18th and early-19th centuries were Karaosmanzade Ataullah, notable of İzmir, Beyzade Nureddin, the notable of Priştine, Zaimoğlu Mehmed, the notable of Nevrekob, and Fethullah Ağa, the notable of Antakya.⁸⁵³

The Ottoman government could favor one ayan over another in a given region. The purpose behind this policy was to pitting large ayan families against one another in order to keep them in line. The policy was successfully applied by Selim III, who ruled the empire between

⁸⁵² Ibid., 63-64.

⁸⁵³ Ibid., 64.

1789-1807, as he eliminated numbers of ayans both in the Balkans and Anatolia who were not loyal to him or neglected responsibilities towards the empire.⁸⁵⁴ The rivalries between some of the major ayan families in Anatolia, such as the Çapanoğlu dynasty and the Canikli family, the Araboğlus and the Karaosmanoğlus, and the Hazinedaroğlus and the Tuzcuoğlus were all products of state and local competition and manipulation.⁸⁵⁵ For instance, Sultan Selim III provided permission to the Çapanoğlu family to expand family holdings by displacing disruptive notable families, the Küçük Alioğlus and Kozanoğlus, whose holdings were located in southern Anatolia.⁸⁵⁶ The expansion of the Çapanoğlu family holdings helped them to improve their position in the region and to gain the support of the state.

However, Selim III could not fully controlled ayans since his rule coincided with Napoleonic wars, especially in Egypt, the revolts in the Balkans, Anatolia and Arab provinces, and the Ottoman-Russian Wars. These internal and external problems were the major factor leading to the downfall of Selim's reforms, which were known as *nizam-ı cedid* (new order). After the successful Serbian revolt, Wahhabi attacks in Arabia, as well as the threat of a new Russian attack, Sultan Selim sought to conciliate Janissaries, provincial powerholders, and conservative groups by suspending his reform program, giving place to the conservative groups in the government in 1806.⁸⁵⁷ However, his struggles to win conservatives' and ayans' support and prevent a possible revolt against himself did not work. On May 29, 1807 with the assistance

⁸⁵⁴ Zens, "The Ayanlık and Pasvanoğlu Osman Paşa of Vidin in the Age of Ottoman Social Change, 1791-1815." 97.

⁸⁵⁵ Barkey, *Empire of Difference. The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, 251.

⁸⁵⁶ Andrew G. Gould, "Lord or Bandits? The Derebeys of Cilicia." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 7, No.4. (Oct., 1976), 487-491

⁸⁵⁷ Stanford Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under the Sultan Selim III, 1789-1807*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press 1971, 375.

of Musa Paşa and Ataullah Efendi, the Janissaries revolted under the leadership of Kabakci Mustafa, and they declared that Mustafa IV became a new Sultan in place of Selim III.

In 1808, with the help of the reform party in the Ottoman bureaucracy Bayraktar Mustafa, who was a leading provincial ayan in Danubian in Bulgaria, led to coup d'état.⁸⁵⁸ Mustafa IV was dethroned by this group, and they enthroned Mahmud II. The Ottoman Empire renewed its centralization efforts during the reign of Mahmud II (1808-1839). The sultan's centralization effort was directed against the central and regional elements who were considered the reason for disorder and decay: notables and janissaries in the provinces and state administrators in the center.⁸⁵⁹ However, the ayans were still powerful enough to challenge the sultan's authority. In September 1808, many provincial powerholders and strong families from different parts of the Empire acted collectively for the first time, which shifted the dynamics of the Ottoman politics. These provincial notables joined forces under the leadership of the Grand Vezir Bayrakdar Mustafa Paşa, a provincial notable of Hezargrad and Ruscuk. When they arrived in Istanbul, they forced the sultan to sign a Deed of Agreement (*Sened-i Ittifak*) of mutual support. The Ottoman provincial notables were then recognized and confirmed as a social group in the Ottoman Empire, which made them partners in the Empire.⁸⁶⁰ However, the effect of the agreement did not last long as the sultan gradually retrieved most of the privileges he had granted the ayans. The agreement had a symbolic impact on the Ottoman notion of sovereignty since the sultan

⁸⁵⁸ Ali Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions*, 203.

⁸⁵⁹ Barkey, *Empire of Difference. The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, 268.

⁸⁶⁰ Ali Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions*, 201.

recognized and confirmed the power of the ayans.⁸⁶¹ Since 1808, it had been clear that the local notables had transformed their economic power into political power. Removing the notables from their positions of regional power became a priority for the sultan since the recentralization of resources could not be carried out without applying that policy. Mahmud II determinedly attempted to remove notables peacefully, when necessary, by force. He did not replace the notables in Anatolia and Balkans when they died, and he instead appointed central agents to take over their tax collection. As a result of these policies, Mahmud II was able to bring many localities in Rumelia and the Balkans under his direct control by 1820. Important Anatolian notables, such as the Çapanoğlus and the Karaosmanoğlus, were also eliminated as a result of the state policies combining negotiations, ruse, and force. Controlling and eliminating the notables in Arab provinces was harder and took longer. They were not brought under the state control until the appointment of Mithat Paşa as governor to the Iraqi and Syrian provinces in the second half of the 19th century.⁸⁶²

Ayans in Antakya

Kara Ibrahim Ağa and his son, Fethullah Ağa, were the most important ayans in Antakya in the 18th century. Their local recognition, military power, and efforts in maintaining order and repressing banditry in the region distinguished them from other local notables. The careers of Kara Ibrahim Ağa and Fethullah Ağa signify two features of the establishment of this dynasty: first, their participation into the military class with the rank of janissary *serdar*, *voyvoda*, and *mütesellim*, and second, obtaining the right to collect taxes from the districts of Antakya as

⁸⁶¹ Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, 65.

⁸⁶² Barkey, *Empire of Difference. The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, 274.

muhassıls. Through their appointment to various positions in the local administration, their domination over petty notables and bandits was legitimized by the Ottoman state. However, there were several complaints on both Ibrahim Ağa and his son, such as the extraction of excessive taxes, involvement in corruption, and the oppression of the local population, which reached the central administration in Istanbul.

Our knowledge of Kara Ibrahim Ağa's life prior to the early 1740s is very limited. There are a few mentions of him in Ottoman documents, but these available materials do not provide any details on his early activities. His earliest recognition by the state as an influential local notable was in 1742 when he was asked to join the campaign with other Anatolian ayans against Nadirsah's army in Iran.⁸⁶³ The wars on the eastern and western fronts in the 18th century were major turning points in the history of the ayans with regard to their military capability. The state faced two major difficulties, which were the ineffectiveness of the janissaries as a fighting unit and the demise of the *timar* system. These problems forced the state to recruit soldiers from the provinces. Ayans had the right to recruit and lead their troops in battles. In 1743, the Ottoman state had difficulty raising enough troops to face the Iranians. The sultan issued an order requiring the provincial governors and ayans to produce the promised number of troops. In that order, the ayan of Antakya, Kara Ibrahim Ağa, was demanded both to provide 60 soldiers for the campaign and to lead his troops as *serdenceği ağası*⁸⁶⁴ during the campaign.⁸⁶⁵ Supplying the state with soldiers to fight in the wars shifted Kara İbrahim Ağa's role from merely a local

⁸⁶³ A.Ş.S., Nr. 3, s. 92/119.

⁸⁶⁴ *Serdenceğtis* were special assault commandos, who formed the front offensive line of the army of the Ottoman Empire. This term referred to *akıncıs* raider until the 16th century. After the 16th century, the *serdenceği* became one of the part of janissary units which consisted of voluntary soldiers who were sent to fight at the up front in the campaigns.

⁸⁶⁵ A.Ş.S., Nr. 3, s. 92/119.

administrative and tax collecting one to a prestigious military role.⁸⁶⁶ His participation in the war effort gave him and his family legitimacy and extensive power over other ayans in Antakya, and played a role in establishing Ibrahim Ağa and his family as one of the leading powers in the district of Antakya. In addition, Kara Ibrahim Ağa was elevated to the rank of *turnaci başı* (“crane-keeper”: commander of the sixty-eighth Janissary regiment), and later to janissary *serdar* of Antakya.

The establishment of janissary garrisons in provinces with the purpose of preventing feudal uprisings, and strengthening the sultan’s authority in provinces became a common policy after the 16th century. Janissaries were settled at the center of each city. The number of janissaries in the provinces dramatically increased after the 16th century, and their commanders were to be known as *yeniçeri serdari*.⁸⁶⁷ The *yeniçeri serdari* was a representative of the sultan in the provinces, and he was responsible only to him.⁸⁶⁸ The position of janissary *serdar* became closely tied to the ayans themselves over the course of the 18th century. Since the ayans gained power and influence within their community, they were appointed as *serdar* of their region, which made them the de facto military leaders of the district. The personal militias of the ayans constituted the most powerful military force in the provinces, apart from the imperial army by the mid-18th century.⁸⁶⁹ Ibrahim Ağa, who enjoyed local recognition, powerful personal militias, and close relations with the provincial and central administration, was appointed as janissary

⁸⁶⁶ Yücel Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ayanlık*, (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 1994), 156.

⁸⁶⁷ Cafer Ciftci, “Osmanlı Taşrasında Yeniçerilerin Varlığı ve Askerlik Dışı Faaliyetleri”, *Journal of the Center for Ottoman Studies*, 26, (Spring 2010), 29-30.

⁸⁶⁸ Mücteba İlgürel, “Yeniçeriler”, *IA*, c. 13, Istanbul, (1993), 385-395.

⁸⁶⁹ Zens, "The Ayanlık and Pasvanoğlu Osman Paşa of Vidin in the Age of Ottoman Social Change, 1791-1815", 57.

serdar of the district of Antakya. The earliest document indicating that he served as janissary *serdar* goes back to 1755. In this document, he was asked to help the state to fight against banditry.⁸⁷⁰

Unable to deal with the banditry problem itself, the state was forced to ask for the assistance of the powerful notables in the provinces. In the case of Antakya, Ibrahim Ağa was requested to maintain security by fighting against tribes involved in banditry. It was the ayans, acting as janissary *serdars*, who were ultimately responsible for fighting the bandits who were disrupting trade, agriculture, the movement of supplies to troops, and the hajj route, which passed through the district of Antakya. In the orders sent to Ibrahim Ağa in 1755, the central government ordered him to stop banditry activities of the tribe of Reyhanlı⁸⁷¹, which had been settled by the state in the north east of the district. Members of the tribe carried out several raids on the inhabitants of the district, pillaged their properties, and attacked and plundered pilgrims who were passing through Antakya to visit the Holy Lands.⁸⁷² The first record which indicates the Reyhanlı tribe's involvement in banditry in the period under discussion is dated 1755; however, they were involved in similar activities before the mentioned year. Even though 1755 was not a milestone in their banditry activities, it was important because that was when the state

⁸⁷⁰ A.Ş.S., Nr. 6, s. 31/33, 33-35.

⁸⁷¹ The Reyhanlı tribe were settled in Rakka and around Aleppo by the central government. The government wanted to sedantirize the tribe in order to control their activities, add them to the tax system, and make use of them in the military. In consequence of the mutual agreement, the tribe was settled in plain of Amik, which was on the northeast of the district of Antakya in the 18th century. See; Cevdet Türkay, *Başbakanlık Arşiv Belgelerine Göre Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Oymak, Aşiret ve Cemaatler*. (Istanbul: Isaret Yayınları, 2001), p. 541. On sedentarization of tribes and nomads see; Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*. (Indiana University Uralic and Atlantic Series, 144. Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1983), 54-66.

⁸⁷² A.Ş.S., Nr. 6, s. 31/33, 33-35.

put in more effort to fight against them. As janissary *serdar* of Antakya, Ibrahim Ağa was assigned the duty of preventing the attacks of the tribe members on dwellers of the city, and maintaining security and order both in the city and along the pilgrimage route. In the order, he was asked to help the *voyvoda* and the *naib* of Antakya in their effort to control the tribe. He was also ordered to help the janissaries block the bridge of Demirköprü, which was one of the main connections between the city and the plain of Amik.⁸⁷³ However, his efforts were not sufficient to prevent banditry in the city which led to his dismissal from that position at the end of 1755.

Being a prominent and respected figure in society, and winning the favor of population enhanced the authority of Ibrahim Ağa in the district of Antakya. In response to his increasing influence in the district, the state appointed him to the posts of janissary *zabıtı* (officer) in 1761 and janissary *serdar* again in 1763.⁸⁷⁴ The most significant post that he was assigned to was *voyvoda* of Antakya. He was appointed to that post in 1762, and served for around a year.⁸⁷⁵ By obtaining that position, Ibrahim Ağa was converted into a leading local notable who rose in his career as a financial and administrative official in the district of Antakya. *Ayans* who were appointed to the post of *voyvoda* obtained medium-size tax farms. In the case of Ibrahim Ağa, he was assigned as a tax-farmer of the villages of Kozluca and Cidaliye.⁸⁷⁶ As the serving *voyvoda* of Antakya, he was responsible for collecting taxes, maintaining order, fighting bandits, providing materials for campaigns, protecting foreign merchants, arresting criminals, and hosting state officials. In an order sent in 1762, the governor of the province of Aleppo ordered Ibrahim Ağa to collect the *avariz* tax as soon as possible in the district of Antakya. As part of their tax

⁸⁷³ A.Ş.S., Nr. 6, s. 31/33.

⁸⁷⁴ A.Ş.S., Nr. 7, s. 7/19.

⁸⁷⁵ A.Ş.S., Nr. 7, s. 61/107.

⁸⁷⁶ A.Ş.S., Nr. 7, s. 69/121.

collecting duties, the *voyvodas* were required to safeguard the region and its economic resources from bandits. For instance, in 1762, the governor of Aleppo asked Ibrahim Ağa for the protection of the European merchants whose caravans were about to be attacked by bandits around Alexandretta. In the letter sent to the governor of Aleppo by the European consuls that resided in Aleppo, the European councilors required the assistance of the governor as they had been informed that the caravans that were going from Aleppo to the port of Alexandretta would be attacked around Antakya by bandits. Due to that threat, the caravans could not leave Antakya. After the evaluation of the request made by the European consuls in Aleppo, the governor asked Ibrahim Ağa to safeguard the route of the caravans and to assign some guards for the protection of the caravans until they reached their destination.⁸⁷⁷

The Ottoman Empire relied on the ayans to maintain order in the provinces; however, as I mentioned earlier, whenever they reached to sufficient power and local recognition to threaten the central government or ignore decrees sent from the capital, the central government took action either to eliminate their power or to force them to retreat. The state usually applied three policies to deal with the rebelling local forces: sending the central army against them, which seemed to be a difficult alternative due to the cost; making a compromise and incorporating them into the administration system; and replacing the threatening notable with another competing local notable.⁸⁷⁸ In the district of Antakya, the state created a rivalry between two powerful ayans in order to prevent the emergence of a powerful dynastic ayan family in the region. The two powerful ayans, Şerafeddin Ağa and Ibrahim Ağa, were pitted against each other in several

⁸⁷⁷ A.Ş.S., Nr. 7, s. 114/189.

⁸⁷⁸ Şahin, "The Rise and Fall of an Ayan Family in Eighteen Century Anatolia: The Caniklizades (1737-1808)", 26-27.

occasions. The posts of janissary *serdar* and *voyvoda* were dominated by these two individuals between 1750 and 1765, and they tried to consolidate their power through these posts in the district of Antakya. As the central government was well aware of the intentions of these ayans, their period of office was deliberately limited to one year. Since neither Ibrahim Ağa and Şerafeddin Ağa served for more than a year in the positions of janissary *serdar* and *voyvoda*, the limited period of tenure prevented both of them from accumulating sufficient power to threaten central authority in the district of Antakya.

The competition between Ibrahim Ağa and Şerafeddin Ağa was a product of state policies as well as local competition and manipulation. During the tenure of Ibrahim Ağa as janissary *serdar* and *voyvoda*, disagreements and chaos were created among dwellers of Antakya by the provocations of Şerafeddin Ağa. Ibrahim Ağa sent several petitions pointing out that the activities of Şerafeddin Ağa and his supporters were inciting the local population to create chaos against the authorities in the district, and they also ignored orders sent by the provincial governor of Aleppo or the sultan.⁸⁷⁹ As a response to these complaints, the sultan issued a *ferman*, ordering other ayans to stop inciting the population to rebellion and disobeying Ibrahim Ağa.⁸⁸⁰ Even though Şerafeddin Ağa and his supporters were sentenced to imprisonment in a castle (kal'abend), their punishments were not implemented for years. However, the state decided to sentence Şerafeddin Ağa for his previous charges in 1763 when Ibrahim Ağa was reappointed as janissary *serdar* of Antakya. The first order sent to Ibrahim Ağa by the central government demanded that Ibrahim Ağa to capture Şerafeddin Ağa and bring the latter to justice as soon as

⁸⁷⁹ A.Ş.S., Nr. 7, s. 147/239.

⁸⁸⁰ A.Ş.S., Nr.8, s.35/51; Tatar, "8 Numaralı Antakya Şer'iye Sicili, 1178-1179/1764-1765," 143.

possible for his imprisonment in the castle of Aleppo.⁸⁸¹ This order that demanded the capturing of Şerafeddin Ağa and bringing him to justice by Ibrahim Ağa was a part of the state's attempts to fuel the rivalry between these powerful local figures.

Şerafeddin Ağa was eventually pardoned by the central government, and was released after a few months of imprisonment. Being pardoned by the state can be seen as a sign that Şerafeddin Ağa was more than a mere brigand who caused disruption and turmoil in the region around Antakya, but rather was a local figure of some importance, an ayan. Şerafeddin Ağa tried to establish close relations with the state, which led to his appointment as *voyvoda* of Antakya in 1765.⁸⁸² However, he had no intention of terminating his unlawful activities. Following his pardon by the sultan and his appointment as a *voyvoda*, Şerafeddin Ağa tried to consolidate his position by killing off the enemies of his house, especially those who had any involvement in his imprisonment in 1763. Şerafeddin Ağa sent a group of armed bandits to surround Ibrahim Ağa's house in Antakya.

The bandit group, which consisted of around 20 people, raided Ibrahim Ağa's house, and killed him and some of his guests on August 25, 1765. According to the investigation made on his house, Ibrahim Ağa was killed as a result of both bullet and stab wounds. The bandits also killed some of the guests, including coffeehouse owner Ömer ibn-i Abdullah and his relative Mahmud bin Abdi, Çukadar Mehmed who was an official in the court of Aleppo, and injured two persons, Arab Bilal bin Abdulrahim who was a resident of Antakya and Ibrahim Ağa's slave,

⁸⁸¹ A.Ş.S., Nr. 7, s. 169/305.

⁸⁸² A.Ş.S., Nr. 8, s. 85/114.

Şehriban Bint-i Abdurrahman.⁸⁸³ In addition, the bandits also pillaged the house, and took all the valuable materials and cash with them.⁸⁸⁴

The state sent several orders to officials of the district of Antakya, including the *voyvoda* Şerafeddin Ağa, to investigate the persons behind the murder of Ibrahim Ağa and his guests, and urged them to take it very seriously. The provincial government also assigned *Seksoncibaşı* Ömer Ağa as *mübaşir* (agent) to investigate the murder. However, both Mehmed Paşa, the governor of the province of Aleppo, and Ömer Ağa were aware of the facts that the murder was committed two months following the appointment of Şerafeddin Ağa as a *voyvoda* of Antakya, and that he had desired to avenge his imprisonment in 1763. Therefore, Şerafeddin Ağa was dismissed from his position and sent to prison even before the murder investigation was concluded. In the end of the investigation it was concluded that the bandits, who were 32 people, were abetted by Şerafeddin Ağa.⁸⁸⁵

Exile, imprisonment, and execution were the most common methods for the Ottoman rulers to punish any local notables who were involved in crime and corruption, or resisted the central administration. As mentioned earlier, Şerafeddin Ağa was involved in several of these

⁸⁸³ A.Ş.S., Nr. 8, s. 84/113.

⁸⁸⁴ A.Ş.S., Nr. 8, s. 84/113.

⁸⁸⁵ "...Medine-i Antakya sükkânından olup a'yandan ve ocağın mu'teber ihtiyar zabitanından Turnacıbaşı Ibrahim hanedan olup misafireten hanesinde it'am ta'am iderken Antakya sakinlerinden Turnacıbaşı Şerafeddin Ağa ve Kürd Müsli dinmekle ma'ruf vesair ma'lumu'l esami mukassidler garaz-i fasidelerini icra kasdiyla ba'zi erazil ve eskiya ile yek-dil ve yek-cihet olup 'alenen ba'de'l-'asr hanesinde basup mezbur Ibrahim'i alet-i cariha ile katl ve pare pare misafirlerinin ba'zilarını daha helak ve ba'zısını mecruh ve emval ve eşyalarını nehb-i garet iyleyüp..." ("...being a resident of Antakya, belonged to ayan and senior of janissary unit, Turnacıbaşı Şerafeddin Ağa, who collaborated with Kurd Müsli and his brigands whose names were unknown yet, attacked to Ibrahim Ağa who was having a dinner with his guests at his house in the evening, and killed Ibrahim Ağa with sharp items, killed and injured some of the guests, and pillaged some of his and his guests materials..."). A.Ş.S., Nr. 8, s. 102/140

activities, such as inciting people against local administrators and ignoring the sultan's orders, thus leading to his imprisonment in the castle of Aleppo. The sultan gave him a second chance by pardoning and appointing him to a significant position in the administration of the district, however; Şerafeddin Ağa had a strong desire to seek revenge, regardless of the possible severe consequences to his action. In the document that was sent to the judge of Antakya, it was indicated that Şerafeddin Ağa posed a threat to the order of the district of Antakya, and that it was not possible to restore order so long as he was alive. That is why, the state ordered his execution.⁸⁸⁶ The murder of Ibrahim Ağa resulted in the execution of Şerafeddin Ağa in 1765.

Following the death of Ibrahim Ağa, his son Fethullah Ağa inherited his wealth and reputation. As ayan of Antakya, Fethullah Ağa served not only as *mültezim* by holding tax-farm rights in several areas in the district of Antakya, but also as janissary *serdar* and *voyvoda* between 1763-1782. Being a son of an ayan who had gained the confidence of the state was a significant factor in his appointment to important positions in the district's administration.

The tax-farms held by Fethullah Ağa constitute an example of a practice known as chain tax-farming in the literature. It is a well-known fact that the majority of the life-term tax farms, *malikanes*, were held by higher bureaucratic and military officials, provincial administrators, and high-level ulema in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century. These high-ranking officials were mostly absentee tax-farmers and transferred tax collection rights to subcontractors, *mültezims* whom they chose among notables. In the case of the tax-farm of the district of Antakya, some of the *malikane* holders sub-farmed this revenue source to Fethullah Ağa, who was the most powerful ayan in the district. He was a subcontractor of several tax-farmers, which gave him the

⁸⁸⁶ B.O.A, HAT, 8-261.

right to collect taxes in the district of Antakya and other districts. For instance, he was assigned to collect the tithe, *oşür*, in the sub-districts of Kuseyr, Cebel-i Akra, and Süveydiye as well as in Maarettin and Misrin which were located around Idlip (in Syria) and did not belong to the district of Antakya.⁸⁸⁷ Being the sub-contractor of tax-farms beyond his district indicated that Fethullah Ağa was a wealthy and influential person both at the local and regional level.

Fethullah Ağa used his influence to enhance his wealth and power. Several complaints which blamed him for extracting excessive taxes, peculating money, and failing to send tax revenues to the tax-farmers or the state treasury were sent to both local and provincial courts and to Istanbul. According to a petition sent to central government, Mehmed Said, who held the tax-farm rights of the village of Büyükburç in Kuseyr, which was a sub-district of Antakya, assigned Fethullah Ağa for collection taxes. However, Fethullah Ağa did not deliver the tax revenues of the village to Mehmed Said Bey even though he had collected the taxes.⁸⁸⁸ In another order sent to the court of Antakya in 1781, it was stated that the delivered amount of the tax revenues of the *mukataa* of Maarettin-Misrin was 1050 *guruş* less than the pre-determined amount. In the order, it was stated that, if the deficits occurred because the inhabitants did not pay the requested tax, the amount must be collected and sent by Fethullah Ağa as soon as possible. However, if the money was seized by Fethullah Ağa, the provincial government would assign a *mübaşir* to get the amount from him. If Fethullah Ağa resisted submitting the money, the *mübaşir* was asked to take no action, but to inform the central administration in Istanbul.⁸⁸⁹

⁸⁸⁷ B.O.A, Haleb Ahkam Defteri, Nr. 4, s. 49/178, B.O.A, Haleb Ahkam Defteri, Nr. 4, s. 43/155.

⁸⁸⁸ B.O.A, D. BŞM., MHF, Nr. 69/59.

⁸⁸⁹ B.O.A, Haleb Ahkam Defteri, Nr. 4, s. 4/155.

Fethullah Ağa followed his father's footsteps in terms of administrative career. He served as janissary *serdar* between 1763 and 1765, and again between 1765 and 1777, and *voyvoda* between 1775 and 1776. Because he was assigned the two important positions in the district administration, *voyvoda* and janissary *serdar*, he was the most powerful and influential person both in terms of administrative and economic power in the district of Antakya. As janissary *serdar*, the most important task assigned to him was the investigation of his father's murder by Şerafettin Ağa in 1765. In an order sent to him by the council of Aleppo, he was requested to investigate his father's murder and sent a detailed report indicating every step of the murder. In the report that was sent to the council of Aleppo, he explains the murder by saying a bandit group, consisting of 20 persons, attacked his father's house, and killed him by shooting him in the right and left part of his waist, and by stabbing him in his shoulders, upper side of his face, and his head. He also provided details of how the other guests were killed or injured, and the items that were stolen from his father's house by the bandits.⁸⁹⁰

As the janissary *serdar* of the district of Antakya, he was assigned the task of rounding up bandits who were involved in his fathers' murder. The name of the bandits who were involved in the murder were sent to the administrators of the district of Antakya with an imperial order, and it was indicated that, while some of these murderers were found and arrested, some of them fled. All the administrators of the district, including the janissary *serdar*, the *voyvoda*, *müftis*, and other military officials as well as notables, were ordered to show their best efforts to catch the murderers who fled. Since these bandits had co-operated with Şerafeddin Ağa, another influential ayan in the district of Antakya, the state was very skeptical about other ayans who had

⁸⁹⁰ A.Ş.S., Nr. 8, s. 84/112

had close relations with Şerafeddin Ağa. In an effort to prevent other ayans and sheiks in the district from protecting or hiding the murderers, the state issued a decree to warn these people not to help or protect anyone involved in the murder of Ibrahim Ağa. According to the decree, anyone who attempted to protect the murderers by either hiding them or not reporting the place in which they hid would be treated as a traitor who rebelled against the state order, and they would not be excused by the state.⁸⁹¹ As it is understood from the other documents, all the bandits who took part in the murder of Ibrahim Ağa were captured and punished, which showed that local notables and sheikhs of Antakya preferred to be loyal to the state by not helping the murderers.

In addition to capturing the bandits who murdered his father, Fethullah Ağa was ordered to fight against tribal banditry which was a significant threat for the security and order in the district. Tribal banditry was an important problem for the Ottoman Empire between the 15th and 18th centuries. The state had to develop several policies and strategies in order to control its large tribal population. Some of these strategies consisted of transforming or destroying the existing structure of tribes through military force or exile, integrating leaders tribe members into the Ottoman administrative system, or integrating tribes into the administrative structures by providing them with incentives, such as trade subsidies and land allocation.⁸⁹² As it can be seen, the first strategy is coercive while the others depended on mediation, which included the limited use of coercion.

⁸⁹¹ A.Ş.S., Nr. 8, s. 92/131, 93/132.

⁸⁹² Yonca Köksal, "Coercion and Mediation: Centralization and Sedentarization of Tribes in the Ottoman Empire." *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 3, (May 2006), 474-475.

Forced exile and the direct use of coercion were the most commonly used policies to control tribes in the 15th and 16th centuries. During these centuries, the rebellious tribes and convicts were exiled to newly conquered lands to eliminate local unrest and populate new lands. This policy was mostly accomplished through coercion, even though in some cases the state offered them incentives such as tax exemption to encourage these tribes to move to other regions. However, as the conquest of new lands was no longer possible in the 17th and 18th centuries, tribal re-settlement had to be oriented internally. In addition, as war defeats, fiscal crises, and continuous unrests in several regions in the Empire weakened the control of the central administration over tribes, some of them became bandits and robbers, which threatened security and order in the provinces. The Empire attempted to apply the policy of sending tribes into exile in distant provinces, but the central administration was not powerful enough to keep the tribes in exile. Most of them were able to return to their previous locations within a few years.⁸⁹³

Tribal banditry was the most common form of banditry in the district of Antakya in the 18th century. The socio-political and military power of tribes made them prominent in banditry. The raids of bandits, especially members of the Reyhanlı tribe, threatened the social and economic life of the district of Antakya. They rebelled against the Ottoman authority by attacking Ottoman soldiers and merchant's caravans, threatening the pilgrimage route, pillaging villages, and attacking people traveling from either Aleppo or villages to Antakya. In the order sent to Fethullah Ağa in 1775, it is stated that the central administration assigned the task of controlling the Reyhanlı tribe to Kethüda Es-seyyid Mustafa Ağa. However, members of the tribes resisted Mustafa Ağa. As the forces under the command of Mustafa Ağa were not adequate

⁸⁹³ Ibid., 475.

to break the resistance of the tribe, the central administration ordered Fethullah Ağa to supply munitions and 1500 soldiers to help Mustafa Ağa break the resistance of the Reyhanlı tribe.⁸⁹⁴ With the support of soldiers sent by Fethullah Ağa, the resistance of the tribe was broken. The Ottoman troops were not strong enough to force the Reyhanlı tribe, which was considered rebellious, to leave the region, but they attempted to at least limit their movement in the district of Antakya. In that case, the state applied the strategy of direct use of pressure in order to control the Reyhanlı tribe.

During his service as janissary *serdar* and *voyvoda*, Fethullah Ağa was assigned the job of collecting the *avarız*, *imdad-ı hazeriyye*, and *imdad-ı seferiyye*. In many cases, Fethullah Ağa assigned the duty of tax collection by *mültezims*, who obtained tax-collection rights of the region. As the state became aware of abusiveness and illegality, it warned the tax collectors to follow regulations, take into consideration the condition of poor people, and deliver the amount on time to Ahmet Izzet Paşa.⁸⁹⁵ The state charged Fethullah Ağa in the case of possible corruption and illegality made by the *mütesellims* during tax collection process. For instance, Fethullah Ağa received a warning from the governor of Aleppo when he was late to submit the tax revenues to said governor. In that order, he was required to fulfill his responsibilities more seriously, and asked to send the pre-determined tax amounts as soon as possible to the province of Aleppo through a *mübaşir*.⁸⁹⁶

As janissary *serdar* of the district, Fethullah Ağa was responsible for supplying food and provisions to inhabitants of the city, especially during the fasting season, as well as high ranking

⁸⁹⁴ A.Ş.S., Nr. 9, s. 15/28.

⁸⁹⁵ A.Ş.S., Nr. 9, s. 31/55.

⁸⁹⁶ A.Ş.S., Nr. 9, s. 37/68.

officials visiting the district. Per his orders; he was required to supply provisions and livestock for the army that would meet their need for five days. In each case, the expenses of the materials provided by the janissary *serdar* would be refunded from the treasury of the province of Aleppo.⁸⁹⁷ In some cases, the officials borrowed money from wealthy people of the district in order to supply the necessary goods to dwellers of their districts. As janissary *serdar* of Antakya, Fethullah Ağa borrowed 80,000 *guruş* from Zahir Ali for that purpose, but he would not provide any supplies which ended up sending several complaints to the central government on that issue. After the investigation made by the officials sent by the central government, it came to light that Fethullah Ağa peculated 80,000 *guruş* which was sent to him to supply the necessary goods to inhabitants of Antakya before the month of Ramadan. As a result of the peculation, the central administration decided to imprison him in the castle of Birecik. Fethullah Ağa was one of the most influential people both as a notable and administrator in the district of Antakya, and imprisoning him in another city might create chaos among inhabitants, and threaten the security and order in the district of Antakya. In the letter, which was sent to the council of Aleppo right before the enforcement of the punishment, it was stated that Fethullah Ağa had been a loyal servant of the state for years, and that he had administered the district peacefully, provided security, and maintained order. The letter continues by stating that if he was sent to prison in Birecik, the district of Antakya would perish.⁸⁹⁸ Fethullah Ağa was pardoned by the state on the condition that he would pay 80,000 *guruş* and resign from his position. This case indicates that having the support of the local population and lesser notables and having military power

⁸⁹⁷ A.Ş.S., Nr. 9, s. 17/30.

⁸⁹⁸ A.Ş.S., Nr. 9, s. 107/167; A.Ş.S., Nr. 9, s. 83/134.

independent of the central government forced the state to negotiate with these powerful local powers through the 18th century.

Ayans as Provincial Bandits

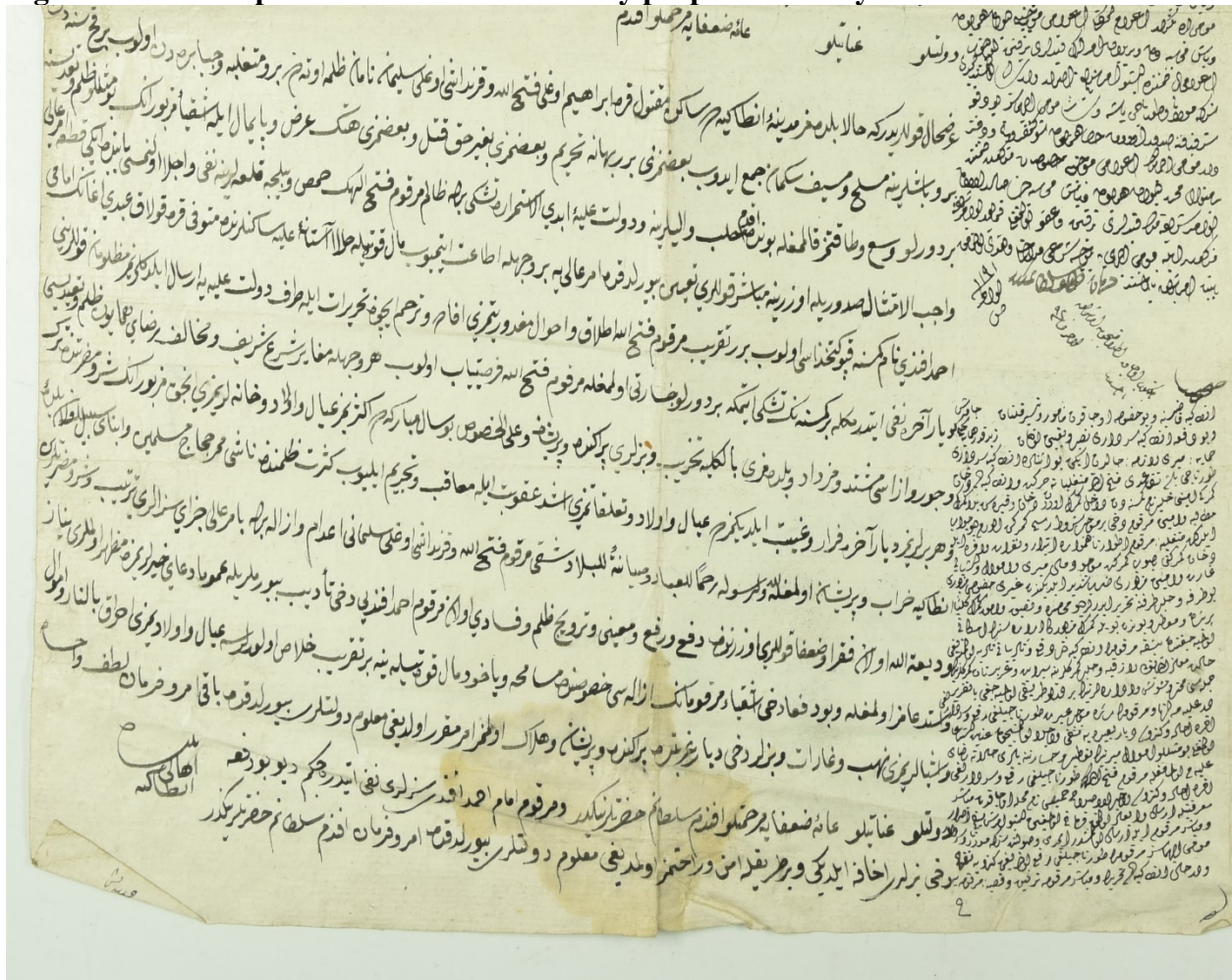
The ayans were seen as local heroes and oppressors at the same time. As the available information on ayans was predominantly taken from chronicles written by the court's official historians or from court records and imperial decrees whereby most of them were responses to injustices committed by an ayan, historiography has been inclined against the ayans, and describes them as opponents of reforms, enemies of the state, or, simply put, rebels. It is difficult to object to these claims brought against the ayans; however, it is important to analyze the relationship, which existed between the ayans and the local population that they served. Some of the ayans, like Pazvantoğlu, Tepedelenli Ali of Janina in the Balkans and the Karaosmanoğlu family of Saruhan in Anatolia were seriously involved in developing the infrastructure or cultural heritage of their region by building charities, mosques, hospitals, and schools.⁸⁹⁹ Therefore, they won the public's favor. If an ayan family wanted to extend their family power beyond a generation or two, they had to present the community with physical improvements; otherwise, they would risk losing the trust and support of the local people. On the other hand, there were several ayans, which exactly fit the state's description of an ayan. Fethullah Ağa, who served as an ayan in Antakya from 1763 until his death, had been a loyal servant of the state until 1776, but after that time his status was changed from 'officially recognized ayan' to 'rebellious ayan' when he revolted against the central administration by oppressing the local population, ignoring the state's orders, and being involved in corruption and banditry.

⁸⁹⁹ Zens, "The Ayanlık and Pasvanoğlu Osman Paşa of Vidin in the Age of Ottoman Social Change, 1791-1815", 86-87.

Even though Fethullah Ağa had been a loyal servant of the state, he had a hidden anger toward the Ottoman administration due to his father's murder. Before the murder, Ibrahim Ağa had sent several letters both to the provincial and central administration to inform them of the threats that had been posed to his father by his opponents. However, the officials paid no attention to these threats, and they did not assign anybody to investigate the people who had threatened Ibrahim Ağa. In addition, Ibrahim Ağa's major opponent Şerafeddin Ağa, who incited the local population against Ibrahim Ağa, was released from prison, and appointed to the position of *voyvoda*. When Şerafettin Ağa and his bandits murdered his father, Fethullah Ağa blamed the state as it did not take any measures to protect his father even though he was openly threatened by his opponents. This negligence created a desire within Fethullah Ağa to avenge his father's death.

In the court records of Antakya, the first complaint made against Fethullah Ağa was in 1776 when he peculated 80,000 *guruş*. However, he was pardoned by the central administration as he was considered an important element for maintaining order in the district of Antakya. The pardon of Fethullah Ağa created sadness and disappointment among the dwellers of the district of Antakya since they had suffered from injustice and oppression under him, and they could not apply to the court as they were threatened by him against taking legal action. In addition, many of the dwellers who experienced oppression under Fethullah Ağa considered that the court would give a decision in favor of him as he was a master in manipulating cases due to his close relations with judges and local administrators. Dwellers of the district of Antakya had no choice but to send a petition directly to Istanbul to complain of oppression under Fethullah Ağa.

Figure 6.1. The petition sent to the sultan by people of Antakya



In the petition sent to Istanbul with the signature of the dwellers of Antakya (ahali-yi Antakya), it was claimed that Fethullah Ağa was involved in various illegal activities such as killing and injuring people, extracting excessive taxes, threatening local people, and repudiating his debts, etc. However, no news of these activities had reached Istanbul as some of the provincial judges and administrators as well as officials from the central administration either manipulated the cases or defended Fethullah Ağa in Istanbul by claiming that all these accusations were slander. To support their claims, the dwellers of Antakya provided the name of one of the officials in Istanbul, Kapı Kethüdası Ahmed Efendi, who had very close ties with

Fethullah Ağa, and took an active role in his pardon by the central government. This petition also stated that the officials received bribes to support and protect him. To reimburse the money he used as a bribe, he collected extra money by force from the dwellers of the district of Antakya. When some of the dwellers applied to the local and provincial courts to complain of the illegal practices of Fethullah Ağa, they were threatened with exile (*sizleri sürgün ettireceğim*) by Kapı Kethüdası Ahmed Efendi, which discouraged them from applying to the court or complaining to the central government. The people of Antakya expressed their sadness due to the pardon of Fethullah Ağa by Istanbul, which was an encouragement for him to further oppress the people of the city. In the end of the petition, they demanded from the sultan the execution of Fethullah Ağa and his nephew, Süleyman Ağa.⁹⁰⁰

Fethullah Ağa was informed by the officials about the petition, and was advised to apologize for his actions. His immediate action following hearing about the complaints was to apologize to the *vezir-i azam* (grand vizier) and local and provincial judges, and to ask to be pardoned. In addition, he negotiated with the judges of Damascus and Antakya in order to get their support. After he obtained the support of the *kadıs*, he apologized to some individuals who were powerful and influential in Istanbul, namely Konevi Seyyid Ibrahim Efendi, Bağdadi Seyyid Ömer Efendi, and some high-ranking officials who stopped in Antakya on their way to Holy places for a pilgrimage, and promised them he would not be involved in any kind of illegal activities and would be loyal to the state and its orders. Lastly, by using his economic and political power, he forced poor people to withdraw the cases against him. After getting support from these influential people and forcing some of the complainants to give up their cases, the

⁹⁰⁰ B.O.A, Cevdet Dahiliye, Nr. 5521/1-2.

situation turned in Fethullah Ağa's favor. Under the influence of these people, the central administration disregarded the execution request of the people of Antakya, and pardoned Fethullah Ağa.⁹⁰¹

The pardon of Fethullah Ağa by the central government disappointed the people of Antakya. As a response, they sent another petition to the sultan to express their disappointment, and to point to the people who had helped Fethullah Ağa, and to whom Fethullah Ağa apologized. In addition, they explain in details the pressure that was applied on them by Fethullah Ağa to dissuade them from their complaints. In the petition, they emphasize that Fethullah Ağa was supported and protected by several high-ranking officials due to his wealth, but there was nobody, but God and secondly the sultan, from whom the poor people of Antakya could demand protection and support.⁹⁰² They desired again that the sultan give a decision in their favor by executing Fethullah Ağa who ignored state decrees, threatened and oppressed the local population, bribed the officials, and was also involved in banditry. It is clear that even though the petition was sent to Istanbul in 1777, the illegal activities of Fethullah Ağa had begun earlier. However, they did not complain about him because he threatened those who were about to attempt to apply to the court with economic sanctions and death.

The ayans played an important role in the banditry problem, either by suppressing or supporting it. Fethullah Ağa assisted the state to fight against tribes and bandits who were a

⁹⁰¹ Ülkü Tecimen, “Hacı Fethullah Ağa ve Ailesi.” (Isparta: Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation), 97-98.

⁹⁰² “...mezburanın kuvve-i maliyesi kemalinde olduğundan sahibi çok olup ve fukara kulları bî-kes ve bî-sahib olmağla evvel-’Allah Gayur Hazretlerinden ve saniyen şevketlü kudretlü padisahi sahibi adalet hazretlerinden gayri sikayet ve sikayet-i istirham idecek kimesnemiz olmayup ancak merd-i ‘inayet ve merhamet cenab-I sahanelerine münhasır olmagin...” B.O.A, Cevdet Dahiliye, Nr. 5521/2. Also see Tecimen, “Hacı Fethullah Ağa ve Ailesi”, 98.

threat to security and order until 1777. Following his dismissal from his post, Fethullah Ağa began to support bandits in the district of Antakya. Fethullah Ağa, like many other ayans in Anatolia and the Balkans, used bandits to pillage villages and towns, which served as a significant source of income for him. In order to protect themselves from these attacks, the people either shifted their allegiance to another ayan, or asked for help from the sultan. In the case of Antakya, people asked for help from the sultan and wanted the execution of Fethullah Ağa. However, with the influence of high ranking officials in Istanbul and the province of Aleppo, the state did not punish Fethullah Ağa, which encouraged him to carry out more raids to increase his wealth, put more pressure on the local population, and diminish the power of the rival ayans in the region.

Ayans in the 18th century assembled large *sekban-levend* forces which formed their personal militia. Ayans who were loyal to the state used these militias to protect their region from bandits, but rebellious ayans used them to carry out raids on villages and threaten people. In an order sent to the governor of Aleppo in 1781, it was stated that Fethullah Ağa assembled a *sekban-levend* unit.⁹⁰³ Fethullah Ağa used his militias to oppress the local people. His militias attacked and pillaged several villages, killed and injured several people, threatened the pilgrimage route, and forced some of the villagers to desert their lands between 1776 and 1781.⁹⁰⁴ The central government urged the governor of Aleppo and the *kadı* of Antakya to investigate the illicit activities of Fethullah Ağa, and to take action for the protection of the inhabitants of the district of Antakya.

⁹⁰³ B.O.A, Halep Ahkam Defteri, Nr. 4, s. 36/126.

⁹⁰⁴ B.O.A, Halep Ahkam Defteri, Nr. 4, s. 36/126, B.O.A, Halep Ahkam Defteri, Nr. 4, s. 32/110.

In addition to killing people and raiding villages, there were some other complaints against him in the courts of Aleppo and Antakya. For instance, in the complaint sent to the *kadı* of Antakya and governor of Aleppo, it was claimed that Fethullah Ağa forcibly seized the lands, estates, and farm, which were located in the district of Antakya, of Hacı Abdülhamid Efendi who lived in the district of Sadik belonging to the province of Aleppo. Abdülhamid Efendi applied to the court in order to take back the lands illegally confiscated by Fethullah Ağa. The court gave a decision in favor of Abdülhamid Efendi, and ordered Fethullah Ağa to return these lands back to their owner, and not to resist the court decision.⁹⁰⁵ In another case regarding Fethullah Ağa, El-hac Mir Tahir applied to the court by claiming that he had given 1000 *guruş* as a loan to Fethullah Ağa in 1778. When he asked him to repay his loan, Fethullah Ağa refused to give him the amount that he had borrowed. Tahir asked the court to urge Fethullah Ağa to repay the sum back to him. Without asking for any evidence, the court decided in favor of Tahir, and ordered the collection of the whole amount from Fethullah Ağa in 1781.⁹⁰⁶

In another case, Fethullah Ağa was accused of illicitly seizing the tithe (*öşür*) crops of the villages of Keseb, Urur, and some other villages. The tax-farming rights of these villages were obtained by two persons, both named Mehmed Said. However, Fethullah Ağa, with the assistance of Karamonlaoğlu Mustafa, Ömer Efendi, Süleyman Efendi, and Avazık, forcefully confiscated the tithe crops valued at 9470 *guruş*, and oppressed the people living in these villages. The tax-farmers of these villagers applied to the court with a demand for the

⁹⁰⁵ B.O.A, Halep Ahkam Defteri, Nr. 4, s. 36/129.

⁹⁰⁶ B.O.A, Halep Ahkam Defteri, Nr. 4, s. 34/119.

appointment of a *mübaşir* to investigate the case. Mehmed Said demanded the punishment of the persons involved in that incident, and the reimbursement of their loss by the state.⁹⁰⁷

Fethullah Ağa was involved in illegal activities that posed threats to the security and order of the district of Antakya between 1776 and 1781. He increased his wealth to a certain extent by pillaging villages, confiscating properties by force, and seizing tax-revenues. All these activities transformed his status from a loyal ayan to a rebellious ayan. Even though he was threatened with imprisonment a few times, this was either not enforced, or, in the case of being imprisoned, he was released after only a few months due to the support of high-ranking officials who convinced the sultan to pardon him. As mentioned earlier, the general Ottoman policy towards ayans was to pit them against one another to keep them in line. In addition, the Ottoman Empire replaced disruptive ayans with new ones. At the beginning the new ayans were willing to work with the sultan to help improve their own position. In the case of Fethullah Ağa, he cooperated with the sultan until 1776, but following his disruptive actions, he was imprisoned in the castle of Aleppo in 1782, and was replaced by another powerful ayan, Karamonlaoğlu Mustafa.⁹⁰⁸

Karamonlaoğlu Mustafa was provided permission by the sultan to expand his familial holdings into the northwest of the province of Aleppo to displace the disruptive Küçükaliöğlu family. Küçükaliöğlu was one of the powerful ayans in Payas, a town between Alexandretta and Aleppo. Like Kara Ibrahim and Fethullah Ağas, Küçükaliöğlu Halil Bey served the sultan, and in return he was assigned administrative positions, such as *kapucubaşı* and Payas Beyi. However, after acquiring the power to assemble a large number of *sekban* troops, Halil Bey began to

⁹⁰⁷ B.O.A, Halep Ahkam Defteri, Nr. 4, s. 49/176.

⁹⁰⁸ B.O.A, Halep Ahkam Defteri, Nr. 4, s. 71/269.

threaten security and order by carrying out raids on villages and attacking and pillaging merchants. The central government dismissed Halil Bey from his position and sent the governor of Karaman, Süleyman Paşa, to deal with the disruptive ayan. However, the Paşa died a few days after he was assigned that duty, which expanded opportunities for Halil Bey to increase both his power and wealth.⁹⁰⁹ In 1782, the Ottoman administration ordered the local ayan, Karamonlaoğlu Mustafa, to carry out a campaign against Küçük Ali oğlu Halil Bey, who was considered a source of chaos and rebellion in his region.

In the meantime, Fethullah Ağa was imprisoned in the castle of Aleppo due to increasing complaints about him and offenses that he had committed. However, he was kept informed on the latest developments in the region through the agency of his nephew Süleyman Ağa. When Fethullah Ağa was informed that Karamonlaoğlu Mustafa had been assigned to displace Küçük Ali oğlu Halil Bey with the support of the state, he ordered his nephew to monitor the activities of Karamonlaoğlu closely, and to assemble militias for a possible battle against Karamonlaoğlu.⁹¹⁰ From the available documents, it is understood that Süleyman Ağa was able to assemble a *sekban* unit, which consisted of between 300 and 500 militiamen, he attacked Karamonlaoğlu in the sub-district of Cebel-i Akra, which caused damage both to the troops of Karamonlaoğlu and inhabitants of the region as Süleyman Ağa's troops plundered villages. Even though Fethullah Ağa was in prison at that time, he was still able to assemble troops and organize an attack against his rivals via his nephew. The complaints sent to the court of Aleppo after the attack demonstrates the extent of the damage caused by Fethullah Ağa's troops, and

⁹⁰⁹ Tecimen, “Hacı Fethullah Ağa ve Ailesi”, 106.

⁹¹⁰ Tecimen. “Hacı Fethullah Ağa ve Ailesi”, 106, B.O.A, Halep Ahkam Defteri, Nr. 4, s. 82/296.

indicates that the troops attacked local people, illicitly seized their goods, and burned their crops. The value of the tobacco that the troops destroyed was around 25,000 *guruş*, whereby that the farmers requested for their losses to be covered by Fethullah Ağa.⁹¹¹ In addition, some of the victims also individually applied to the court for reimbursement. The court also urged anyone affected by the attacks to apply to the court in order to confirm their claims.⁹¹²

Fethullah Ağa proved that he was still an influential and powerful ayan by attacking the troops of his rival; the man who was assigned by the central government to maintain order and fight banditry; even though he was in prison. His attack on Karamonlaoğlu also saved Küçük Ali oğlu Halil Bey, which forced the state to negotiate with him. Robert Walpole, who passed through the region in the last decade of the 18th century, states that "the rebellious Pasha, Kutçuk Ali, has lately been negotiating his peace with the Porte: he was promised, as a condition of his obedience, which the government was not able to compel, that the caravan of pilgrims should this year pass by Baias; and that he should have the pashalic of Adene [Adana] in addition to his own. Neither of these promises having been performed, the Pasha thought himself absolved from the contract, and renewed his former system of plunder..."⁹¹³ The trade companies that used the route to pass through the region controlled by Halil Bey, especially the East India Company, had to negotiate a peace separately from the Porte to get a permit to use the route.⁹¹⁴

Even though the victims of the Fethullah Ağa's attack were urged to apply to the court of Aleppo, none of them did so. Fethullah Ağa used that development in his favor as he claimed

⁹¹¹ B.O.A, Halep Ahkam Defteri, Nr.4, s. 54/197.

⁹¹² Tecimen, "Hacı Fethullah Ağa ve Ailesi", 109.

⁹¹³ Walpole, *Travel in the Various Countries of the East*, 135.

⁹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 135.

that he was in prison at the time of incurrence of the attack. In addition, a group of people in both Istanbul and Aleppo came to the court to give testimony in favor of Fethullah Ağa. The victims were aware of the close connection between Fethullah Ağa and high ranking officials, who would turn the case in his favor, both in the province and in Istanbul. They believed that even though they appeared in the court, it would not have changed anything as Fethullah Ağa had the economic and political power to vindicate himself.⁹¹⁵ The court decided to assign *mübaşirs* (agents) to bring complainants to the court, but these officials were not able to bring any of them into the court because complainants were threatened by supporters of Fethullah Ağa. In addition, his supporters also prevented these *mübaşirs* from carrying out their duty by attacking them. Meanwhile, Fethullah Ağa insisted that he did not have any involvement in the attack, and had obeyed the rules, so he requested his release from prison.⁹¹⁶ Since the governor of Damascus and the *kadı* of Aleppo requested the release of Fethullah Ağa on the ground of his good behavior during his imprisonment, none of the complainants showed up at the court.

In response to the request by Fethullah Ağa, the governor of Damascus, and the *kadı* of Aleppo, the central government assigned an agent (*mübaşir*) to investigate the case getting opinions of the local people of the district. The agent revealed some other complaints while he was investigating the case of attacking the troops of Karamonlaoğlu and plundering villages. In the light of the new findings, it became clear that Fethullah Ağa was involved in several criminal activities, such as killing or injuring people, illicitly confiscating tax-farms, peculating others' goods, corruption, and ignoring the state's orders.⁹¹⁷ In addition to these findings, the ulema, the

⁹¹⁵ Tecimen, "Hacı Fethullah Ağa ve Ailesi", 109.

⁹¹⁶ Ibid., 109-110.

⁹¹⁷ Ibid., 111.

kadı, and the *müfti* of the district of Antakya as well as chief of the prophet's descendants (*nakibü'l eşraf*) complained about Fethullah Ağa, and informed the agent of his disruptive activities. The new findings and the complaints of these influential people made it clear that Fethullah Ağa was a rebellious ayan, and had to be punished as soon as possible.⁹¹⁸

The agent sent the report indicating the disruptive actions of Fethullah Ağa to Istanbul. In response to the report, the central government ordered the agent to bring Fethullah Ağa to Istanbul with him to be sentenced, but the order does not provide anything about what kind of punishment would be applied.⁹¹⁹ However, in the next order that was sent to the *kadis* of Aleppo and Antakya in 1782, it was stated that Fethullah Ağa was clearly committed to criminal actions, and he was condemned to death. These officials were ordered to send Fethullah Ağa for him to be executed.⁹²⁰ Fethullah Ağa was described as traitor (*hain*), and executed in Istanbul in 1782.

Ottoman central administration used confiscation (*müsadere*) as a significant tool to keep the power and wealth of local ayan dynasties under control. The Ottoman administration used confiscation to prevent ayan families from turning into a class of nobility.⁹²¹ However, the state could not practice confiscation without justification. In principal, the state could only confiscate the estate of an official who had fiscal ties with the Ottoman government; it could not confiscate the estates of ordinary subjects at all.⁹²² The confiscation mostly occurred at the times when officials obtained wealth by improper means, or were in debt to the state, or deserved a

⁹¹⁸ B.O.A, Halep Ahkam Defteri, Nr. 4, s. 93/325.

⁹¹⁹ B.O.A, Halep Ahkam Defteri, Nr. 4, s. 87/309.

⁹²⁰ B.O.A, Halep Ahkam Defteri, Nr. 4, s. 104/365.

⁹²¹ Şahin, "The Rise and Fall of an Ayan Family in Eighteen Century Anatolia: The Caniklizades (1737-1808)", 165

⁹²² Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire*, 58.

punishment.⁹²³ The application of confiscation showed a tendency to increase in the times of financial crisis during the late 18th centuries as the state was in need of cash for military campaigns. Under these conditions, the state even confiscated the property of wealthy individuals, mostly merchants and *sarrafs*, who did not belong to the *askeri* class, but were known to have had a cash stock.⁹²⁴

The Ottoman state established a new practice, called *bedel-i muhallefat*, which allowed heirs of deceased central or local officials to purchase the inheritance for cash value in the 18th century.⁹²⁵ This practice can be considered as a tax applied on inheritance by the central treasury and the amount of the cash needed to be paid by the heirs of the deceased officials was open to negotiation.⁹²⁶ The payment of *bedel* was often applied by the Ottoman state in the late 18th century. Selling the properties to the heirs instead of confiscating them was also more practical for the state, as the confiscation process sometimes cost more than the total worth of the inheritance.⁹²⁷ In the case of the Fethullah Ağa his inheritance was promised to be purchased by his nephew Ismail Ağa.

Similar to other provincial magnates, Ibrahim Ağa gained wealth through tax-farming, moneylending, and establishments of *çiftliks*. Being a son of an ayan, Fethullah Ağa inherited a significant wealth from his father, and he was successful in expanding the family fortune. He also provided for his household members, especially his nephews, the means to accumulate their

⁹²³ Şahin, “The Rise and Fall of an Ayan Family in Eighteen Century Anatolia: The Caniklizades (1737-1808)”, 166.

⁹²⁴ Ibid., 166.

⁹²⁵ Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire*, 161.

⁹²⁶ Şahin, “The Rise and Fall of an Ayan Family in Eighteen Century Anatolia: The Caniklizades (1737-1808)”, 166.

⁹²⁷ Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire*, p. 161.

own wealth. The investments of the family consisted of both rural and urban estates, movable properties, including gold, cash, silver as well as moneylending ventures. According to the materials listed in the *tereke* (inheritance deed), Fethullah Ağa owned 54 landed estates, including houses, a mansion, stores, and barns, at least 28 farms and lands, 494 cattle and calves, a significant amount of crops, and movable properties like gold, cash, silver, fur, and emeralds.⁹²⁸

After the execution of Fethullah Ağa, the state allowed his nephew, Ismail Ağa, who was the only legitimate heir, to take possession of the estates of the deceased person. The state allowed Ismail Ağa to inherit them in return for accepting to pay all of the Fethullah Ağa's debts and *bedel-i muhallefat*. Fethullah Ağa was in debt to many people, and as he was involved in moneylending activities, he had seized people's properties and crops, and had plundered several villages. Many people who either gave a loan to him or whose properties and crops were damaged by Fethullah Ağa sent multiple petitions and complaints to Istanbul in order to be reimbursed. The central administration found it more practical to make his nephew pay all the debts and *bedel-i muhallefat* instead of confiscating his goods which would incur extra cost to the state. Ismail Ağa was not satisfied with the request of the central administration because he believed that he was the only legitimate heir of Fethullah Ağa, so he demanded to have all of his uncle's properties unconditionally. Ismail Ağa ignored the state orders, which were sent to him between 1783 and 1792, by not paying the first installment of *bedel-i muhallefat* which was in the amount of 25,000 guruş.⁹²⁹ In response to the disruptive actions of Ismail Ağa, the state

⁹²⁸ B.O.A, Cevdet Maliye, Nr. 31259/1-8.

⁹²⁹ B.O.A, Cevdet Maliye, Nr. 31382.

declared him a rebellious ayan, and decided to confiscate both his and Fethullah Ağa's possessions.

Fethullah Ağa accumulated a relatively significant wealth. The value determined for all of the estates of Fethullah Ağa was 88,761 *guruş*.⁹³⁰ However, the value of the properties of Fethullah Ağa was less than some of the most powerful ayans living in Anatolia and Balkans in the late 18th century. For instance, the son of Canikli Ali Pasa, Battal Hüseyin, inherited his father's wealth by paying 112,500 *guruş*.⁹³¹ In 1781, Çapanoğlu Süleyman, an ayan in central Anatolia, paid 1.900.000 *guruş* to inherit his brothers properties.⁹³² In another case, Hacı Hüseyin Ağa of the Karaosmanoğlus, a powerful ayan family of Western Anatolia, left an inheritance estimated at 2.500.000 *guruş*.⁹³³

Conclusion

The emergence of ayans as an influential and powerful group within the Ottoman Empire was a long and complicated process. The transformation in the Ottoman land tenure system, center-periphery relations, and revenue raising created an environment for prominent local families to become major players in provincial politics and economy since the early decades of the 18th century. This environment led to the emergence of Kara Ibrahim and his son, Fethullah Ağa, as powerful ayans who played significant role in the social, economic, and political life of the district of Antakya in most of the second half of the 18th century.

⁹³⁰ B.O.A, Cevdet Maliye, Nr. 5723.

⁹³¹ Sahin, "The Rise and Fall of an Ayan Family in Eighteen Century Anatolia: The Caniklizades (1737-1808)", 167.

⁹³² Ibid., 168.

⁹³³ Yuzo Nagata, "Karaosmanoğlu Hacı Hüseyin Ağa'ya Ait Bir Tereke Defteri" in *Studies on the Social and Economic History of the Ottoman Empire*, (İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1995), 23.

Fethullah Ağa, like his father, benefited from acquiring both revenue-raising and land tenure privileges and from his posts when he was appointed as *mültezim*, janissary *serdar*, and *voyvoda*. In addition to these income sources, many of the ayans in the Ottoman Empire carried out raids to increase their wealth. Fethullah Ağa followed this trend, and carried out several raids on villages in the district, which gained him extra wealth and prestige. Ayans carried out these raids with the help of their personal militias, who were the *sekbans* who returned to their region after military campaigns. When ayans worked for the sultan, they used their personal militias to maintain security and order, but in case of disagreement with the central government they used these militias as a double-edged sword to threaten the local population and cause disturbances. Kara Ibrahim Ağa used his personal militias to maintain order in the region until he was murdered by another ayan, who was possibly allowed to kill him as Ibrahim Ağa was becoming powerful enough to threaten the authority of the central government. On the other hand, Fethullah Ağa remained loyal to the central government until 1776, but he then used his personal troops to carry out raids. Fethullah Ağa continually disregarded the state's authority over the lands under his direct control because he presumably wanted the government to recognize and legitimize his preeminent position. In that case, the central administration appointed another ayan to the post of *voyvoda* to fight against both rebellious ayans and bandits. In the end, threatened by the powerful Fethullah Ağa, the central government, with the help of other ayans, could diminish his power, and then executed him in 1782.

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I took up the task to delineate the main features of the social and economic life of the district of Antakya between 1750 and 1840 in order to essentially understand the characteristics of the daily life of society, administration, political developments, and economic activities in this particular city. While elucidating the city administration, demography, neighborhood life, trade, marketplace, guilds, religious minorities, women, children, and the politics of notables in the district of Antakya between 1750 and 1840; my observations revealed the main aspects of social, economic, and political life of the city of Antakya- one of the most important religious, political, and commercial centers in the classical world under the Ottoman Empire. Given that the present dissertation only monograph length study in English on the social, economic, and political history of the district of Antakya was of the 18th and 19th centuries, my findings make a significant contribution to the understanding of some of the complexities and patterns of mid-size Ottoman cities in Anatolia and the Levant, and specifically the district of Antakya.

In the 18th and early 19th centuries, the district's historical experiences featured both change and continuity. Even though the inhabitants of the city witnessed all kinds of changes and transformations in government authority, public order, political stability, trade, market regulations, population, fashion, migration, and the cost of living in the course of the 18th century, society was not dramatically affected by these changes between 1750 and 1840. The district did not experience any major scientific and technological innovations in the areas of production, transportation and communication, which hindered the district from interacting with cities that had experienced these developments. In addition, the state followed a conservative policy to uphold the existing order in the district. Therefore, the basic premises and arrangements

in the social and economic lives of the communities in the district between 1750 and 1840 resembled in many ways those of the preceding centuries.

The inhabitants of the district of Antakya were careful to follow the rules applied by the central administration. However, as it happened in other cities, some individuals violated laws and moral prescriptions, which forced the state to develop various types of control mechanisms, such as social control and supervision to ensure security and order in the district. Yet the dwellers of the district were not completely unreactive to certain arrangements and conditions that they perceived as unjust, such as heavy taxes and high food prices, whereby they would send petitions through local administrators and notables to the provincial and central government to express their grievances. Most of the times, the central or provincial government took into consideration the complaints of the inhabitants of Antakya, which largely prevented the emergence of large scale movement of opposition to the central government.

The available primary and secondary sources tell us very little about rural society in the sub-districts of Antakya, which makes the history of rural communities in the region less clear. The history of the social and economic life in rural areas of the Syrian and Anatolian provinces is so obscure that it gives us no chance to compare rural life in these regions. Some of the archival sources and travelers' accounts offer us some information on the demography of the villages and some economic activities, but many features of social and economic lives in these areas have still remained untouched.

The lack of local sources, especially chronicles and biographical dictionaries, has prevented historians from accessing local voices in medium sized Ottoman cities. The district of Antakya shares this historiographic misfortune. The only sources that offer important details of

daily life and a glimpse of indigenous voices are the court records of the district, even though they offer limited information on daily life in the rural areas of the district. The available court records suggest that the district of Antakya was not closely connected politically and economically to Istanbul since the city was not subject to a command economy, as was the case in Ayıntab, Aleppo, and Hama. Another finding in this study suggests that most of the offices in the district administration were held by local influential people, who obtained the respective offices either as an appointment by the state or as revenue-contractors filling in for absentee-appointees of the state. The central administration had limited involvement in the daily functioning of the district, and the main interaction between the district and Istanbul occurred during the collection of centrally administered taxes.

There were regional differences between cities based on ethnic and linguistic differences in the Ottoman Empire. While most of the Anatolian cities were culturally and linguistically Turkish, the Syrian and Iraqi provinces were predominantly Arab. Some of the cities located on the border of these two zones featured characteristics of both. In this dissertation, I have argued that Antakya appears to stand typologically somewhere between the 'Arab city' and the 'Anatolian city'. In fact, the district of Antakya was “between two worlds”, and it possessed the characteristics of both of them in a variety of ways. While the city proper was more like Anatolian cities, such as Edirne, Bursa, and Ayıntab; and most of the population was constituted by Turks, the social and economic activities as well as demographic characteristics of rural areas, particularly the sub-districts of Süveydiye and Cebel-i Akra, resembled to those of Hama, Nablus, and Damascus as population of these areas were ethnically Arab, and spoke Arabic. This has been repeatedly emphasized by Western travelers.

The district of Antakya appears to have better social and economic ties with the east compared to west. The district was closely linked to Aleppo in terms of economic and administrative ties. In addition, the district formed wide commercial networks, operating in Eastern Anatolia, Iraq, and Syria. Many products, namely silk, cotton, finished cloths, tobacco, spices, olive products, and others, which were produced locally or coming from East Anatolia, the Iraqi provinces, or Aleppo were loaded onto the waiting merchant ships, mostly from Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, allowing the city to make long-distance connections with Europe.

Through the extensive usage of the court records, I tried to provide some statistical information regarding the percentages of polygamous marriage, the birthrates, and the average amounts of alimony, which shed light on the social and economic life of women under the Ottoman Empire- particularly in Antakya. The involvement of the court in the lives of couples was significant to understand how the basic normative regulations of the Islamic law shaped the relationship of the conjugal couple. Since the Ottoman administration did not force people to register their marriages in the court in this period, it is impossible to figure out the divorce rate in the district of Antakya. However, women actively used the court during the divorce process as they regarded the court as a protective mechanism, which helped them to secure various benefits following divorce. The voluntary attendance of women to the court indicates that women were aware of the court's function, which gave them the initiative to deal with social and economic problems as well as their circumstances within the marital union. My analysis of women in Antakya regarding the woman's role in marriage and their economic independence as well as establishing endowments is a finding that contributes to change the general perception that women had a servile and despised position in the Ottoman Empire.

The political and socio-economic changes that the Ottoman Empire experienced between the 16th and the late 18th centuries deeply affected the administrative, military, commercial, agricultural, diplomatic and judicial sectors in the empire. These changes led to decentralization of the central administration in the provinces and the emergence of local notables as powerful military and political figures. The structure of authority in the district of Antakya was dominated by government appointees and local notables in the 18th and 19th centuries. With the help of their status, military rank or noble lineage, certain families and individuals claimed power and status in the district. These individuals needed sultanic endorsement. The Ottoman rulers needed these ayans as much as the ayans needed them as the latter played significant roles in maintaining order in the city and the countryside, securing trade and pilgrimage routes, collecting taxes, and supplying materials and soldiers to the army at the time of wars. However, these individuals established close economic relationships, which paved the way for an increase of official abuse, corruption, and weakness in the district's history. The case of Fethullah Ağa offers us a good example of how the close ties between notables and administrators provided benefits to both sides. It is a fact that people of the district were aware of the connection, but the only action taken was to send complaints directly to the sultan. In general, the history of the two important ayans of Antakya- their transformation to wealthy and powerful elites who then became the true rulers of the district, and their cooperation with the state, shed light not only on the general patterns of the history of ayans in the Ottoman Empire but also on the socio-economic history of the Ottoman state from the 17th to the early 19th centuries.

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