

**IN PURSUIT OF SOCIAL COHESION AND HARMONY IN URBAN
SPACE: THE EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL DYNAMICS OF
NEIGHBORHOODS IN EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
OTTOMAN ISTANBUL**

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
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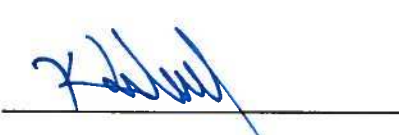
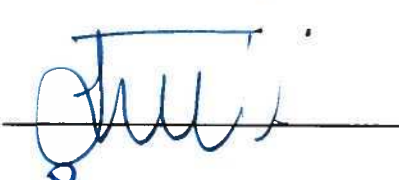

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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.

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AKADEMİK DÜRÜSTLÜK BEYANI

Bu çalışmada yer alan tüm bilgilerin akademik kurallara ve etik ilkelere uygun olarak toplanıp sunulduğunu, söz konusu kurallar ve ilkelerin zorunlu kıldığı çerçevede, çalışmada özgün olmayan tüm bilgi ve belgelere, alıntılama standartlarına uygun olarak referans verilmiş olduğunu beyan ederim.

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ABSTRACT

IN PURSUIT OF SOCIAL COHESION AND HARMONY IN URBAN SPACE: THE EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL DYNAMICS OF NEIGHBORHOODS IN EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN ISTANBUL

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In modern cities, neighborhoods are mostly seen as a part of urban planning. Modern people are identified with ID numbers and there are many apparatuses which watch them from mobile phones to social media in their everyday lives. In the early modern world, however, the social aspects of the neighborhood fulfilled the same role. There was a heightened awareness of being a neighborhood resident and the neighborhood watch as the most effective tool for social control. This awareness and sense of belonging brought with them an increased accountability and responsibility among the dwellers to one another. In this thesis, I will analyze some neighborhood-related cases from various Istanbul court records of the very early eighteenth century, which was one of the most turbulent periods of the imperial capital in terms of military failures, social unrest, natural disasters, and so on. On the basis of these court records and other official and non-official primary sources, I will try to explore the role of the community-based neighborhood structure in maintaining social control and order in Istanbul. In doing so, I will consider both the external (state-based) factors and internal (neighborhood-based) factors. The findings and/or non-findings of this study offer an opportunity for both horizontal and vertical comparison of early eighteenth-century Istanbul neighborhoods with the neighborhoods of its contemporaries as well as the earlier times.

Keywords: Neighborhood Watch, Social Control, Social Order, Ottoman Istanbul, Early Eighteenth Century.



ÖZ

KENTSEL MEKANDA SOSYAL UYUM ARAYIŞLARI: ON SEKİZİNCİ YÜZYIL BAŞLARI
OSMANLI İSTANBUL MAHALLELERİNİN İÇSEL VE DIŞSAL DİNAMİKLERİ

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Mahalle kavramı, günümüzde neredeyse sadece şehir planlamasının bir parçası olarak görülmektedir. Artık kimliği kendisine verilen kimlik numaralarıyla tespit edilebilen modern çağın insanının izlenilebilirliği, hemen herkesin kullandığı cep telefonlarından, günlük hayatın ayrılmaz bir parçası haline gelen sosyal medyaya kadar pek çok farklı yolla sağlanmaktadır. Bu izlenilebilirlik otoriteler tarafından gerçekleştirilebildiği gibi özellikle kişilerin günlük hayatlarını sosyal medya üzerinden teşhir etmesiyle de mümkün olmaktadır. Erken modern diye nitelenen dönemde ise, mahalle, daha çok sosyal yönleriyle karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Mahalleli olma bilincinin son derece yüksek olduğu ve mahalle mensubiyetlerinin kimlik oluşumunda önemli rol aldığı söz konusu dönemde mahallelinin bakışları izlenilebilirlik ve sosyal kontrol bağlamında tek değilse bile en önemli araçtı. Bu mensubiyetten ileri gelen mesuliyetler ise mahalle sakinleri arasındaki karşılıklı sorumluluk duygularını arttırmaktaydı. Bu tezde, Osmanlı tarihinin askeri yenilgiler, ayaklanmalar, doğal afetler gibi pek çok açıdan en hareketli dönemlerinden olan ve mevcut tarih yazımı literatüründe hakkında oldukça boşluklar bulunan on sekizinci yüzyılın ilk yıllarına ait İstanbul mahkeme kayıtlarında, mahalleyle ilgili davalar analiz edilecektir. Söz konusu mahkeme kayıtlarına ek olarak incelenen resmi ve resmi olmayan birincil kaynaklarla birlikte, İstanbul'daki sosyal kontrol ve düzenin sağlanmasında cemaatvâri mahalle yapısının etkisi irdelenmeye çalışılacaktır. Bu bağlamda ise, devlet kaynaklı dışsal faktörler ve mahallenin kendi dinamiklerinden kaynaklanan içsel faktörler birlikte

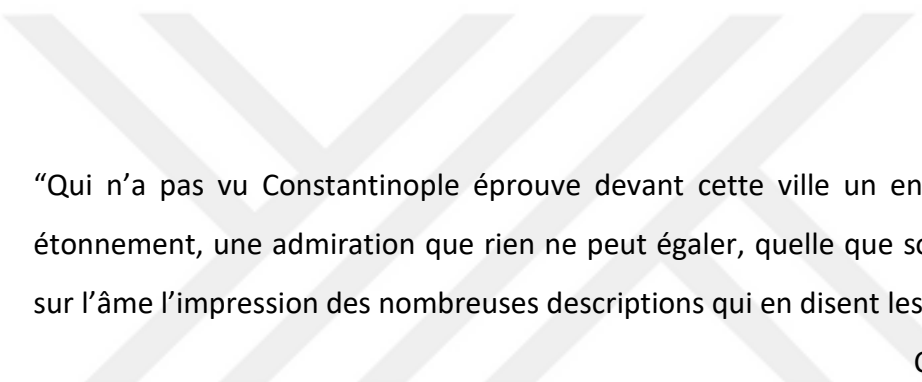
değerlendirilecek ve sıradan insanların sesine kulak kabartılmaya çalışılacaktır. Çalışma sonunda, bulunan ve/veya bulunamayan veriler ise bizlere, on sekizinci yüzyıl İstanbul mahallelerini çağdaşı diğer şehirler ve daha erken dönemlerle hem yatay hem de dikey bir karşılaştırma imkanı sunacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mahalle Gözetlemesi, Sosyal Kontrol, Toplumsal Düzen, Osmanlı İstanbulu, On-Sekizinci Yüzyıl.





To My Mom and Dad



“Qui n’a pas vu Constantinople éprouve devant cette ville un enthousiasme, un étonnement, une admiration que rien ne peut égaler, quelle que soit d’ailleurs sur sur l’âme l’impression des nombreuses descriptions qui en disent les grandeurs.”

César Vimercati¹

¹ César Vimercati, *Voyage a Constantinople et En Egypte* (Paris: Imprimerie de Poussielgue, 1852), 21.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The meaning of the concept of neighborhood today is more spatial than social one. Since the transition to modern and then post-modern times, neighborhoods have mostly been seen as a part of urban planning. Today, we use them mostly while giving postal address for online shopping, a home visit, or electricity subscription. Our phone or water bills can even be accessed online without any need to be sent to our addresses. Especially as people started to live in gated communities, the traditional neighborhood culture was lost completely or at least it transformed to another residential relation. Although residential addresses are important for our official proceedings today, neither they nor our neighbors suffice to render us identifiable. In other words, neighborhoods are not a source of identification of their residents anymore. Rather, we have identity numbers to be legally known and identified.

Nevertheless, like the question of "*Nerelisin?*" (where are you from?), which is still in usage, we can assert that persons' relations with space have not lost their importance completely, yet. Even though the answers are mostly based on the hometown that shows today's neighborhood concept has more of a spatial than a social meaning, the flavor of old neighborhoods' daily life still lingers and has not been entirely forgotten. Likewise, the concept and perception of the neighborhood is still in our midst, and the neighborhood tries to survive in-bursting-at the seams cities somehow. For example, people can guess our socio-economic condition according to the *semt* in which we live: in Etiler, Nişantaşı or in Bağcılar, Esenler. There are also some neighborhoods that are well-known with their higher socio-economic backgrounds, like Göktürk, or the opposite, like Teneke, but someone can count these neighborhoods' numbers on the fingers of one hand. Most of us have likely heard a middle-aged acquaintance talk about neighborhood life in old times. Mostly, they state that neighborhood relations used to be more alive and that neighbors were more aware of and helpful toward one another in the past. A very common question which is generally asked by fetching a sigh "*Nerede o eski günler?*" ("Where are those

old days?") also refers to old neighborhoods. Some of the most-watched TV series shot in Istanbul have been about neighborhood lives and neighbor relations, including "*Bizimkiler*,"² serialized between 1989 and 2002; "*Mahallenin Muhtarları*,"³ between 1992 and 2002; "*Bizim Mahalle*,"⁴ between 1993 and 2002; "*Ekmek Teknesi*,"⁵ between 2002 and 2005; and "*Seksenler*,"⁶ between 2012 and 2017. All of them are products of this neighborhood nostalgia. Ongoing neighborhood discussions from 2000s on and stories they run about old neighborhoods and their changing nature in modern cities somehow help the neighborhood in its struggle to survive.⁷

Also, there are some Istanbul neighborhoods whose residents have tried to preserve some of their old neighborhood culture. Kuzguncuk⁸ is one of them, with its small retailers, neighborhood relations, or even *bostan* (kitchen garden), which every year neighborhood residents take turns cultivating.⁹ We can find such headlines as "*Mahallede Kilise İstemezuk!*" (we do not want a church in our neighborhood), about the residents of a neighborhood who closed a church by claiming that it was a Muslim

² Yalçın Yelence, "*Bizimkiler*," 1989-2002.

³ Nursan Esenboğa et al., "*Mahallenin Muhtarları*," 1992-2002.

⁴ Ülkü Erakalın et al., "*Bizim Mahalle*," 1993-2002.

⁵ Osman Sınav, "*Ekmek Teknesi*," 2002-2005.

⁶ Müfit Can Saçınıtı, "*Seksenler*," 2012-2017.

⁷ For example, see Doğan Hızlan, "*Benim Güzel Mahallem*," *Hürriyet*, February 17, 2002, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/benim-guzel-mahallem-54885>; Gülse Birselle, "*Komşuluk Nostalji Değil, Mecburiyettir!*," *Hürriyet*, August 27, 2017, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/gulse-birselle/komsuluk-nostalji-degil-mecburiyettir-40562685>.

⁸ For a newspaper clipping from 1994 about the neighborhood of Kuzguncuk, see Berat Günçikan, *Dinler ve Dillerin Dansı:6-7 Eylül Olaylarının Vuramadığı, Yılların Bozamadığı Tek Semt Kuzguncuk* (ID Number: 001501331006, January 16, 1994), Istanbul Memory in Personal Archives Taha Toros Archive, Istanbul Şehir University, <http://hdl.handle.net/11498/1994>. See (Appendix A).

⁹ For a book suggestion about Kuzguncuk, see Cengiz Bektaş, *Kuzguncuk* (Istanbul: Literatür Yayıncılık, 2011).

neighborhood.¹⁰ In addition, some municipalities like Üsküdar or Ümraniye help neighborhood residents to take a stroll down memory lane by organizing neighborhood activities like neighborhood *iftars* during Ramadan.

Another debate arose on “*mahalle baskısı*” (neighborhood pressure) in 2007. This term was firstly used by Şerif Mardin in his interview with Ruşen Çakır in a TV series in 2007. With this term, Mardin basically tried to say that a group of people who do not have a religious life style might feel a kind of pressure within a conservative community. One year later Çakır¹¹ published a book on the topic and the concept of “*mahalle baskısı*” had a broad repercussion in press and society. This term was then adopted and used in very different contexts, including that of Ottoman neighborhoods. While some argued that there was also a neighborhood pressure in Ottoman neighborhoods,¹² some historians were against this argument and claimed that it was an anachronistic view.¹³

Then, what about the Ottoman neighborhoods? Where can the neighborhoods of Ottoman Istanbul be placed in the transition process of the neighborhood character? In what ways did neighborhoods in Ottoman Istanbul differ from today’s neighborhoods in Istanbul? To what extent is there a rupture and to what extent there is a continuity in neighborhood features and functions? What kinds of changes occurred in the concept of neighborhood during the transition from the pre-modern to modern era? How and why have we lost the so-called “old-time neighborhoods”? Why do people feel nostalgia for the neighborhoods and neighborhood relations of old times? These and other similar questions drove me to study about the concept of neighborhood and its historical story in Istanbul.

¹⁰ İsmail Erben and Bülent Ergün, “Mahallede Kilise İstemezük!,” *Sabah*, July 20, 2001, <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2001/07/20/g15.html>.

¹¹ Ruşen Çakır, *Mahalle Baskısı* (Istanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2008).

¹² For example, Alada uses “social pressure” see Adalet Bayramoğlu-Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle* (Istanbul: Sümer Kitabevi, 2008), 161.

¹³ For example, see Turan Açıık, “Mahalle ve Camii: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Mahalle Tipleri Hakkında Trabzon Üzerinden Bir Değerlendirme,” *OTAM* 35 (Spring 2014), 19-21.

1.1 Subject and Research Questions

The study of the neighborhood in the Ottoman Empire is a fertile land that deserves more farmers to cultivate it. In this context, I aspire to cultivate this field more. My thesis will be focusing on the neighborhoods of Ottoman Istanbul, especially the walled city (*intramuros*) in 1700 and 1706. The main aim is to understand social harmony or/and conflict within Istanbul neighborhoods in the very early eighteenth century by focusing on their social control apparatus.

Besides my own curiosity about social history, there are several factors that affect my choice of topic location, and time period. Firstly, during my initial research, I realized that there is a remarkable gap in Ottoman history writing in terms of both urban and social studies and the eighteenth century. There are some valuable studies about the urban and social history of some cities but they are not many, especially when we look at neighborhood studies. In addition to that, studies based on the neighborhood are mostly about Anatolian cities like Bursa, Konya, Ankara, or Trabzon. There are many travel records, architectural, or social studies about Istanbul, especially for later periods, but its neighborhoods and their daily life have been neglected for a long time. In my opinion, as the capital city, it must be studied more, and in greater detail because its comparative value is also higher. Therefore, I want to study Istanbul and especially the *intramuros* city, where most people lived.

Also, existing studies mostly deal with earlier centuries. Just like what Vries says about Europe, it seems that the study of the early modern city is “lost between two well-mapped urban landscapes -those the medieval city and the industrial city.”¹⁴ Hence, the eighteenth century, in which there were military defeats, political conflicts between the sultan and the bureaucrats, and also social unrest and even rebellions became my focus. As for the five-year period I chose, the Edirne *Vak’ası* had a remarkable impact. These five years were a very turbulent period because there was great social unrest and a permanent decision about the seat of government. Between 1695 and August 1703, the Sultan Mustafa II mostly settled in

¹⁴ Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization 1500-1800* (Cambridge and Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984).

Edirne, and this caused great grumbles and complaints among Istanbulites. After coming to blows with a social rebellion named the Edirne *Vak'ası* and the deposition of Mustafa II, the new sultan Ahmed III moved to Istanbul in September, 1703 and remained there permanently. My special interest is social control issues and I thought that this process would likely have had an impact on the social life of people. Then, I chose a five-year period (1700-1705) in which the sultan settled in Edirne the first half of these five years and returned to Istanbul in the second half.

Starting from such a clear and limited time and urban space, I searched for cases which include some information about social lives, collectivity, responsibility or neighborhood watch¹⁵ of Istanbul neighborhoods in Istanbul court records. There are many different types of cases, like about neighborhood raiding, smearing someone's door with tar, or hanging horns on someone's doors, that we know about from the existing studies on Konya, Kayseri, or Trabzon in earlier times. And these social and legal issues could have given me a chance to investigate neighborhood identity, collectiveness, social norms, moral codes, social control, and eventually social cohesion, harmony, and conflict issues in the neighborhoods of Ottoman Istanbul in the early eighteenth century. However, things did not go as planned, and I could not find many cases which are directly showing surveillance and social control apparatus within Istanbul neighborhoods. To be clearer, I could not find any sample case of neighborhood raid, hanging horn on someone's door and so on, for example. Only I could find from Istanbul court records about neighborhood surveillance and control apparatus are examples of witnessing someone's good or bad manner, banishment from neighborhood, and *kefalet-i bi'n-nefs* (being guarantor for someone's personality). Moreover, the number of these cases is not much especially when we consider the considerable amount of Istanbul court records which were scanned through this study.

¹⁵ It has a sociological meaning which is also applicable for Ottoman context. According to its lexical meaning, it is "a scheme under which members of a community agree together to take responsibility for keeping an eye on each other's property, as a way of preventing crime." See "Neighborhood Watch," *Collins Dictionary*, accessed July 10, 2018, <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/neighbourhood-watch>.

On the other hand, I did find an imperial edict given in 1705 that was directly about what I was searching. The edict ordered that a *kefalet* survey be made in neighborhoods and that those who were in bad manner and mischievous and did not have any guarantor be expelled. It became a glimmer of hope for my research and I continued to scan over more court registers dated in 1705 and also 1706. The number of my findings increased, but still they are not plentiful, especially considering the thousands of records which I searched. As a result, except for plenty of surety records on monetary issues, I found records of thirty-four cases involving *kefalet-i bi'n-nefs*, five banishments from neighborhood, and six testimonies for someone's circumstances from sixty-two court records, which is quite a number for a master thesis.

There must have been a reason for this scantiness. This study will try to tell you the story of this puzzling situation and to answer some questions like: Was there any collective identity in Istanbul neighborhoods? If so, what were the sources of collective identity? What were the indicators of neighborhood watch? To what extent could the residents of a neighborhood contribute to preserving social order? Did neighborhoods have an autonomy within themselves for establishing some rules and norms? Did neighborhoods have an autonomy while implementing these rules? Were social control and auto-auditing mechanisms within neighborhoods derived from the political and legal system or from the internal dynamics of neighborhoods? Why did neighbors sue on one another to the court? To what extent Islamic responsibility of commanding right and forbidding wrong (*emr-i bi'l-ma'ruf nehy-i ani'l-münker*) was effective among neighborhood residents? Can the factors of neighbors' policing be divided into two as internal and external? If so, did they work against or hand in hand with each other? Did the sultan's return to Istanbul lead to the increase of social control within neighborhoods? Where were deviant residents expelled? Can we trace their footsteps? What were the criteria to be a guarantor of someone else? Were there any relational networks among residents of different neighborhoods for being guarantors of one another? Were there any similarities between Istanbul neighborhoods and other capital cities? These questions would become an ever-

lengthening list. Through this thesis, I reply to some, develop hypothesis for others, and, as for the rest, I am forced to leave them unanswered, at least for now.

1.2 Sources

This study will try to examine a city, Istanbul in social and cultural context through its neighborhoods. Therefore, it is a part of both urban and social history. Court records are the main archival sources which could present sections from daily lives of past people in this respect. Thanks to them, I could find neighborhood residents' complaints about one another. Even though there is an official veil on the narration of these cases, we can infer what kinds of behaviors made residents uncomfortable and feel insecure or what kinds of orders were sent related to the regulation of neighborhoods' order. In this respect, I determined two sample courts from *intramuros* which are Ahi Çelebi and Bab and one from outside the city, which is Üsküdar. Afterward, I scanned all records dated between the years H. 1112 and 1117, which corresponds to 1700-1705, which amounted to thirty-four court registers in total. After I found the imperial order given in 1705, I thought that I ought to continue to scan other Istanbul court records written in 1705 and also 1706 in order to see the effects of the order if any. Thereupon, I also scanned the rest of the registers of Ahi Çelebi, Bab, and Üsküdar dated H. 1118, which is 1706, in addition to the *sijils* of Beşiktaş, Davutpaşa, Galata, Havas-ı Refia, Kasımpaşa, Tophane, and Yeniköy. As a result, I examined sixty-two court registers in total.

Table 1.1. Istanbul Court Records Examined Through This Thesis between 1700-1706.

Court Name	No	Date	Page No.	Pose No.
AHI ÇELEBİ SİCİLLERİ	88	1111-1112	138	143
AHI ÇELEBİ SİCİLLERİ	89	1112-1113	99	101
AHI ÇELEBİ SİCİLLERİ	90	1113-1114	68	71
AHI ÇELEBİ SİCİLLERİ	91	1114	87	93
AHI ÇELEBİ SİCİLLERİ	92	1114-1115	83	87
AHI ÇELEBİ SİCİLLERİ	93	1115-1116	97	100

Table 1.1 (Continued)

AHI ÇELEBİ SİCİLLERİ	94	1116-1117	71	76
AHI ÇELEBİ SİCİLLERİ	95	1117-1118	143	147
AHI ÇELEBİ SİCİLLERİ	96	1118	79	81
AHI ÇELEBİ SİCİLLERİ	97	1118-1119	75	79
AHI ÇELEBİ SİCİLLERİ	98	1118-1119	63	68
BAB SİCİLLERİ	69	1111-1112	120	128
BAB SİCİLLERİ	70	1112	159	164
BAB SİCİLLERİ	71	1112-1113	165	171
BAB SİCİLLERİ	72	1113	70	72
BAB SİCİLLERİ	73	1113	147	155
BAB SİCİLLERİ	74	1113-1114	199	210
BAB SİCİLLERİ	75	1114	68	70
BAB SİCİLLERİ	76	1114	148	153
BAB SİCİLLERİ	77	1114-1115	248	254
BAB SİCİLLERİ	78	1115-1116	183	191
BAB SİCİLLERİ	79	1115-1117	178	188
BAB SİCİLLERİ	80	1117	68	70
BAB SİCİLLERİ	81	1117	67	69
BAB SİCİLLERİ	82	1117	165	168
BAB SİCİLLERİ	83	1117-1118	70	72
BAB SİCİLLERİ	84	1117-1118	94	106
BAB SİCİLLERİ	85	1117-1118	92	99
BAB SİCİLLERİ	86	1118-1119	105	108
BAB SİCİLLERİ	87	1118-1119	124	128
BAB SİCİLLERİ	94	1116-1118	68	71
DAVUTPAŞA SİCİLLERİ	95	937-1251	96	99
GALATA SİCİLLERİ	196	1114-1117	92	95
GALATA SİCİLLERİ	197	1116-1117	140	142
GALATA SİCİLLERİ	198	1110-1118	21	18

Table 1.1 (continued)

GALATA SİCİLLERİ	199	1118-1119	147	148
GALATA SİCİLLERİ	200	1117-1119	163	164
GALATA SİCİLLERİ	201	1118-1119	96	98
GALATA SİCİLLERİ	204	1117-1121	95	99
GALATA SİCİLLERİ	240	1105-1131	93	14
GALATA SİCİLLERİ	520	1115-1209	26	12
HAVASS-I REFİA SİCİLLERİ	123	1117	70	72
HAVASS-I REFİA SİCİLLERİ	124	1118-1119	103	106
KASIMPAŞA SİCİLLERİ	1	1004-1171	113	19
KASIMPAŞA SİCİLLERİ	4	1069-1124	130	133
RUMELİ KAZASKERLİĞİ & SADARETİ	167	1118	68	71
TOPHANE SİCİLLERİ	109	1116-1117	46	48
TOPHANE SİCİLLERİ	110	1117	68	71
TOPHANE SİCİLLERİ	111	1118-1119	102	106
ÜSKÜDAR SİCİLLERİ	326	1110-1112	136	141
ÜSKÜDAR SİCİLLERİ	327	1113	99	101
ÜSKÜDAR SİCİLLERİ	328	1113-1115	119	123
ÜSKÜDAR SİCİLLERİ	329	1114-1115	93	97
ÜSKÜDAR SİCİLLERİ	330	1115-1116	85	85
ÜSKÜDAR SİCİLLERİ	331	1115-1117	94	99
ÜSKÜDAR SİCİLLERİ	332	1116-1117	115	119
ÜSKÜDAR SİCİLLERİ	333	1117-1118	93	98
ÜSKÜDAR SİCİLLERİ	334	1117-1118	166	168
ÜSKÜDAR SİCİLLERİ	335	1118-1119	41	41
ÜSKÜDAR SİCİLLERİ	336	1118-1120	69	72
YENİKÖY SİCİLLERİ	77	1116-1118	108	55
YENİKÖY SİCİLLERİ	78	1118-1120	136	71

Mühimme registers were another useful archival sources and I examined two *mühimme* registers numbered 113 and 141.¹⁶ To support and exemplify some issues related with the content of thesis, I also examined *ahkâm* registers which already published by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and some archival documents from the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry (BOA).

Also, chronicles like *Zübde-i Vekayiât*,¹⁷ *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*,¹⁸ *Ravzatü'l-Küberâ*,¹⁹ or *Abdi Tarihi*²⁰ and some others helped me better understand the historical context of early eighteenth-century Istanbul. These are state-oriented sources, like archival documents, but because of having a narration, these chronicles could enlighten the past more vividly than other sources. In this regard, I benefited from chronicles quite a lot, especially for understanding the Edirne *Vak'ası* in detail.

There are some other primary sources which I both benefited from and enjoyed. Travel documents, for example, are very important historical sources for a broader understanding of a historical topic from different perspectives. Thanks to the books of travelers came to Istanbul during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, I could have an opportunity to compare some information given in archival documents as well as in the existing literature. Furthermore, these travel records are quite useful to look at Istanbul through the eyes of the “other” and the different view they provide is important for the evaluation of the history of the city.

¹⁶ İlker Külbilge, “141 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (H.1148)” (Master thesis Ege University, 2002); Ayşegül Özer, “113 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri’nin (H. 1112-1115/M. 1701-1703) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi” (Master thesis Celal Bayar University, 2003).

¹⁷ Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât: Tahlil ve Metin (1066-1116/1656-1704)*, ed. Abdulkadir Özcan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995).

¹⁸ Abdulkadir Özcan, ed., *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi (1099-1116 / 1688-1704)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2000).

¹⁹ Mü’minzâde Seyyid Ahmed Hasîb Efendi, *Ravzatü'l-Küberâ: Tahlil ve Metin*, ed. Mesut Aydiner (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003).

²⁰ Faik Reşit Unat, *Abdi Tarihi: 1730 Patrona İhtilâli Hakkında Bir Eser* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014).

Also, I applied to Evliya Çelebi's²¹ records on Istanbul and some other primary sources like *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi*²² and an eighteenth-century *avârız* register already studied by Münir Aktepe²³ here and there for information about neighborhood names as well as their locations.

Similarly, some primary sources like *Zenannâme*,²⁴ *Risale-i Garibe*,²⁵ *Risale-i Teberdariye*,²⁶ *Ahlâk-ı Alâ'î*,²⁷ and *Mizanü'l-Hakk*²⁸ have been quite valuable for me in thinking about moral values, decorum, lewdness, and the mentality of the early eighteenth-century Istanbul society. I also frequently applied to fetawa collections²⁹

²¹ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 304 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu - Dizini*, ed. Robert Dankoff, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and Yücel Dağlı, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları), accessed March 19, 2018, <http://bizdosyalar.nevsehir.edu.tr/4614c6b6885a1f219d0b17a5311eda12/evliya-celebi-seyahatnamesi-yeni-baski-01---evliya-celebi.pdf>.

²² Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarayî, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi: Camilerimizi Ansiklopedisi*, ed. İhsan Erzi (Istanbul: Tercüman Aile ve Kültür Kitaplığı Yayınları, 1987).

²³ Münir Aktepe, *XVII. Asra Ait İstanbul Kazası Avârız Defteri* (Istanbul: İstanbul Matbaası, 1957).

²⁴ Enderunlu Fazıl, "Zenân-Nâme," in *Defter-i Aşk; Hûbân-Nâme; Zenân-Nâme; Şevkengiz* (Istanbul: Rıza Efendi Matbaası, 1869), 56–111.

²⁵ Hayati Develi, *XVIII. Yy İstanbul'a Dair Risale-i Garibe* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 1998).

²⁶ Derviş Abdullah, *Risale-i Teberdariye Fi Ahval-i Darüssaade: Darüssaade Ağalarının Durumu Hakkında Baltacı'nın Raporu*, ed. Pınar Saka (Istanbul: İnkilap, 2011).

²⁷ Ali Çelebi Kınalızâde, *Ahlâk-ı Alâ'î*, ed. Mustafa Koç (Istanbul: Klasik, 2015).

²⁸ Çelebi Kâtip, *Mizanü'l-Hakk Fî İhtiyârî'l-Ehakk: İhtilaf İçinde İtidal*, ed. Süleyman Uludağ (Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2016).

²⁹ See Süleyman Kaya, ed., *Fetâvâ-yı Feyziye: Şeyhülislam Fezullah Efendi* (Istanbul: Klasik, 2009); Süleyman Kaya et al., eds., *Behcetü'l-Fetava: Şeyhülislam Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi* (Istanbul: Klasik, 2011); M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi'nin Fetvalarına Göre Kanuni Devrinde Osmanlı Hayatı: Fetâvâ-yı Ebussu'ud Efendi* (Istanbul: Kapı, 2012); Çatalcalı Ali Efendi, *Açıklamalı Osmanlı Fetvaları: Fetâvâ-yı Ali Efendi Efendi*, ed. H. Necati Demirtaş, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Klasik, 2014); Çatalcalı Ali Efendi, *Açıklamalı Osmanlı Fetvaları: Fetâvâ-yı Ali Efendi Efendi*, ed. H. Necati Demirtaş, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Kubbealtı, 2014); es-Seyyid Hafız Mehmed b. Ahmed el-Gedusi et al., eds., *Neticetü'l Fetâvâ: Şeyhülislam Fetvaları* (Istanbul: Klasik, 2014).

and *Mülteka*,³⁰ one of the reference guides of Ottoman *kadis*, for a similar understanding but from the legal perspective.

I also used some maps and visual sources like images, paintings, etc. which are very important but often neglected tools in urban and social history, as Çelik and Favro indicate and K. A. Ebel reviewed.³¹ In addition, I have given a place to some appendices somehow related to the issue of the neighborhood.

1.3 Outline

This thesis is not focused on a particular neighborhood of Istanbul and discussing it from various perspectives. Rather, it takes the concept of neighborhood in early eighteenth-century Istanbul into account from a thematic framework, which is neighborhood watch and surveillance and examines its social and cultural aspects in keeping social order within the city. This thesis consists of five chapters and many sub-sections. After introducing the topic, research questions, and sources in this chapter, the following chapter will be a historiographical one, consisting of four sections. I will discuss the historiography of the Islamic city debate, Ottoman urban history, neighborhood related social history, and *sijill*-based historical studies. In the third chapter, I will give the historical context of the Ottoman Empire in late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries because without information about what was going on during the period, the thematic context cannot be understood well. Especially, for a better understanding of the social turmoil which directly affected neighborhood affairs, I will give a special importance to the Edirne *Vak'ası*. The fourth chapter will discuss the concept of neighborhood in detail. After the meaning of neighborhood and debates around the concept are discussed, the features and functions of the eighteenth-century Istanbul neighborhoods will be given. Finally, the

³⁰ İbrahim Halebi, *İzahlı Mülteka El Ebhur Tercümesi*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Çelik Yayınevi, 2015); İbrahim Halebi, *İzahlı Mülteka El Ebhur Tercümesi*, vol. 3 (Istanbul: Çelik Yayınevi, 2015); İbrahim Halebi, *İzahlı Mülteka El Ebhur Tercümesi*, vol. 4 (Istanbul: Çelik Yayınevi, 2015).

³¹ For more information, see Zeynep Çelik and Diane Favro, "Methods of Urban History," *Journal of Architectural Education* 41, no. 3 (Spring 1988): 4–9; Kathryn A. Ebel, "Osmanlı Şehir Tarihinin Görsel Kaynakları," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 3, no. 6 (2005): 487–515.

fifth chapter is the main part in which the thesis topic will be discussed and original findings from the primary sources will be used and compared. Interpretations, critiques, and evaluations are made on the related points in each chapter throughout the study. I also tried to use some tables, graphs, figures, and other visual sources for a comprehensive approach to the subject matter that captured some of the vividness of the neighborhoods.



CHAPTER 2

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF OTTOMAN URBAN AND NEIGHBORHOOD-RELATED SOCIAL HISTORY STUDIES

“The city, as one finds in history, is the point of maximum concentration for the power and culture of a community.”

-Lewis Mumford³²

Labelling a city or neighborhood with some general terms like “Arab,” “Islamic,” “Western,” “Mediterranean,” or “Ottoman” is frequently confronted in urban history studies. However, without historicizing and given a thematic context, these generalizing terms are problematic to understand what they exactly correspond to.³³ When one says “Islamic” city, does it mean Abbasid cities, Balkan cities, Maghreb, and somewhere else? Does “Western” city refer to cities in England, France, Germany and Norway? Can “Mediterranean” city be used for the port cities of the Venetians and Ottomans? If so, in which times of the Venetians or Ottomans’ the sixteenth, seventeenth or eighteenth centuries? Which is the “true” “Ottoman” city, Istanbul, Edirne, Romania, Damascus, or Cairo?³⁴ Of course, there could be some similar traits, dynamics, structures, or functions among cities and neighborhoods in terms of social, political, or economic aspects. However, similarities or sharing some characteristics

³² Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (San Diego, New York, London: A Harvest/HBJ Book, 1970), 3.

³³ For a detailed information and historiographical analyzing, see Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its *Mahalles*: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries.”

³⁴ Pinon suggests “Ottomanized” cities rather than “Ottoman” cities because the Ottoman Empire had cities from different origins like Greco-Roman, Byzantine, Arab, and Seljuk. Even though this idea could be logical to some extent in terms of the general Ottoman approach to take past cultures and develop and also blend them with its own values and pragmatic purposes, it must also be questioned because where did the uniqueness of cities of the Arabs, Seljuks, or Byzantines come from? Did they not affect one another? The term of “Ottomanized” implies as if the taking the general characteristics of the cities of the past societies and upgrading them does not constitute a peculiar character to them. Pierre Pinon, “The Ottoman Cities of The Balkans,” in *The City in The Islamic World*, Salma K. Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and André Raymond, vol. 1 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 144.

does not mean ignoring peculiarities of them. Besides some common traits and features, not only each city but also each of its neighborhoods could have its own dynamics to some extent according to their size, population, religious, economic, and social features of the residents.

There are also some attitudes only focusing on one aspect while categorizing cities and neighborhoods. Some focus on religiously derived traits, as in the case of the “Islamic” city debate, which will be discussed in detail in the following pages. However, such an attitude is quite Eurocentric and has many historical and historiographical problems to evaluate the term in a clear platform. Some academicians divide cities and neighborhoods as “industrial” or “pre-industrial.” This view is only based on economics without rupturing the Eurocentric attitude. Therefore, it still continues to be asked, “Why were [western cities] like steam engines while the others were like clocks...?”³⁵ Labelling a city or neighborhood as “medieval,” “pre-modern,” “early-Modern,” or “modern” is another way of assaying them. However, this approach must be also questioned because what these categories imply and the boundaries of these periods is not clear. Therefore, it is also problematic listing the characteristics of a city or neighborhood under an adjective of “medieval.” What is the average “medieval” city, for example?

On the other hand, while overgeneralizations, prejudgments, and overarching definitions would lead people astray, identifying and categorizing cities could be possible and also useful if cities and neighborhoods are historicized and a clear thematic and geographical context are given.³⁶ For example, as mentioned above, “Ottoman city” is a vague term, but stating “seventeenth-century Ottoman port cities” or “the local administration of early modern Ottoman neighborhoods in the Balkan cities” could be feasible and appropriate in terms of urban history studies.

³⁵ Fernand Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life, 1400-1800* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 396.

³⁶ For a similar view, see Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its *Mahalles*: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries.”

Only by doing so, relational studies among neighborhoods and cities could be possible.³⁷

After this general evaluation, when we look at existing studies based on cities of Ottoman Empire, we see that the “Islamic” city debate still occupies a room. Therefore, after giving a detailed, but also short historiography of the debate, a literature review will be made in the second section of the chapter. Because neighborhood studies are not an old phenomenon in Ottoman history, its historiography unfortunately cannot be brought back earlier times. We can scent out neighborhoods in both urban and social history studies. Hence, the second section of the chapter will be also given in two parts.

2.1 Islamic City

The “Islamic city”³⁸ debate can be traced back to the classification of the cities by Max Weber.³⁹ When he published his views about the city in 1920, they had a general acceptance by many social scientists for a long time. These views had Eurocentric and Orientalist nature based on the superiority of the capitalized Western cities. While corroborating of his argument, Weber was putting the “Islamic city” on the opposite

³⁷ Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its *Mahalles*: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries.”

³⁸ This study is well aware of the problematic conceptualization of the term. However, because it is necessary to use the term to give the related debate, it is preferred to use it within quotation marks: “Islamic city.” For a comprehensive summary of discussions on “Islamic city” see A. H. Hourani and S. M. Stern, eds., *The Islamic City: A Colloquium* (Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970); R. B. Serjeant, ed., *İslam Şehri*, trans. E. Topçugil (Istanbul: İz Yayınları, 1997); Salma K. Jayyusi et al., eds., *The City in the Islamic World*, vol. I (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Salma K. Jayyusi et al., eds., *The City in the Islamic World*, vol. II (Leiden: Brill, 2008); E. Eldem, D. Goffman, and B. Masters, *Doğu İle Batı Arasında Osmanlı Kenti: Halep, İzmir ve İstanbul*, trans. Sermet Yalçın (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012); Somaiyeh Falahat, *Re-Imaging the City: A New Conceptualisation of the Urban Logic of the “Islamic City”* (Berlin: Springer Vieweg, 2014).

³⁹ Many shares the same opinion about the roots of the Islamic city debate. For example, see Yunus Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its *Mahalles*: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries” (Ph.D. diss., Boğaziçi University, 2014); Cem Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003); Eldem, Goffman, and Masters, *Doğu İle Batı Arasında Osmanlı Kenti: Halep, İzmir ve İstanbul*.

of his ideal/idealized Western city. By doing so, he planted the seeds of a long-lasting debate about the existence and the nature of the cities in sweeping Muslim lands.⁴⁰ Thereafter, “the pioneers of the Islamic city had simply applied Weber’s typology to cities in the Islamic world, emphasizing such elements as the autonomy, identity, and public buildings of the city found in his ideal-typical construction of the “Western city.”⁴¹

William and George Marçais were the first of those using the adjective of “Islamic” to define the cities located in Muslim lands after influenced by Weber and also Pirennes.⁴² According to their structural definition, city in Islamic world has two distinct areas as residential and non-residential and they are completely separate units. Also, there are certainly a mosque, public bath and market.⁴³ Louis Massignon,⁴⁴ and Robert Brunschvig⁴⁵ are also agree on the thesis of Marçais brothers and continue to claim that “Islamic city” is unplanned and spontaneously formed. Each of them reached to such assertive claims by only focusing on a small part of the Muslim world, mostly Arab lands. Their studies were followed by a number of monographs on North African and Arab cities. In this regard, Algiers was studied

⁴⁰ For some critiques of Weber’s ideas see Martin J. Daunton, “The Social Meaning of Space: The City in the West and Islam,” in *Proceedings of International Conference on Urbanism in Islam*, vol. I (Tokyo, 1989), 26–58; Sami Zubaida, “Max Weber’s ‘The City’ and the Islamic City,” *Max Weber Studies* 6, no. 1 (2006): 111–18.

⁴¹ Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries,” 37.

⁴² Henry Pirenne, *Les Villes Du Moyen Âge: Essai d’Histoire Économique et Sociale* (Brussels: Maurice Lamertin, 1927).

⁴³ For the detailed description see William Marçais, “L’Islamisme et La Vie Urbaine,” *Comptes-Rendus de l’Académie Des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1 (1928): 86–100; Georges Marçais, “La Conception Des Villes Dans l’Islam,” *Revue d’Alger* 2 (1945): 517-533.

⁴⁴ Louis Massignon, “Les Corps de Métiers et La Cité Islamique,” *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* 28 (1920).

⁴⁵ Robert Brunschvig, “Urbanisme Médiéval et Droit Musulman,” *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* 15 (1947): 127–55.

by Lespès,⁴⁶ Fez by Le Tourneau,⁴⁷ Damascus and Aleppo by Sauvaget,⁴⁸ Antioch by Weulersse,⁴⁹ Rabat by Caillé,⁵⁰ and Marakesh by Deverdun.⁵¹ In 1955, Gustave E. von Grunebaum published an article, which gave way to putting the “Islamic city” doctrine in question.⁵² With his article, Grunebaum “synthesized what previous scholars had said about the Islamic city, giving its complete picture by focusing on the impact of Islamic law and experiences of other civilizations on the institutions and public buildings of Islamic cities.”⁵³

Between the beginning of 1950s and 1970s, we can mention about the second wave of “Islamic city” studies. It would not be wrong to assert that these studies were the first examples criticizing the “Islamic city” approach. They had very important contributions to the issue because these studies showed that “Islamic city” debate could be questioned and its arguments could be wrong. On the other hand, these studies still used the “Islamic city” approach while analyzing the cities in Muslim world but revealed some structural as well as managerial differences and questioning

⁴⁶ See René Lespès, *Alger, Etude de Geographie et d’Histoire Urbaine* (Paris: Félic Alcan, 1930).

⁴⁷ See Roger le Tourneau and L. Paye, “La Corporation Des Tanneurs et L’industrie de La Tannerie à Fès,” *Hespéris* 21 (1935): 167–240; Roger le Tourneau, *Fès Avant Le Protectorat: Etude Économique et Sociale d’une Ville de l’Occident Musulman* (Casablanca: Société Marocaine de Librairie et d’Edition, 1949); Roger le Tourneau, *Les Villes Musulmanes de l’Afrique Du Nord* (Algiers: La Maison des Livres, 1957).

⁴⁸ See Jean Sauvaget, “Esquisse d’une Histoire de la Ville d’Alep,” *Revue Des Etudes Islamiques* 8 (1934): 421–88; Jean Sauvaget, *Alep: Essai Sur le Développement d’une Grande Ville Syrienne, Des Origins au Milieu du XIXe Siecle* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1941).

⁴⁹ See Jacques Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient* (Paris: Gallimard, 1946).

⁵⁰ See Jacques Caillé, *La Ville de Rabat Jusqu’au Protectorat Français*, vol. 3 (Paris: Éditions d’Art et d’Histoire, 1949).

⁵¹ See Gaston Deverdun, *Marrakech Des Origines à 1912*, vol. 2 (Rabat: Éditions Techniques Nord-Africaines, 1959).

⁵² See Gustave E. von Grunebaum, “The Structure of the Muslim Town,” in *Islam: Essays on the Culture and Growth of a Cultural Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2008), 141–58.

⁵³ Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries,” 36.

the ways of studying a city in different perspectives with different approaches. With Falahat's words,

Although they adduced some social explanations and advantages for the cities' layouts, they tended fall into similar-sounding descriptions, such as: a narrow labyrinthine street pattern, a syndrome of crooked alleys, the hodgepodge pattern of street communication, shapeless, fluid, twisting, amorphous, lack of defined physical form, and physical formlessness.⁵⁴

Especially Lapidus,⁵⁵ Hourani,⁵⁶ Brown,⁵⁷ and Eickelman⁵⁸ are the leading scholars of the initial critiques against the "Islamic city" debate during this period. There is no doubt that their studies enabled later scholars to develop a more critical discourse for the urban study and especially the conceptualization of "Islamic city".

The problem of previous studies is that "they only represent what the city does not have, or 'what it is not'; thus, it remains unclear exactly 'what it is'."⁵⁹ Therefore, new generation agrees on the diversity in urban patterns and tries to understand each city with its own character. Since 1980s, there has been a growing awareness of the fact that every city has its own unicity. The studies of the latter generation like, Abu-

⁵⁴ Falahat, *Re-Imaging the City: A New Conceptualisation of the Urban Logic of the "Islamic City,"* 2.

⁵⁵ Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge and Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967); Ira M. Lapidus, *Middle Eastern Cities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).

⁵⁶ A. H. Hourani, "Introduction: The Islamic City in the Light of Recent Research," in *The Islamic City: A Colloquium*, ed. A. H. Hourani and S. M. Stern (Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970).

⁵⁷ L. Carl Brown, "Introduction," in *From Madina to Metropolis*, ed. L. Carl Brown (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1973).

⁵⁸ Dale F. Eickelman, "Is There an Islamic City? The Making of a Quarter in a Moroccan Town," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5 (1974): 274–94.

⁵⁹ Falahat, *Re-Imaging the City: A New Conceptualisation of the Urban Logic of the "Islamic City,"* 2.

Lughod,⁶⁰ Alsayyad,⁶¹ and Raymond⁶² on various cities in Ottoman lands, Arabian Peninsula, Mediterranean, or North Africa, show the fallacy of the views of the previous advocates in terms of the lack of administrative body, homogeneity, a unified structure, and so on. More importantly, the fallacy of making overall generalizations and having a stereotype discourse to describe all cities; making comparison –as if- a progressive process for the urban development starting from an Orientalist and Eurocentric view is completely wrong and ahistorical. Therefore, underlying these general problems and focus on the unique features of each city whenever they locate in is more and more crucial rather than supporting or confuting the biased claims of the previous scholars.⁶³

To sum up, “Islamic city” debate can be divided among three groups.⁶⁴ The first group, emerging in the 1920s formulated what is, actually what is not the “Islamic city”. According to their claims, “Islamic city” lacks of rationality, structural order, physical and structural form, administrative power, and it is an unplanned,

⁶⁰ Janet Abu-Lughod, “The Islamic City- Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19, no. 2 (May 1987): 155–76.

⁶¹ Nazar Alsayyad, *Cities and Caliphs, on the Genesis of Arab Muslim Urbanism* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991).

⁶² André Raymond, “Islamic City, Arab City: Orientalist Myths and Recent Views,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 21, no. 1 (1994): 3–18; André Raymond, “Urban Life and Middle Eastern Cities, the Traditional Arab City,” in *A Companion to the History of the Middle East*, ed. Youssef M. Choueiri (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub. Ltd, 2005), 207–26; André Raymond, “The Spatial Organization of the City,” in *The City in Islamic World*, ed. R. Holod, A. Petruccioli, and A. Raymond, vol. 1 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008), 47–70.

⁶³ There are some scholars whose studies and findings confute the arguments of Islamic city debate even though the main aim and content of their studies do not discuss it. For example, see Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth-Century Ankara and Kayseri* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*; Bayramoğlu-Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*; Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries”; Yunus Uğur, “Mahalle Biyografilerine Bir Katkı: Osmanlı Dönemi Edirne’sinden Dört Örnek,” *Şehir ve Toplum* 3 (December 2015): 63–73.

⁶⁴ For the classification of these three groups and detailed information about their arguments please see Falahat, *Re-Imaging the City: A New Conceptualisation of the Urban Logic of the “Islamic City.”*

spontaneous, chaotic, uncivilized, 'labyrinthine,' and 'organic' entity.⁶⁵ They had an ideal city, which is Western and tried to define the other by taking their ideal as the base by forgetting Western city itself does not also have a unified character. By doing so, they could not develop a comprehensive point of view because they only looked a limited part of the city –like mosque, public bath, and market- in a limited part of Muslim world –Arab lands and North Africa. Also, they were thankful for small mercies of only a limited source like chronicles without using of various primary sources, which can help them developing a broader perspective.

Between 1950s and 1970s, a number of scholars began to initially criticize the former. They had a broader point of view to interpret the cities and aware of the complexity of urban entities. Their arguments were not negative rather were in search of finding answers to confute the claims of the former. However, by doing so, they continued to justify the "Islamic city" discourse. For example, while criticizing Marçais brothers, Hourani was also tarred with the same brush about the comparison of the "Islamic city" and ideal Western city.⁶⁶

The last group stood with a keen opposition against the debate since 1980s. They did not see those clichés different from the "world system theory," for example. They argued that after fabricating of the term it had been supported by the later without questioning that much just like in Gibb and Bowen's example.⁶⁷ Therefore, they took up a business of deconstruction of the discourse. They strongly rejected the terms, patterns, and concepts using for description of a city as "Islamic" because Islam cannot be only factor affecting an urban structure rather there are also many other

⁶⁵ For more descriptions see Falahat, *Re-Imaging the City: A New Conceptualisation of the Urban Logic of the "Islamic City."*

⁶⁶ See Hourani and Stern, *The Islamic City: A Colloquium*; and for a similar view about the mentioned group see Falahat, *Re-Imaging the City: A New Conceptualisation of the Urban Logic of the "Islamic City,"* 26; Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," 37-38.

⁶⁷ Abou-Lughod likens this historiographic acceptance by ensuing each other to *isnad* transition in Islam. For more information see Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City- Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance," 155.

factors like local values, climate, geographical features, or historical background of each city. In addition, they instantiated their arguments about the establishment of the cities, existence of local administrative powers, the different natures place to place in broad Muslim lands. On the other hand, while rejecting the idea of “Islamic city,” they could not propound strong theories to replace what they rejected. In other words, there is a deficient conceptualization instead of “Islamic city.” It means that there are some attempts to justify or reject previous ideas and concepts about the city but these attempts do not try to step outside of this framework to investigate and understand the city in a new context belonging to itself.⁶⁸ I think the saying of Braudel could fit to the context in order to indicate the basic problem of the last group: “To deny someone is already to know him.”⁶⁹

On the other hand, Islamic city debate entered to the agenda of Turkish historians only after 1990s. Among them Halil İnalçık is the first one who discussed the debate in Istanbul context.⁷⁰ He considers Istanbul as an “Islamic city” after the conquest by Ottomans.⁷¹ Atermath, he explains the reasons for some common features of “Islamic cities” and related them to Islamic faith and culture. He also shows these Islamic concepts and culture like protection of privacy, familial issues, and so on as the main reasons for some features of “Islamic city” which some scholars asserts Islamic city lacks rationality and planning.⁷²

Taking all the mentioned debates above into consideration, this study acknowledges that there are some common aspects in what is called as “Islamic cities” originated from the nature of Islam. The crucial importance of mosque cannot be denied, for

⁶⁸ Falahat, *Re-Imaging the City: A New Conceptualisation of the Urban Logic of the “Islamic City,”* 27.

⁶⁹ Fernand Braudel, *On History*, trans. Sarah Matthews (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 25.

⁷⁰ Halil İnalçık, “Istanbul: An Islamic City,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 1 (1990): 1–23.

⁷¹ İnalçık, “Istanbul: An Islamic City,” 4.

⁷² See İnalçık, “Istanbul: An Islamic City,” 6-9 and 13-15.

example.⁷³ As Abou-Lughod clearly points out that these are the spatial distinction and regulations according to the insiders and outsiders, gender, and land use.⁷⁴ However, the keystone of this study is based on the idea that every city also has its own uniqueness besides some common features and functions with others. Hence, the aim of this study is not developing a new conceptualization for the issue. Rather, the expected contribution is to have a part in underlying the unique character of each city as well as the possibility of some common characteristics of some other cities. Therefore, by focusing on the Ottoman Istanbul, which is a part of “Islamic city” debate, this study advocates that each city should be considered with its own dynamics as well as their trans-imperial relations and also some similarities with other cities.

2.2. Historiography of Urban History in Ottoman History Studies

When urban history is considered firstly, it points out that even urban history itself can also be counted as still a new phenomenon in academic community. Indeed, writing about any part of history is not completely separate from the history of cities because history of politics, economy, societies, or geography is not separated from where past people lived, established their states and so on. Related to that, there are earlier examples of writings about cities’ histories.

On the other hand, even though writing about history of cities can be traced back earlier times,⁷⁵ urban history, as a separate sub-discipline is still a new phenomenon both in Ottoman history studies and abroad. However, there is not only one approach

⁷³ Parish church had a very similar place in early modern European cities, for England example, see Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*, 136 and for more information about the role and functions of the parish church, 135-173.

⁷⁴ Abu-Lughod, “The Islamic City- Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance,” 172.

⁷⁵ For example, see Çağatay Uluçay and İbrahim Gökçen, *Manisa Tarihi* (Istanbul: Manisa Halkevi, 1939).

in the history of urban history. While Abbot divides it into four periods,⁷⁶ I will give you only a short but fundamental historiography of urban history by starting 1960s which is called as “new urban history.”⁷⁷

The first examples of writing of city dated 1960s among Ottoman historians. There were some monographs based on *tahrir* registers and we can count them are the most significant studies which paved the way for further urban history studied in Ottoman history agenda. Firstly Ömer Lütfi Barkan⁷⁸ and then Halil İnalçık’s⁷⁹ studies on these registers show that they are rich sources for writing about cities. Aftermath, some others followed their footsteps and gave first examples of Ottoman urban studies: İsmet Miroğlu about Bayburt,⁸⁰ Feridun Emecen about Manisa,⁸¹ Mehmet Ali Ünal about Harput,⁸² Nejat Göyünç about Mardin,⁸³ Bahaeddin Yediyıldız about

⁷⁶ For detailed information about his periodization, see Carl Abbot, “Thinking About Cities: The Central Tradition in U.S. Urban History,” *Journal of Urban History* 22, no. 6 (1996): 687–701.

⁷⁷ For information about studies before 1960s, see Richard Wade, *The Urban Frontier The Rise of Western Cities 1790–1830* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959).

⁷⁸ See Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Şehirlerin Teşekkül ve İnkişafı Tarihi Bakımından Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İmarat Sitelerinin Kuruluş ve İşleyiş Tarzına Ait Araştırmalar,” *İFM* 23, No. 1-2 (1962-3): 239-69. For his other studies, see Halil Sahillioğlu, “Ömer Lütfü Barkan,” *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 41, no. 4 (1985): 3–38.

⁷⁹ See Halil İnalçık, *Hicrî 835 Tarihli Sûret-i Sancak-ı Arvaid* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1954). For his other studies, see Halil İnalçık and Bülent Arı, “Türk-İslam-Osmanlı Şehirciliği ve Halil İnalçık’ın Çalışmaları,” *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 3, no. 6 (2005): 27–56.

⁸⁰ İsmet Miroğlu, *XVI. Yüzyılda Bayburt Sancağı* (Ankara: Üçler Matbaası, 1975).

⁸¹ Feridun Emecen, *XVI. Asırda Manisa Kazâsı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989).

⁸² Mehmet Ali Ünal, *XVI. Yüzyılda Harput Sancağı (1518-1566)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989).

⁸³ Nejat Göyünç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Mardin Sancağı* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1969).

Ordu,⁸⁴ and Özer Ergenç about Ankara and Konya.⁸⁵ The other common thing besides using *tahrir* registers, these scholars studied the Classical Age of Ottomans and mostly focused on economic or administrative features of cities.

Around the late 1970s and especially in 1980s, the use of *sijils* increased in social sciences and historians turned their face to *sijils* in city studies like Gerber⁸⁶ and Faroqhi,⁸⁷ and some others.⁸⁸ However, just like those mentioned above, *sijil*-based studies approached to the archival sources in empirical way without much interpretation on sources and any comparison within different aspects of the city as well as comparison with other cities in and out of the Ottoman lands.

Studies given since 1990s have more critical approach by trying to understand the hidden meanings rather than merely focused on quantitative value of sources. They questioned Islamic city debate, approach and use archival sources more flexible as well as critical. Even though they have broader perspective by dealing with city and its institutions, social relations, etc., still most of them focus only some aspects of a city without a comprehensive analysis.

In short, until 2000s, works given in urban history did not study a city with its all aspects. As Yunus Uğur argues, this make them to have a kind of reductionist

⁸⁴ Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, *Ordu Kazası Sosyal Tarihi (1455-1613)* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1985).

⁸⁵ Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012).

⁸⁶ Haim Gerber, "Social and Economic Position of Women in an Ottoman City, Bursa, 1600-1700," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 12, no. 3 (1980): 231–44.

⁸⁷ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth-Century Ankara and Kayseri*.

⁸⁸ For a detailed list of *sijil*-based studies, see Yunus Uğur, "Mahkeme Kayıtları (Şer'ıye Sicilleri): Literatür Değerlendirmesi ve Bibliyografya," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 1, no. 1 (2003): 305–44.

approach.⁸⁹ Aptullah Kuran,⁹⁰ Halil İnalçık,⁹¹ Zeynep Çelik,⁹² Tülay Artan,⁹³ Selma Akyazıcı Özkoçak,⁹⁴ Kenan İnan,⁹⁵ Çiğdem Kafescioğlu,⁹⁶ Stefanos Yerasimos,⁹⁷ Shirine Hamadeh,⁹⁸ Hatice Gökçen Akgün-Özkaya⁹⁹ are from those studied cities mostly with their physical units like houses, public baths, or fountains, and their architectural features. On the other hand, Bruce Masters studied Alepp with its economic

⁸⁹ Yunus Uğur, “Şehir Tarihi ve Türkiye’de Şehir Tarihçiliği: Yaklaşımlar, Konular ve Kaynaklar,” *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 3, no. 6 (2005), 22; Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries,” 42-44.

⁹⁰ Aptullah Kuran, *Eighteenth Century Ottoman Architecture* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977); Aptullah Kuran, “A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne, Istanbul,” *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 114–31.

⁹¹ Halil İnalçık, “The Hub of the City: The Bedesten of Istanbul,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 1 (1980): 1–17.

⁹² Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1986); Zeynep Çelik, *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996).

⁹³ Tülay Artan, “Architecture As A Theatre of Life Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus” (Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989).

⁹⁴ Selma Akyazıcı Özkoçak, “The Urban Development of Ottoman Istanbul in the Sixteenth Century” (Ph.D. diss., University of London School of Oriental and African Studies, 1997).

⁹⁵ Kenan İnan, “Kadı Sicillerine Göre Trabzon Şehrinin Fiziki Yapısı (1643-1656),” *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 18 (1998): 161–86.

⁹⁶ Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, “In the Image of the Rum: Ottoman Architectural Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Aleppo and Damascus,” *Muqarnas* 16 (1999): 70–96; Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009).

⁹⁷ Stefanos Yerasimos, “Dwellings in the Sixteenth-Century Istanbul,” in *The Illuminated Table, The Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2003), 275–300.

⁹⁸ Shirine Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2010).

⁹⁹ H. Gökçen Akgün Özkaya, *18. Yüzyılda İstanbul Evleri: Mimarlık, Rant, Konfor, Mahremiyet* (Istanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2015).

features,¹⁰⁰ while Goffman to Izmir.¹⁰¹ Rafeq, Doris, Raymond, Singer, Anastassiadou, Todorov, Ze'evi, and Hanna are some of others who studied Arab or Balkan cities during Ottoman regime with only some of their perspectives.¹⁰²

In 2000s, we can see more comprehensive, critical, and comparative studies about writing about cities like: Zeynep Çelik's other book which compares Ottoman and French encounter,¹⁰³ Hülya Canbakal about Ayntab,¹⁰⁴ Çiğdem Kafescioğlu about Istanbul,¹⁰⁵ Yunus Uğur about Edirne.¹⁰⁶ In addition, there is an increase in doctoral thesis focusing on a particular city's history or a particular part of a city. For instance,

¹⁰⁰ Bruce Masters, *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East: Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo, 1600-1750* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1988).

¹⁰¹ Eldem, Goffman, and Masters, *Doğu ile Batı Arasında Osmanlı Kenti: Halep, İzmir ve İstanbul*.

¹⁰² Abdul Karim Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus 1723-1783* (Beirut: Khayats, 1966); Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule: Institutions, Waqf and Architecture in Cairo, in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 1994); Amy Singer, *Kadılar, Kullar, Kudüslü Köylüler*, trans. Sema Bulutsuz (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996); Meropi Anastassiadou, *Salonique, 1830-191: Une Ville Ottomane à l'Âge Des Réformes* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1997); Nikolai Todorov, *Society, the City and Industry in the Balkans, 15th-19th Centuries* (Routledge, 1998); Dror Ze'evi, *Kudüs: 17 Yüzyılda Bir Osmanlı Sancağında Toplum ve Ekonomi*, trans. Serpil Çağlayan (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000); Nelly Hanna, *In Praise of Books: A Cultural History of Cairo's Middle Class, Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2003).

¹⁰³ Zeynep Çelik, *Empire, Architecture, and the City: French-Ottoman Encounters, 1830-1914*, Studies in Modernity and National Identity (Washington, DC: University of Washington Press, 2008).

¹⁰⁴ Hülya Canbakal, *17. Yüzyılda Ayntâb: Osmanlı Kentinde Toplum ve Siyaset* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2009).

¹⁰⁵ Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital*.

¹⁰⁶ Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its *Mahalles*: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries."

Güneş,¹⁰⁷ Yörük,¹⁰⁸ Dıvrak,¹⁰⁹ and Gürhan studied Karahisar-ı Sahib, Adana, Çankırı, and Mardin respectively in terms of cities' administrative, structural, economic, and social aspects. These dissertations mostly based on *sijil* registers and tells city's story without taking any place contemporary urban history debates.

Briefly, even though these studies are not directly related, they also include some information about the neighborhoods of Ottoman cities. As neighborhood is an inseparable part of city life, history of a city will give us some traces. Especially, studies approach to city with its physical structures could give more information about neighborhood units. However, all of these are generally scrawny and inadequate. Also, urban history studies on Ottoman Istanbul are not enough fabulously especially when we consider its historical importance as well as the fact that being the capital of Ottoman Empire.

2.3 Review of Neighborhood and Neighborhood-related Social History Studies in Ottoman Context

Independent neighborhood study is much more recent phenomena, so there are not plentiful academic outputs. As the phrase goes, someone can count high volume neighborhood studies on the fingers of one hand and most of them are journal articles. On the other hand, there area some different types of studies which deal with neighborhoods of Ottoman cities with different approaches. In this section, I will give a summary of neighborhood studies as well as neighborhood related social studies in regard to the topic of my study. After a literature review, I can divide these studies into three categories.

¹⁰⁷ Mehmet Güneş, "XVIII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Karahisar-ı Sahib Sancağı (Şer'iyye Sicillerine Göre)" (Ph.D. diss., Gazi University, 2003).

¹⁰⁸ Saim Yörük, "XVIII. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Adana Kazası (1700-1750)" (Ph.D. diss., Atatürk University, 2011).

¹⁰⁹ Uysal Dıvrak, "XVIII. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Çankırı Kazâsı" (Ph.D. diss., Atatürk University, 2012).

The earliest neighborhood-based studies are studies of Ayverdi¹¹⁰ and Eyice.¹¹¹ They give us valuable information about names of Ottoman Istanbul neighborhoods and their origins. Münir Aktepe's publication on the eighteenth-century Istanbul's *avârız* register also contains a list of neighborhood names. Furthermore, these studies also give us demographic information and distribution of the population within the city. Hadikatü'l Cevâmi¹¹² is another -and also primary- source including detailed descriptive information as well as neighborhood names and structures like mosques, public baths, and so on.

Özer Ergenç, whose name is one of the most frequently cited in Ottoman city and neighborhood literature wrote a self-contained article in 1984 about features and functions of neighborhood.¹¹³ His studies on Ottoman urban and neighborhood are really fruitful and stimulating for those who deal with the social history of Ottoman localities. Even though Ergenç only used the Ankara Shari'a court records in his article, he discusses the issue with a generic reference. Ömer Düzbakar has a very similar approach while study Bursa *sijils*.¹¹⁴ His article based on six court registers from Bursa courts, but his tone and arguments are broader. Mehmet Canatar also put down on paper about the general features of Ottoman Istanbul neighborhoods according to *tahrir* register dated 1600 (H.1009).¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Fatih Dönem Sonların İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskan ve Nüfusu* (Ankara: Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü Neşriyatı, 1958).

¹¹¹ Semavi Eyice, "İstanbul Mahalle ve Semt Adları Hakkında Bir Deneme," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 14 (1965): 199–216.

¹¹² Ayvansarayî, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi: Camilerimizi Ansiklopedisi*.

¹¹³ Özer Ergenç, "Osmanlı Şehrindeki Mahallenin İşlev ve Nitelikleri Üzerine," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 4 (1984): 69–78. For a collection of his writings about urban history, see Özer Ergenç, *Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları, Şehir, Toplum, Devlet* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012).

¹¹⁴ Ömer Düzbakar, "Osmanlı Döneminde Mahalle ve İşlevleri," *Uludağ Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Dergisi, Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 5 (2003): 97–108.

¹¹⁵ Mehmet Canatar, "1009/1600 Tarihli İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri'ne Göre Nefs-i İstanbul'da Bulunan Mahalleler ve Özelliklerine Dair Gözlemler," in *Osmanlı İstanbulu I: I. Uluslararası Osmanlı İstanbulu Sempozyumu* (İstanbul: I.B.B Kültür A.Ş. and İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2013), 283–310.

On the other hand, there are a few monographic studies on neighborhoods of a specific city. For example, Neşat Köseoğlu's monograph,¹¹⁶ which was published in 1946 is a very early example. He mentions about Bursa's neighborhoods in fifteenth and sixteenth centuries while Ratip Kazancıgil¹¹⁷ collects information from primary sources like Bâdir Efendi or Evliya Çelebi about the neighborhoods of Edirne. In 1998, a book, consisted of the articles of seven historians about the social life of Eyüp was published based on the eighteenth century *kadi* records.¹¹⁸ However, it is hard to say that this study is representative of social life in Eyüp. Three court registers were used and they are not enough to present a comprehensive picture of the residents. In addition to this, there is no comprehensive analysis of the eighteenth century Eyüp.

Ziya Kazıcı,¹¹⁹ Mehmet Bayartan,¹²⁰ İsmail Kıvrım,¹²¹ and Turan Açık¹²² have articles about the administration and administrative bodies within neighborhood. While Kazıcı and Bayartan speak about the concept of neighborhood in general, Bayartan builds his overgeneralizations on merely secondary sources. Hülya Canbakal has also a separate article in which justify legal identity of neighborhoods.¹²³

¹¹⁶ Neşat Köseoğlu, *Tarihte Bursa Mahalleleri: XV-XVI. Yüzyıllarda* (Bursa: Bursa Halkevi, 1946).

¹¹⁷ Ratip Kazancıgil, *Edirne Mahalleleri Tarihçesi (1529-1990)* (İstanbul: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Edirne Şubesi, 1992).

¹¹⁸ Tülay Artan, ed., *18. Yüzyıl Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Eyüp'te Sosyal Yaşam* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998).

¹¹⁹ Ziya Kazıcı, "Osmanlılarda Mahalle İmamları ve Yerel Yönetim İlişkisi," in *İslam Geleneğinden Günümüze: Şehir ve Yerel Yönetimler*, ed. Vecdi Akyüz and Seyfettin Ünlü, vol. 2 (İstanbul: İlke Yayınları, 2005), 25–32.

¹²⁰ Mehmet Bayartan, "Osmanlı Şehrinde Bir İdari Birim: Mahalle," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Coğrafya Bölümü Coğrafya Dergisi* 13 (2005): 93–107.

¹²¹ İsmail Kıvrım, "Osmanlı Mahallesinde Gündelik Hayat: 17. Yüzyılda Gaziantep Örneği," *Gaziantep Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 8, no. 1 (2009): 231–55.

¹²² Açık, "Mahalle ve Camii: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Mahalle Tipleri Hakkında Trabzon Üzerinden Bir Değerlendirme."

¹²³ Hülya Canbakal, "Some Questions on the Legal Identity of Neighborhoods in the Ottoman Empire," *Anatolia Moderna* 10 (2004): 131–38.

Himmet Taşkömür,¹²⁴ Murat Yıldız,¹²⁵ and Köksal Alver's¹²⁶ studies are also about neighborhood and neighborhood life. While Yıldız discusses space and structural relations of Üsküdar, Taşkömür and Alver's writings and arguments cover "Ottoman neighborhoods" and their transition again without giving any mostly debated issues or making comparison. Tamdoğan-Abel¹²⁷ has also written an article that searches to generalize on the basis of only a single Sharia record, in this case from the Üsküdar court in the eighteenth century. It deals with neighborhood transformation from the past up to today. Its literary language sounds like a magazine article rather than an academic one and makes some comparison with today.

These mentioned studies above are the first examples to give us idea about specially neighborhoods in different, but mostly Ottoman Anatolian cities. However, their main problem is that they usually do not question the concept of neighborhood and do not specialize what they exactly mean by stating "Ottoman city." Only after you check their sources, it can be understood that their subject topic is about Anatolian cities. They do not give any place for contemporary debates around neighborhood issues neither. Some of them only focus on a particular city and make overgeneralizations while some like Bayartan, Taşkömür, and others. By doing so, they reach macro-level arguments with their micro-studies. More than that, because they do not compare different cities and their quarters in different cities both in Anatolia, Arab, and Balkans, they always asserted and list of the features of a vague term of "Ottoman neighborhood." Nevertheless, these are the first and valuable sources for those who desire to study "Ottoman" neighborhoods.

¹²⁴ Himmet Taşkömür, "Osmanlı Mahallesinde Beşeri Münasebetler," in *İslam Geleneğinden Günümüze: Şehir ve Yerel Yönetimler*, ed. Vecdi Akyüz, vol. 2 (İstanbul: İlke Yayınları, 2005), 33–38.

¹²⁵ Murat Yıldız, "Geçmişten Bugüne Üsküdar Ayazma Mahallesi'nde Yapı-Mekan İlişkisi," *International Journal of History* 5, no. 2 (March 2013): 565–85.

¹²⁶ Köksal Alver, *Mahalle: Mahallenin Toplumsal ve Mekansal Portresi* (İstanbul: Hece Yayınları, 2013); Köksal Alver, "Mahalle: Mekan ve Hayatın Birlikteliği," *İdeal Kent Dergisi* 2 (December 2016): 116–39.

¹²⁷ Işık Tamdoğan Abel, "Osmanlı Döneminden Günümüz Türkiye'sine 'Bizim Mahalle,'" *İstanbul Dergisi* 40 (2002): 66–70.

However, the recent studies are hope-inspiring for the future of neighborhood studies. In this respect, I want to give the names of four books and also a doctoral thesis. Respectively, Adalet Alada,¹²⁸ Cem Behar,¹²⁹ Yunus Uğur,¹³⁰ İmre Özbek-Eren,¹³¹ and Hikmet Kavruk¹³² bring the matter of neighborhood to the table and discuss it in detail. Especially, Alada, and Kavruk have additional sociological and local administrative approach to the concept of neighborhood, while Özbek-Eren discusses it mostly from sociological and urban planning perspective. As for Behar, his book on Kasap İlyas Neighborhood is the only example of a neighborhood biography in Ottoman capital. Yunus Uğur's doctoral thesis as well as other studies have similar approach while discussing neighborhood specific to Edirne. Distinctly, using of geographical information system and gathering, analyzing, and mapping of city structures and the relations between the city and its neighborhoods is the point which Uğur comes to the fore.

On the other hand, there are some other studies focused on specially collectivity and social control in neighborhoods of different cities based on *sijil* registers. Some of them analyze social control in neighborhoods like Nurcan Abacı based on Burs *sijils*,¹³³

¹²⁸ Bayramoğlu-Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*.

¹²⁹ Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*.

¹³⁰ Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its *Mahalles*: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries"; Uğur, "Mahalle Biyografilerine Bir Katkı: Osmanlı Dönemi Edirne'sinden Dört Örnek."

¹³¹ İmre Özbek-Eren, *Mahalle: Yeni Bir Paradigma Mümkün Mü?* (İstanbul: Tuti Kitap, 2017).

¹³² Hikmet Kavruk, *Mahalle: Yerleşim ve Yönetim* (Ankara: Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık, 2018).

¹³³ Nurcan Abacı, "Osmanlı Kentlerinde Sosyal Kontrol: Araçlar ve İşleyiş," in *Şinasi Tekin'in Anısına: Uygurlardan Osmanlıya*, ed. Günay Kut and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz (İstanbul: Simurg, 2005), 101–11.

İbrahim Ethem Çakır with Ayntab *sijils*,¹³⁴ Hayri Erten¹³⁵ and Cemal Çetin¹³⁶ with Konya court records. Also, Özen Tok,¹³⁷ Raif Kaplanoğlu,¹³⁸ and Cemal Çetin¹³⁹ specifically analyze banishment from neighborhood of Kayseri, Bursa, and Konya respectively while Hülya Taş discusses collective responsibility.

These studies focus mainly on Anatolian cities and collective identity, neighborhood consciousness, everyday life, the social control mechanisms within neighborhood, and so on are their main themes. These studies generally focus on the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, and again we see a gap in these studies for the eighteenth century. Interestingly, Ottoman Istanbul's neighborhoods still wait to be discovered and only a few study give place to them. Başaran and Turna have published studies about social aspects of Ottoman Istanbul neighborhoods in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century respectively.¹⁴⁰ Especially the published doctoral thesis of

¹³⁴ İbrahim Ethem Çakır, "XVI. Yüzyılda Ayntab'da Toplumsal Kontrol Aracı Olarak Mahalle Halkının Rolü," *Bilig* 63 (Fall 2012): 31–54.

¹³⁵ Hayri Erten, "Neighborhood Consciousness as a Social Control Mechanism According to the Ottoman Judicial Records in the 17th and 18th Centuries (The Case of Konya)," *Bilig* 62 (Summer 2012): 119–38.

¹³⁶ Cemal Çetin, "Anadolu'da Kapiya Katran Sürme Vak'aları: Konya Şer'ıye Sicilleri Işığında Hukukî, Kültürel ve Toplumsal Boyutları (1645-1750)," *International Periodical for The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic* 9, no. 1 (Winter 2014): 133–56; Cemal Çetin, "Osmanlı Şehirlerinde Sosyal Kontrol ve Birey Üzerine Bir Takım Gözlemler (Konya Örneği)" (3. Milletlerarası Şehir Tarihi Yazarları Kongresi, Urfa, March 2015).

¹³⁷ Özen Tok, "Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Osmanlı Şehrindeki Mahalleden İhraç Kararlarında Mahalle Ahalisinin Rolü (XVII ve XVIII Yüzyıllarda Kayseri Örneği)," *Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 18 (January 2005): 155/173.

¹³⁸ Raif Kaplanoğlu, "Mahalle Hukukunda 'Hüsn-i Hal', 'Su-i Hal' ve Mahalleden İhraç Kararları," *Bursa Araştırmaları Dergisi* 36 (Spring 2012): 49–57.

¹³⁹ Cemal Çetin, "Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahalleden İhraç Kararları ve Tatbiki: Konya Örneği (1645-1750)," *International Journal of History* 6, no. 6 (December 2014): 43–70.

¹⁴⁰ See Betül Başaran, "'Unidentified' City Dwellers and Public Order in Istanbul Neighborhoods at the End of the 18th Century" (MESA Annual Meeting, Boston, November 2009); also see Betül Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 168-213; Nalan Turna, "Public Anxieties in Early Nineteenth Century Istanbul Neighborhoods" (MESA Annual Meeting, Boston, November 2009).

Başaran is so valuable along with the interest of this study. She studies social control apparatus during the reign of Selim III, while I will focus of very early eighteenth-century Istanbul. Therefore, these two study could give a chance to follow social control apparatus to keep public order and their transformations, if any during the eighteenth century.

In addition to them, there are some social history studies which are not related directly to the concept of neighborhood, but their findings are valuable to trace neighborhood life, relations among residents, and their moral codes, and reactions to undesirable behaviors within community. In this respect, the studies of Boyar and Fleet,¹⁴¹ Zarinebaf,¹⁴² Hamadeh,¹⁴³ and Artan¹⁴⁴ include important contributions for a more comprehensive understanding of istanbulites' social life and mentalities. On the other hand, Marcus,¹⁴⁵ Rafeq,¹⁴⁶ Ze'vi,¹⁴⁷ Semerdijan,¹⁴⁸ and Ginio's¹⁴⁹ studies on Arab and Balkan cities like Aleppo, Damascus, and Salonica provided a comparison

¹⁴¹ Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹⁴² Fariba Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700-1800* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2010); Fariba Zarinebaf, "Intercommunal Life in Istanbul During the Eighteenth Century," *Review of Middle East Studies* 46, no. 1 (Summer 2012): 79–85.

¹⁴³ Shirine Hamadeh, "Mean Streets: Space and Moral Order in Early Modern Istanbul," *Turcica* 44 (2013): 249–77.

¹⁴⁴ Tülay Artan, "Forms and Forums of Expression: İstanbul and Beyond, 1600-1800," in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London: Routledge, 2011), 378–405.

¹⁴⁵ Abraham Marcus, "Privacy in Eighteenth-Century Aleppo: The Limits of Cultural Ideals," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 18, no. 2 (May 1986): 165–83.

¹⁴⁶ Abdul Karim Rafeq, "Public Morality in the 18th Century Ottoman Damascus," *Revue Du Monde Musulman et de La Méditerranée* 55–56 (1990): 180–96.

¹⁴⁷ Dror Ze'evi, *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

¹⁴⁸ Elyse Semerdjian, *Off the Straight Path: Illicit Sex, Law, and Community in Ottoman Aleppo* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2008).

¹⁴⁹ Eyal Ginio, "The Administration of Criminal Justice in Ottoman Selanik (Salonica) During the Eighteenth Century," *Turcica* 30 (1998): 185–209.

opportunity in addition to helping my understanding of some related topics with my thesis like privacy and morality issues within society as well as people's legal awareness those cities early modern period like Rhoads Murphy,¹⁵⁰ Leslie Peirce,¹⁵¹ and Fikret Yılmaz's¹⁵² works do in Anatolian cities.

On the other hand, there are some other doctoral thesis written in 2000s about the city of Istanbul, but focusing only on its a particular social aspect. For example, Fatih Bozkurt studied material culture of Ottoman Istanbul according to *tereke* records and tried to see changes from the late eighteenth to late nineteenth century.¹⁵³ Tuğba Kara approached to the city for writing its social and cultural life during the reign of Ahmed III.¹⁵⁴ Mustafa Demir¹⁵⁵ tells us crime and criminals of Ottoman Istanbul in sixteenth century like Zarinebaf did for the eighteenth-century Istanbul while Müge Özbek¹⁵⁶ focuses on sexuality and prostitution during nineteenth and also early twentieth century.

As it seen that there are quite a few studies which approach to Ottoman neighborhoods with a social perspective, specially focusing on neighborhood identity and collectiveness issues as well as social order and social control mechanisms.

¹⁵⁰ Rhoads Murphy, "Communal Living in Ottoman Istanbul: Searching for the Foundations of an Urban Tradition," *Journal of Urban History* 16, no. 2 (February 1990): 115–31.

¹⁵¹ Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2003).

¹⁵² Fikret Yılmaz, "XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahremiyetin Sınırlarına Dair," *Toplum ve Bilim* 83 (Winter, 1999/2000): 92–109; Fikret Yılmaz, "Zina ve Fuhuş Arasında Kalanlar: Fahişe, Subaşıya Karşı," *Toplumsal Tarih* 220 (2012): 22–31.

¹⁵³ Fatih Bozkurt, "Tereke Defterleri ve Osmanlı Maddî Kültüründe Değişim (1785-1875 İstanbul Örneği)" (Ph.D. diss., Sakarya University, 2011).

¹⁵⁴ Tuğba Kara, "III. Ahmed Devrinde İstanbul'da Sosyal ve Kültürel Hayat" (Ph.D. diss., Ondokuz University, 2014).

¹⁵⁵ Mustafa Demir, "16. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Devletinde Suç ve Suçlular: İstanbul Örneği" (Ph.D. diss., Hacettepe University, 2016).

¹⁵⁶ Müge Özbek, "Single, Poor Women in İstanbul, 1850-1915: Prostitution, Sexuality, and Female Labor" (Ph.D. diss., Boğaziçi University, 2017).

However, those studies mostly focus on other Anatolian cities like Edirne, Bursa, Ankara, Kayseri, Konya, or Trabzon. In addition, again most of these studies are related to the earlier times and there is again a gap in the history of eighteenth-century in comparison with other centuries. Therefore, this study aims to be one of studies which deal with one of the most turbulent period, which is also neglected by historian until recent dates in the one hand. On the other hand, I think that the neighborhoods of Ottoman Istanbul, as the capital of the empire deserve and also requires to be studied more with different perspectives. By doing so, it would lead further opportunities for making comparison with other world capitals.

2.4 The Historiography of Sijill-based Studies

Because court records are the backbone of many neighborhoods-based historical studies cited above as well as in the process of this thesis, it behooves us to examine the use of court records in Ottoman history studies with a closer look. Could researchers have pulled apart the dark curtains and examined court registers? To what extent have historians been able to blow the dust off the sijills and looked to see what still lives on their papers? In order to answer these and similar questions, we need to take a glance at the historiography of the usage of sijills by scholars.

It can be said that until the second half of the twentieth century “the sharia court as a distinct socio-legal institution has suffered from ‘disciplinary orphanhood’: No discipline has taken it upon itself to study this institution systematically.”¹⁵⁷ Actually, sijills could be backbone of the studies from three academic sub-discipline namely legal history, legal anthropology, and social history.¹⁵⁸ However, all of them have neglected the sijills. Sijill-based studies mostly come from Turkish and Balkan historians. We can see the first examples of the use of sijills in history writing in 1930s

¹⁵⁷ Iris Agmon and Ido Shahar, “Theme Issue: Shifting Perspectives in the Study of Shari’a Courts: Methodologies and Paradigms,” *Islamic Law and Society* 15, no. 1 (2008), 9.

¹⁵⁸ Agmon and Shahar, “Theme Issue: Shifting Perspectives in the Study of Shari’a Courts: Methodologies and Paradigms,” 9.

by Uzunçarşılı and Yaman among Turkish historians.¹⁵⁹ Later, İnalçık used the sijills of Bosnia and Bursa.¹⁶⁰ Aside from these studies, we can divide the historiography of the sijill-based studies and the usage of sijills in historical studies into two main periods: the 1960s-1970s and the 1990s. Each of the two periods was a turning point in this context.

After roughly the second half of the twentieth century, Rankean history writing changed a lot and historians no longer focused on the voices of greater institutions and figures of the past. Rather, new approaches to the past emerged and historians brought new perspectives to history writing. Social history, history from below, oral history, cultural history, and microhistory are some of them. Relatively, some neglected sources aroused historians' interests or historians brought new treatments toward sources in the wild. Sijill registers were the object of their share of interest in these new approaches in history writing because they afforded to trace the lives they stored on their pages. Uluçay, Ongan, Mandaville, Rafeq, and Raymond were the first scholars to study the Ottoman Shari'a court records in the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁶¹ Their early works were mostly quantitative without any interpretation and "they described and calculated demographic trends, economic activities, marriage and divorce practices, as well as prices of real-estate property and of agricultural and industrial

¹⁵⁹ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Şer'i Mahkeme Sicilleri," *Ülkü* 7, no. 29 (1935): 365–68; Mümtaz Yaman, "Şer'î Mahkeme Sicilleri," *Ülkü* 12, no. 68 (1938): 153–64.

¹⁶⁰ Halil İnalçık, "Saray Bosna Şer'iyye Sicillerine Göre Viyana Bozgunundan Sonraki Harp Yıllarında Bosna," *Tarih Vesikaları* 2, no. 9 (1942): 178–87; Halil İnalçık, "Bursa Şer'iyye Sicillerinde Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Fermanları," *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten* 11, no. 44 (1947): 693–703.

¹⁶¹ For the works of mentioning historians, see Çağatay Uluçay, "Manisa Şer'iyye Sicillerine Dair Bir Araştırma," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 10 (1953): 285–98; Halit Ongan, *Ankara'nın 1 Numaralı Şer'iyye Sicili* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1958); Jon E. Mandaville, "The Ottoman Court Records of Syria and Jordan," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 86 (1966): 311–19; Abdul Karim Rafeq, "Les Registres Des Tribunaux de Damas Comme Source Pour l'histoire de La Syrie," *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* 26 (1973): 219–26; André Raymond, "Les Documents Du Mahkama Comme Source Pour l'Histoire Economique et Sociale de l'Egypte Au XV^{TIP} Siecle," in *Les Arabes Par Leurs Archives (XVIe-XXe Siecles)*, ed. Jacques Berque and Dominique Chevallier (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1976), 125–39; Gerber, "Social and Economic Position of Women in an Ottoman City, Bursa, 1600-1700."

products.”¹⁶² By doing so, historians were on the wrong track because they evaluated them a data pool in which the stories written in the registers were treated as reflecting reality itself. However, these registers cannot represent the past completely rather they are only representing what was carried out in the legal process. As for the reality of the written records, they need to be taken with a grain of salt because the narrative reflects the official perspective and the narrator himself was an officer of the state.

As for the 1990s, we see the continuity of interest toward sijills as well as the changing approaches of historians. The previous works created a discontent for the methodological approach and treatment of sijills as primary sources among revisionist historians.¹⁶³ The new generation could not be satisfied with the use of hard data through sijills. Therefore, historians focused more on the qualitative rather than quantitative studies since the mid-1990s. “One result of this new orientation is a greater interest in the court itself, its judicial ideology, its socio-legal functions, and the nature of its relationship with its social environment.”¹⁶⁴ In relation to that, historians used sijills to read between the lines rather than contenting themselves with apparentness of sijill literature. By doing so, revisionists aimed to see the interaction between the society and state as well as the cultural construction within the society. The works of Hanna, al-Qattan, Tucker, and Peirce are the first names that come to the mind in this context.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Agmon and Shahar, “Theme Issue: Shifting Perspectives in the Study of Shari’a Courts: Methodologies and Paradigms,” 7.

¹⁶³ For example, Zouhair Ghazzal, “A Reply to Andre Raymond,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30 (1998): 474–75; Dror Ze’evi, “The Use of Ottoman Sharia Court Records as a Source for Middle Eastern Social History: A Reappraisal,” *Islamic Law and Society* 5 (1998): 35–56.

¹⁶⁴ Boğaç Ergene, “Social Identity and Patterns of Interaction in the Sharia Court of Kastamonu (1740-44),” *Islamic Law and Society* 15 (2008), 23.

¹⁶⁵ For examples from such studies, see Nelly Hanna, “The Administration of Courts in Ottoman Cairo,” in *The State and Its Servants: Administration in Egypt from Ottoman Times to the Present*, ed. Nelly Hanna (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1995), 44–59; Najwa al-Qattan, “Textual Differentiation in the Damascus Sijill: Religious Discrimination or Politics of Gender?,” in *Women, the Family, and Divorce Laws in Islamic History*, ed. Amira el-

Interest in these sources has continued to increase, but still it is unsatisfying for the twenty-first century history writing. Rather than studies based on a single type of source, comparative analysis of sources is necessary. Therefore, our aim is not to see more sijill-based studies, but rather to see more examples using sijills in addition to other sources and blending them with different historical methodologies and perspectives. Without such an integrated and comprehensive approach, our understanding of the past is doomed to remain inadequate and sophisticated. In this perspective, our aim in this paper is to be able to be a part of such an ideal.



Azhary Sonbol (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 191–201; Judith Tucker, *In the House of Law: Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab*.

CHAPTER 3
HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE LATE SEVENTEENTH AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH
CENTURIES

Your soldiers are fighting for Vienna
In the day of the dismissal of Mufti Feyzullah
We gathered in the Hippodrome with pleasure, Hu
The date of the dismissal of that heretic is 1703
His murder according to the shari'a took place in 1703
The date of his murder in Edirne is the first day of August 1703
He was dismissed from his post, that fox
From the beginning of the rebellion until his accession
When the news reached Constantinople
Of the accession of Sultan Ahmed III, the son of Mehmed Han
On Wednesday evening of August 1703 in Edirne.

A janissary ballad by Mehmed Rıza¹⁶⁶

Nothing can be well understood apart from its historical context. Starting from this point of view, this chapter will offer an overview of the historical background of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in order to provide the context for this study's explanation of social life in Ottoman Istanbul neighborhoods. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the Ottoman Empire were eventful periods. There were wars, defeats, structural changes, transformations, and social unrest. They were the reasons/indicators of a changing shell of the empire. Also, as Hathaway states "The eighteenth century, in the Ottoman Empire as elsewhere in the Mediterranean world, is frequently characterized in terms of what went before and what came after."¹⁶⁷ This period has often been labeled the beginning of the Ottoman decline, revisionist studies over the past fifty years questioned this interpretation.

¹⁶⁶ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borgo Turco, Box 39: 96-100. Translated by Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700-1800*, 183-86.

¹⁶⁷ Jane Hathaway, "Rewriting Eighteenth Century Ottoman History," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 19, no. 1 (June 2004), 29.

The revisionist historians focus on Ottoman internal dynamics and tend to interpret all the changes and transformations during the eighteenth century as a re-arrangement in response to changing power balances not as signs of imperial decline.¹⁶⁸ Because of these reasons, touching upon the historical context of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries without fleshing events and changes out is important for a better interpretation of the thematic context of the thesis.

3.1 Wars, Frontiers, and Military Balance

The balance in military issues was significant for urban development and social order of Ottoman Istanbul. One of the results of wars and territorial losses was great migration to the city. As a result, security concerns of the city people and the state also increased because new-comers were seen as a source of increasing crime rates in the eyes of the state. Therefore, giving a general framework of military actions and mobility would be useful for understanding of the era which is the subject matter of this study.

It would be a proper to start the historical frame of the thesis with the Second Siege of Vienna in 1683 because it was the beginning of a chain of military failures and loss of prestige of the Ottoman Empire in the international arena. Even though this siege got off to a good start, it was a disaster for the Ottoman Empire in terms of the siege's military and economic results and the loss of prestige both at home and abroad.

¹⁶⁸For example, see Norman Itzkowitz, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities," *Studia Islamica* 16 (1962): 73–94; Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus 1723-1783*; Albert Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables," in *The Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. William R. Polk and Richard L. Chambers (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), 41-68; Norman Itzkowitz, "Men and Ideas in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Islamic History*, ed. T. Naff and R. Owen (Carbondale, IL: Southern University Press, 1977), 15-26; Karl Barbir, *Ottoman Rule in Damascus, 1708–1758* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Cemal Kafadar, "The Myth of the Golden Age: Ottoman Historical Consciousness in the Post-Süleymanic Era," in *Süleyman the Second and His Time*, ed. Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 1993), 37-48; Bruce McGowan, *The Age of the A'yans, 1699 – 1812" in An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1600-1914*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi et al., vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Philip Mansel exemplifies this loss of prestige with a diner table experience one year after the siege as follows:

The Prince of Salina in *The Leopard* inviting the local mayor to dinner as the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies collapses, ambassadors obtained the right to sit on the sofa. They won another victory at their audiences in the Sultan's throne room: most ambassadors henceforth stood firm when their escorts tried to make them prostrate themselves before the Sultan.¹⁶⁹

After this siege, major territories in Hungary and Transylvania were lost and other powers taking heart from this failure of the empire, began to attack the Ottoman Empire on various fronts. In 1684, Austria, Venice, and Poland united to form a Holy League with the support of the Pope. This League began to attack the Ottomans on all fronts, and the empire suffered further defeats. In 1689, Russia attacked the Crimea and captured the port of Azov six years later.¹⁷⁰ In 1691, Ottoman forces were defeated at Slankamen and again in 1697, at the battle of Zenta. Especially after the defeat in Zenta, Ottoman strategy changed to emphasize political maneuvering over military force. With the Treaty of Karlowitz on 26 January 1699,¹⁷¹ the power of diplomacy took the first place in Ottoman agenda. Aftermath, diplomacy became the determinant factor for the imperial policies. Also, within this treaty the Ottomans officially acknowledged its defeat and permanent territorial loss for the first time throughout its history.¹⁷² As a result, the Ottomans abandoned all of Hungary (except the Banat of Temeşvar), Transylvania, Croatia, and Slovenia to the Habsburg Empire, Dalmatia, the Morea, and some Aegean islands to Venice, and Podolia and the south

¹⁶⁹ Philip Mansel, *Constantinople: City of the World's Desire, 1453-1924* (London: John Murray Publishers, 1995), 197.

¹⁷⁰ Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 38.

¹⁷¹ For detailed information about the Treaty of Karlowitz and Ottoman boundaries see R. A. Abou-El-Haj, "Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz," *The Journal of the American Oriental Society* 87, no. 4 (December 1967): 498–512; R. A. Abou-El-Haj, "The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier in Europe: 1699-1703," *The Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89 (1969): 467–75; R. A. Abou-El-Haj, "The Reiüsülkütab and Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1963).

¹⁷² Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, 38.

Ukraine to Poland.¹⁷³ In the North, Russia threatened to gain the control of the Black Sea in order to access to the open seas. For this aim, it captured Azov in 1696 and continued to fight until 1700. On 12 July 1700, Russia and Ottoman signed the Treaty of Istanbul. With the agreements of 1699 the Treaty of Karlowitz and 1700 the Treaty of Istanbul, the new boundaries between Ottoman and Austrian territories were determined by taking the territorial losses into consideration.

Military defeats and territorial losses left their marks on the eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire. Although some recent studies assume that “by the end of that century the Ottomans had succeeded in catching the wave of innovations,”¹⁷⁴ there is no doubt that the military balance had already shifted away from the Ottomans because they lost their edge in military technology and continued to use similar and then inferior weapons and tactics in contrast to their European contemporaries by the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁷⁵ In order to understand what the Ottomans lacked, one needs to look at the ways in which European warfare changed. Put it differently, what were the military developments which Europeans had but Ottomans did not catch in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Economic welfare, technological developments, increased military supplies and activities, powerful military reforms and powerful political actor to manage and control all the process were what Europeans had.¹⁷⁶ In addition, the transition to modern armies required some changes like “convincing well-organized and disciplined soldiers to stand fast in opposing ranks and open fire at one another, not

¹⁷³ Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, 38.

¹⁷⁴ Jonathan Grant, “Rethinking the Ottoman ‘Decline’: Military Technology Diffusion in the Ottoman Empire, Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries,” *Journal of World History* 10, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 179–201.

¹⁷⁵ Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, 37-38.

¹⁷⁶ For more information about European warfare changes and developments, see Michael Roberts, *The Military Revolution, 1560-1660* (Belfast: University of Belfast, 1956); Brian Downing, *The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Jeremy Black, *European Warfare 1660-1815*, (London: UCL, 1994).

breaking ranks in spite of friends and comrades falling all around.”¹⁷⁷ Just as European armies started to become were disciplined, the Ottomans began to lose its military discipline.

There were some internal factors affecting the military power and discipline of the Ottoman Empire. By the eighteenth century, the authority of the Ottoman sultans was not as strong as in the past. In 1617, the succession to the throne began to be made according to the oldest and the most experienced male of the dynasty called *ekber ve erşed*. According to it, the oldest and the most experienced male of the dynasty had the right to govern the empire. This system was followed by the cage (*kafes*) system in 1622. “Accordingly, princes were kept alive, not actually in a cage but rather within the palace grounds, particularly the harem, where they were shielded from public view and under the eye and control of the reigning sultan.”¹⁷⁸ This practice resulted in inexperienced successors. They would wait their turn to come to the throne for many years. When they became the sultan after such an isolated process, they became vulnerable to various involvement and manipulations of palace women, viziers, or other high-rank state officials. In other words, sultan began to be seen only a symbolic power to legitimize the governing process. It means the political structure of the state began to change in relation with economic and social affairs.

The weakening of the *devshirme* system was another internal factor affecting to the military structuring, strength, and discipline just like political structuring and authority. The *devshirme* system was the main source of janissaries and they were quite loyal to the sultan. Christian children in the Balkans and Anatolia were recruited at early ages and trained to be a qualified, loyal, devoted, and sincere soldier of the sultan. In time, this system began to fall into decay. The number of janissaries grew

¹⁷⁷ William McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force and Society Since A.D. 1000* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 133 quoted in Virginia Aksan, “War and Peace” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey: The Later Ottoman Empire 1603-1839*, ed. Suraiya N. Farooqi, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 83.

¹⁷⁸ Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, 92.

ever larger. With the relaxation of the marriage prohibitions of janissaries by Selim I and Suleiman I, the sons of janissaries began to be janissaries also.¹⁷⁹ In addition, by 1650, pashas enlisted their servants as janissaries in order to avoid the cost of their own households and make the state responsible for meeting such expenses.¹⁸⁰ *Reaya* (subjects of the state) also found a way to enroll as janissaries. As a result, many unqualified people began to registered as janissaries, and many janissaries increasingly began to join social life and other economic activities.¹⁸¹ Finally, this situation caused uncertain line between the *askerî* and the *reaya*.¹⁸² It was a vital problem for the Ottoman state because its social structure was based on the clear division between the *askerî* and the *reaya* classes. As Ottoman commentators frequently stressed, the continuity of the state and social tranquility depended on this equilibrium.¹⁸³ In connection with whole conjuncture mentioned above, janissary revolts left their mark on the second half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries. In 1651, 1655, 1687, 1703, and 1730, there were janissary revolts resulting in the killing of important state officials and even the toppling of

¹⁷⁹ Norman Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 90-92.

¹⁸⁰ Mansel, *Constantinople: City of the World's Desire, 1453-1924*, 223.

¹⁸¹ Actually, the janissaries had trained and worked in various crafting activities according to their abilities since the middle of the 15th century. At the end of the 16th century, they were also allowed to make trade. See Gülgün Üçel Aybet, *Avrupalı Seyyahların Gözüyle Osmanlı Ordusu: 1530-1699* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010).

¹⁸² Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition*, 89.

¹⁸³ "The Circle of Equity" was the main formulation underlying the mentality mentioned above. According to this formulation, "There can be no royal authority without the military. There can be no military without wealth. The *reaya* produce the wealth. The sultan keeps the *reaya* by making justice reign. Justice requires harmony in the world. The world is a garden, its walls are the state. The state's prop is the religious law. There is no support for the religious law without royal authority." Quoted from Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition*, 88. As an example of the advice for the survival of the state by Ottoman commentators, see Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Devlet Adamlarına Öğütler: Osmanlılarda Devlet Düzeni*, ed. Hüseyin Ragıp Uğural (Mersin: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2000).

sultans. Though janissaries had been involved in politics in earlier periods,¹⁸⁴ these revolts were clear indicators that military discipline was falling into decay and that society had lost its equilibrium. It reached the point that, in Montague's words, "The sultan trembles at a janissary's frown."¹⁸⁵ As a result, these rebellions directly affected the society and social order. While they disrupted social peace on the one hand, the political elites took some precautions after rebellions to balance and keep social order again on the other hand. In other words, the public order, security and tranquility was affected before, during, and after each rebellion.

As what happened with the *devshirme* system, the *timar* system also suffered from the similar problems by the eighteenth century. One of the notable change in the *timar* system was the entry of an increasing number of non-military-origin people to the system as had also been the case in the *devshirme* system. High-ranking officials were given *timars*. With diminished wealth and increasing need for cash, the state began granting *timars* to new people. These new *timar*-holders exploited the *reaya* with higher taxes for their own gaining. In other words, they extorted the *reaya* as much as they could on the one hand and caused going the required military service from bad to worse on the other.¹⁸⁶ Also, related to the loss of some territories in Hungary and Transylvania, the *timar*-holders who had lost their domains began to migrate to urban centers especially to Istanbul.¹⁸⁷

These directly affected Ottoman Istanbul society because as newcomers came, social anxiousness increased. The neighborhood structure of the early modern cities was based on the familiarity and collectiveness, so newcomers meant unfamiliarity and could cause unrest among neighborhood residents. Also, these new-comers came

¹⁸⁴ See Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order*, 19; Üçel Aybet, *Avrupalı Seyyahların Gözüyle Osmanlı Ordusu: 1530-1699*, 540.

¹⁸⁵ Mansel, *Constantinople: City of the World's Desire, 1453-1924*, 220.

¹⁸⁶ Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition*, 90.

¹⁸⁷ Barkey, *Empire of Difference: Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, 202.

with further problems like unemployment, food supply, and possible increases in crime rates related to the first two problems.

3.2 Changing Economic Balance

It is not possible to separate a state's economy from its political power, military structure, or social order. When one of the chains is broken, the others will be also affected. However, their relations are like the problem of the chicken and the egg paradox. In other words, it is quite hard to know which mechanism leads the pack. Technological backwardness leads to military failures. Military failures result in territorial losses and economic hardship. Economic weakness also has a negative effect on the supply of military equipment and provisions. The role of political figures is another important link in this chain, that is to say its authority not also affects the military discipline and also is affected by military force. To sum up, the Ottomans were caught in a vicious circle. There is no doubt that, all of them had an impact on city life of Ottoman Istanbul in terms of migration, social relations, state policies, public order, security concerns, and so on.

The weakening power of the sultan and the increasing involvement of palace women and high-ranking state officials in politics was both the symptom and cause of the decreasing central authority. This situation gave way to complaints among different social classes whose interests were threatened by the shaking of the political, economic, and military balances. State officials, pashas, and some members of the *'ulema* who obtained the right to have a voice in politics could affect the sultan and thus shape state affairs. This situation caused complaints and later disobedience from other classes who were affected negatively by this state of affairs. As a result of the disequilibrium and social unrest, an economic downturn was inevitable.

The end of military victories¹⁸⁸ meant the end of the spoils of war, an important financial source of the empire. In addition to that, salaries of soldiers began to fall

¹⁸⁸ Though there were some military successes during this period, like the re-gaining of Belgrad by forces under Mustafa Fazil Pasha's command in 1690, they were dwarfed by the territorial losses of the era.

into arrears, such that, “battles were lost when soldiers refused to obey their officers until their own salaries were paid.”¹⁸⁹ Losing territories caused the loss of the domains of the *timar*-holders who migrated to the urban centers and became an economic burden for the state. Military losses also brought about increased taxes to be able to eliminate the fiscal gap. For example, the government decreed a new tax called *imdad-i seferiyye* (tax of campaign), which was imposed on everyone regardless of their status whether officials or reaya, incomes and actual ability to pay.¹⁹⁰

The Ottoman Empire went to great lengths to solve these economic problems. For example, the state debased the coinage several times, which caused grumbling among the soldiers. Also, a new currency unit called *gurush*, which was large silver coins was introduced in 1690.¹⁹¹ However, this method gave way to unrest among salaried state officials.

When increasing taxes and debasing the coinage proved insufficient, the state turned to *iltizam* system (tax-farming) more extensively than before to meet its need for cash. However, with the words of Linda Darling “This system gave the *mültezims* – wealthy *reaya*, soldiers, officials and palace personnel – a financial stake in the empire’s prosperity and tapped revenues generated by rising prices and increased production.”¹⁹² This system was based on short-term borrowing, so *mültezims* were seeking their own benefit during this short period of time. This system was open to abuse, precisely it was experienced. In case of weakened central authority and state

¹⁸⁹ Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 218; Abdulkadir Özcan, ed., *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi (1099-1116 / 1688-1704)*, 226.

¹⁹⁰ Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 218.

¹⁹¹ Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 158.

¹⁹² Linda T. Darling, “Public Finances: The Role of the Ottoman Centre,” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey: The Later Ottoman Empire 1603-1839*, ed. Suraiya N. Faroqhi, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 120.

supervision over this system often resulted in exploitation of *reaya* and the flight of the peasant to cities.¹⁹³ When it was seen that this system could not be a remedy for the needs of the state, *malikâne* system (life-term tax-farming) was introduced in 1695.¹⁹⁴ Ariel Salzman indicates in one of her well-known studies about the Ottoman political economy in the eighteenth-century that “for the state, granting *malikâne* contracts on relatively insignificant revenues from tithes on villages and fields was a means of tapping into the cultural authority of provincial notables.”¹⁹⁵

There was also an important plague problem in the eighteenth-century societies just like the case experienced in the earlier periods.¹⁹⁶ Because of its negative impact on the population rate, there were less people to cultivate lands. Those who could survive preferred to go secure places which were mostly urban cities. As a result, there was a decrease in agricultural production.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the global commercial importance of the Ottoman Empire also decreased. Even though the state’s economy did not decline at all, there was a certain economic shrinkage. The Ottomans were actively involved in international trade, if only to a limited extent.¹⁹⁷ The Ottomans were

¹⁹³ Darling, “Public Finances: The Role of the Ottoman Centre, 120.

¹⁹⁴ For detailed information, see Erol Özvar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikâne Uygulaması* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2018).

¹⁹⁵ Ariel Salzman, “An Ancien Regime Revisited: ‘Privatization’ and Political Economy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire,” *Politics and Society* 21, no. 4 (December 1993), 405.

¹⁹⁶ For more information about history of plague in Ottoman Empire and Europe, see Michael Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977); David Herlihy, *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997); Stuart Borsch, *The Black Death in Egypt and England: A Comparative Study* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005); Birsan Bulmuş, *Plague, Quarantines, and Geopolitics in the Ottoman Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012); Yaron Ayalon, *Natural Disasters in the Ottoman Empire: Plague, Famine, and Other Misfortunes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

¹⁹⁷ Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, 126.

actively involved in international trade, if only to a limited extent.¹⁹⁸ However, Western states began to lead shipping trade even in Ottoman seas. The Mediterranean lost its commercial importance and trade routes shifted in the Good Hope.¹⁹⁹ Capitulations, which had been given to Venice and France before, began to be given to England, Holland and then all countries with a representative in Istanbul.²⁰⁰ All in all, the Ottoman Empire began to lose its advantages in international trade and its economy suffered as a result of this changing economic balance.²⁰¹

As wealth diminished, the power of the central authority weakened, military force decreased, some territories were lost, *reaya* began to be exploited...etc., social mobility also increased. With the words of Stanford Shaw, “once again, therefore, thousands of peasants began to flee from their lands, cultivation fell off even more, the cities became overcrowded, and town and country alike became tinderboxes, waiting for only a spark to catch.”²⁰² As a result, social unrest was inevitable.

3.3 Social Unrest and Population Movements

There were always comings to and goings from Ottoman Istanbul. People used to come to Istanbul for various reasons and for various lengths. They could be seasonal workers, unemployed young men, travelers, merchants, those seeking justice in the Porte, or long-term residences. However, there was an increasing flow of people to urban centers, but especially to Istanbul since the second half of the sixteenth

¹⁹⁸ For more information, see Edhem Eldem, “Capitulations and Western Trade,” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey: The Later Ottoman Empire 1603-1839*, ed. Suraiya N. Farooqi, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 301–14; Faruk Tabak, *Solan Akdeniz: 1550-1870, Coğrafi-Tarihsel Bir Yaklaşım* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2010).

¹⁹⁹ Robert Mantran, *XVI-XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, ed. and trans. Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay (Istanbul: Imge Kitabevi, 1995), 139.

²⁰⁰ Mantran, *XVI-XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, 147-148.

²⁰¹ For more information about Ottoman economy, also see Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Devlet ve Ekonomi* (Istanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2018).

²⁰² Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 227.

century, when the *Celali* revolts began and this flow was related to the increased political, economic, military and social problems in the society. People saw cities as secure places in which they could find a better life both economically and socially. Istanbul, as the capital was the most attractive place for people. Murphey indicates that the population of Istanbul increased with 6.5%, equivalent to the quinquennial growth rate of nearly 0.8%.²⁰³ Indeed, this situation was not peculiar to Ottoman case, there was also a general urban growth in Europe, Japan, or China during roughly 1600-1800.²⁰⁴ On the other hand, as Başaran argues it must be underlined that it is difficult to assume if these migrations caused a crucial increase in the population of Istanbul or not according to the current literature and findings.²⁰⁵

There were a number of reasons for the waves of urban immigration during the period. Long-lasting wars with Western powers mostly occurred in the Ottoman frontiers, and local people suffered a lot from those wars. There was also an increasing tension with Iran in the East. These factors urged people to find safer places for themselves. In this respect, Istanbul was the safest place because there were always an army, high-rank state officials, and better services opportunities for the palace. The territorial loses in the Balkans after the Treaty of Karlowitz also caused a noticeable Muslim population moving to Ottoman Istanbul because they preferred to live in the Ottoman capital rather than in a non-Muslim foreign state.

Increased taxes and making extraordinary taxes which were only collected in wartime as ordinary taxes like *imdâd-ı seferiyye* or *avarız* to meet the state's economic needs became burden for *reaya*. More importantly, the exploitation of *reaya* with illegal tax

²⁰³ Murphy, "Communal Living in Ottoman Istanbul: Searching for the Foundations of an Urban Tradition," 116.

²⁰⁴ Rhoads Murphy, "Communal Living in Ottoman Istanbul: Searching for the Foundations of an Urban Tradition," 116.

²⁰⁵ Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order*, 27.

collection in the name of *devr, selâmiyye, mübâşiriyye, etc.*²⁰⁶ by the new *timar*-holders made the life worse for local people. Although there were many *adaletnames* sending to the provinces to redress any abuses and prevent further misusages, it seems that state officials in those provinces also joint to the local elites oppressing the *reaya*. Taking the edict of Mahmud I²⁰⁷ into consideration, it seems that state officials like *valis* (local governors), *kadis* (judges), etc. also shirked their duties and local people complained a lot. As a result, *reaya* were deprived of their possessions and have become so vulnerable. On the other hand, there were some tax exemptions like peasant taxes tithe for example and there were no illegal collected wartime taxes in Istanbul. Besides that, there was an opportunity to join *askeri* class and being exempt from more other taxes. Therefore, they took to the roads with hope finding better socio-economic conditions and job opportunities in the city.

Another reason for migration from the provinces as Şeker states was the actions of uncontrolled brigands and also nomads. These two groups were a great source of threat for villagers' safety. Therefore, people wanted to guarantee their lives and properties by abandoning their places and migrating to cities.²⁰⁸

Plague, as mentioned above caused also an increase in population movements. Those who could survive after the plague tried to flee to a secured region. They mostly preferred cities especially Ottoman Istanbul but it is not an exception for plague.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶ Cengiz Şeker, "The Causes of Rural Migrations in 18th Century Ottoman Society," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 42 (2013), 221.

²⁰⁷ See Ahmet Refik Altınay, *Eski İstanbul* (Istanbul: Kapı, 2011).

²⁰⁸ Şeker, "The Causes of Rural Migrations in 18th Century Ottoman Society," 223-26.

²⁰⁹ Some of European travelers' accounts, visiting the Ottoman lands during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries mentions the severity of the fearsome plague in Ottoman lands and of course in Istanbul. For example, see W. Hamilton Levis, *Levantine Adventurer, The Travels and Missions of the Chevallier d'Arvieux, 1653-1697* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1962), 145; Antoine Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Anılar: 1672-1673*, ed. Charles Schefer, trans. Nahid Sırrı Örik, vol. 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1987), 84-124.

It must be also kept in mind that a great deal of migration comes up with further migration. That is to say, while the neighbors, townsmen, or relatives migrate, people would psychologically and sociologically follow them. It explains in the next chapter how we can see a group of people from the same town settled in the same neighborhood after arriving to Ottoman Istanbul.

To sum up, long-lasting wars increased economic stagnation; economic stagnation caused increased taxes and new ways to meet the state's cash needs; increased taxes and the tax-farming systems brought about the unjust practices of new *timar*-holders; and local state official exploited *reaya* and caused a flight of people from the countryside and a decline in agricultural production; decline in agricultural production along with inflation had a remarkable effect on food shortage; relatively, plague began and increasing flight to the urban centers began to be experienced. Relatively, this circle can be read bidirectional because epidemic gave way to deaths and decreasing agricultural production, famine and so on. As Ayalon argues that from the point of a state, there were three crucial problems stemming from such natural disasters -mass migration would be also added here.

First, they undermined public order and could lead to political instability in the affected region that could spill over to other parts of the empire. Second, they created subsistence crises in certain areas that had to be resolved to prevent further chaos and to maintain the basic principle of moral economy. Finally, calamities killed populations or prompted their movements to new areas, affecting the ability of the state to govern effectively, collect taxes, and control the shipping and distribution of commodities.²¹⁰

Migration to Ottoman Istanbul was always on the official agenda and the state was always on guard because migrants were perceived as a potential threat to social and economic order besides political stability in the city.²¹¹ Because it was the *Mahmiye*-

²¹⁰ Ayalon, *Natural Disasters in the Ottoman Empire: Plague, Famine, and Other Misfortunes*, 71.

²¹¹ For more information about the migration to Istanbul in the 18-century see Suraiya Faroqhi, "Migration into Eighteenth-Century Istanbul as Reflected in the Kadı Registers of Eyup," *Turcica* 30 (1998): 163–83; Cengiz Şeker, "İstanbul Ahkam ve Atik Şikayet Defterlerine Göre 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul'a Yönelik Göçlerin Tasvir ve Tahlili" (Ph.D. diss., Marmara University, 2007); Yunus Koç, "Osmanlı Dönemi İstanbul Nüfus Tarihi," *Türkiye Araştırmaları*

yi Istanbul (protected-city), any movement toward the city must be under control. In relation with that as Behar underlines “uprisings and various real or imaginary urban disorders (of a physical as well as of a moral sort) were often attributed to the presence of uncontrolled elements in the capital, and especially of groups of provincial and unsettled younger males who came seeking employment.”²¹² There were some reasons why migration to Ottoman Istanbul did not desired.

The first two problems are also the problems of increasing overpopulation in a place actually. First of all, it negatively affected economy. When people left their own places, agricultural production, which had already been negatively affected by the degeneration of the *timar* system was damaged. As mentioned above, food shortage was both reason and result for the epidemic. Along with the increasing population in urban centers, food supply became a problem. Increasing unemployment in cities would increase criminal minds and it was another source of problem for the central authority in the Ottoman case. As a result, preserving social order in the cities became harder and harder for the state.

The state tried a number of measures to stop the influx of people to urban centers, especially Istanbul -for the context of the thesis Ottoman Istanbul will be stressed. In order to prevent the flight of those who suffered from the plague, the state offered mostly tax reassessments, reductions, and exemptions.²¹³ From a religious perspective, the state told people to stay where they were because the plague was simply their fate. In the seventeenth and especially during the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire became more reactive in its measures for disasters. Many local governors took initiatives to prevent plague by applying quarantine.²¹⁴ On the other

Literatür Dergisi (TALİD) 8, no. 16 (2010): 171–99; Şeker, “The Causes of Rural Migrations in 18th Century Ottoman Society.”

²¹² Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 96.

²¹³ Ayalon, *Natural Disasters in the Ottoman Empire*, 80.

²¹⁴ Ayalon, *Natural Disasters in the Ottoman Empire*, 84.

hand, some edicts and *fermans* were enacted to prevent the flux of people in Istanbul. From the study of Ahmed Refik and Münir Aktepe, it is known that there were several important orders given by the sultans. The earliest edict is dated 1567, which is the time of Selim II is cited by Refik²¹⁵ and later edicts from the reigns of Ahmed III and Mahmud I are cited by Aktepe.²¹⁶ These orders, warning the various

²¹⁵ The edict given in 1567 says that “*Hasalar kadısına hüküm ki Rumeli ve Anadoludan bazı reaya yerlerin ve çiftlerin koyub birer tarik ile mahrusei İstanbul’a gelüb kimi İstanbul’da ve kimi Hazreti Eyyub ve Kasımpaşada derya kenarlarını mesken idinüb yerleri hâli kalub eğer sipahiye ve eğer mali mirîye ol ecilden zarar müterettib olduğundan maada mahrusei mezburenin kadimî sakinlerinin maişetleri babanda muzayekaya sebep oldukları ecilden ol makule beş yıldan beru ev bina idüb temekkün idenlerin her mahallede ne mikdar vardır Mülk ve vakıf nemikdar yazılıb bilmek lâzım olmagın ve minbaad anın gibi yalılarda emri şerifim olmadiyen ev bina olmasına rızayı şerifim olmamagın Dergâhı Muallâm çavuşlarından Mahmud mubaşir tayin olunub buyurdum ki vusul buldukda bu babda bizzat mukayyed olub tahtı kazanda derya kenarlarında vaki olan mahallâtı yoklayub teftiş idüb göresin her mahallede nemikdar hane olub vakıf ve mülk nemikdardır. Ve sakin olanlar ne yerden gelmişlerdir defter idüb Rum İlinden ve Anadoludan ve gayriden her kim gelüb beş yıldan beru temekkün etmiş ise eğer sahib eğer gayridir her biri nereden ve ne makule âdemdir ne zemanda gelmişdir defter idüb ve minbaad her mahallenin imamına ve müezzinine ve kethüdalarına tenbih ve te’kid eyliyesin ki badelyevm anın gibi yalılarda haricden gelmiş kimesneyi yerlü etdirmeyüb getürtmiyeler ehli fesad ve şenaat olanları ve kefilî olmıyanları dahi şer’ile teftiş eyleyüb fahişeden ve sayir ehli fesaddan şer’ile fesad ve şenaatleri habis ve arzı icra idüb her mahallenin ve beş yıldan beru gelânlerin defterin mühürleyüb gönderesin. Sonra emir nevecihle sâdır olur ise mucebi ile amel eyliyesin. Fi 27 Safer 975.” See Ahmed Refik, *Hicri Onuncu Asırda İstanbul Hayatı (961-1000)* (Istanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 139-140.*

²¹⁶ For example, Ahmed III sent a decree to Anatolia, Sivas, and Karaman provinces; the governors of Ankara and Hüdâvendigar *sanjaks*; *bostancı-başı* of Edirne; all *kadis* from Istanbul to Edirne; *ustas* of Çatalca and Karışdırın; *ayans* of the provinces in 1721 about the mass migration to Istanbul. See Başvekâlet Arşiv Umum Mdr., Mühimme register no. 130, 184, quoted in Aktepe, “XVIII. Asrın İlk Yarısında İstanbul’un Nüfus Meselesi’ne Dair Bazı Vesikalar.”4-5: *Üsküdar’dan Trabzon’a varınca Karadeniz sevâhilinde ve yemîninde vâki’ vüzera-yı îzâm ve beylerbeyilere ve sancak beylerine ve kadılara ve havass ve evkaf ve ziâmet ve timar voyvodalarına ve iskele emirlerine ve âyan-ı vilâyet ve iş erlerine hüküm ki, Memâlik-i vesi’atû’l-mesâlik-i [padişâhânemdem] Anadolu yakasında olan havass ve evkaf ve ziâmet ve timar dahilinde olan kasabat ve kura’da emlâk ve araziye mutasarrıf müslim ve zimmî reâya tâifesinden bâzıları mücerred üzerlerine edâsı lâzım gelen rüsum-ı raiyyet ve emr-i şerifimle vâki’ tekâlifden tahlis-i girîban eylemek sevâsile bâis-i ümrân-i diyâr-i büldân olan ziraati ve hırâseti terk ve kadimi yerlerinden ve yurdlarından kalkup İstanbul’a gelüb tavattun ve âhır kâr u kesbe iştigal etmelerile havass ve evkaf ve ziâmet ve timar mahsulâtına zarar ve noksan terettüb eylediğinden maadâ mahâllerinde evâmir-i şerîfem ile vâki’ olan tekâlifden hisselerine isâbet eden teklifat dahi yerlerinde bakiyye kalan reâya üzerlerine zamm ve tahmîl ve anlar dahi kendü hisselerine düşen tekâlifî edâda acz ve suubete mübtelâ iken terk-i evtân eden reâyanın tekâlifî dahi üzerlerine zamm ve ilâve olunmağla hallerine külliyyet le za’af ve vehn târi ve ekseri düyûn-ı kesire müstağrak olmağla anlar dahi perakende ve perişan olmağla kasd ve azîmetleri sebebile ahvâl-i raiyyet âraz-ı perişânî ve inhilâl-i nizâm-ı umûr-ı*

memleket karîn-i teşevvûş ve ihtilâl ve nice kura' ve büldan raiyyet ve ümeradan hâli olmağla kura' ve bilâdın kemâfi'l-evvel imârını ve sâir yerlerinde bakıyye kalan reâya ve berâyânın dahi usret ve su'ubetden himâyet ve sıyânet ve refâhiyyeti için bu makule evtân-ı kadîmelerinden kalkup diyâr-ı âhire göç ve firâr edenlerin buldukları mahallerden gerü me'vây-ı kadîmelerine ireâ ve iskânlarında takayyüd ve ihtimam olunmak için bundan akdem tenbih ve te'kidi müştemil mufassal ve meşrûb evâmîr-i şerîfem ısdâr ve irsâl olunmuş iken hilâf ol makule dâr ü diyârlarından kalkup göç eden reâyânın men' ve zecrlerinde ve evtân-ı kadîmlerine ircâlarında te'âmi ve tegâfûl ve tekâsül ve tesâmühünüzden nâşi rûz be-rûz ol makule reâya tâifesine göç ile Asitâneüi saâdetim tarafına gelmekten hâli olmaları bâlâda tafsil olunan mahzurâtdan maadâ mahrûsa-i İstanbul'un her tarafı ol makule göçüp gelen reâya tâifesinden ecnâs-ı muhtelifenin kesret ve zihâmından 'ulemâ ve sulehâ ve sâir ahali ve fukaranın adem-i rahatına ve kaht u galâyâ ve sereke(?) ve harîk misillû nice mefasid ve mekkâre vuku'ubna bâis ve bâdi olmalarıle siz ki temşiyet ve icrây-ı emr-i şerîfde ihmal ve tekâsülünüz hakkınızda îkabı muktezi olmuşken bu def'a mekârim-i tab'-ı re'fet-perver-i pâdişâhânem muktezâsına muâhezenizden safh u i'râz ve tekrar size tenbih ve îkaz için işbu emr-i şerîfim dahi ısdâr ile irsâl olunmuşdur. İmd vusûlünde birer suretin muhâkemât sicillâtına sabt ve mazmûn-ı münîfini cümleye ilân ve işaat ve fî-maba'd ol makule vatan-ı me'lûfesinden kat'-ı alâka edüp İstanbul'da tavattun eylemek kasdiyle gelenler her kim olur ise olsun her hanginizin taht-ı hükûmet ve kazanıza gelürler ise min-ba'd mürûr ve ubûrlarına kat'a müsaâde ve ruhsat gösterilmeyüp men'-i külli ile men' ve zecr ve gerü evtân-ı kadîmelerine îade ve ireâ'larında ihtimâm ve dikkat ve hilâfından begayet hazer ve mücânebet eylesüz. Bu husus îmâr-ı memleket ve dârü's-saltanatı alıyyem olan mahrûsa-i İstanbul'un ecnâs-ı muhtelifeden sıyâneti için teşebbüs olunan emr-i lâzîmü'l-ihimâmından olmağla bu bâbda şeref-efzây-ı sudûr olan fermân-ı vâcibü'l-ımtisâlimin mazmûn-ı itaât-makrûnu icrâsında ilâ-mâşallah bezl-i iktidâr ve sa'y-i bî-şumâr eyleyüp biraz vakit mürûrundan sonra tesâmüh ve te'âmi olunmağla her hanginizin taht-ı kasabâtında vâki' memerr ü ma'berlerinden ol makule göç ile bu cânibe gelür olur ise bu tarafda dahi Üsküdar ve sâir kura' ve civârda olan rehğuarlar zabt ve muhâfaza olunmuşdur gelenler ahz ve ne mahalden mürûr eylediği istifsâr olunup her hanginizin taht-ı kazâsından mürûr ettikleri haber alınırsa bir vechile özür ve cebâbınız isgâ olunmayup, ukubet-i şedîdeye giriftâr olacağınız emr-i muhakkaktır. Ana göre bu emr-i mühimme bsiret ve intibah üzre hareket ve ol makuleler göç ile geldikde mürûrdan men' ve zecr ve gerü yerlerine ircâ' ve taht-ı kazânızdan çıkıncaya dek yanlarına âdemleri koşup vilâyetleri tarafına doğru tesyîr ve bundan sonra ol makuleleden bir ferdin berü tarafa mürûr etmesinden gayetü'l-gaye hazer ve tehâşi eyliyesiz deyü buyurulmuşdur. Fî evâsıt-ı zilka'de, sene 1133."

Another edict dated 1729 is given in Ahmed Refik, *Onikinci Asr-ı Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı (1689-1785)* (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1930), edict no. 136, 105-106: "Hala Asitane-i Saadetimde gümrük emini olan Mehmed zide mecdihuya hüküm ki, Asitane-i Saadet aşyanme Anadolu ve Rum İli taraflarından göçlerle kimesne gelmemek üzere men'ü ref' olunub göçlerle gelmek murad idenlere bir dürlü iznü ruhsat virilmeye deyu bundan akdem sana hitaben kiraren ve miraren ekid ve şedid evamiri alişan şeref yaftei sudur ve mezamini münîfi icra olunur iken ahdi karibden beru müsamaha olunduğundan Rumeli ve gerek Anadolu taraflarından ehli İslamdan ve kefereden kati çok göçlerle âdem geldiği bedihiyyatdan olub bu hususa igmazı ayın eylediğin için itaba müstahak olmuşundur. İmdi sen ki mumailihsin kapularada olan pasbanlar o makule göçlerle gelenleri kapularda alıkoyub mukaddema ve hala şerefyaftei sudur olan evamiri celilül unvanımın mezamini münîfine mugayir vaz'u hareketden gayetül gaye ihtiraz ve ictinab eylemen babında fermanı alişanım sadır olmuşdur. Buyurdum ki Fi evaili Cemaziyel-evvel 1142."

officials, local governors, and *kadis* to prevent migration to the capital, show that the Ottoman state experienced serious problems because of the increased migration flow to Istanbul. As a result, the state had an increased awareness for the society's safety.²¹⁷ When we consider the edict of Ahmed III, it is understood that similar edicts were also given and similar cautions were also taken in earlier times against the migrations to Ottoman Istanbul.

Fires were another common natural disaster, causing social unrest in the Ottoman lands. Fires led to economic problems because shops were damaged after fires, cost of reconstruction was a heavy burden for the city-dwellers, and looting was an inevitable during the chaotic atmosphere after the fires. These consequences of the fires were well known especially for Ottoman Istanbul because Istanbul was the capital city, there are more documents, travelers' records, and archival registers giving detailed information about the fire outbreaks there.²¹⁸ Fires generally broke out in crowded neighborhoods and there were some general factors contributing to such outbreaks: houses were mostly made of wood and there were strong winds. "When a fire occurs, therefore, from the paucity of walls, and dry material to feed it, the destruction of the house is complete in an incredibly short space of time, the heavy roof soon falling in."²¹⁹ Falling asleep while smoking has also been argued as another factor of fire outbreaks.²²⁰ More importantly, the janissaries were seen as

²¹⁷For some examples of such edicts and *fermans* see, Aktepe, "XVIII. Asrın İlk Yarısında İstanbul'un Nüfus Meselesi'ne Dair Bazı Vesikalar"; Külbilge, "141 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (H.1148)."

²¹⁸ For more information about the fires in Ottoman Empire, see Mustafa Cezar, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul'da Yangınlar ve Tabii Âfetler," in *Türk San'atı Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: İstanbul Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Türk Sanatı Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1963), 327–414; Niyazi Ahmet Banoğlu, *İstanbul Cehennemi: Tarihte Büyük Yangınlar* (Istanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2008); Kenan Yıldız, "1660 İstanbul Yangınının Sosyo-Ekonomik Tahlili" (Ph. D. diss. Marmara University, 2012); Ahmet Tekin, "Ottoman Istanbul in Flames: City Conflagrations, Governance and Society in the Early Modern Period" (Master thesis İstanbul Şehir University, 2016).

²¹⁹ Albert Smith, *A Month at Constantinople* (London: David Bogue, 1850), 108.

²²⁰ Joseph Tournefort, *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi*, ed. Stefanos Yerasimos, trans. Teoman Tunçdoğan, Forth, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2005), 14.

another important factor, setting fires to allow them to loot the city and to protect against the sultan his rule or to take revenge for the delay of their salaries.²²¹ The last factor is quite remarkable in terms of showing the degree of social unrest and the alacrity of janissaries in fomenting political unrest in the society. Taking all these factors into consideration, the social unrest and janissary rebellions that left their marks on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries must also be discussed.

3.4. Janissary Rebellions and Edirne *Vak'ası*

All of the issues discussed above laid the groundwork for social discontent, unrest, turmoil, and some insurrections. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were some janissary revolts respectively in 1651, 1655, 1687, 1703, and 1730. Among these revolts, special attention will be paid to the Edirne *Vak'ası* within the framework of this thesis.

However, before discussing the Edirne *Vak'ası*, it would be beneficial to describe the 1687 revolt started by the janissaries and ending with the dethronement of Mehmet IV because both uprisings were similar. The failure of the Second Vienna Siege in 1683 led to a series of disasters for the Ottomans. The loss of large territories following this failure provoked both the society and the soldiers and resulted in several internal problems. The sultan was blamed for the military failures and territorial loses, and he had the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha executed in an attempt to quell the unrest. However, the unrest continued. Complaints included the lack of ammunition during the wars and sieges, the loss of revenues, and being in arrears with the payments of the janissaries' salaries accompanied by famine and plague, especially in 1685 and 1686.²²² Meanwhile, Mehmed IV spent most of his time in Edirne on hunting excursions. Therefore, some complaints began to be heard in the society. He was accused of not preventing the disorder in the society and not focusing on the business

²²¹ Levis, *Levantine Adventurer, The Travels and Missions of the Chevallier d'Arvieux, 1653-1697*, 145; Philip Mansel, *Constantinople: City of the World's Desire, 1453-1924*, 224-225; Tournefort, *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi*, 2, 14; Jean Thévenot, *Thévenot Seyahatnamesi*, ed. Stefanos Yerasimos, trans. Ali Berktaş, Second (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2014), 58.

²²² Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 218.

of state.²²³ As we understood from the books of the contemporaries, people of Istanbul were also discontented from the changing situation of Istanbul by claiming that the city had been becoming like a village.²²⁴ Furthermore, the rebels, who were from the leading figures of the Ottoman civil, military, and religious hierarchies, take a *fatwa* from the *Shaikh al-Islam* to depose Mehmet IV on the grounds that he was no longer fulfilling his governmental duties.²²⁵ As a result, just like his father Ibrahim I,²²⁶ Mehmed IV was deposed by the janissaries on 8 November 1687.²²⁷

The similar reasons paved the way for another but rebellion in 1703. So-called Edirne *Vak'ası* had a broad repercussion in the Ottoman society. The general reason for the controversy in the society had been already discussed above. On the other hand, there were some specific matters for the occurrence of 1703 rebellion. "All contemporary and near contemporary sources agree that mismanagement of state affairs was the primary cause of the rebellion."²²⁸ The impotence of Mustafa II together with the excessive domination of the *Shaikh al-Islam* Feyzullah Efendi over the sultan bred an increased disgruntlement among the state officials and *'ulema*. Feyzullah Efendi aspired to be involved in every aspect of the political affairs so made an enemy of many high-rank officials. *'Ulema* also nursed a grudge against him because of his nepotism.²²⁹

²²³ Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 219; Dimitri Kantemir, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Yükseliş ve Çöküş Tarihi*, trans. Özdemir Çobanoğlu, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitap Kulübü, 1998), 689.

²²⁴ "Padişahımız burada olmamakla İstanbul şehri köylük yerine döndü." in Mehmet Halife, *Tarih-i Gilmânî*, ed. Kamil Su (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1986), 145.

²²⁵ John Freely, *Istanbul: The Imperial City* (London: Viking, 1996), 242.

²²⁶ For the deposition of Ibrahim I see Mehmed Hemdemî Çelebî Solak-zâde, *Solak-zâde Tarihi*, ed. Vahid Çabuk, vol. 2 (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1989), 578-582.

²²⁷ Freely, *Istanbul: The Imperial City*, 242.

²²⁸ Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut Te Istanbul, 1984), 5.

²²⁹ About his nepotism see Silahdâr Fındıklılı Mehmet Ağa, *Nusretnâme*, ed. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1966), 143-44; Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics*, 18; Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât: Tahlil ve Metin (1066-1116/1656-1704)*, 784-85; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. IV, 1 vols.

A second factor leading to the rebellion was the issue of making Edirne the seat of government.²³⁰ Since the time of Mehmed IV, the sultans spent most of their times in Edirne and neglected Istanbul. During his reign, Mehmed IV spent almost twenty-five years away from Istanbul and mostly occupied in Edirne. Both Ahmed II (1691-1695) and Mustafa II (1695-1703) came to the throne in Edirne differently since the conquest of Istanbul.²³¹ In addition to all these, on 21 March 1701, Mustafa II decreed the transfer of the palace to Edirne. "Hearing this, the people of Istanbul lost all hope and desire and fell into despair."²³² Even though they are not strong arguments, Abou-el-Haj has stated, there were two pragmatic reasons for this move. First, determining the borders was continued after Karlowitz and Istanbul treaties. Because Edirne is closer to the Balkan frontiers, seating there would accelerate the procedure of the determination as well as provide an easy control for the process. In addition to that, some diplomatic representatives from the powers of the Holy League were still visiting the Ottoman Sultan concerning confirmation of the peace treaties. Welcoming these representatives would be easier thanks to the proximity of Edirne to the frontiers.²³³

On the other hand, people of Ottoman Istanbul saw no need staying in Edirne after the peace treaties.²³⁴ Perceptions of the move to Edirne were different. According to

(Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2011), 15-16; Raşid Mehmed Efendi and Çelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi, *Tarih-i Raşid ve Zeyli*, ed. Abdulkadir Özcan et al. (İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2013), 649-51.

²³⁰ See Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics*, 4.

²³¹ See Mücteba İlgürel, "Ahmed II," *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 2:33-34, 1989; Abdulkadir Özcan, "Mustafa II," *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 31: 275-80, 2006.

²³² Naima, *Tarih-i Na'ima*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli, vol. 4 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007), 1886-87 cited in Boyar and Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul*, 34.

²³³ Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics*, 19.

²³⁴ "Selâtin-i izâmın makarr-ı kadîmleri İstanbul olup, seferler takrîbiyle bir müddet Edirne'de ikâmet olunmuşdu. Lâkin elhamdü lillahi te'âlâ milel-i Nasârâ ile sulh olunup, Edirne'de oturmanın lüzûmu kalmayup, İstanbul'a gelüp, nizâm-ı memleket ve tanzîm-i umûr-ı ra'iyet ile takayyüd lâzım iken, mücerred İstanbul'da fetret eksik olmaz, ma'nâsına gûyâ mukaddere karşı komak gibi İstanbul bilküllüye ferâmüş, herkes evler ve hânlar ve akarâtlar binâ, etrâf-ı mahallât-ı cedîd paydâ, bunun ile dahi iktifâ olunmayup, şehzâdelere sûr-ı hitân, dört beş

contemporaries, *Shaikh al-Islam* exercised influence over the sultan for this move in order for his own benefits.²³⁵ Even the possibility of such a change could not be tolerated by the residents and especially the merchants of Istanbul because “To the people of Istanbul this permanent settlement meant economic deprivation, because the merchants who supplied the palace and high government officials were denied their rightful source of livelihood.”²³⁶ As for the janissaries, they already had strong ties of affection for Istanbul which had been the seat of government for centuries.²³⁷ That is to say, for all social classes living in Istanbul, it was the reason for preference to see Istanbul was the seat of the government because this made the city both economically and socially more attractive and safer place to live. Easy access to the palace can be counted as another factor for this desire because when the sultan settled in Istanbul, there was more opportunity to deliver petitions to him.²³⁸

yaşında üç sultân vüzerâdan Nu'mân Paşa ve Silâhdar Ali Paşa ve merhûm Mustafa Paşa-zâde Ali Paşa'ya verilmek üzere akd ü nikâh olunup, harem ve taşra ağalar ve baltacılar oadaları ile bir sarây lâzım olmağla, Hastalar Sarâyı ve Mustafa Paşa Sarâyı ve Muhsin-zâde Mehemed Efendi hâneleri iştirâ ve binâsına mübaşeret olundu.” Özcan, *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi (1099-1116 / 1688-1704)*, 225.

²³⁵ Silahdar states this in his chronicle as follows: “Devletin düzenleme, halkın da yorgunluklarını giderme yaralarını sarma zamanı idi. Ancak padişahın öğretmeni olan şeyhülislam Efendi, kendi çocuklarını ve tayfasını kayırarak, öteki ‘ulemayı gözden ırak tutmak, kenarda bırakmak emeliyle padişahı etkilemiş ve böyle bir düzen düşünmüştü.” Also, Silahdar states that Feyzullah Efendi deceived the Sultan into moving in Edirne with his words: “Padişahı savaşlar durunca, padişahlar İstanbul’da uzun boylu oturur olunca, asker ve ‘ulemanın yaramazlıkları eksik olmaz gibi sözlerle işkillendirdi ve yine ona Edirne rahattır, memurlar için de elverişlidir, avlaları boldur, zamanımıza gelinceye kadar bu şehirde bir başkaldırma olmamıştır, uğurlu memlekettir, gidin, rahat edersiniz, demiştir.” Ağa, *Nusretnâme*, vol. 2, 47.

²³⁶ Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics*, 19.

²³⁷ For example, one of the reasons for the revolt against the Sultan Osman II (1618-1622) was the claim that the capital was going to be transferred to Cairo. See Fikret Yılmaz, “Siyaset, İsyân ve İstanbul (1453-1808),” in *Antik Çağ’dan XXI. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi Siyaset ve Yönetim*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz, vol. 1 (Istanbul: I.B.B Kültür A.Ş., 2015), 128.

²³⁸ See the complaints of *cebecis* in Ağa, *Nusretnâme*, vol. 2, 144-45.

As a result of all the reasons mentioned above, the stage was set for a popular rebellion. The rebellion began on July 17, 1703,²³⁹ and it was started by *cebecis*.²⁴⁰ Disappointed *'ulema*, *softas* (*madrassa* students), merchants, city-dwellers, and janissaries also joined the rebellion.²⁴¹ As Abou-el-Haj argues "The rebellion was as much an inter-elite as it was an intra-elite conflict. Its dynamics point to a conflict not between classes rigidly held together, but between contenders drawn from parts of practically all elements of Ottoman society."²⁴²

During the rebellion, shops were closed until the rebels got their wishes: deposition of the *Shaikh al-Islam* and returning of the palace to Istanbul. They got a *fatwa* about the stopping of Friday praying because the sultan was not just to be read *khutbah* in the name of him during the Friday praying.²⁴³ The rebels unrecognized some state

²³⁹ Abdulkadir Özcan, "Edirne Vak'ası," *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 10: 445-46, 1994; Özcan, *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi (1099-1116 / 1688-1704)*, 227. However, the starting date of the rebellion is stated as July 18, 1703 in Ağa, *Nusretnâme*, vol. 2, 144; Freely, *Istanbul: The Imperial City*, 248.

²⁴⁰ They met in their barracks and voiced their complaints about their salaries with those words: "Güzeşte on kıst ulûfemizi bitmez yerlerden havale itmeleriyle bu kadar zamandan beru ulûfe yüzü göremez olduk, padişah hazretleri Edirne'de, kime feryad idelüm. Kaymakam namına olan sefih oğlam güvercin uçurmaktan eli değmez, arzihal itsek, merhamet idüb yüzümüze bakmaz, her birimizi tutturup nefy ve zindanlarda boğdurub helâk ideceği emr-i mukarrerdir." After these words, they took an oath not to break up until receiving their salaries. Ağa, *Nusretnâme*, vol. 2, 144-45.

²⁴¹ Ağa, *Nusretnâme*, vol. 2, 145-148; Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 227-228; Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics*, 17; Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât: Tahlil ve Metin (1066-1116/1656-1704)*, 787-791; Özcan, *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi (1099-1116 / 1688-1704)*, 226-229; Barkey, *Empire of Difference: Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, 207; Efendi and Efendi, *Tarih-i Raşid ve Zeyli*, 653-661; Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order*, 16.

²⁴² Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics*, 31.

²⁴³ Ağa, *Nusretnâme*, vol. 2, 150-151; Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât: Tahlil ve Metin (1066-1116/1656-1704)*, 791; Özcan, *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi (1099-1116 / 1688-1704)*, 228; Efendi, *Ravzatü'l-Küberâ: Tahlil ve Metin*, 33; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*; Efendi and Efendi, *Tarih-i Raşid ve Zeyli*, 660.

officials and made new assignments in return for them.²⁴⁴ People were forced to join them, so the number of the rebels grew more and more.

The sultan was oblivious to the severity of the public disorder in Istanbul because Feyzullah Efendi slid over the events by stating that the only problem was the delayed salaries of the soldier and that he would deal with it. When the sultan learned the reality of the affair, first he wanted to save the *Shaikh al-Islam* by sending him into exile.²⁴⁵ However, this only antagonized the rebels further. After that, even the sacrifice of Feyzullah Efendi²⁴⁶ would not squelch the rebels' rage. Then, with Shaw's words "The sultan ordered his troops to prepare to march to Istanbul to suppress the rebellion, but the rebels responded by sending their own forces toward Edirne, including several thousand *'ulema* and members of the Istanbul guilds (August 13, 1703)."²⁴⁷ The sultan's forces agreed with the rebels and Mustafa II was deposed and his brother Ahmed III was enthroned on August 22, 1703. The rebellion thus ended without bloodshed except for the executions of the *Shaikh al-Islam* and some state officials.

Within the Edirne *Vak'ası*, the use of Edirne as the de facto capital of the empire since 1656 came to an end. Ahmed III announced that no sultan would again settle in Edirne except on campaign, and that even during the campaigns in Europe, no sultan would spend more than three days in Edirne.²⁴⁸ The new sultan gradually consolidated his power and placed he trusted people in key positions. Also, after the

²⁴⁴ Paşmakçızade Seyyid Ali Efendi was assigned as the new *Shaikh al-Islam*-when he retired from the office on the ground of his health İmam Mehmed Efendi was assigned in return for him; Tefvikîzade Mehmed Efendi as Rumelia *kadiasker*; Deli Yahya Efendi as Anatolia *kadiasker*; Söhrablı Ahmed Pasha as *qaymaqam* of Istanbul. Ağa, *Nusretnâme*, vol. 2, 151-158; Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât: Tahlil ve Metin (1066-1116/1656-1704)*, 791-798.

²⁴⁵ See Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât: Tahlil ve Metin (1066-1116/1656-1704)*, 795-96.

²⁴⁶ For more information about the death of Feyzullah Efendi, see Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât: Tahlil ve Metin (1066-1116/1656-1704)*, 818; Efendi, *Ravzatü'l-Küberâ: Tahlil ve Metin*, 163.

²⁴⁷ Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 228.

²⁴⁸ Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics*, 86; Yılmaz, "Siyaset, İsyân ve İstanbul (1453-1808)," 128-29.

return of the palace to Istanbul, the sultan started urbanization of the city to reassert his physical presence and authority in the imperial capital.²⁴⁹



²⁴⁹ Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, 3-4 quoted in Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order*, 13.

CHAPTER 4

NEIGHBORHOOD AS A UNIT OF ANALYSIS

Şüphe yok ki, insani ictimaa zaruridir. Filozoflar bu hususu ‘insan, tabiatı icabı medeniidir’ sözleriyle ifade etmişlerdir. Yani insan için cemiyet düzeni içinde yaşamak şarttır. Hükemânın ıstılahında bu ictimâa medeniyet (medine, town, polis) adı verilir ki, umranın (civilisation) mânası da bundan ibarettir.

-Ibn Haldun²⁵⁰

There are many overgeneralizing definitions and descriptions for the terms of “city” and “neighborhood” like pre-modern, modern, industrial, Islamic, Arab, European, Ottoman...etc.²⁵¹ These adjectives reflect some different approaches to cities and their neighborhoods. Each of them fixes on only few characteristics and serves a different interest.²⁵² All in all, these views are “very descriptive and piecemeal and have no well-defined methodology.”²⁵³ Therefore, it is important to crystallize the meaning of a neighborhood in order to draw a clear line of the subject of the study. This chapter does so in three sections. The first define the notion of neighborhood lexically and discuss different usages for the concept of neighborhood in the literature. The second evaluates the concept of neighborhood and the debates around it from a socio-historical perspective, especially for early modern cities.

²⁵⁰ İbn Haldun, *Mukaddime*, ed. Süleyman Uludağ, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1982), 271.

²⁵¹ Historians could be at a crossroad to use some of these terms somehow because of the constrution of existing literature on these terms and also the lack of new, different, or better concepts which can help to explain different historical cirmcustances. However, at least an explanatory introduction or footnote can be preferred to indicate the intended purpose of these concepts in the planned study. Therefore, I have preferred to use the adjective of “early modern” while speaking of eighteenth-century cities and neighborhoods through this study.

²⁵² Sidney Brower, *Good Neighborhoods: A Study of In-Town and Suburban Residential Environments* (Westport, Connecticut, and London: Praeger, 1996), 17.

²⁵³ Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its *Mahalles*: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries.”

Finally, the third section discusses the traits of the neighborhoods of eighteenth-century Istanbul to lay the groundwork for the following chapter.

4.1 What Is a Neighborhood?

When we look at the lexical meaning of “neighborhood,” it is defined as “an area of a town or city that people live in”²⁵⁴ or “an area of a town or city.”²⁵⁵ In French, the equivalent term is *le voisinage*, derived from the verb of *voir*, meaning “to see.” This term thus underlines that it is a place in which people see and are familiar with one another. The Turkish equivalent is etymologically Arabic term *mahalle*,²⁵⁶ which “originally means a place where one makes a halt.”²⁵⁷ There are some terms used interchangeably for neighborhood, like district, quarter, parish, commune, or even community, in the academic literature. However, do these terms really express the same meaning as “neighborhood” or are there some differences? To crystalizing the main concept of the study, the term “neighborhood” needs to be well defined. Therefore, the socio-spatial meanings and usages of the other terms will be analyzed shortly.

“District” comes from Latin origin word *distringere*, meaning to “draw apart.” Mainly it has two meanings: an area of a country or city which has specific borders, or a particular area of a country or city which has a particular feature. In other words, “an area of a country or town that has fixed borders that are used for official purposes, or that has a particular feature that makes it different from surrounding areas.”²⁵⁸

²⁵⁴ “Neighborhood,” *Cambridge Dictionary*, May 30, 2016, <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/turkish/neighbourhood?q=neighborhood>.

²⁵⁵ “Neighborhood,” *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, accessed May 30, 2016, <http://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/neighbourhood>.

²⁵⁶ It originates from the Arabic term *mahalla*.

²⁵⁷ J.H. Kramers, “Mahalla,” ed. M. Th. Houtsma et al., *The Encyclopedia of Islam: A Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples* (Leiden: Brill, 1927), 110.

²⁵⁸ “District,” *Cambridge Dictionary*, February 26, 2018, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/district>.

There is a terminology of *semt* in Turkish. There is a considerable difference between neighborhood and district.²⁵⁹ As Behar states, “The *semt* is a nondescript area, a district, usually much larger than an average *mahalle*, indicative of a rather large section of the city.”²⁶⁰ Üsküdar is a district but Debbaglar is a neighborhood within Üsküdar district, for example.

“Quarter” also derived from *quartarius* in Latin meant the fourth part of a measure and has transmitted to French as *le quarter*.²⁶¹ In its lexical meaning, it is one of the four parts of something. With the spatial usage, it is “an area of a town where a particular group of people live or work or where a particular activity happens.”²⁶² Its equivalent in Arabic is *khitat* (pl. *khitta*) referring to “the various quarters of the newly-founded early Islamic towns which the Arab-Islamic chiefs laid out (root *kh.t.t*) for the population groups which they attracted thither or for their respective leaders.”²⁶³ The term of “quarter” is used as synonym for neighborhood, “But the spatial term in which the identification of people and place was most complete was *le voisinage* (the neighborhood). The very existence of the word is significant, for unlike *la maison, la rue, or le quarter*, it never applied to a clearly defined object or space.”²⁶⁴ It can be concluded that neighborhood is a more well-defined physical and spatial area than quarter. Nevertheless, I would argue that quarter is the closest term

²⁵⁹ Also see Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its *Mahalles*: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries,” iii, 46, 100-102.

²⁶⁰ Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 5.

²⁶¹ “Quarter,” *Oxford Dictionaries*, February 26, 2018, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/quarter>.

²⁶² “Quarter,” *Cambridge Dictionary*, February 26, 2018, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/quarter>.

²⁶³ Cl. Cahen, “Khitat,” ed. P. Bearman et al., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, February 27, 2018, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4297.

²⁶⁴ David Garrioch, *Neighborhood and Community in Paris 1740-1790*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 30.

to neighborhood among the other terms mentioned above, as Özbek-Eren also argues.²⁶⁵

“Parish” is another word, from the Latin *parochia*, that is alternatively used for neighborhood. It is defined as “in some Christian denominations, an area cared for by one priest with its own church, or (in England) the smallest unit of local government.”²⁶⁶ Even though there was a religious structure based on the religious belief of the society -like: *mescid*, church, chapel, etc.- in almost every neighborhood of early modern cities, neighborhood is more than that. In other words, neighborhood has a broader meaning than parish.

“Commune” is again a Latin-origin French word that comes from “communia.” It is “the smallest French territorial division for administrative purposes.”²⁶⁷ In addition to that, it is also used for a group of people living together and having shared interests and responsibilities. Even though it matches up to the term of neighborhood in English-Turkish dictionaries, it does not imply the same socio-spatial meaning as neighborhood.

Then, what does the term neighborhood imply? To answer this question, we will have to go beyond a simple dictionary definition. It is a term whose meaning varies from period to period and from place to place, because each society has its own dynamics and its own neighborhood structures and these peculiarities are not constant. That is to say, the meaning of “neighborhood” is subject to change over time,²⁶⁸ and thus has various usages and meanings.

²⁶⁵ Özbek-Eren, *Mahalle: Yeni Bir Paradigma Mümkün Mü?*, 28.

²⁶⁶ “Parish,” *Cambridge Dictionary*, February 27, 2018, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/parish>.

²⁶⁷ “Commune,” *Oxford Dictionaries*, February 27, 2018, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/commune#h46974495390180>.

²⁶⁸ Denis Cosgrove offers an illuminating example of how meanings could change over time. The root of the word “landscape” goes back to the Medieval German concept *landschaft*. *Landschaft* implies a place which has a determined geographical limits and forms constituted through social interaction. It is more about “spatiality” and “relativity.” However, its changing

As a result, “In view of cultural and historic variety, no single definition of neighbor is universally accepted...”²⁶⁹ Therefore, “A serviceable definition of urbanism should not only denote the essential characteristics which all cities -at least those in our culture- have in common, but should lend itself to the discovery of their variations.”²⁷⁰ Nevertheless, it can be defined simply and clearly with Glass’ words as “a distinct territorial group, distinct by virtue of the specific physical characteristics of the area and the specific social characteristics of the inhabitants.”²⁷¹ As for the neighborhood in early modern cities, it means also a platform of sociability and familiarity in which people knew each other and shared a dynamic neighborhood life as the French called *la vie de quartier*.²⁷²

Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul context meant multi-functional and multi-dimensional. As Cerasi point out, Ottoman neighborhood cannot be commentated with one-sided dimensional and functional definitions.²⁷³ Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul context will be discussed in detail in following pages. However, for a better

content with landscape is an “aesthetically unified space, and beyond the traditional geographical sense of landscape as an expression of ecological relations between land and life” (p.68). Briefly, the meaning totally transformed both socially and spatially. “Socially, landscape was divested of attachment to a local community and its customary law and handed to the “distaniciated gaze” of a property owner whose rights over the land were established and regulated by statute. Spatially, landscape was constructed as a bounded and measured area, an absolute space, represented through the scientific techniques of measured distance, geometrical survey, and linear perspective.” (p.62). For more information, see Denis Cosgrove, “Landscape and Landschaft,” *German Historical Bulletin* 35 (Fall 2014): 57–71.

²⁶⁹ Suzanne Keller, *The Urban Neighborhood* (New York: Random House, 1968), 22.

²⁷⁰ Louis Wirth, “Urbanism as a Way of Life,” in *Neighborhoods, City, and Metropolis: An Integrated Reader in Urban Sociology*, ed. Robert Gutman and David Popenoe, vol. 2 (New York: Random House, 1970), 57.

²⁷¹ Ruth Glass, *The Social Background of a Plan: A Study of Middlesbrough* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1948), 18.

²⁷² M. Garden, “La Vie de Quartier,” *Bulletin Du Centre Pour l’Histoire Économique et Sociale de La Région Lyonnaise* 3 (1977): 17–28.

²⁷³ Cerasi, *Osmanlı Kenti: Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda 18. Ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Kent Uygurlığı ve Mimarisi*, 71

understanding, the main debates about the neighborhood studies will be discussed below.

4.2 Debates on Neighborhoods from a Sociological and Historical Perspective Especially for the Early Modern Ottoman Context

While looking for an answer for the question of what the neighborhood is, the issues of the space and landscape needed also shortly be touched upon. Debates in this respect are basically divided into two categories. The first debate is around whether the neighborhood is a social or a physical space. The second is about the neighborhood's position within the city: either it has a relational position within other neighborhoods or it is a distinctive unit that constructs a city. In other words, the second debate is around whether the neighborhood is homogenous or heterogeneous unit.²⁷⁴ However, it must be kept in mind that there is/must be always another option for understanding, defining, or comparing something.

Before going into detail about the debates, the notion of space will be discussed briefly because it is a frequently used term for defining and discussing the concept of neighborhood. With its lexical meaning, space implies an area but the term is also used as physical, social, private, or public space in the literature. Physical space is the term closest to the lexical meaning of space. It means a place and implies the structures, boundaries, streets, and so on in a neighborhood. On the other hand, "A space is more than, and different from, a physical location or place. A space is an arena of social action,"²⁷⁵ in which people come together, interact, and form an identity for themselves. To define private and public space, Lefebvre uses the respective terms "appropriated" and "dominated."²⁷⁶ While domestic life constitutes

²⁷⁴ For another discussion about the mentioned debates around the concept of neighborhood see Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its *Mahalles*: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," 45-54.

²⁷⁵ Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*, Royal Historical Society (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 2.

²⁷⁶ Henry Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 164-66.

the main source of private space, areas outside the home can be labeled as public. Besides public and private areas, Tülay Artan describes a third intermediate sphere in which boundaries between the individual and society, that is private and public tended to blur in the Ottoman Istanbul.²⁷⁷ However, in order to mention an “intermediate” area, the boundaries of the other two areas which were private and public must be clear. Therefore, in times when there was a fluidity of what was private and what was public, the assertion of a third sphere must be approached critically.

The neighborhood is the combination of both physical and social as well as private and public spaces. Probably one of the well-known contribution to the debates around space comes from Lefebvre. He carried the issue of whether space is an object or subject debate to accepting it as a “social reality -that is to say, a set of relations and forms.”²⁷⁸ To put it differently, “Space, like time, was treated as an objective phenomenon, existing independently of its contents. In this sense space was seen as a container that had effects on the objects existing within it but was not itself affected by them.”²⁷⁹ However, it also has its own characteristics like geography, climate, and so on which could affect its inhabitants. According to Henry Lefebvre, “Space is social morphology: it is the lived experience what form itself is to the living organism, and just as intimately bound up with function and structure.”²⁸⁰ Further, he divides space into two: absolute and abstract. Absolute space resembles what we mean by the early modern neighborhood, that is, community life that was alive. Absolute space is religious and political; in his words, it “is 'lived' rather than conceived, and it is a representational space rather than a representation of space...”²⁸¹ On the other side, abstract space refers to “the space of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism, bound up as

²⁷⁷ Tülay Artan, “Forms and Forums of Expression: İstanbul and Beyond, 1600-1800,” 381.

²⁷⁸ Henry Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 116.

²⁷⁹ Cosgrove, “Landscape and Landschaft,” 58.

²⁸⁰ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 94.

²⁸¹ Lefebvre *The Production of Space*, 236.

it is with exchange (of goods and commodities, as of written and spoken words, etc.) depends on consensus more than any space before it.”²⁸²

The first issue is about the nature of the neighborhood: is it a physical unit or a social unit? Those who define the neighborhood as a physical unit lay emphasis on its physical components like borders, streets, housing, yards and its relation and position with the city, district, and so on. The Chicago School is the first and best-known school with its approach to the physical, in other words visible aspects of a city. It argues the fact that physical space is an external fact than its habitants, but it was formed in accordance with the needs and interests of the residences. The term of “ecological city” was used by the adherents of Chicago School. According to this view, city “comes to exist independently of its residents. It develops a momentum of its own to which the individual must be subordinated -an irresistible juggernaut sucking up the sands of humanity.”²⁸³ On the other hand, this school uses also the term “ecological community,” which underlies the basis of human nature in the formation of the city. The main characteristics of the “ecological community” are listed as follows: (1) a population, territorially organized, (2) more or less completely rooted in the soil it occupies, (3) its individual units living in a relationship of mutual interdependence that is symbiotic rather than societal, in the sense in which that term applies to human beings.”²⁸⁴ The school also created the term “natural areas,” which underlines the importance of geographical borders in cities and neighborhoods as more definitive than the socio-economic relations within them. For the adherents of this view, geographical areas have a determining effect in the formation of social relations and creating a homogeneity. Studies of Zeynep Çelik,²⁸⁵ Halil İnalçık,²⁸⁶ Murat

²⁸² Lefebvre *The Production of Space*, 57.

²⁸³ Julia R. Mellor, *Urban Sociology in an Urbanized Society* (London, Henley, and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), 209.

²⁸⁴ Robert Ezra Park, “Human Ecology,” *American Journal of Sociology* 42, no. 1 (July 1936), 4.

²⁸⁵ Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*; Çelik, *Empire, Architecture, and the City: French-Ottoman Encounters, 1830-1914*.

²⁸⁶ İnalçık, “Istanbul: An Islamic City.”

Soygeniř,²⁸⁷ Dođan Kuban,²⁸⁸ iđdem Kafesciođlu,²⁸⁹ Aptullah Kuran,²⁹⁰ and Stephane Yerasimos²⁹¹ are examples of studies that deal with the city mainly in terms of its physical aspects.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the neighborhood is not only a concrete geographical place consisting of a group of borders, streets, or yards. It has also inhabitants living there and transforming all the physical aspects to a lively social space. Therefore, the neighborhood also needs to be studied with the social actions experienced in it. Those studying the neighborhood as a social unit underline the fact that “the neighborhood, therefore, was the social context which was foremost in people’s consciousness. It was an entity based on proximity but created by daily contact between neighbors: by relationship and interaction, not by simply living within certain boundaries.”²⁹² In contrast to those studying the neighborhood physically, those studying it socially claim that social relations play the role in the formation of the neighborhood and creating a heterogeneity. “The sociological conception of neighborhood emphasizes the notion of shared activities, experiences, and values, common loyalties and perspectives, and human networks that give to an area a sense of continuity and persistence over time.”²⁹³ The works of Adalet

²⁸⁷ Murat Soygeniř, “Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılda İstanbul Evinin Mekansal Deđiřimi ve Nedenlerinin Deđerlendirilmesi” (Unpublished, Ph.D. diss., Istanbul Technical University, 1995).

²⁸⁸ Dođan Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History. Byzantion, Constantinopolis, Istanbul* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996).

²⁸⁹ Kafesciođlu, *Constantinopolis Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital*.

²⁹⁰ Kuran, “A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne, Istanbul.”

²⁹¹ Stephane Yerasimos, “Dwellings in the Sixteenth-Century İstanbul.”

²⁹² Garrioch, *Neighborhood and Community in Paris 1740-1790*, 31.

²⁹³ Keller, *The Urban Neighborhood*, 91.

Alada,²⁹⁴ Cem Behar,²⁹⁵ İbrahim Ethem Çakır,²⁹⁶ and Cemal Çetin²⁹⁷ are some examples of such studies.

We can mention about two main concepts used for understanding space socially. The first is citizenship, which is specifically used for modern and industrial cities, and the second is community, which is specifically used for pre-/early modern and pre-industrial cities.²⁹⁸ Even if the term of “citizenship” has been identified with nineteenth-century and later, “the roots of the theory of citizenship go back to the eighteenth century.”²⁹⁹ The role, rights, and responsibilities of the individuals and their relationship with each other as well as the state are re-studied with from a social and cultural perspective.³⁰⁰

However, the concept of “community” is much more important within the framework of this study. Sometimes it is even used as a synonym for the term “neighborhood.” “In fact, the terms are not entirely synonymous: while a neighborhood may be a community, a community is not necessarily a

²⁹⁴ Bayramoğlu-Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*.

²⁹⁵ Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*.

²⁹⁶ Çakır, “XVI. Yüzyılda Ayntab’da Toplumsal Kontrol Aracı Olarak Mahalle Halkının Rolü.”

²⁹⁷ Çetin, “Anadolu’da Kapiya Katran Sürme Vak’aları: Konya Şer’iye Sicilleri Işığında Hukukî, Kültürel ve Toplumsal Boyutları (1645-1750)” ; Çetin, “Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahalleden İhraç Kararları ve Tatbiki: Konya Örneği (1645-1750).”

²⁹⁸ The dichotomy between citizenship and community is just like the division of space by Lefebvre into absolute and abstract mentioned above. It must be kept in mind that this does not mean that there was no individuality in the so-called early-modern era or that community completely does not exist in the modern era. Both concepts are still waiting for further studies discussing them in the eras in which they are not specifically connected.

²⁹⁹ Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its *Mahalles*: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries,” 47.

³⁰⁰ As examples for such studies, see D. J. Walmsley, *Urban Living: The Individual in the City* (London: Longman, 1988); and Adrian Oldfield, *Citizenship and Community: Civic Republicanism and the Modern World* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990).

neighborhood.”³⁰¹ However, it is an inseparable part of neighborhood life in the so-called world cities of the early modern Era. Normally, there can be different types of community in societies, and the form that it takes can change over time. Neighborhood-based community is one of these three forms: “a group of people bound together by interests that stem directly from the condition of being residents of the same neighborhood...”³⁰² As Brower points out, the neighborhood-based community can be approached by three different disciplines: psychology, sociology, and political science.³⁰³ From a psychological point of view, it is like a pool in which individuals could gain some of their skills and the social codes required for their well-being, like self-esteem, competence, and so on, because “it was in the street and from neighbors, as much as at home, that children picked up values and social skills.”³⁰⁴ Sociologically, it is “the medium through which we learn about social responsibility, friendship, love, status and role, order and disorder, and guilt and innocence.”³⁰⁵ For the political scientist, it is also a crucial platform for the persistence of states and societies because “through community we build networks, norms, and trust; and we create an atmosphere of civic responsibility, informal social control, neighborly goodwill, and mutual concern for the common good.”³⁰⁶ The important point understood from all these debates is that a tight community shares not only some common interests or responsibilities but also a common place, that is a neighborhood and some structures like schools, shops, or religious sanctuaries. In other words, it cannot be thought of without a clear physical space because

³⁰¹ Elizabeth J. Mueller, “Neighbourhood,” ed. Roger W. Caves, *Encyclopedia of the City* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 482.

³⁰² Sidney Brower, *Neighbors and Neighborhoods: Elements of Successful Community Design*, The Citizens Planning Series (Chicago: APA Planners Press, 2011), 6.

³⁰³ Brower, *Neighbors and Neighborhoods: Elements of Successful Community Design*, 7-8.

³⁰⁴ Garrioch, *Neighborhood and Community in Paris 1740-1790*, 58.

³⁰⁵ Brower, *Neighbors and Neighborhoods: Elements of Successful Community Design*, 7.

³⁰⁶ Brower, *Neighbors and Neighborhoods: Elements of Successful Community Design*, 8.

“communities are essentially organizations of home-makers.”³⁰⁷ Nevertheless, it must be kept in mind that although boundaries, structures, and hometown institutions can differ place to place and time to time, the functions of communities are much alike.³⁰⁸

From a historical point of view, like the citizenship and community issue, the nature of the community itself is also subjected to a dichotomy based on the pre-industrial and industrial or modern and pre-/early modern times. Ferdinand Tönnies who came up with the terms *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *gesellschaft* (society) was one of the first to suggest this dichotomy.³⁰⁹ However, he stresses the strain between them rather than their historical transformation. Jeremy Boulton views this transformation in a good way. There was social cohesion and sense of community originating from the belonging and face-to-face relations in early modern times. In this respect, Irvin T. Sanders underlines that even if kinship or being a fellow townsman have a tendency to come together within the same neighborhood, it is not the main source of social interaction and identity formation within the neighborhood.³¹⁰ Boulton states that “such social cohesion is thought to have broken down in the modern industrial city, marked as it was by physical segregation of social classes and distinguished by class rather than social solidarity, developed by people living close together with others of similar means rather than similar trades and crafts.”³¹¹ From

³⁰⁷ Norbert Elias and J. L. Scotson, *The Established and the Outsiders* (London: Sage Publications, 1994), 146 cited in Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its *Mahalles*: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries,” 51.

³⁰⁸ Mack Walker, *German Home Towns: Community, State, and General Estate 1648-1871* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1971), 34.

³⁰⁹ See Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963).

³¹⁰ Irvin T. Sanders, *The Community: An Introduction to a Social System* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958), 111-113. On the other hand, “kinship and co-locality” was one of the crucial reasons for the formation process of a neighborhood, as Behar claims. See Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle* 97-113.

³¹¹ Jeremy Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 166.

these words, the importance of sharing daily life and interests can be understood as the main cause for interaction within the neighborhood. In this respect, Garrioch and Uğur emphasize the difficulty of a generalized definition of community in pre-industrial or pre-/early modern times because each community had a mixed manner. Therefore, Garrioch prefers “quality and multiplicity” (interaction, unwritten rules, self-regulation), rather than various predetermined types of social bond, to define community.”³¹²

By taking everything mentioned above into consideration, the third approach to the issue about the physical or social aspects of the neighborhood is the combination of them. That is to say, studying a neighborhood with both its physical structures and its social and economic life is the most moderate way. It is more than architectural or art historians and social historians do, it is exactly what urban historians try to do. The studies of Alada,³¹³ Behar,³¹⁴ Ergenç,³¹⁵ Özkoçak,³¹⁶ and Uğur³¹⁷ are the examples of the third approach in the Ottoman context. The work of Uğur deserves a special attribution here because of his mapping and locating of Edirne’s neighborhoods while highlighting their social interactions. It is one of the best examples of the third approach toward early modern city and neighborhood studies not only in the Ottoman context but also in a broader sense. This study also approaches the neighborhood as a combination of physical and social space. As Alcock says, “space

³¹² David Garrioch, *Neighbourhood and Community in Paris, 1740-1790* (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3-4 cited in Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its *Mahalles*: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries,” 49.

³¹³ Bayramoğlu-Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*.

³¹⁴ Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*.

³¹⁵ Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*.

³¹⁶ Akyazıcı Özkoçak, “The Urban Development of Ottoman Istanbul in the Sixteenth Century”; Selma Akyazıcı Özkoçak, “Two Urban Districts in Early Modern Istanbul: Edirnekapi and Yedikule,” *Urban History* 30, no. 1 (May 2003): 26–43.

³¹⁷ Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its *Mahalles*: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries.”

is a practiced place. Thus, the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers.”³¹⁸ They had crucial effects on each other. Neighborliness and community in the early modern ages are inseparable parts of the notion of neighborhood. The physical and social aspects of a space cannot and must not be separated.

On the other hand, there is still an unsolved question about the nature and the formation of the neighborhood. Whether a determined physical unit causes some social interaction among its residents, the emergence of a community, and neighborhood especially in the early modern world or the already existing social relations require people to live together within the same physical boundaries. In other words, another debate in the literature is about whether the formation of neighborhoods is a result of top-down or bottom-up process. Smith et al. list a total of six factors within these two formulation processes:

Four are bottom-up processes -defense, group preservation, sociality, and convenience -in that they arise from the actions of people independent of the state, local authorities, or other controlling institutions. Two are top-down processes -administration and control/surveillance -that are accomplished by some level of formal institutional control.³¹⁹

As Uğur states this it is like the “chicken-or-egg” paradox.³²⁰ There does not have to be a single factor explaining the formation of neighborhoods and their clustering within cities. The answers of why and how the neighborhood came about can vary based on time, place, circumstances, and many other factors. Therefore, it is possible to see neighborhood created by the hands of the state, that is to say, by a top-down process in which physical space gives way to social space. Also, it is possible to see a

³¹⁸ Natt Alcock, “Physical Space and Social Space,” in *Meaningful Architecture: Social Interpretations of Buildings*, ed. Martin Locock (Aldershot: Avebury, 1994), 207-30.

³¹⁹ Michael E. Smith et al., eds., “Neighborhood Formation in Semi-Urban Settlements,” *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability* 8, no. 2 (2015): 173–98

³²⁰ Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its *Mahalles*: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries,” 52.

neighborhood formed as a result of a group of people's social interaction, that is to say, as a down-top process. On the other hand, it is also possible to see that people having some relational ties and identity have a greater tendency to aggregate in an already existing neighborhood and increase their interaction and acceptance in a neighborhood more and more. For example, there were many migrations from the Arapkir region to the neighborhood of Kasap İlyas in the nineteenth-century, as Behar underlines.³²¹ This circulation can be a good example of showing how both top-down and bottom-up affect and feed each other in the process of formation.

Related to this question, there has been a debate about whether the nature of the neighborhood is homogeneous or heterogeneous. In connection with this, the second discussion is about whether a city consists of a web of relations among its neighborhoods or whether each neighborhood is completely separated and isolated from the others.

According to those supporting Islamic city debate³²² and also most of those studying neighborhood mostly with its physical characteristics, in other words with the state's existence in the neighborhood, tend to describe the neighborhood as a homogeneous unit in terms of the ethno-religious and socio-economic features of the residents.³²³ There were many neighborhoods whose residents were mostly from the same minority groups. These were known as Jewish, Greek, Armenian, or Muslim

³²¹ For more information about the impact of family relations and co-locality on the migration to Kasap İlyas and its formulation, see Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 97-113.

³²² For example see von Grunebaum, "The Structure of the Muslim Town"; Alsayyad, *Cities and Caliphs, on the Genesis of Arab Muslim Urbanism*. For more examples please see the "Islamic City" section of the study.

³²³ Those who study the neighborhood in terms of its social aspects are mentioned above. Of these, Kafescioğlu deserves particular note because she questions the homogeneous character of neighborhoods in her study about fifteenth-century Istanbul. She emphasizes the heterogeneous religious, ethnic, and socio-economic structure of Istanbul neighborhoods in her case study, contrary to the general view that they were homogeneous. For an example of this general view, see Peter H. Mann, "The Neighborhood," in *Neighborhoods, City, and Metropolis: An Integrated Reader in Urban Sociology*, ed. Robert Gutman and David Popenoe, vol. 2 (New York: Random House, 1970), 568–83.

neighborhoods. There were also many neighborhoods in which people from the same occupation lived and whose names came from the occupation of most of their residents, like neighborhood of butchers, blacksmiths, potters, saddlers, etc. Even though there was not any official obstacle against the transition to a neighborhood of different ethno-religious groups,³²⁴ homogeneity is what the state want to see in the society, as Eldem also points out, because it is easy to control separate neighborhood units.³²⁵ This view asserts the existence of a clear and strict division between different neighborhoods, especially among Muslim and non-Muslim neighborhoods.³²⁶ When this view is combined with the fact that each neighborhood already had some main structures like a religious sanctuary, school, or small shops to fulfill the residents' basic needs, it leads us to evaluate the neighborhood as a kind of independent unit within itself and isolated from others. In this respect, if each neighborhood was a separate unit within itself and did not have any common thread to all this, then as Uğur points out, it is possible to define a city as a combination of neighborhoods.³²⁷

Although most neighborhoods consisted of a particular majority group of people based on their ethno-religious roots or occupational organizations, this was not a rule and there were many examples of multiplicity in neighborhoods. This traditional view

³²⁴ "The only exception to this situation was the "evacuation orders" from the Porte to reinstate a previously Muslim quarter, which had been settled by non-Muslims, to be returned to its former state." Gürer Karagedikli and Coşkun Tunçer, "The People Next Door Housing and Neighbourhood in Ottoman Edirne, 1734-1814" (Economic History Society Annual Conference, Cambridge, 2016), 8.

<http://www.ehs.org.uk/events/assets/KaragedikliTuncerFullPaper.pdf>.

See also Çetin, "Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahalleden İhraç Kararları ve Tatbiki: Konya Örneği (1645-1750)."

³²⁵ Edhem Eldem, "Osmanlı Dönemi İstanbul'u" in *Dünya Kenti İstanbul İstanbul - World City*, ed. Afife Batur (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996), 141-142, cited in Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its *Mahalles*: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," 53.

³²⁶ For example, see Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*; Minna Rozen, "Public Space and Private Space Among the Jews of İstanbul in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Turcica* 30 (1998): 331-46.

³²⁷ Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its *Mahalles*: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," 52-53.

is confuted by the findings of those mostly dealing with the social aspects of the neighborhood.³²⁸ Their results show that neighborhoods are not as homogeneous as often thought. As Fariba Zarinebaf states that “many Istanbul neighborhoods became quite mixed as Muslims settled in traditionally non-Muslim neighborhoods like Galata, Balat, and Hasköy, and as Jews and Christians moved out of their strongholds and settled in villages along the Bosphorus (Beşiktaş, Ortaköy, Kuruçeşme, Arnavutköy, Kuzkuncuk) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.”³²⁹ There could be a Jew living next door to a Muslim family or a Muslim can be seen as the guarantor of his non-Muslim neighbor. Purchase and sale were also possible among Muslims or Non-Muslims. Therefore, a neighborhood could consist of people from different ethnic or religious origins as well as from different occupations. On the other hand, even if there were separate neighborhoods for particular groups of people, at least in theory, this “should not necessarily imply a lack of communication among these groups.”³³⁰ Living in different neighborhoods does not prevent people from being a community. Beyond sharing an ethno-religious origin, occupation group, or familial relations, there were other way of communicating and creating social identity in Ottoman society. It can be seen in the court records that people sometimes served as a guarantor for someone from a different neighborhood. The main issue here is people’s daily life, social relations, and interaction. It People knew each other via platforms other than the neighborhood. The findings of this study from the *şeriiyye* records, which will be analyzed in detail later, also support these claims about the integration of differences within a neighborhood. This trait was not peculiar to nineteenth-century Ottoman neighborhoods, which were characterized

³²⁸ For example see Özer Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehrinde Esnaf Örgütlerinin Fiziki Yapıya Etkileri,” ed. Halil İnalçık and Osman Okyar (Türkiye’nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071-1920, Birinci Uluslararası Türkiye’nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi Kongresi, Tebliğler), Hacettepe University, Ankara, 1980), 103–9; 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): 137–63; Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehrindeki Mahallenin İşlev ve Nitelikleri Üzerine;” Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth-Century Ankara and Kayseri*; Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*; Bayramoğlu Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*.

³²⁹ Fariba Zarinebaf, “Intercommunal Life in Istanbul During the Eighteenth Century,” 82.

³³⁰ Fatma Acun, “A Portrait of the Ottoman Cities,” *The Muslim World* 92 (Fall 2002), 268.

by social heterogeneity, or to a specific Ottoman city. Earlier ages and cities in different provinces also display this same flexibility and variability among the neighborhoods.³³¹ However, it must be also kept in mind that there would be more dynamics behind the background of homogeneity and heterogeneity of a neighborhood. Therefore, it is not an easy way to reach a generalized conclusion about the nature of neighborhoods. According to time, political and economic situation, historical background, and sociological urges, homogeneity and heterogeneity of a neighborhood could be changed in Ottoman context which is required further and detailed studies.

Another debate is arguing that neighborhoods were not separated and isolated units because of the existence of some ties and relations among them. Thus, neighborhoods had and somehow needed some interaction among themselves and their relational positions constituted a city.³³² One of arguments of Islamic city debate is that “Islamic cities” were closed entities and there was not a vivid interaction among them. However, the relational approach as oppose the essentialist one describes the city as created and re-created by inter-relations among its units.³³³ Some examples from court cases related to suretyship and witnessing will be given in next chapter are such as to approve the interwoven relations among people of different neighborhoods.

To sum up, the neighborhood implies both physical and social space for the early modern cities all around the world. It was a geographical area determined by uncertain boundaries, but at the same time, it was a social space in which people

³³¹ For example see André Raymond, “The Management of The City,” in *The City in The Islamic World*, vol. 2 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 775–93; Haim Gerber, *Crossing Borders. Jews and Muslims in Ottoman Law, Economy and Society* (Istanbul: ISIS Press., 2008).

³³² For more information about city-neighborhood relation, see Ayda Yörükan, *Şehir Sosyolojisinin Teorik Temelleri* (Ankara: İmar Ve İskân Bakanlığı, 1968); Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its *Mahalles*: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries.”

³³³ Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its *Mahalles*: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries,” 3.

shared their daily life, socialized, and created an identity for themselves. Community was a crucial term for the understanding of the societies of the early modern times because it is “as a form of social or ecological organization arising from the fact that people share a common area for their daily activities.”³³⁴ Starting from these definitions, the main debates around the concept of the neighborhood for the early modern cities, especially in the Ottoman context, can be divided into three. Firstly, there is the issue of whether the neighborhood is a physical or a social space. The nature of the neighborhood, whether it is a natural result of a bottom-up processes or an official top-down process is another issue among the scholars. The last discussion is about the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the neighborhoods. The relationship among neighborhood and their determining effects on the formation of the city is another subject of discussion. This study approaches the concept of neighborhood as both a physical and a social unit, the nature of its formation as a result of both top-down and bottom-up processes, and its form and structure as both homogeneous and heterogeneous. In doing so, applying both horizontal and vertical comparative methods is another key for a better understanding.

4.3 The General Features of Neighborhoods in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul

The uncertainty and fallacy of the overgeneralized usage of “Ottoman city” was already mentioned above. Among the unclear answers of which is the “pure” and “real” “Ottoman city” whether the cities of Balkans, Anatolia, or Arab provinces, Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul, the three Ottoman capital respectively needed to be evaluated additionally because the heart of the state beat in them and it is natural there were and would be some privileges.³³⁵ Before going into details of the early eighteenth-century Istanbul neighborhoods with an in-depth socio-historical perspective, giving a general idea of how an Istanbul neighborhood was would be a good start for a better understanding of thematic context of the thesis. Therefore,

³³⁴ Albert J. Reiss, “The Sociological Study of Communities,” in *Neighborhoods, City, and Metropolis: An Integrated Reader in Urban Sociology*, ed. Robert Gutman and David Popenoe, vol. 2, (New York: Random House, 1970), 27.

³³⁵ Pinon, “The Ottoman Cities of The Balkans,” 144.

the general characteristics of the neighborhoods of Ottoman Istanbul in eighteenth century will be analyzed in this section.

Firstly, population is one of the most important factor when we talk about a city and its neighborhoods. Hence, population size is the main criterion which is not only one to define a place as a city in academic literature. As Vries defines it, “cities are places that have populations, population densities, percentages of the workforce in non-agricultural occupations and a measure of diversity in the occupational structure, all of which are *sufficiently large*.”³³⁶ According to Sjberg, the population of a pre-modern city was “few ranging over 100,000, and many containing less than 10,000 or even 5,000 inhabitants.”³³⁷ By 1700, some places like Istanbul, London, Paris, and Lisbon had become major European cities.³³⁸ The first empire-wide census was arrived at in 1831 during the reign of Mahmud II for military purposes. Therefore, the earlier demographic ratings cannot go beyond approximate estimations. Population estimates for eighteenth -century Istanbul vary from 400,000 to 1,000,000.³³⁹

³³⁶ Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization 1500-1800* (Cambridge and Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984), 22.

³³⁷ Gideon Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City: Past and Present*, vol. 2 (New York: The Free Press, 1960), 323.

³³⁸ Paul M. Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe 1000-1950*, Harvard Studies in Urban History (Cambridge and Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985), 10.

³³⁹ For a comparison among the literature see Zafer Toprak, “Tarihsel Nüfus Bilim Açısından İstanbul’un Nüfusu ve Toplumsal Topografyası,” *Dünü ve Bugünüyle Toplum ve Ekonomi* 3 (April 1992): 109–20; Cem Behar, *The Population of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500-1927* (Ankara: State Institute of Statistics, 1996); Cem Behar, “Osmanlı Nüfus İstatistikleri ve 1831 Sonrası Modernleşmesi,” in *Osmanlı Devletinde Bilgi ve İstatistik*, ed. Halil İnalçık and Şevket Pamuk (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000), 63–72; Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Robert Mantran, *İstanbul Tarihi* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2001). For a comparison with European cities, see Hohenberg and Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe 1000-1950*; Philip Benedict, “French Cities from the Sixteenth Century to the Revolution: An Overview,” in *Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France*, ed. Philip Benedict (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 7-64; Leonard Schwars, “London 1700-1840,” in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain 1540-1840*, ed. Peter Clark, vol. 2 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 641–71; Peter Clark, *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. 2: 1540-1840 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Peter Clark, *European Cities and Towns 400-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). Some travelers visiting Istanbul also offer estimates for the

However, when the secondary sources are investigated and compared, it can be said that 1,000,000 is an exaggerated number.³⁴⁰ The most approximate estimate is around 600,000 – 700,000 especially for the first half of eighteenth century.

Table 4.1. Population Size of the Largest European Cities in 1700.³⁴¹

City	Population Size
Istanbul	700,000
London	550,000
Paris	530,000
Naples	207,000
Lisbon	188,000
Amsterdam	172,000
Rome	149,000

population especially for the end of eighteenth and the beginning of nineteenth-centuries. For population estimates in travelers' records please also see Olivier Guillaume Antoine, *Voyage Dans l'empire Othoman, l'Égypte et La Perse* (Paris: Paris H. Agasse, 1800); Julia Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan and Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1836*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). Also, for earlier estimates about Istanbul's population, see Ömer Lütü Barkan, "Türkiye'de İmparatorluk Devrinin Büyük Nüfus ve Arazi Tahrirleri ve Hakana Mahsus İstatistik Defterleri," *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 2, no. 1–2 (1941): 20–59; Ömer Lütü Barkan, "Tarihi Demografi Araştırmaları ve Osmanlı Tarihi," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 10 (1953): 1–25; Ayverdi, *Fatih Dönem Sonların İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskan ve Nüfusu*; Ömer Lütü Barkan, "Avarız," *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1979); Halil İnalcık and Şevket Pamuk, eds., *Osmanlı Devletinde Bilgi ve İstatistik* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000).

³⁴⁰ For a similar approach toward the numbers, see also Betül Başaran, "The 1829 Census and Istanbul's Population during the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries," in *Studies on Istanbul and Beyond*, ed. Robert G. Ousterhout, vol. 1, *The Freely Papers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2007), 53–72.

³⁴¹ Hohenberg and Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe 1000-1950*, 11.

According to Alada's calculations for some of Anatolian cities and based on the sixteenth-century tax-payer *avarizhanes*,³⁴² a neighborhood consisted of a population range from 50 to 250 people.³⁴³ This information might give a clue about the population of Istanbul neighborhoods in the eighteenth-century, when one would expect more crowded neighborhoods because it was the capital city and there was also a general population increase especially in the first half of this century. Similar to the population size of the neighborhoods, we can only estimate the number of the neighborhoods in eighteenth-century. According to studies on the pious foundation records of sixteenth-century Istanbul, the number of neighborhoods in Ottoman Istanbul was around 219.³⁴⁴ This number was around 181 in intamuros Istanbul, in the late eighteenth-century according to the information based on Hadikatü'l Cevami.³⁴⁵ Again, as Behar states, there was an increase in the number of neighborhoods in Ottoman Istanbul and their numbers reached to 251 according to the electoral inventory taken in 1876.³⁴⁶ At the same time, it is important to note that it was possible to see one neighborhood embedded in another one or the existence of a distinct street or small part as true to its name within a neighborhood.³⁴⁷ Evliya says there were 9,990 Muslim, 657 Jewish, 304 Greek, 27

³⁴² Unfortunately, the *avarizhane* registers of the sixteenth-century Istanbul could not be found during Barkan's studies. For more information please see Barkan, "Tarihi Demografi Araştırmaları ve Osmanlı Tarihi," 11-12.

³⁴³ Bayramoğlu Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*, 143.

³⁴⁴ Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 13-14. For more information about Istanbul pious foundation records in the sixteenth-century see Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri-953 (1546) Tarihli* (Istanbul: Istanbul Fethi Cemiyeti, 1970). See also, Canatar, "1009/1600 Tarihli İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri'ne Göre Nefs-i İstanbul'da Bulunan Mahalleler ve Özelliklerine Dair Gözlemler," 298.

³⁴⁵ See Ayvansarayî, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi: Camilerimizi Ansiklopedisi* quoted in Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 14.

³⁴⁶ Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 14.

³⁴⁷ For earlier examples, see Ayverdi, *Fatih Dönem Sonların İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskân ve Nüfusu*; and for later examples, see Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 16-17.

Armenian, and 17 Frank neighborhoods in Ottoman Istanbul in the middle of the seventeenth century.³⁴⁸

The names of the neighborhoods mostly came from the name of a person who was known for his or her contributions to the conquest of Istanbul, from the name of outstanding religious men like *sheikh*, *dervish*, *mullah*, etc., or from the names of mosques, *mescids*, or *imarets* located in the neighborhood. It must be also kept in mind that the name of these structures mostly came from the name of their *bânîs*, that is to say, again, the name of a person. Hence, it can be asserted that there was a close relationship between the people embraced by the society, religious structures, and Ottoman Istanbul neighborhoods from the earliest times. This shows us the important of the *bânîs* individually for the establishments and the decisive place of a religious structure for the neighborhoods. Also, a neighborhood could be named according to the main occupational group, if any, located in it. If the majority of a neighborhood consisted of a group of people from the same town or city, this neighborhood could take the name of this town or city.³⁴⁹ Alada compares the names of 262 Istanbul neighborhoods listed in the work of Ayverdi.³⁵⁰ According to her findings, 76.2 percent of the neighborhoods' names comes from the name of the mosque, *mescid* or similar structures within the neighborhood; 19.4 percent comes from a personal name; 3,5 percent comes from an occupational group; and 0,77 percent comes from the name of a home town.³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ However, Mantran highlights that there was no clear-cut definition for the term of neighborhood in the mind of Evliya, so these numbers have to be taken with a grain of salt. See Mantran, *İstanbul Tarihi*, 269.

³⁴⁹ Semavi Eyice divides the origins of the names of Istanbul neighborhoods into nine groups and eleven sub-groups. For more information see Semavi Eyice, "İstanbul Mahalle ve Semt Adları Hakkında Bir Deneme," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 14 (1965), especially 211–216.

³⁵⁰ For more information please see Ayverdi, *Fatih Dönem Sonların İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskân ve Nüfusu*.

³⁵¹ The calculations of Alada are based on the names of 262 Istanbul neighborhoods, but the names of five of them cannot be read in her study. Therefore, the proportions of the names' distributions were calculated through 257 neighborhoods in this study. For detailed information about the distributions of the neighborhood names according to their origins,

Table 4.2. The graph of the origins of the names of Istanbul neighborhoods in the sixteenth century.³⁵²

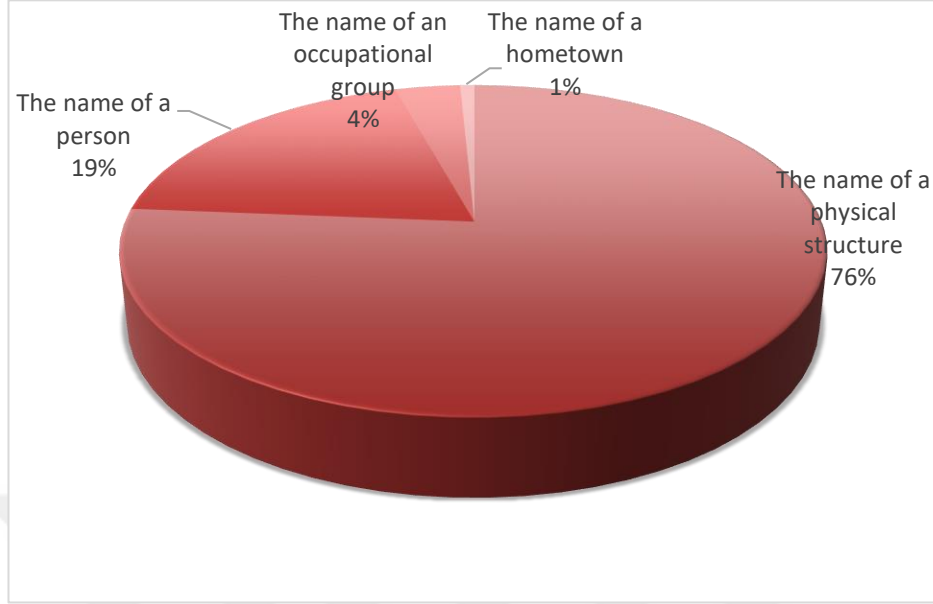


Table 4.3. The Names of the Neighborhoods mentioned in Istanbul Court Records studied in this thesis.

Neighborhood Name	Location
Dülgerzâde Mahallesi	Near Saraçhane ³⁵³
Balaban Aga [Mescidi Mahallesi]	In Şehzadebaşı ³⁵⁴
Kadıasker Mehmed Efendi Mahallesi	
Kaya Başı Mahallesi	Near Karagümrük
Kulaksız Mahallesi	In Kasımpaşa
Acı Çeşme Mahallesi	In Kasımpaşa
İbrahim Efendi Mahallesi	In Fındıklı, Galata
İsma'il Ağa Mahallesi	
Kötehorya Mahalesinde	Outside Galata

both in Istanbul and in some Anatolian towns, please see Bayramoğlu Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*, 137-39.

³⁵² This graph was created based on the information given by Bayramoğlu Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*, 137-39.

³⁵³ Ayverdi, *Fatih Dönem Sonların İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskan ve Nüfusu*, 18.

³⁵⁴ Ayverdi, *Fatih Dönem Sonların İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskan ve Nüfusu*, 14.

Table 4.3. (continued)

Lütfi Paşa Mahallesi	
Üsküblü [Cami'i] Mahallesi	In the costline between Unkapanı and Cibali ³⁵⁵
Sultân Bâzarı Mahallesi	In Galata
Bereket-zâde Mahallesi	In Galata
Rüstem Paşa Mahallesi	
Cihangir Mahallesi	
Kara Mustafa Paşa Mahallesi	
Cami'i Hayreddin Mahallesi	In Galata
Kâtib Mustafa Çelebi Mahallesi	
Kazgancıbaşı Mahallesi	In Fındıklı
Hacı Ömer Mahallesi	
Kurd Çelebi Mahallesi ³⁵⁶	In Kasımpaşa
Sürur Efendi Mahallesi	In Kasımpaşa
Kara Mustafa Paşa Mahallesi	In Galata
Küçük Piyâle Paşa Mahallesi	In Kasımpaşa
Kara Hâtun Mahallesi	
İtmekçi Başı Mahallesi	In Tobhane ³⁵⁷
Firuz Ağa Mahallesi	In Kasımpaşa
Mustafa Ağa Mahallesi	In Tobhane
Çavuş Mescidi [Mahallesi]	In the south of Şehremini and around Mevlana Kapı ³⁵⁸
Emin Efendi Mahallesi	In Kasımpaşa

³⁵⁵ Ayverdi, *Fatih Dönem Sonların İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskan ve Nüfusu*, 51

³⁵⁶ It is also possible to read it as *Kürd Çelebi*. However, Evliya also mentions about *Kurd Çelebi Bağı* and *Kurd Çelebi Sarayı*, so it is highly possible to read the name of the neighborhood as *Kurd Çelebi*. See Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 304 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu - Dizini*, 203-204.

³⁵⁷ In the case, it is stated that the neighborhood was in Tobhane. Ayverdi states that it was in north of Valide Fountain in Beşiktaş, see Ayverdi, *Fatih Dönem Sonların İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskân ve Nüfusu*, 55.

³⁵⁸ Ayvansarayî, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi: Camilerimizi Ansiklopedisi*, 112.

Table 4.3. (continued)

Süheyl Beg Mahallesi	In Tobhane
Muhsine Hâtun Mahallesi	
Muhtesib [İskender] Mahallesi	In the north-west of Hırka-yı Şerif ³⁵⁹
Kamer Hatun Mahallesi	Outside Galata
Arakiyeci el-Hac Mehmed Mahallesi	In Uskudar
Çelebi Oğlu Mahallesi	Near Mısır Çarşısı ³⁶⁰
Seccah Çâvuş Mahallesi	
Dâvud Paşa [Cami'i] Mahallesi	
Bekir Paşa Camii [Mahallesi]	Around Davut Paşa ³⁶¹
Altı Mermer [Mescidi] Mahallesi	Near Çapa ³⁶²
Seyyid 'Ömer [Mescidi] Mahallesi	Around Fındıkzade ³⁶³
Darü'l Hadis Mahallesi	

Commercial and residential areas were separated.³⁶⁴ Therefore, commercial areas constituted another unit. For instance, big warehouses of the state and wholesalers located on the Haliç coast. Most of the guilds of craftsmen and manufacturers were in today's Grand Bazaar. That few neighborhood names derived from an occupational group most probably was a result of this separation. It prevented gathering people from the same occupation in the same place to put a name to the neighborhood. Hence, in terms of social class and economic prosperity, there was no unified neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul. A butcher, blacksmith, baker, a beggar, and a

³⁵⁹ Ayverdi, *Fatih Dönem Sonların İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskan ve Nüfusu*, 40.

³⁶⁰ This neighborhood was also known as Hoca Alâüddin Neighborhood. See Ayverdi, *Fatih Dönem Sonların İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskân ve Nüfusu*, 24.

³⁶¹ Ayvansarayî, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi: Camilerimizi Ansiklopedisi*, 88.

³⁶² Ayverdi, *Fatih Dönem Sonların İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskan ve Nüfusu*, 12.

³⁶³ Ayvansarayî, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi: Camilerimizi Ansiklopedisi*, 165-66. Also, see "Altı Mermer Mescidi Mahallesi" in Ayverdi, *Fatih Dönem Sonların İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskan ve Nüfusu*, 12.

³⁶⁴ See İnalçık, "Istanbul: An Islamic City," 13

person from the *askerî* class could be neighbors in the same neighborhood. This mixed-class portrait of Istanbul neighborhoods was valid from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.³⁶⁵ Yet there were some neighborhoods whose population mostly part of the same occupation and so took their names from this profession, like Debbağlar Neighborhood in Üsküdar. In addition, some quarters like Vefa, Zeyrek, and Fatih were more prestigious thanks to their noble residents from the high-ranking bureaucracy and *'ulemas* class.³⁶⁶ Other neighborhoods were populated by particular ethnic groups as Inciciyan mentions in the suburb of Kasımpaşa, which consisted mostly of Turks.³⁶⁷ Beşiktaş, Fındıklı, and Tophane are some other examples of settlements whose inhabitants were socially and economically prestigious. Artan states that there were thirty-nine mansions between Beşiktaş and Ortaköy:

According to the *Bostancabaşı Defterleri* from 1791, the waterfront inhabitants of the area between Tophane and Beşiktaş consisted in the main of lower-level officials associated with the central administration in the capital, officials such as the chief of the coach drivers, the official agents in charge of business with the government acting for a governor of a province or a non-Muslim community, as well as ex-officeholders such as the imams in the service of the sultan... In addition to those... a few established families such as the Gümruk Katibizade (family of the secretary of the customs), Hazinedarzade (family of the imperial treasurer) ... and a few high-ranking officers such as the *kadı* of Rumeli, the *kadı* of Istanbul, the *molla* of Medine... and a diverse group of small tradesmen and artisans such as the quiltmakers, fishermen... also resided in the area.³⁶⁸

Evliya Çelebi mentions the mansions and beautiful gardens of *pashas* and *begs* in Beşiktaş and labels it as a wealthy place. Çelebi adds that there were four

³⁶⁵ Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 89.

³⁶⁶ Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 89.

³⁶⁷ P. Ğ. Inciciyan, *XVIII. Asırda İstanbul*, trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan (Istanbul: İstanbul Matbaası, 1956), 79-80.

³⁶⁸ Artan, "Architecture as A Theatre of Life Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus," 360.

neighborhoods of Muslims, Armenians, Greeks, and Jews there.³⁶⁹ It is clear that the people who lived in these four neighborhoods were not only begs and pashas, but also others belonging to different socio-economic classes. To sum up, even if the majority of some districts and neighborhoods consisted of those from the same social class or from the same occupation, neighborhoods were not based solely on socio-economic status.

As for their ethnic and religious aspects, neighborhoods were generally composed of a majority of a particular religion and the others remained a minority. As Behar points out, Istanbul neighborhoods were either predominantly Muslim, Armenian, Jewish, or Greek Orthodox.³⁷⁰ Muslims generally lived in *intra-muros* and Anatolian side, while non-Muslims settled mostly in external zones and coast.³⁷¹ Galata, Pera, and Beyoğlu were the main districts that mostly consisted of non-Muslims and their official representatives. Chevallier d'Arvieux and Tournefort likened Galata to a Christian town in the middle of the Turkish Muslim city of Istanbul.³⁷² César Vimercati who was a French visitor of Ottoman Istanbul in nineteenth century also noted that Galata and Pera were European places within the city.³⁷³ Armenians mostly settled in Kum Kapı, Yeni Kapı, Samatya, and Langa; Jews mostly in Balat, Hasköy, and Ortaköy;

³⁶⁹ Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 304 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu - Dizini*.

³⁷⁰ Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 89.

³⁷¹ Edhem Eldem, "Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital," in *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, ed. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 152 quoted in Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, 74.

³⁷² W. Hamilton Levis, *Levantine Adventurer, The Travels and Missions of the Chevallier d'Arvieux, 1653-1697* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1962), 145; Joseph Tournefort, *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi*, ed. Stefanos Yerasimos, trans. Teoman Tunçdoğan, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2013), 38.

³⁷³ In his original sayings: "Galata est une place européenne et très commerçante. Péra, place européenne aussi, siège de la diplomatie, est le centre de toutes les intrigues. Du point d'élévation où elle est assise, Péra contemple d'un œil avide Constantinople, dont elle envie le sort et le bonheur." César Vimercati, *Voyage a Constantinople et En Egypte* (Paris: Imprimerie de Poussielgue, 1852), 26.

Greeks mostly in Galata, Yeniköy, and Kadıköy.³⁷⁴ However, even if some places were known by a majority of a particular ethno-religious population, they had also inhabitants from different ethno-religious groups. In other words, these neighborhoods called as Muslim, Armenain, Greek, or Jewish did not consist of only Muslim, Armenian, Greeks, or Jews. Istanbul neighborhoods were one each mixed unit of Muslims and non-Muslim inhabitants. For instance, although Üsküdar was known for its Muslim majority, there were also Armenians and Greeks or Turks and Armenians lived together in Beykoz. There were also Muslims living in Galata, which was one of the major places known for its non-Muslim population.³⁷⁵

It should be noted that there was an increase in the Muslim population of areas that had the previously been mostly non-Muslim like Galata, and Tophane in the eighteenth century. While there were only two mosques in fifteenth-century Galata, there were more than twenty by the eighteenth century.³⁷⁶ In relation to this increase, non-Muslims were prohibited by edict from settling around mosques. For example, in 1700, an edict was issued prohibiting the settlement of non-Muslims around the mosque in Galata.³⁷⁷ In the late sixteenth century when the construction

³⁷⁴ Inciciyan, *XVIII. Asırda İstanbul*, especially 13-18.

³⁷⁵ For more information about the distribution of Istanbul's population in the city's districts and neighborhoods, see Inciciyan, *XVIII. Asırda İstanbul*; Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan, *İstanbul Tarihi: XVII. Asırda İstanbul*, trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan (Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1988); Artan, "Architecture As A Theatre of Life Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus," especially 357-66, 401-51; Mantran, *İstanbul Tarihi* especially 241-49, 285-96; Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*, especially 68-83; Canatar, "1009/1600 Tarihli İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri'ne Göre Nefs-i İstanbul'da Bulunan Mahalleler ve Özelliklerine Dair Gözlemler, 290-92.

³⁷⁶ Mantran, *İstanbul Tarihi*, 291.

³⁷⁷ "Galata kadısına ve voyvodasına ve hassa mimar başıya hüküm ki, Seyyidetül muhadderat iklietül muhsinat tacül mesturat zatül ulâ vessaadat valdem sultan damet ismetühanım kethüdalığı hizmetide olan iftihraül emacidi velmekârim Elhac Mehmed dame mecdihu süddei saadetime arzuhal sonub müşarünileyhanın mahmiyei Galata'da bina ve ihya eyledikleri camii şerif etrafında bazı keferemenzil iştıra idüb ve bazı kimesneler dahi camii şerif kurbinde olan odaların kefereye icar idüb zımmi bir belde müslimîn mahallesinde menzil iştıra eylese hâkim Zeyd menzili bir müslime beyi eyleye deyu haber değdikde Zeyd bir belde camii şerif kurbinde olan odaların kefereye icar edüb badelyevm müslimîne icar eyleye dimeğe kadir olur deyu fetvayı şerife virilmeğle camii şerif kurbinde olub mukaddemâ vaki olan harikde muhterik olan ebniyelerin arsalarından hâlâ keferenin tasarrufunda olanlar

of Valide Mosque began, Jews living around Eminönü were moved to Hasköy.³⁷⁸ Refik mentions another edict dated 1726 about removing Jews around the Yeni Mosque because of the claim that they caused “foul” situations near the mosque.³⁷⁹ According to another edict dated 1729, renting or selling houses in which Muslims resided to non-Muslims was also prohibited and it was recommended to sell properties to Muslim.³⁸⁰ In addition, as Muslim nobility began to give more importance to gardens, kiosks, mansions and so on, the properties of non-Muslims

badelyevm yedlerinde kalmayub sümnü misli ile müslimîne beyi ve ehli islâm dahi olmakule arsalara malik olduklarından sonra min baad firenkhane ve yehudihane bina itdirilmeyüb olmakule camii şerife karip olan arsalarda ehli İslâm mütemekkin olmak üzre büyüdü müslimîn bina ve cemaati müslimînin tevhir ve teksirine kemayenbegi tekayyüd ve ihtimam olunmak babında hükmü hümayunum reca itmeğin vechi meşruh üzre amel oluna deyu yazılmışdır. Fi evahiri s 1112 Refik, *Onikinci Asr-ı Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı (1689-1785)*, 30-31.

³⁷⁸ Halil İnalçık, “İstanbul,” *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 2001, 236.

³⁷⁹ Refik, *Onikinci Asr-ı Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı (1689-1785)*, 88-89. Similar edicts related to the removing of Jews around the mosque in Eminönü mentioned by both İnalçık and Refik must be about the same mosque but in different times. The mosque located in Eminönü is called the Yeni or Valide or Yeni Valide Mosque. The edict mentioned by İnalçık must have been issued around 1597, when construction on the mosque began. However, the mosque was not completed until 1663 and Jews likely returned to their neighborhoods in the intervening period. After the completion of the mosque, their presence there led to another edict to remove them from the location. For similar cases, see also Nevzat Erkan, “18. Asır Üsküdar’ında Müslim ve Gayrimüslim İlişkilerine Sosyo-Kültürel Bir Bakış,” *İhya Uluslararası İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2, no. 2 (2016): 14-15.

³⁸⁰ “Hassa mimar başı ... zide mecdihuya hüküm ki, Asitane-i saadet aşiyane ve havalisinde gerek milk ve gerek vakıf eyadii islamda olan menzil gerek sagir ve gerek kebir kefereye fūruht olunması memnunatdan olub ve bundan akdem hususu mezbur için kiraren ve miraren evamiri celilülundan şerefyaftei sudur olmuşken bazı kimesneler hafiyeten ve bazıları dahi harik sebebi ile alenen kefereye fūruht eyledikleri tahkikan haber virilmekle işbu emri şerifi alışan ısdar kılınmışdır. Fimabaad Asitane ve havalisinde eyadii İslamda olan menazil gerek sagir ve gerek kebir ve gerek arsai haliyedir kefereye fūruht olunmayub şöyle ki bundan sonra hafiyeten fūruht ihtimali olur ise haber virildiği anda keferede yedinden nez’ü tahlis ve sahibi evveline zabt sahibi evveli vefat itmiş bulunur ise ehli İslamdan talib olanlara bila tevakkuf değer behasile virdirilüb bu husus senki hassa mimar başı mumaileyhsin uhdei ihtimamına ihale kılınmağla bu hususu aleddevam tecessüs ve tefahhusdan hali olmayub kefereye fūruht iden her kim olur ise olsun haber aldığı gibi ehli islama virilmek üzere huzuru asafiye ilam eyleyüb bu hususda tehavün ve taksirden gayetül gaye ihtiraz ve mücanebet eylemen babında farmanı alışanim sadır olmuşdur. Buyurdum ki Fi evasıtı Cemaziyel-evvel 1142.” Cited in Refik, *Onikinci Asr-ı Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı (1689-1785)*, edict no. 135, 105.

from Tophane to Bebek were confiscated and a warning was issued not to sell any property to non-Muslims.³⁸¹

As stated previous pages, residential and commercial areas were separated one another in Ottoman Istanbul. However, there might be some small shops within Istanbul neighborhoods to meet the daily needs of the residents. In addition, each neighborhood necessarily had a religious building called a *mescid*. This could be a small mosque according to the size of the neighborhood, or it could be church or synagogue according to the majority of the population.³⁸² These were places in which people socialized and discussed daily issues, besides practicing religious duties. In other words, they were places in which the spiritual and the social, the official (the imam) and civil (the residents) came together and created a harmonic scene. That the majority of neighborhood names come from the name of the *mescid* or mosque in them is also a good indicator of their physical and social centrality. Going to *mescid* was quite important, and it was the primary factor in deciding whether or not a man was respectable in the society. If a man was not seen in the *mescid* regularly, it was evidence of disrepute. The residents, especially males came to know one another well during these *mescid* meetings. As a result, the role and power of the *imam*, which will be discussed in detail later, also derived from the centrality of the *mescid* in the neighborhood. The pivotal importance and high dynamism of the *mescid* resembles the place of the parish church in early modern European society. In Flather's study on early modern England, she mentions the primarily role of the parish church, which she describes as a place in which "the spiritual and the social were inextricably intertwined."³⁸³ Also, a *sibyan mektebi* (primary school), a public bath, and perhaps

³⁸¹ For example, see *İstanbul Ahkâm Defterleri: İstanbul'da Sosyal Hayat*, vol. 1, İstanbul Külliyyatı (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı İstanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1997), edict no. 1/179/807.

³⁸² İnalçık states that neighborhoods grew up around these religious buildings. See İnalçık, "İstanbul: An Islamic City," 14.

³⁸³ Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*, 136 and for more information about the role and functions of the parish church, 135-173.

a dervish lodge were other neighborhood structures which we often see in the records.

In addition to the other aspects of the urban space of Ottoman Istanbul described here, the city's coffee houses also need to be mentioned for their role in social life and relations among residents especially in terms of keeping a watchful eye on one another. Not all neighborhoods had coffee houses. In those that did, they were in central areas and were important places for people to come, socialize, gossip, and also hear about one another's news. Mikhail suggests thinking Ottoman coffee houses within the framework of Foucault's "heterotopia."³⁸⁴ It means a space "capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible."³⁸⁵ This seems quite logical because the private and public, male and female all of them were combined in these houses thanks to the news coming and going from inside, the home to outside, the street. As a result, the awareness of people increased about what is going on in their units. In brief, like these small neighborhood coffee houses, neighborhood itself in Istanbul was also multi-dimensional.

The borders of neighborhoods were always unclear throughout the cities of the early modern world as stated above, and eighteenth-century Istanbul was no exception. Nevertheless, there were boundaries, and some neighborhoods even had gates, which were closed at night because of security reasons. Gates had two main functions: the demarcation of the neighborhood and security. Ahmed Refik mentions an edict for the construction of neighborhood gates without giving any exact date.³⁸⁶ Also, some neighborhoods whose residents were of a high socio-economic status hired

³⁸⁴ Alan Mikhail, "The Heart's Desire: Gender, Urban Space and the Ottoman Coffee House," in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Dana Sajdi (London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), 137.

³⁸⁵ Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité*, October 1984, 6.

³⁸⁶ Altınay, *Eski İstanbul*, 52-54.

watchmen called *pasban* after the sixteenth century.³⁸⁷ Neighborhood gates and gate keeper was also valid for the early modern Arab Provinces like Cario or Aleppo, in Anatolian cities,³⁸⁸ as well as European cities, like London.³⁸⁹ However, neighborhood borders were far from clear-cut and constant. Rather than demarcated lines, it was the perception of people and their local identity which differentiated one neighborhood from the other.

Streets and houses are two main and indispensable elements of a neighborhood. While houses were private spaces, the outside was considered public. As for streets, they were both private and public. It would not be wrong to define the street as an opening gate from the private to the public. Thanks to them, domestic issues could spill into outdoor or social life within the neighborhood and into other houses on the street. In Behar's words "the Istanbulites, in their public life, often saw their *mahalle* as a direct extension of their untouchable individual private space, of their inner personal domain."³⁹⁰ The street thus played a crucial intermediary role between the public and private domains. This trait of the street was not peculiar to only neighborhoods of Ottoman Istanbul. In early modern Europe streets also dwelled "on the public and the private, the real and the ideal, and the concrete and the conceptual, on disorder and order, on autonomy and control."³⁹¹ Streets were generally narrow, crooked, meandering, and ill-paved in early modern Ottoman

³⁸⁷ See Fariba Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700-1800* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2010), 130; Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order*, 175. The edict cited from Ahmet Refik in the previous chapter about the prohibition of migration to Istanbul also mentions the gates and *pasbans* that were to keep migrants from entering the city.

³⁸⁸ Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 9.

³⁸⁹ Richard Dennis, *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840-1930* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 144.

³⁹⁰ Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 23-24.

³⁹¹ Thomas V. Cohen and Riitta Laitinen, eds., *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 2.

Istanbul.³⁹² Streets remained always unpaved and irregular in regard to width until the mid-nineteenth century. Actually, there was a general criterion for the width of the street. A street had to be wide enough for a horse to pass. However, in some areas they were narrower while in others they were wider. This was similar to the streets of some European cities. For example, the streets of early modern Venice were also quite narrow.³⁹³ Reed describes the streets of London as “...often dirty, ill-paved, and poorly lit, even in the most fashionable quarters.”³⁹⁴ This information gives us a clue about some general features of early modern neighborhoods and also help refute Eurocentric views about the fact that only the streets of the “East” had unplanned and irregular structures. The official municipal regulation of paving and width of Istanbul streets began only after the 1850s.³⁹⁵ The situation of the streets prior to that time is detailed in the accounts of travelers visiting Ottoman Istanbul in different times from the late seventeenth to early nineteenth century. It seems the streets of Istanbul were a kind of disappointments for them when compared with the beauty of the city. According to their accounts, the streets of the capital were quite ugly, ill-maintained, and hard to walk.³⁹⁶ In the words of Smith, who stayed in Istanbul in 1850, “the roadway was paved with all sorts of ragged stones, jammed

³⁹² Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 44-49; Maurice Cerasi, “Istanbul 1620-1750: Change and Tradition,” in *The City in The Islamic World*, ed. Salma K. Jayyusi et al., vol. 1 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 465–89.

³⁹³ Alexander Cowan, “Gossip and Street Culture in Early Modern Venice,” in *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, ed. Thomas V. Cohen and Riitta Laitinen (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 125.

³⁹⁴ Michael Reed, “The Transformation of Urban Space 1700-1840,” in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain 1540-1840*, ed. Peter Clark, vol. 2 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 638.

³⁹⁵ Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 46-47.

³⁹⁶ For example see Albert Smith, *A Month at Constantinople* (London: David Bogue, 1850), 48; George Frederick Abbot, *Under the Turk in Constantinople, A Record of Sir John Finch’s Embassy (1674-1681)* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1920), 33; Alphonse Marie Louis de Lamartine, *Alphonse de Lamartine ve İstanbul Yazıları*, trans. Nurullah Berk (Istanbul: Yenilik Basimevi, 1971), 107; C. C. Carbognano, *18. Yüzyıl Sonunda İstanbul*, trans. Erendiz Özbayoğlu (Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1993), 72.

down together without any regard to level surface; and encumbered with dead rats, melon-rinds, dogs, rags, brickbats, and rubbish, that had fallen through the mules' baskets, as they toiled along it."³⁹⁷ On the other hand, Pinon argues that the first European travelers misperceived the order in the Istanbul streets as chaos because it was different from the one in their own cities.³⁹⁸ Therefore, the non-objectivity of their views about the street of Ottoman Istanbul must be kept in mind while reading these passages.

The road system in Ottoman Istanbul like that in many Anatolian and Arabian cities, was basically divided into two: the open or "public" streets called *tarîk-i 'amm*³⁹⁹ and cul-de-sacs or "private" blind alleys called *tarîk-i hass*.⁴⁰⁰ The archival documents and *sijils*, reveal that public streets were not given special names; rather, they were generally called *tarîk-i 'amm* or *tarîk-i hass*. The second type street was narrower and shorter than the main ones. They offered more protection and connection to the residents sharing a cul-de-sac. As Behar says, "it was obviously seen as a sort of lock, a transitional stage between the public space of the streets and the privacy of the houses."⁴⁰¹ Residents sharing the same blind alley had more confidential relations as well as certain obligations and responsibilities about the use and control of these streets.⁴⁰² Pinon divides cul-de-sacs throughout the Ottoman Empire into three. The

³⁹⁷ Smith, *A Month at Constantinople*, 48.

³⁹⁸ Pinon, "The Ottoman Cities of the Balkans," 153.

³⁹⁹ It must be kept in mind that there was not a clear division between private and public spaces in early modern period. Therefore, the usage of "public" should not be understood as the same meaning of today's public space. It means a kind of "open" space and what was going on in these places got also within the sight of neighborhood gaze.

⁴⁰⁰ This division was not also constant and unchangeable. As 956. article of Mecelle states that as each cul-de-sacs cannot be *tarîk-i hass*, each open street cannot be *tarîk-i 'amm*. Özbek-Eren, *Mahalle: Yeni Bir Paradigma Mümkün Mü?*, 109.

⁴⁰¹ Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 48.

⁴⁰² For example, adding a second floor, or constructing of a new house, or any other building activities needed to be approved by the other residents sharing the same cul-de-sac. Especially the intended position of the window in the new part of the building could not

first is the “direct short cul-de-sacs serving houses set at a secondary depth behind the houses lining a street.” The second is longer ones “with recesses to provide access to the heart of large blocks.” And the last one is the “cul-de-sac serving peripheral dead-end quarters.”⁴⁰³ Such private streets were also sometimes used in European cities like London as a way of protecting residents’ inner zones.⁴⁰⁴ However, these blind alleys were the main structural feature of “Eastern” cities, in contrast to circumstantial counterparts in European streets. This was the main reason for chaotic misperceptions of European travelers about Istanbul’s streets according to Pinon.⁴⁰⁵ As Behar’s study about the neighborhood of Kasab İlyas shows that there was a decrease in the numbers of *tarîk-i hass* in the late eighteenth-century Istanbul.⁴⁰⁶ There are comparatively more references to *tarîk-i ‘amm* rather than *tarîk-i hass* in the *şeriyye sijills* investigated for this study. As Cerasi points out, “the cliché of the

intrude on the privacy of another house by overlooking its yard or garden. If the house-owner did not give attention to this issue and get permission of the neighbors called *izn-i şürekâ*, the neighbors could go the court and even have it demolished. There are many disputes about the window issue in the *fetwa* collections. For example, see Süleyman Kaya, ed., *Fetâvâ-yı Feyziye: Şeyhülislam Fezullah Efendi*; Süleyman Kaya et al., eds., *Behcetü’l-Fetava: Şeyhülislam Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi*; es-Seyyid Hafız Mehmed b. Ahmed el-Gedusi et al., eds., *Neticetü’l Fetâvâ: Şeyhülislam Fetvaları*; Murphy, “Communal Living in Ottoman Istanbul: Searching for the Foundations of an Urban Tradition.” There was also the right of *shuf’a* (pre-emption). According to it, if a house, parcel of land, or garden were put up for sale, its next-door neighbor had the priority to buy it. If the owner sold his belongings to someone else without asking his/her neighbor, this neighbor had the right to sue in court and take the property back in return for paying its cost. There were many conflicts arising from the right to *shuf’a* in *sijills*. For some examples see Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth-Century Ankara and Kayseri*, 199-200. For more information about neighbor relations and the right of *shuf’a*, see Ömer Nasuhi Bilmen, *Hukukî İslâmiye ve İstilahatı Fıkhiyye Kamusu*, vol. 6 (Istanbul: Ravza Yayınları, 1968); Kaya, *Fetâvâ-yı Feyziye: Şeyhülislam Fezullah Efendi*, 401-403; Kaya et al., *Behcetü’l-Fetava: Şeyhülislam Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi*, 547-552; el-Gedusi, Efendi, et al., *Neticetü’l Fetâvâ: Şeyhülislam Fetvaları*, 373-76; Çatalcalı Ali Efendi, *Açıklamalı Osmanlı Fetvaları: Fetâvâ-yı Ali Efendi Efendi*, ed. H. Necati Demirtaş, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Kubbealtı, 2014), 357-364.

⁴⁰³ Pinon, “The Ottoman Cities of The Balkans,” 154-55.

⁴⁰⁴ Dennis, *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840-1930*, 144.

⁴⁰⁵ Pinon, “The Ottoman Cities of The Balkans,” 153.

⁴⁰⁶ Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 84.

Islamic cul-de-sac structure does not apply well” to eighteenth-century Ottoman Istanbul.⁴⁰⁷ This could be an indicator of a changing understanding of private and public spaces over time as well as of the increasing population of Ottoman Istanbul and the need for more space for settlements.

Houses were another vital structure within the neighborhood. A number of words are used in the sources to refer to houses namely, *menzil*, *hane*, *bab*, *beyt*, *oda*, and *ev*. *Menzil* and *hane* refer to the whole edifice of a house. The others generally mean chambers.⁴⁰⁸ Istanbul house dwellings are quite important for society’s understanding private and public spaces as well as for a marker of social status. The housing style of Ottoman Istanbul were typically divided into four: *süfli*, which were mostly single floor and poor-quality houses; *tahtanî*, houses which were raised above ground level; *fevkani*, two-storied residences, and *mükellef*, which could be counted as luxury residences.⁴⁰⁹ The houses of Istanbul in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and the early eighteenth centuries mostly consisted of wood or timber one-story *tahtanî* houses. Various studies⁴¹⁰ and travel accounts of those coming to Istanbul at different times⁴¹¹ confirm this unchanging general structure of the city’s houses. According to

⁴⁰⁷ Cerasi, “Istanbul 1620-1750: Change and Tradition,” 477.

⁴⁰⁸ Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 41; Yerasimos, “Dwellings in the Sixteenth-Century İstanbul,” 278.

⁴⁰⁹ Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *İstanbul Haneleri: Evlilik, Aile ve Doğurganlık 1880-1940* (Istanbul: İletişim, 1996), 45; Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 40.

⁴¹⁰ See Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 12, 14, 41; Sennur Sezer and Adnan Özyalçınar, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul: Eski İstanbul Yaşayışı ve Folkloru* (Istanbul: İnkılap, 2005), 27-29; Yücel Özkaya, *18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumunu* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008); H. Gökçen Akgün Özkaya, *18. Yüzyılda İstanbul Evleri: Mimarlık, Rant, Konfor, Mahremiyet* (Istanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2015); Canatar, “1009/1600 Tarihli İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri’ne Göre Nefs-i İstanbul’da Bulunan Mahalleler ve Özelliklerine Dair Gözlemler,” 290.

⁴¹¹ Smith, *A Month at Constantinople*, 107-108; Abbot, *Under the Turk in Constantinople, A Record of Sir John Finch’s Embassy (1674-1681)*, 33; Levis, *Levantine Adventurer, The Travels and Missions of the Chevalier d’Arvieux, 1653-1697*; Tülay Reyhanlı, *İngiliz Gezginlerine Göre Onaltıncı Yüzyılda İstanbul’da Hayat* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1983); Tournefort, *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi*; Lady Montagu, *Doğu Mektupları*, trans. Murat Aykaç Erginöz (Istanbul: Ark, 2014); 61.

the records of the English ambassador Sir John Finch dated, 1674-81, “The houses, built of timber and sun-dried brick, soon fell into decay... In the whole of the Ottoman capital you would not have found one stately house.”⁴¹² Wood was abundant and cheap and thus good for re-building houses after devastating fires. Hence, it was the most common building material.⁴¹³ However, after the great fires of 1695, 1696, and 1701, wooden buildings were prohibited and the use of stone was encouraged.⁴¹⁴ There are many archival documents about the ban on wood and the construction of *kargir* (stone) building, as well as documents indicating the increased need for tiles and brick for the building activities after fires.⁴¹⁵ Therefore, there was an increase in stone and two-story houses, because of increased population especially in the late eighteenth-century Ottoman Istanbul.

For the houses of seventeenth century and earlier times, it is hard to determine some general characteristics. “Standardization” of the architectural structure of the houses in Ottoman Istanbul began at the end of the seventeenth century and it gained wide currency only after the second half of the eighteenth century.⁴¹⁶ As Behar indicates, the scene of Istanbul neighborhoods in which there were multi-storied wooden *cumbali* town-houses (with bay windows) pertained mostly to the late eighteenth century. Also, there were some annexes and extensions to the houses, like *kenif*

⁴¹² Abbot, *Under the Turk in Constantinople, A Record of Sir John Finch’s Embassy (1674-1681)*, 33.

⁴¹³ Yerasimos gains attention to the lack of a detailed description of wooden houses in his study about the sixteenth-century. He gives some iconographic examples from Lorichs or Schweigger and he says that there are some other materials and building techniques that were common the wooden frames filled with stones. See Yerasimos, “Dwellings in the Sixteenth-Century İstanbul,” 298-99.

⁴¹⁴ Refik, *Hicri Onikinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı (1100-1200)*, edict no. 32, 21.

⁴¹⁵ BOA, C.. BLD. / 54- 2684- 0, H. 1170; BOA, C.. BLD. / 144- 7183- 0, H.1196; BOA, C.. BLD. / 72- 3552 – 0, H. 1197; BOA, İ..DH../ 580- 40408- 0, H. 1285; BOA, A.} MKT.MHM. / 480- 16 – 0, H. 1293.

⁴¹⁶ Turan Açık and Halil İbrahim Düzenli, “XVI-XVII. Yüzyıl İstanbul Evlerine Dair,” *Antik Çağdan XXI. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi: Mimari* (Istanbul: I.B.B Kültür A.Ş., 2015), 245.

(toilet), *matbah* (kitchen), *kiler* (storeroom), or *fırın* (oven).⁴¹⁷ If the economic condition of the resident is suitable, the houses generally had yards which served as an intermediary zone between the gate of the house and the inner part. The yard could be seen as another passage one had to pass through before entering the most private sphere of the home in the interior. If the economic condition of the resident was not good enough, there would be no yard and the house would have less privacy. There were also some parts or rooms for special purposes, like *selamlık* (room reserved for male visitors), *sofa* (hall, flower bed)⁴¹⁸, *hayat-zulle* (porch), and so on.⁴¹⁹ All of these could exist according to the need and number of the residents.

4.3.1 Neighborhood as an Administrative Unit

In the Ottoman administrative system, neighborhoods belonged to *nahiyes*, and *nahiyes* belonged to *kazas*. This means that each neighborhood had its own state officials and administrative bodies. The top of this hierarchy was the *kadi*, who served as the governor and judge of the *kaza*. In *nahiyes* we see *naips*, and in neighborhood, *imams*, who were replaced by *muhtar* in the nineteenth century. Like the *kadi* and *naip*, the *imam* had some administrative responsibilities in addition to his religious duties.⁴²⁰ These included keeping social order and providing public security, identifying criminals, monitoring comings and goings to and from the neighborhood,

⁴¹⁷ For more information, see Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 41-43; Uğur Tanyeli, "Norms of Domestic Comfort and Luxury in Ottoman Metropolises Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," in *The Illuminated Table, The Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2003), 304; Yerasimos, "Dwellings in the Sixteenth-Century İstanbul," 280; Açık and Düzenli, "XVI-XVII. Yüzyıl İstanbul Evlerine Dair," 254.

⁴¹⁸ Behar define *sofa* as flower bed see Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 43.

⁴¹⁹ Behar *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle* 40-43; Tanyeli, "Norms of Domestic Comfort and Luxury in Ottoman Metropolises Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," 304-305; Stefanos Yerasimos, "Dwellings in the Sixteenth-Century İstanbul," 279.

⁴²⁰ For more information, see Kemal Beydilli, *Osmanlı Döneminde İmamlar ve Bir İmamın Günlüğü* (İstanbul: Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı, 2001); Turan Açık, "Mahalle ve Camii: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Mahalle Tipleri Hakkında Trabzon Üzerinden Bir Değerlendirme," *OTAM* 35 (Spring 2014), especially 26-33.

and checking whether residents abided by the social and moral norms of the neighborhood were some of the administrative duties of the *imam*. The *imam*, when asked, was also expected to be able to serve as a sort of guarantor or character witness for the residents of his neighborhood. This was because the *imam* was the highest authority and had eyes on the residents. When a new edict or *ferman* was sent, *imams* announced it to the public.⁴²¹ In brief, *imam* was the representative of both the state in a neighborhood and his neighborhood toward the state.⁴²² Beside *imam* were also some other officials like *müezzin*, *kethüda* (chamberlain),⁴²³ *subaşı*,⁴²⁴ *pasban-bekçi* (watchman),⁴²⁵ and *mütevelli heyeti* (board of trustees).⁴²⁶ This means that we can see a small-scale example of the administrative system in these local zones.⁴²⁷ The representational position and duties of *imams* continued

⁴²¹ Ali Rıza Bey describes this duty of *imam* as follows: “*Evâyilinde taraf-ı hükümetten tembihat icrası lazım geldiği halde mahalât imamlarına olunan tebligat üzerine akşam ezanına yakın mahalle bekçileri ‘tembih var akşam camiye buyurun’ diye sopalarını vurarak ve bülent avaz ile bağırarak mahalleyi dolaşır, herkesi haberdar eder ve akşam namazından sonar imam effendi tembihat ne ise halka onu tebliğ ve tefhim ederdi.*” Ali Rıza Bey Balıkhane Nazırı, *Eski Zamanlarda İstanbul*, ed. Ali Şükrü Çoruk (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2001), 197.

⁴²² There was also a religious charismatic leader called *shayk al-hâra* (the sheikh of neighborhood) in Syria during Mamluk period. Just like *imam* in neighborhoods of Ottoman cities, this sheikh had some administrative responsibilities as well as being a representative between the official authority and populace. For more information, see Nimrod Luz, *The Mamluk City in the Middle East: History, Culture, and the Urban Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 86-87.

⁴²³ For detailed information about *kethüda*, see Mehmet Canatar, “Kethüda,” *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 25: 332-34, 2002.

⁴²⁴ For detailed information about *subaşı*, see Mücteba İlgürel, “XVII. Yüzyıl Balıkesir Şer’iyye Sicillerine Göre Subaşılık Müessesesi,” in *8. Türk Tarih Kongresi: 11 - 15 Ekim 1976 Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1979), 1275–81; Mücteba İlgürel, “Subaşı,” *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 37: 447-48, 2009.

⁴²⁵ For the functions of *bekçi* see Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Adet, Merasim ve Tabirleri: İnsanlar, İnanışlar, Eğlence, Dil*, ed. Kazım Arısan and Duygu Arısan Günay, vol. 2 (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995), 311-312.

⁴²⁶ With the simplest way, it was a person or a group of people who were responsible for the administration of a waqif.

⁴²⁷ For detailed information about the administration of the neighborhood see for example, Özer Ergenç, “Some Notes on the Administration Units of the Ottoman Cities,” vol. 1 (Urbanism in Islam, The Proceedings of the International Conference on Urbanism in Islam, Tokyo, 1989), 425–41; Ziya Kazıcı, “Osmanlılarda Mahalle İmamları ve Yerel Yönetim İlişkisi”;

until the nineteenth century. In 1830s *imam* were replaced by *mukhtar* as local headman in the neighborhood.

4.3.2 Neighborhood as an Economic Unit

The neighborhoods in the Ottoman period also had certain economic functions. For example, if *mosque*, *mescit*, fountain, or *sibyan mektebi* (primary school) in a neighborhood needed repair, residents were expected to cover all expenses. In addition, the *imam*, *muezzin*, *müderri* (school teacher), or *pasban-bekçi* (watchman) had no regular salary, which meant they lived off the residents. Also, the residents were responsible for cleaning and maintenance of the streets in front of their houses just like the contemporary European and Arab cities.⁴²⁸ Over time, especially after the foundation of the Istanbul *Şehremaneti* (municipality), such social services became more officially controlled. The cleaning of streets by a *süpürücü* (sweeper) and the collection of the garbage by an *arayıcı* (literally, “seeker,” that is to say, garbagemen) increased, especially after the second half of the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century.⁴²⁹ Therefore, the residents were also responsible for

Himmet Taşkömür, “Osmanlı Mahallesinde Beşeri Münasebetler”; Kemal Beydilli, *Osmanlı Döneminde İmamlar ve Bir İmamın Günlüğü*; Bayartan, “Osmanlı Şehrinde Bir İdari Birim: Mahalle”; Kıvrım, “Osmanlı Mahallesinde Gündelik Hayat: 17. Yüzyılda Gaziantep Örneği;” Canatar, “1009/1600 Tarihli İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri’ne Göre Nefs-i İstanbul’da Bulunan Mahalleler ve Özelliklerine Dair Gözlemler,” especially 292-95; Açıık, “Mahalle ve Camii: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Mahalle Tipleri Hakkında Trabzon Üzerinden Bir Değerlendirme.”

⁴²⁸ Especially for the seventeenth and early eighteenth-centuries, this phenomenon is valid for many contemporary European and Mediterranean Arab cities. Later on, professional sweepers began to emerge. For example, see Raymond, “The Management of The City,” 790; Riitta Laitinen and Dag Lindström, “Urban Order and Street Regulation in Seventeenth-Century Sweden,” in *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, ed. Thomas V. Cohen and Laitinen Riitta (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 63–93. Before the second half of the eighteenth-century, we can see some edicts about the sweeping away the streets and doorsteps in Istanbul *sijills* registers for example, Istanbul Bab Court Records No.82, 67/3a and Istanbul Havas-ı Refia Court Records No. 123, 60/3a. There could be also some warnings to the residents about sweeping ashes away from the ovens to prevent fires which were common problem of Istanbul for a long time. For an example about such warning see Istanbul Bab Court Records No.78, 179/2a.

⁴²⁹ For more information about the public services in Ottoman Arab lands see André Raymond, “Osmanlı Devri Arap Kentlerinde Kamu Hizmetleri,” in *İslam Geleneğinden*

paying their salaries.⁴³⁰ From the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries when some extraordinary taxes like *avarız* or *imdadidiye* became regular taxes, the economic roles of the neighborhood increased. In the collection of these taxes, people were not assigned a determined amount of money to pay individually rather each neighborhood had a certain amount to pay according to the socio-economic background of the region. One *avarızhane* could consist of several real households, and each of them paid within its budget. Previously, these were not regular taxes and were only collected in the times of need. Without a doubt, this transformation of irregular taxes to regular taxes increased interactive relations of the residents as well as the economic role of the neighborhood.

4.3.3 Neighborhood as a Social Unit

The most important aspect of the neighborhood for this study is its social structure. As it discussed in detail in the previous chapter, the social structuring of the pre-modern societies were neighborhood-based communities. Therefore, the most crucial feature of the neighborhoods of not only Ottoman Istanbul but also most neighborhoods in Anatolian, Balkan, and Arab as well as European cities was sense of community. Like its contemporaries, the sense of community in Istanbul neighborhoods of the eighteenth century took its roots from the face-to-face relations. There was a strong interaction and personal relations among the residents in contrast to the modern times' people living in flats or apartments and having less interaction with the next-door neighbors. The sense of community and strong collective identity within the neighborhood were natural results of the social structure of the eighteenth-century Istanbul neighborhood. All the issues mentioned and discussed above, from building activities to street structures, from collectively paid taxes to the role of the state officials, all of them contributed to the existence of

Günümüze: Şehir ve Yerel Yönetimler, ed. Vecdi Akyüz and Seyfettin Ünlü, vol. 1 (Istanbul: İlke Yayınları, 1996), 467–76.

⁴³⁰ Canatar, "1009/1600 Tarihli İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri'ne Göre Nefs-i İstanbul'da Bulunan Mahalleler ve Özelliklerine Dair Gözlemler," 295. Also see The Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry (BOA) A.} MKT.MVL. / 75- 16 – 0, H. 1272; BOA, ŞD. / 676- 14- 0, H. 1288; BOA, ŞD. / 678- 41- 0, H. 1289.

a sense of belonging and collective identity among the residents. Face-to-face relations, sharing social norms and moral values, vicinity rights rooted in Islamic law and culture, responsibilities among residents, and obligations to the state were the main factors paving the way for a strong affiliation and heightened awareness of the residents about each other within a neighborhood. As a result, the existing sense of belonging and community was a crucial motivation and drive for the inhabitants to behave according to the public acclaim. As Brower indicates, “neighborhood studies show people who express a stronger sense of community are more likely to engage in neighborly acts, express willingness to cooperate, participate in community organizations and in local affairs, make physical improvements, fight crime, support public school taxes, and operate social programs.”⁴³¹ In other words, this consciousness and affiliation was both cause and result of heightened awareness of residents toward each other and keeping social order within the neighborhood. Each of them feeds the other. Thus, it was hand in hand the existence of the sense of community and collective consciousness, mutual respect for others and for one’s obligations, solidarity and responsibility, rights and enforcements, sanctions and social control were all inextricably linked. All these issues will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁴³¹ Brower, *Neighbors and Neighborhoods: Elements of Successful Community Design*, 4.

CHAPTER 5

PURSUIT OF SOCIAL COHESION IN THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN ISTANBUL: SOCIAL CONFLICT AND HARMONY

It was always a good sign to be known in one's area, but on the other hand it did no good to be seen as a bit of an oddity or a lay about, and worse still, to upset the community.

-Arlette Farge⁴³²

İstanbul Kadısı Faziletlû Efendi,⁴³³

İstanbul'da vaki' mahallâtta müste'cir ve mütemekkin sâkin ve sâkine ricâl ve nisâdan ba'zıları kendü halinde olmayub fisk ve fücûr ve nice fesâda ba'is oldukları istimâ' olunmagla imdi cümle mahalle imâmınların getirdüb herkes mahallesinde sâkin ve sâkine olub mechûlü'l ahvâl olanların cemâ'atleri ve ma'rifet-i şer'le kefillerin alub kefilî olmayub sahib-i fesâd ve fevâhiş makûlelerin mahalleden ihrâc için 'arz ve i'lâm eylemelerin tenbîh eylesin şöyle ki bundan sonra hafiyyeten tefahhus ittirilub her kangı mahallenin imâmında tekâsül zuhûr iylerse 'azl ile iktifâ olunmayub muhkem hakkından gelinur ana göre geregi gibi tenbîh eyleyesiz deyü.

Fî 13 Safer 1117

Hasköy Kadısı Faziletlû Efendi,⁴³⁴

--- Eyüb Ensar'da vâki' mahallatda müste'cir ve mütemekkin sâkin ve sâkine ricâl ve nisâdan ba'zıları kendü hallerinde olmayub fisk ve fücûr ve nice fesâda ba'is oldukları istimâ' olunmagla imdi cümle mahalladın imâmınlarını getirün be her kimesne mahallesinde sâkin ve sâkine olub mechûl-i ahvâlları olanların cemâ'atleri ve ma'rifet-i şer'le kefilleri olub kefilî olmayub sahib-i fesâd ve fevâhiş makûlelerin mahalleden ihrâc için 'arz ve i'lâmınlarına tenbîh idesin şöyle bundan sonra hafiyyeten tefahhus ittirilub her kangı mahalle imâmında tekâsül zuhûr iderse 'azl ile iktifâ olunmayub muhkem hakkından gelinub muhkem tenbîh iyleyesun deyü.

Fî 13 Safer 111

⁴³² Arlette Farge, *Fragile Lives: Violence, Power and Solidarity in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 12 in Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order*, 189.

⁴³³ Istanbul Bab Court Records No. 82, 67/2a. See appendix C.

⁴³⁴ Havas-ı Refia Court Records No. 123, 60/2a. See appendix D.

Galata Kadısı Faziletlû Efendi,⁴³⁵

Galata'da vâki' mahallâtda müste'cîr ve mütemekkîn sâkin ve sâkine ricâl ve nisâdan ba'zıları kendü hallerinde olmayub fisk ve fücûr ve nice fesâda ba'is oldukları istimâ' olunmagla imdi cümle mahalladın imâmıların getirüb be her kimesne mahallesinde sâkin ve sâkine olub mechûl-i ahvâlları olanların cemâ'atleri ve ma'rifet-i şer'le kefilleri olub kefilleri olmayub sahib-i fesâd ve fevâhiş makûlelerini mahalleden ihrâc için 'arz ve i'lâm iylemelerini tenbîh iylesin şöyle bil ki bundan sonra hafiyeten tefahhus ittirilub her kangı mahallenin imâmında tekâsul zuhûr iderse 'azl ile iktifâ olunmayub muhkem hakkından gelinur ana gereği gibi tenbîh iylesun deyu.
Fî 13 Safer 1117

On 6 June 1705 (H. 13 Safer 1117), two years after the Edirne *Vak'ası*, an edict was sent to the *kadis* of Istanbul, Hasköy, and Galata.⁴³⁶ The addressees were different

⁴³⁵ Galata Court Records No. 200, 146/3b. See appendix E.

⁴³⁶ A similar imperial order was also sent to the *kadi* of Edirne on 23 June 1703, two months before the Edirne *Vak'ası*. This edict was given because of the increased prostitution and unlawful activities in the city. These were measurements which were foreshadow of the forthcoming rebellion. This order assigned the *Yeniçeri Ağası* (the Janissary Agha), *Bostancı Başı* (the Commander of the Imperial Guards), and *Mîrâhûr-ı evvel Aga* (the Agha of the Horse Masters) to inspect and note everyone, neighborhood by neighborhood and home by home, because many sinners and much mischief had come to the city according to the authorities as written in the order. Those who did not have any guarantor were exiled from the city and some of them who were off the straight path were punished with penal servitude, imprisonment, and so on. The Ottoman Turkish of the order: "*Edirne'de bazı mertebe fevâhiş makûlesi istima' olunmakla def' ve şehri tathîr eylemek üzere hatt-ı hümâyûn şevket-makrûn sâdir oldu. Sûret-i buyruldu: Edirne kadısı faziletli efendi, emr-i bi'l-ma'ruf ve nehy-i ani'l-münker hükkâma farz olub ve fi'l-i kabîh zina ki iştibâh-ı ensâb ve ziyâ'-ı evlâd ve inkitâ'-i nesl ve harâbe-i 'âlem misillü nice mefâside ba'is olub men'i lâzım Ve Edirne'de taşradan ve yerlûden vâfir zevânî makûlesi müctemi' ve erâzil-i nâs ile ihtilât idüb nice fesâda bâis olmaları ile bu makûle fevâhişden Edirnenin tathir ü tanzifi için gereği gibi teftiş u tefahhus ve defter olunmak üzere yeniçeri ağasına ve ve bostancıbaşı ve mirahur-ı evvel ağaya tenbih olunmakla, siz dahi taraf-ı şer'den mutemed nâibler tayin ve mahalle be mahalle ve hane be hane kemâ yenbaği teftiş ü tefahhus ve bir ferde himaye olunmayub her kim olursa olsun olmakûle zevânî isim ve resimleri ve mekânları ile defter idüb huzurumuza arz eylesiz Yazılıb veziriazam tarafından dahi mutemed ağalar tayin ve mahalle be mahalle teftiş olunub kefilleri olmayan ricâl ve nisâ ihrâc ve yanlarına çavuşlar koşulub şehirden çıkardılar Sû-i halleri üzere olub yahud müttehem olanlar bazıları küreğe bazıları zindana ve bazıları zabitlerinde habs olundu Salâh-ı halleri zâhir olunca te'dib olundu Ve meyhaneciler ahz, ehl ve 'iyalleri ile öküzarabalarına tahmil, Tekfurdağı ve alkara ve Keşan vesair murâd eyledikleri yerlere nefy olundu. Fi 8 S 1115 (23 June 1703)." Özcan, *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi (1099-1116 / 1688-1704)*, 218. For a detailed analysis of this edict, see Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its *Mahalles*: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," 24-26. Also, Hüseyin Ertuğ mentions a similar order given in 1567 for people of Eyüp district of Istanbul. See BOA, Mühimme Registers No. 7, edict no. 155 in Hüseyin Nejdî Ertuğ, "Osmanlı Kefalet Sistemi ve 1792 Tarihli Bir Kefalet Defterine Göre Boğaziçi" (Master thesis Sakarya University, 2000), 14.*

kadis of Istanbul, but the edicts were the same word for word. The edict stated that the sultan had heard that there were some lessees and residents who were engaging in mischief and disturbing the peace in neighborhoods of Ottoman Istanbul. Therefore, the sultan ordered the *kadis* to notify the *imams* of all neighborhoods to inform the court about *mechûl-ü ahvâl* (unknown) people who did not have a *kefil* (guarantor) so that they might be expelled from the neighborhood. There is a finger wagging quality to the order. If it is realized any laxity to obey the order among *imams* during any inquiry, it says that *imams* are not only dismissed but also are overpowered.

What else does this edict tell us? What are the possible inferences between the lines? Who were the *mechûl-ü ahvâl* (unknown) people? What criteria were used to identify which people belonged in the neighborhoods and which did not? What was the role of *imams* in this regard? Who was engaging in “mischief”? What moral codes were used to define someone as “disturber of the peace”? Who determined who was harmless and who was not? Who could be a *kefil* (guarantor)? Why did people become the guarantor of someone else? Where were those who disturbed the peace of a neighborhood expelled to? Were there any criteria to determine the place of expulsion? How long did they stay in their new place? Was there any control mechanism for problematic people in their new places? How effective was expulsion from the neighborhood as a deterrent to future crime? Was it possible for those who had been expelled to return to previous neighborhood? If so, who decided when or if they could? What was the legal basis of expulsion from the neighborhood in the Islamic and Ottoman law? Was there a single penal code? Why there was a need for this edict in the year of 1705?

Further questions could be asked. Some have answers and some do not. In this chapter, I will put the existing social conflict and harmony in Istanbul neighborhoods on the table and trace the possible answers to the questions above. I will argue that the edict of 1705 has a crucial importance in that it shows that there was a strong relation between the surety system and expulsion from the neighborhood as means of fostering social cohesion and harmony in neighborhoods of Ottoman Istanbul.

5.1 Collectivity within a Neighborhood

Collectivity of early modern neighborhoods of Ottoman Istanbul could be understood within five aspects. There is no doubt that the neighborhood was an inseparable part of one's identity in the eighteenth century as discussed in the previous chapters. In other words, the neighborhood was one of the main elements of individuals' identity formation in Ottoman Istanbul during the period, as it was in many other Balkan, Anatolian, and Arabian cities. Almost all cases in court records state the names of the plaintiffs, defendants, or witnesses' neighborhoods before or just after their own names. For example, an *imam* Mustafa Efendi is introduced as the *imam* of the Abdusselam Neighborhood in Hasköy;⁴³⁷ Abdurrahim Çelebi, as the son of Süleyman from the Neighborhood of Çavuş Paşa in Tobhane;⁴³⁸ or Ali Beşe, as the son of Osman from the Neighborhood of Hacı Mimi.⁴³⁹ It is not a coincidence because the identity and identifiability of people is closely related to the neighborhood in which they lived. In a pre-modern city where there were no surnames or personal identification numbers, the main criterion to determine one's identity was his/her neighborhood, and the main measure of one's credibility was his/her reputation among his/her neighbors. Both of these criteria were based on face-to-face relations and strong interaction among the inhabitants of a neighborhood.

While the neighborhood was a source of identity for its inhabitants, the neighborhood itself also had a collective sense of identity, as mentioned in the previous chapter.⁴⁴⁰ It was conceived as a legal entity in the eyes of the state. Related to that, some economic and social responsibilities were shared among neighborhood

⁴³⁷ Istanbul Bab Court Records No.84, 90/2b.

⁴³⁸ Istanbul Bab Court Records No.84, 92/8a.

⁴³⁹ Galata Court Records No.200, 163/1b.

⁴⁴⁰ That each neighborhood had a collective identity does not mean that neighborhoods were homogeneous entities or that everyone living in the same neighborhood were as if only one individual. In other words, the collectiveness of the neighborhood does not erase the individuals in it. For a similar view, see Nurcan Abacı, "Osmanlı Kentlerinde Sosyal Kontrol: Araçlar ve İşleyiş," in *Şinasi Tekin'in Anısına: Uygurlardan Osmanlıya*, ed. Günay Kut and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz (Istanbul: Simurg, 2005), 110.

residents and they also had some collective sanctions as a result of these responsibilities. These collective responsibilities and penal sanctions were also the main indicators of the fact that the neighborhood had a collective identity within itself.⁴⁴¹

A neighborhood had some collective economic responsibilities like collectively paying taxes, the fees of neighborhood officials, the expenses of repairing and maintaining their public buildings and so on. Aside from being an economic unit which brought neighborhood residents some economic responsibilities as discussed in the previous chapter, they had also some social responsibilities from vicinity rights to preventing undesirable and unlawful actions within their neighborhoods.

There was a penal liability of all inhabitants and each neighborhood was legally answerable for unidentified and unsolved murders within its borders. *Âkile* and *kassâme* are the two implantations of Ottoman legal system to show the existence of collective responsibility of a neighborhood.⁴⁴² *Âkile* denotes a group of closely unit

⁴⁴¹ See also Abraham Marcus, "Privacy in Eighteenth-Century Aleppo: The Limits of Cultural Ideals," 177; Işık Tamdoğan Abel, "Osmanlı Döneminden Günümüz Türkiye'sine 'Bizim Mahalle'" 40 (2002), 67-68; Hülya Canbakal, "Some Questions on the Legal Identity of Neighborhoods in the Ottoman Empire," 131; Tok, "Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Osmanlı Şehrindeki Mahalleden İhraç Kararlarında Mahalle Ahalisinin Rolü (XVII ve XVIII Yüzyıllarda Kayseri Örneği)," 158-59; Mikhail, "The Heart's Desire: Gender, Urban Space and the Ottoman Coffee House," 144; Kaplanoğlu, "Mahalle Hukukunda 'Hüsni Hal', 'Su-i Hal' ve Mahalleden İhraç Kararları," 49-50.

⁴⁴² For detailed information about *âkile* and *kassâme* and related *fetwâs* examples, see Hamza Aktan, "Akile," *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 2: 248-49, 1989, <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c02/c020224.pdf>; Ali Bardakoğlu, Cemalettin Şen, "İslam Hukukunda Kasâme" (Master thesis Marmara University, 1996); "Kasâme," *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 24: 528-30, 2001, <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c24/c240334.pdf>; Rudolph Peters, "Murder in Khaybar: Some Thoughts on the Origins of the Qasama Procedure in Islamic Law," *Islamic Law and Society* 9, no. 2 (2002): 132-67; Mehmet Akman, "Osmanlı Hukukunda Faili Bilinmeyen İtlaf Durumlarında Öngörülen Ortak Sorumluluğun Hukuki Niteliği," *Türk Hukuk Tarihi Araştırmaları* 3 (Spring 2007): 7-12; Hülya Canbakal, "Some Questions on the Legal Identity of Neighborhoods in the Ottoman Empire"; Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebussu'ud Efendi'nin Fetvalarına Göre Kanuni Devrinde Osmanlı Hayatı: Fetâvâ-yı Ebussu'ud Efendi*, 198-200; Efendi, *Açıklamalı Osmanlı Fetvaları: Fetâvâ -yı Ali Efendi Efendi*, vol. 2, 479-489; İbrahim Halebi, *İzahlı Mülteka El Ebhur Tercümesi*, vol. 4 (Istanbul: Çelik Yayınevi, 2015), 391-

people who are responsible for paying *diyet* (blood money) for their members in case there is an unintentional murder. When there is an unsolved murder in a neighborhood, the inhabitants would be responsible for paying the *diyet* collectively. This was known as *kassâme*. These collective sanctions upon the whole neighborhood exemplify the legal collectiveness of the neighborhoods in the Ottoman cities.⁴⁴³ The surety system is another important indicator of collectiveness within a neighborhood because it was based on the shared accountability of the residents. I will discuss it in detail in the following pages.

Collectiveness and display of the state authority were the two main approaches of the state to violence and crime in the city.⁴⁴⁴ The state saw and used the collectiveness of each neighborhood by making its residents blamable for one another's illegal or inappropriate behaviors to prevent or at least decrease violence and unlawful actions.⁴⁴⁵ If one behaved against the law and committed crime, the state could display its authority by imposing collective penal fines on the residents. By doing so, it aimed to prevent or at least decrease crime rates and troublesome behaviors. In this regard, neighborhood consciousness derived from a sense of belonging to a particular neighborhood, and this collective identity and collective responsibility were the main tools for helping to maintain social order. In addition, Islamic tradition which orders to command good and right and forbid bad and wrong

402; Ekrem Buğra Ekinci, *Osmanlı Hukuku: Adalet ve Mülk* (Istanbul: Arı Sanat, 2016), 362-364.

⁴⁴³ This does not mean there was no legal personality in Ottoman society. However, the debate of whether there was individuality in Ottomans is not within the aim of this study. For more discussion, see Canbakal, "Some Questions on the Legal Identity of Neighborhoods in the Ottoman Empire."

⁴⁴⁴ Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 108.

⁴⁴⁵ The Ottoman legal system used this collectiveness not only in neighborhoods. In the words of Boyar and Fleet, "Ottoman society functioned as a collection of blocks in which people were grouped together according shared characteristics..." Boyar and Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul*, 108. Blameworthiness was also valid in guild organizations, religious groups, and so on. For example, guild officials were responsible for their members' attitudes, professional activities, and trade morality. The patriarch was in charge of the Orthodox people within the Ottoman Empire.

would be another reason in a Muslim society toward keeping public order.⁴⁴⁶ These notions made the residents of a neighborhood responsible for policing one another and informing the official authorities about any suspicious *mugayir-i asayiş* (against the public order) and *mugayir-i edeb* (against the morality) attitudes and behaviors which were against the social regulations or the law.⁴⁴⁷

The collectiveness of the neighborhood helped the state to maintain social order because the collective cooperation of the residents could create secure zones within the city. However, this collectivity could also be a potential danger unless the sultan could not balance the power and his authority over the society.⁴⁴⁸ Otherwise, in case increased solidarity and unity could come strength, a social unrest against the authority and dangerous violence could occur.⁴⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the state needed a collectiveness within neighborhoods to establish and maintain social order effectively because the society was the main source of keeping social tranquility.

5.2 Neighborhood Watch as a Means of Social Harmony and Conflict

Ensuring *nizam-ı 'alem* (public tranquility and order) was always on the Ottoman sultans' agenda. Therefore, they kept *maslaha* or *maslahat-ı 'amme* -that is public good and interest- and social harmony at the cost of elimination of *mafsada* -that is

⁴⁴⁶ There is a clear Quranic order related to inviting people to good actions and preventing wrongdoings. See "And let there be [arising] from you a nation inviting to [all that is] good, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong, and those will be the successful." Qur'an: 3; 114, <http://quran.com/3/104>

Also, see "So why were there not among the generations before you those of enduring discrimination forbidding corruption on earth- except a few of those We saved from among them? But those who wronged pursued what luxury they were given therein, and they were criminals." Qur'an: 11; 116, <http://quran.com/11/116>

⁴⁴⁷ Bařaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order*, 172-173.

⁴⁴⁸ Boyar and Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul*, 110.

⁴⁴⁹ The Edirne *Vaka'sı* exemplify how the collectiveness of a military group unified and different groups of the society somehow joined and rebelled against the authority in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

mischievous acts and actors- from the society.⁴⁵⁰ For this reason, in early modern times when there were no professional police services, the legal system had to rely primarily on the “neighborhood watch” to identify criminal activities and those who posed a danger to social order and harmony within the neighborhood.⁴⁵¹ There is no doubt that this neighborhood watch was also fed by the Islamic principle of commanding good and forbidding wrong (*emr-i bi'l-ma'ruf nehy-i ani'l-münker*)⁴⁵² and moral values of the society.

As is due to human physiology, there is a “role model effects” of social interactions within the members of a community. In other words, “behavior of one individual in a neighborhood is influenced by the characteristic of and earlier behaviors of older members of his/her social group.”⁴⁵³ And group members normally think that they should abide by norms and behaviors which their groups are approved. Otherwise, there is always the possibility of condemnation even ostracization. For others, the deviant ones or at least, those who are prone to have deviant behaviors “neighborhood watch” is always open. For the early eighteenth-century Ottoman Istanbul, it was also valid and its neighborhood-based community structure, neighborhood consciousness, face-to-face relations, collective identity and accountability, Islamic principle of commanding right and forbidding wrong within society, unwritten social norms and moral codes of the society...etc., all of them contributed “neighborhood watch” to stand sharp. In other words, the social and

⁴⁵⁰ See Betül Başaran, “‘Unidentified’ City Dwellers and Public Order in Istanbul Neighborhoods at the End of the 18th Century.”

⁴⁵¹ Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700-1800*, 130.

⁴⁵² For more information, see Michael Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong In Islamic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁴⁵³ Charlotta Mellander, Kevin Stolarick, and José Lobo, “Distinguishing Neighborhood and Workplace Effects on Individual Productivity: Evidence from Sweden,” *Royal Institute of Technology, CESIS - Centre of Excellence for Science and Innovation Studies Electronic Working Paper Series*, no. 386 (December 2014), 3.

legal atmosphere of neighborhoods led to surveillance within the neighborhood with an “defense of moral reputation and honor.”⁴⁵⁴

In addition to the above-mentioned reasons making neighborhood watch possible, some other factors which made neighborhood surveillance practical in Ottoman Istanbul would be mentioned. The first one was the legal system. The Ottoman legal system allowed neighborhood residents to deal with their problematic elements without providing any concrete evidence.⁴⁵⁵ Witnessing and the residents’ statements about the moral conditions and unlawful behaviors of others were quite enough to apply to the court because there was an important emphasis on testimony in Ottoman law.⁴⁵⁶

The matter of public (*namahrem*) and private (*mahrem*) space is another factor for the feasibility of neighborhood watch. As discussed in the previous chapter, there was not a clear-cut division between public and private spheres in Ottoman Istanbul. Spaces could be both public and private or be in-between position just as in many other early modern European cities.⁴⁵⁷ Therefore, public and private space were interwoven concepts and it was not clear where the private began or ended. The

⁴⁵⁴ Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2003), 179.

⁴⁵⁵ Article 125 in the law code of Süleyman I details of what was the necessity to punish someone whose bad conduct was confirmed by the community: “If a person is a threat to public order [*ehl-i fesā’d*] and is constantly engaged in mischievous acts, and if Muslims declare in his presence that they do not find him a law-abiding person, the judge and the police chief shall withdraw [from the proceedings against him]. The person in whose hands has been placed the authority to inflict capital or severe corporal punishment [*siya’sa ve yasak*] shall punish him.” Rudolph Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law: Theory and Practice from the Sixteenth to the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 90. For an Ottoman Turkish version of the article, see Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, ed. V.L. Menage (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1973), 92.

⁴⁵⁶ Boğaç Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 152-53; Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab*, 179; Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order*, 177; İbrahim Halebi, *İzahlı Mülteka El Ebhur Tercümesi*, vol. 3 (Istanbul: Çelik Yayınevi, 2015), 235-267.

⁴⁵⁷ Cohen and Laitinen, *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, 4.

public sphere could be defined as the common space in which there was a publicity and enabled persons easily to be seen and made communal intervention easier. As Fikret Yılmaz states, the laws protecting the intimacy of houses made the home the most private space.⁴⁵⁸ However, both public and private spheres could be watch one another. For this reason, there are many examples of how residents were knowledgeable about the personal lives of their neighbors.

The protection of privacy was important in both Islamic and Ottoman law, and there were many precautions taken to protect the intimacy of people.⁴⁵⁹ For this reason, even though there were known criminals or criminal activity in a house, it was not possible to search the house without the permission of the court.⁴⁶⁰ However, the residents would sometimes publicize shameful behaviors in a home by smearing the gates of those who had extramarital sex with tar or hanging horns on their gates.⁴⁶¹ Also, a major sin which was committed in the private zones of people and known by outsiders could result in a legal action against the transgressor.⁴⁶² If a *namahrem*, an unrelated or unknown man or woman entered a house and the residents were

⁴⁵⁸ Fikret Yılmaz, "XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahremiyetin Sınırlarına Dair," 102.

⁴⁵⁹ While Kâtip Çelebi mentions about ordering good and forbidden evil, he underlies that it cannot be used as a excuse to air one's dirty linen in public because doing so is *haram* and forbidden by the religion: "...bir kimsenin iyiliği emredip kötüyü menetmesi, fitneye yol açmaması şartıyla müstehaptır. Budur ki, gizli halleri araştırma ve tecessüs hali bulunmaya, teftişsiz ve soruşturmasız ola, zira tecessüs kirli çamaşırları ortaya dökmek için çabalamak demektir ve haramdır." Kâtip Çelebi, *Mizanü'l-Hakk Fî İhtiyârî'l-Ehakk: İhtilaf İçinde İtidal*, ed. Süleyman Uludağ (Istanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2016), 105. See also Sabri Erturhan, "Kişisel Boyutlu Suçların Gizlenmesinin İslam Ceza Hukuku Açısından Değerlendirilmesi," *Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 5, no. 2 (2001): 259-91; Sabri Erturhan, "Suçla Mücadelenin Fikhî Esasları," *Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 13, no. 1 (2009): 43-77.

⁴⁶⁰ For cases of such searches, see Yılmaz, "XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahremiyetin Sınırlarına Dair," 102-104.

⁴⁶¹ Abdulmecid Mutaf, "Osmanlı'da Zina ve Fuhuş Olaylarına Karşı Toplumsal Bir Tepki: Kapiya Katran Sürmek ve Boynuz Asmak," in *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Balıkesir*, ed. Bülent Özdemir and Zübeyde Güneş Yağcı (Istanbul: Yeditepe, 2007), 93-104; Çetin, "Anadolu'da Kapiya Katran Sürme Vak'aları: Konya Şer'îye Sicilleri Işığında Hukukî, Kültürel ve Toplumsal Boyutları (1645-1750)."

⁴⁶² İnalçık, "Istanbul: An Islamic City," 14.

suspicious about a possible immoral or unethical relationship, the local *imam* could organize a *mahalle baskını* (neighborhood raid). As a result, in the words of Andre Raymond, “The theoretically opaque walls of the ‘Muslim house’ did not really protect familial intimacy from the watchful eye of the neighborhood.”⁴⁶³

In the court records, there are many examples about a remarkable awareness about who was new to the neighborhood and who was leaving it. Other well-known facts within the neighborhood included what was going on one’s neighbors’ lives and even in their houses; who was law-abiding and who was not; who was trustworthy and who was not; who was well-behaved and who was not. As Mikhail indicates, this was not always in the spirit of “camaraderie.” “It also produced a social milieu in which people regularly talked about others, about what they were doing in their homes and about how they interacted with others within the community and elsewhere.”⁴⁶⁴ All in all, these neighborhood dynamics could cause a kind of social burden for those who tended to act against the laws and social norms. More importantly false accusations which are frequently confronted in court cases and further trials of defendants to prove their blamelessness are other important indications of the fact that this can be seen as a source of conflict in the pursuit of harmony within the neighborhood.

There were some “undesired” or “marginal” elements caught by the neighborhood watch. Even though each neighborhood had also its own dynamics, and social and moral values which could change in time from place to place, there were some common concerns about people who were who were not “ideal” members of their neighborhoods; or, in other words, who was *ehl-i fesad* (a disturber of the peace) and who was *kendü halinde* (inoffensive). Those who engaged in drinking, thieving, prostituting, or fornicating, and these who bothered others with their tongues, that is, those who were ill-mannered and foul-mouthed were considered undesired elements

⁴⁶³ Raymond, “The Management of The City,” 793.

⁴⁶⁴ Mikhail, “The Heart’s Desire: Gender, Urban Space and the Ottoman Coffee House,” 144-145.

both in Istanbul and in different parts of the empire during the eighteenth century and in earlier periods because these were unlawful and disgraceful behaviors according to Islamic and imperial law. For example, Abraham Marcus's study about eighteenth-century Aleppo shows that prostitution, the consumption of wine, and illicit sex were considered scandalous behavior.⁴⁶⁵ In Abdul Karim Rafeq's study, we see the condemnation of behaviors, similar from evil talk and wine drinking to associating with *namahrem* (unrelated) men or women and committing adultery, as being against society's moral codes in eighteenth-century Damascus.⁴⁶⁶ Eyal Ginio's study shows that similar attitudes also had a negative repercussions in eighteenth-century Selânik.⁴⁶⁷ Other studies about such cities as Konya, Bursa, Kayseri, and Gaziantep in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries confirm that the above-mentioned behaviors were considered disgraceful regardless of place and time in Ottoman lands.⁴⁶⁸

These examples indicate that cities across Ottoman lands held a similar notion of the ideal neighbor. However, this does not mean that this notion remained constant. Each city had its own dynamics, binding norms and the idealized behavioral codes. Even within a city, there could be differences from one neighborhood to another. Therefore, some undesired behaviors could be more tolerated in some neighborhoods than others according to the physical and social features of the

⁴⁶⁵ See Marcus, "Privacy in Eighteenth-Century Aleppo: The Limits of Cultural Ideals."

⁴⁶⁶ Rafeq, "Public Morality in the 18th Century Ottoman Damascus."

⁴⁶⁷ Ginio, "The Administration of Criminal Justice in Ottoman Selanik (Salonica) During the Eighteenth Century."

⁴⁶⁸ See Yusuf Küçükdağ, "Lale Devri'nde Konya" (Ph.D. diss., Selçuk University, 1989); Erten, "Neighborhood Consciousness as a Social Control Mechanism According to the Ottoman Judicial Records in the 17th and 18th Centuries (The Case of Konya)"; Çetin, "Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahalleden İhraç Kararları ve Tatbiki: Konya Örneği (1645-1750)"; Nurcan Abacı, *Bursa Şehri'nde Osmanlı Hukuku'nun Uygulanması (17. Yüzyıl)* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 2001); Tok, "Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Osmanlı Şehrindeki Mahalleden İhraç Kararlarında Mahalle Ahalisinin Rolü (XVII ve XVIII Yüzyıllarda Kayseri Örneği)"; Kıvrım, "Osmanlı Mahallesinde Gündelik Hayat: 17. Yüzyılda Gaziantep Örneği." In addition, Amanda Flather, has shown that there were some similar behaviors like fornication which were also unwelcomed in early modern England, but a similar attitude did not apply to drinking, for instance. See Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*, 42.

neighborhood. For example, there were gatherings of “rowdy” elements of Ottoman Istanbul in some quarters like Galata, Kumkapı, and Balat.⁴⁶⁹ These places consisted mostly of non-Muslims, were closer to the city walls and were more open to people coming and going. These more permissive attitudes were perhaps why those neighborhoods had relatively more criminality than others, which in turn attracted other “marginal” elements of the city to these places. Therefore, people living there would be more familiar with and the state could be more indulgent toward unlawful actions experienced there. However, this relative distance from the city’s moral values and rule bending does not make these places “criminal ghettos”⁴⁷⁰ because there was a heterogeneous character of Istanbul neighborhoods, and this prevented the emergence of an atmosphere of total harmony or total or conflict in any given neighborhoods. Social harmony and conflict were hand in hand by feeding each other and neighborhood watch was the main element of this equilibrium. All in all, this heterogenous character of neighborhoods was a useful mechanism to collect information about possible criminals to facilitate social control and/or order in accordance with the state’s interests.

5.3 Social Control or Social Order?

The American historian Traian Stoianovich offered a classification of cities in the 1970s. According to his classification in his work about pre-modern Balkan cities, in contrast to the idea of the “dependent” Islamic city, cities of the Ottoman Empire of the eighteenth century were “semi-dependent.”⁴⁷¹ In other words, he claimed that cities in Ottoman lands were neither autonomous like their European contemporaries nor fully-dependent like given in the Islamic city debate. Rather, they had a voice in their own administration and internal affairs to some extent, so they

⁴⁶⁹ Marinos Sariyannis, “Neglected Traders’: Glimpses into the 17th Century Istanbul Underworld,” *Turcica* 38 (2006): 171; Zarinabaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700-1800*, 134.

⁴⁷⁰ Sariyannis, “Neglected Traders’: Glimpses into the 17th Century Istanbul Underworld,” 171.

⁴⁷¹ For more information about his classification of cities, see Traian Stoianovich, “Model and Mirror of the Pre-Modern Balkan City,” *La Ville Balkanique, XVe-XIXe Ss, Studia Balcanica* 3 (1970): 83–110.

were half autonomous. This view was also approved by Ergenç as a result of his studies about sixteenth and seventeenth-century Ankara and Konya.⁴⁷²

Within the scope of this study, it can be also suggested that the neighborhoods of eighteenth-century Ottoman Istanbul were autonomous to some extent in terms of their administrative bodies, street maintenance, common expenses, and social norms and regulations which were already mentioned in the previous section and earlier chapters. Within this “semi-dependent” or “half-autonomous” character of the neighborhoods of eighteenth-century Istanbul, there was a kind of “self-consciousness” and “self-regulation” mechanism. Thanks to these traits, social order, and not just social control, existed, or at least was aimed for, within neighborhoods.

Studies about the neighborhoods of the cities of the Ottoman Empire in the Arab provinces, Anatolia, and the Balkans show that neighborhood life was one of the ways of maintaining social order. Even though social order is not static but rather continually reproduced through an ongoing process of community’s social relations and social and moral codes, the main aim is always to keep the crime rate low, social tranquility high, and maintain the social order in balance. For this aim, the state used social control mechanism within neighborhood. As Martin Innes explains, “the enactment of social control is often intended to protect a state of social order, but social order is not solely the product of social controls.”⁴⁷³

What does social control mean? Could it correspond to an umbrella concept for the neighborhood watch of neighborhoods of Ottoman lands? Was the principle of commanding good and forbidding wrong (*emr-i bi’l-ma’ruf nehy-i ani’l-münker*) in

⁴⁷² Ergenç, “Some Notes on the Administration Units of the Ottoman Cities,” especially 104; Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, especially 221-222. Some other researchers also agree with Ergenç’s views about the autonomy of neighborhoods. For example, see Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth-Century Ankara and Kayseri*, 37-38; Karagedikli and Tunçer, “The People Next Door Housing and Neighbourhood in Ottoman Edirne, 1734-1814,” 7.

⁴⁷³ Martin Innes, *Understanding of Social Control: Deviance, Crime and Social Order*, Crime and Justice (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2003), 6.

Islamic tradition the main source of residents' responsibility of one another and keeping social order? Concerns about the order of social life have always been on the agenda of thinkers, social scientists, and politicians since the foundation of the first permanent societies. The early writings of modern sociologists like Simmel, Weber, Durkheim, and Marx give also an important place to this topic, though each approached the maintenance of social order in a different way.⁴⁷⁴ Thereafter, the sociologists of the Chicago School developed the early concept of "social control."

However, as a sociological term, there is not any agreement about its definition. Meier points out that the term is available in three sociological contexts: 1) as a definition of main social process which is closely related to the classical sociological theory dominant during the first half of the twentieth century; 2) as a mechanism to guarantee in accordance with social norms, whose roots originating from the classical theory, but with some innovations and became dominant view in the 1950s; 3) as a method to study social order, which is the most recent view, but mostly related to earlier aspects.⁴⁷⁵ Stanley Cohen, one of the outstanding American sociologists who is known with his works related to social control theory linked the term to something like a "mickey mouse" concept. The reasons for this likening underlined the fact that "In sociology textbooks, it appears as a neutral term to cover all social processes to induce conformity ranging from infant socialization through to public execution."⁴⁷⁶

Nevertheless, it could be argued that there are two kinds of approaches or definitions to the concept of social control. The first one, which my usage of "social control" throughout this thesis also relies upon, is the definition suggested by some

⁴⁷⁴ For detailed information about the short historiography of the term and about the views of the mentioned sociologists, see Innes, *Understanding of Social Control: Deviance, Crime and Social Order*, Crime and Justice.

⁴⁷⁵ Robert Meier, "Perspectives on the Concept of Social Control," *Annual Review of Sociology* 8 (1982), 35.

⁴⁷⁶ Stanley Cohen, *Visions of Social Control: Crime, Punishment and Classification* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985), 2.

sociologists like Parsons,⁴⁷⁷ Cohen,⁴⁷⁸ and Horwitz.⁴⁷⁹ They describe social control as an organized action against some behaviors and people which the society regards as deviant, problematic, threatening, or undesirable in some way or another.⁴⁸⁰ For Innes, the second approach has a broadened and generalized formulation inspired by Foucault's views about discipline and punishment. According to this second understanding, "control efforts are no longer focused upon deviant behavior or deviant people, rather the logics and technologies that are central to the contemporary control apparatus are all-encompassing."⁴⁸¹ Briefly, many revisionist social scientists since the late modern period do not mean only deviant behaviors when they speak of social control; rather, they mean the controlling of all aspects of our daily lives and behaviors without differentiating them as deviant or not.

Bursik and Grasmick also proposed neighborhood control theory. Stated briefly, this theory asserts that a neighborhood has a capacity for self-regulation and that there is a social network which binds the residents together. Related to that, a neighborhood could create a fear of crime as well as controlling deviant behaviors.⁴⁸² This is quite similar to the normative social control theory. In my examination of the neighborhood watch in early eighteenth-century Ottoman Istanbul neighborhoods in this study, my description implies the same thing: to respond against the deviant, undesirable, or threatening behaviors of residents within a neighborhood, regardless of whether one calls this neighborhood or social control theory.

⁴⁷⁷ Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (New York: Free Press, 1951).

⁴⁷⁸ Cohen, *Visions of Social Control: Crime, Punishment and Classification*.

⁴⁷⁹ Allan Horwitz, *The Logic of Social Control* (New York: Springer, 1990).

⁴⁸⁰ Cohen, *Visions of Social Control: Crime, Punishment and Classification*, 1.

⁴⁸¹ Innes, *Understanding of Social Control: Deviance, Crime and Social Order*, 148-149.

⁴⁸² For detailed information, see Robert Bursik and Harold Grasmick, *Neighborhoods and Crime: The Dimensions of Effective Community Control* (New York: Lexington Books, 1993); Cleve Snell, *Neighborhood Structure, Crime, and Fear of Crime: Testing Bursik and Grasmick's Neighborhood Control Theory*, *Criminal Justice: Recent Scholarship* (New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC, 2001).

There are also some classifications and subtypes of the concept of social control, such as formal versus informal, organic versus manufactured, intended versus unintended, hard versus soft, downward versus upward, reactive versus proactive, and so on.⁴⁸³ Among them, reactive social control is implied that some measurements are taken after inconvenient behavior taken place while proactive control is a kind of estimated form to protect the occurrence of any possible undesired behaviors.⁴⁸⁴ In other words, reactive and proactive social controls would be an umbrella usage for the expulsion from neighborhood and the surety system respectively, for example.

5.4 Social Control Mechanisms in Ottoman Cities

Social control is a universal term which is applied in different communities in similar or different ways to keep social order. In this regard, the Ottomans were neither unique nor an exception. There were some mechanism or apparatuses which neighborhoods used to balance their internal order. Cemal Çetin lists six types of neighborhood intervention as a means of social control against those who acted improperly against the norms and moral values of the neighborhood. These are warning and condemnation, applying to court, neighborhood raid, stating someone's good or bad conduct, the surety system, and expulsion from neighborhood.⁴⁸⁵ In addition to them, I also count *sulh* as another way/apparatus/indication of social control mechanisms in Ottoman cities. I will discuss these seven ways in detail below.

⁴⁸³ For detailed information on social control theory, its variances, and discussions around the concept, see Parsons, *The Social System*; Meier, "Perspectives on the Concept of Social Control"; Cohen, *Visions of Social Control: Crime, Punishment and Classification*; Horwitz, *The Logic of Social Control*; Melvin Lerner, *New Directions in the Study of Justice, Law, and Social Control*, Critical Issues in Social Justice (New York: Springer Science and Business Media, 1990); Sally S. Simpson, *Corporate Crime, Law and Social Control* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Innes, *Understanding of Social Control: Deviance, Crime and Social Order*; David Downes et al., eds., *Crime, Social Control and Human Rights: From Moral Panics to States of Denial Essays in Honour of Stanley Cohen* (Devon: Willan Publishing, 2007); Olga Siegmunt, *Neighborhood Disorganization and Social Control: Case Studies from Three Russian Cities*, Springer Briefs in Criminology: International and Comparative Criminology (London and New York: Springer, 2016).

⁴⁸⁴ Innes, *Understanding of Social Control: Deviance, Crime and Social Order*, 7.

⁴⁸⁵ Cemal Çetin, "Osmanlı Şehirlerinde Sosyal Kontrol ve Birey Üzerine Birtakım Gözlemler (Konya Örneği)," 6.

5.4.1 Warning and Condemnation

The first indication of the existence of social control mechanisms in Ottoman cities was warning and condemnation as Çetin states.⁴⁸⁶ Disclosure can be also added to this category. Islamic creed recommends to intervene a wrongdoing to prevent it. There is a hierarchical way of intervene in Islam. According to a hadith related to the issue, when a Muslim see an evil, he/she should try to change it by his/her hand, tongue, or condemn it with his/her heart.⁴⁸⁷ If the unlawful act was an illicit sexual relation or prostitution, smearing tar someone's door or hanging a horn on the evil-doer's door would be used as a means of disclosure, used to counter the immoral activity without taking responsibility for proving the sexual crime and so avoiding any risk for an unproven charge of adultery.⁴⁸⁸ These two counter measures had two functions as ways of social control. On the one hand, they informed the authorities about a sexual crime committed in a particular house and mobilized officials to handle the problem. These were also a collective warning to the evil-doer on the other hand. Smearing tar or hanging horns on a person's door meant the same thing for everyone: one or more residents of the house were committing illicit sex. This carried a personal action taking place in a private space to the public space and brought great shame to the "sinner."⁴⁸⁹ As a way of warning and condemnation,

⁴⁸⁶ Çetin, "Osmanlı Şehirlerinde Sosyal Kontrol ve Birey Üzerine Birtakım Gözlemler (Konya Örneği)," 6.

⁴⁸⁷ The hadith cited by Abu Sa'eed al-Khudree says that "Whoso- ever of you sees an evil, let him change it with his hand; and if he is not able to do so, then [let him change it] with his tongue; and if he is not able to do so, then with his heart – and that is the weakest of faith." Muslim. Accessed 6 August 2018, <http://40hadithnawawi.com/index.php/the-hadiths/hadith-34>

⁴⁸⁸ For detailed information on the punishment for adultery (*zinâ*) and an unproven claim for adultery, see Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law: Theory and Practice from the Sixteenth to the Twenty-First Century*, 59-64; Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi'nin Fetvalarına Göre Kanuni Devrinde Osmanlı Hayatı: Fetâvâ-yı Ebussu'ud Efendi*, 201-05; Çatalcalı Ali Efendi, *Açıklamalı Osmanlı Fetvaları: Fetâvâ-yı Ali Efendi Efendi*, ed. H. Necati Demirtaş, vol. 1 (İstanbul: Klasik, 2014), 237-41.

⁴⁸⁹ For some examples from seventeenth and eighteenth-century Istanbul, see Balat Court Records No. 20, 31a, cited in Marinos Sariyannis, "Prostitution in Ottoman Istanbul Late Sixteenth - Early Eighteenth Century," *Turcica* 40 (2008), 39-40; Konya Court Records No.49, 145/4; No. 50, 67/3; No. 45, 222/3 in Erten, "Neighborhood Consciousness as a Social Control

these two counter measures sent a message to the sinners that the eye of neighborhood was on them and maybe remain so in the future, so they should watch their steps. While smearing tar or hanging horns on someone's door were applied to help maintain social order, because of the potential for false accusations, they could also cause some conflicts within the neighborhood. Çetin claims that according to his study on Konya, 92 percent of the cases related to smearing tar on someone's door were false accusations.⁴⁹⁰ In other words, what we interpret as a way of social control toward social order could also be a source of strife in a neighborhood.⁴⁹¹ As Shirine Hamadeh points out, forcing prostitutes to ride a donkey backward while holding the donkey's tail or ride around the city on a horse filled with a pitch fired were also practices of shaming and public humiliation.⁴⁹² Some studies argue that there was a significant general decrease in cases of smearing tar, hanging horns on someone's door, and mounting women on a donkey in the court records of the eighteenth century.⁴⁹³ Ergenç interprets this as a part of loosening of the expectations of ideal person in the eighteenth century when there was a great mobility and kinesis from many aspects.⁴⁹⁴ If it is not a misfortune, I cannot see any case of smearing tar or hanging a horn to someone's door in the *sijils* of Istanbul which could be seen as supportive situation to Ergenç's argument. However, examples of cases like smearing tar or hanging horns on someone's door are mostly from studies on Ottoman

Mechanism According to the Ottoman Judicial Records in the 17th and 18th Centuries (The Case of Konya)," 128.

⁴⁹⁰ False accusaitons can be understood thank to the usage of following statement in the cases: "...kapısına katran sürülmesi ashâb-ı agrâz fiilidir..." see, Çetin, "Osmanlı Şehirlerinde Sosyal Kontrol ve Birey Üzerine Bir Takım Gözlemler (Konya Örneği)," 7.

⁴⁹¹ Çetin, "Anadolu'da Kapiya Katran Sürme Vak'aları: Konya Şer'îye Sicilleri Işığında Hukukî, Kültürel ve Toplumsal Boyutları (1645-1750)," 146.

⁴⁹² Hamadeh, "Mean Streets: Space and Moral Order in Early Modern Istanbul," 267-68.

⁴⁹³ See Özer Ergenç, "'İdeal İnsan Tipi' Üzerinden Osmanlı Toplumunun Evrimi Hakkında Bir Tahlil Denemesi," in *Şehir, Toplum, Devlet: Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 426.

⁴⁹⁴ Ergenç, "'İdeal İnsan Tipi' Üzerinden Osmanlı Toplumunun Evrimi Hakkında Bir Tahlil Denemesi," 426.

Anatolian cities like Balıkesir, Gaziantep, Kayseri, and Konya.⁴⁹⁵ Sariyannis gives some example of such cases from the seventeenth-century Istanbul,⁴⁹⁶ but still we do not have enough studies dealing with social aspects of about Istanbul neighborhoods in earlier times. Hence, we do not know how often such cases were confronted in Istanbul court records in earlier times to make an accurate comparison with the eighteenth-century Istanbul. As a result, it is hard to claim that there was a decrease in such cases in the eighteenth-century neighborhoods of Istanbul even though I could not find any example of them from early eighteenth-century Ottoman Istanbul court records.

5.4.2 *Sulh*

In the neighborhood context, *sulh* could be the second way in which the neighborhood intervention in and controlled what was going on within itself.⁴⁹⁷ *Sulh* was based on agreement and compromise among neighborhood residents. In other words, besides being the defendant for solving of some public problems, neighborhood would be also a deterrent factor by being also an implementer. If neighborhood residents agreed among themselves, there was no need to apply to court. As Ginio indicates, when there was an absence of evidence or the conditions of the crime were not enough for a shar'i punishment, *muslihûn* (mediators) came

⁴⁹⁵ For example, see Tok, "Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Osmanlı Şehrindeki Mahalleden İhraç Kararlarında Mahalle Ahalisinin Rolü (XVII ve XVIII Yüzyıllarda Kayseri Örneği)," 160; Mutaf, "Osmanlı'da Zina ve Fuhuş Olaylarına Karşı Toplumsal Bir Tepki: Kapiya Katran Sürmek ve Boynuz Asmak"; Kıvrım, "Osmanlı Mahallesinde Gündelik Hayat: 17. Yüzyılda Gaziantep Örneği," 241 and 249; Erten, "Neighborhood Consciousness as a Social Control Mechanism According to the Ottoman Judicial Records in the 17th and 18th Centuries (The Case of Konya)," 128-31; Çetin, "Anadolu'da Kapiya Katran Sürme Vak'aları: Konya Şer'ıye Sicilleri Işığında Hukukî, Kültürel ve Toplumsal Boyutları (1645-1750)."

⁴⁹⁶ Sariyannis, "Prostitution in Ottoman Istanbul Late Sixteenth - Early Eighteenth Century," 39-40.

⁴⁹⁷ For general information about *sulh*, see Ahmet Yaman, "Sulh," *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 37: 485-89, 2009, <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c37/c370298.pdf>; Nebi Bozkurt, "Sulh," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 37: 489-90, 2009, <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c37/c370299.pdf>; Mehmet İpşirli, "Sulh," *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 37: 490-92, 2009, <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c37/c370300.pdf>.

into play. Then, the issue ended with a compromise.⁴⁹⁸ Although there are some clues about *bedel-i sulh* and *sulh* negotiations in the records, the court was only interested in what was related to legal process. Işık Tamdoğan, in her study on eighteenth-century Üsküdar and Adana court records, classifies three types of *sulh* agreements: 1) cases that started in court but in which the final resolution was achieved through a *sulh* negotiation again in the court; 2) *sulhs* started out of court and only came to court for registration; and 3) *sulhs* that were made out of court, but that, because of nonagreement on the solution, were brought to court. However, she adds that the third version was not common. Therefore, because they were generally unwritten negotiations out of court, there is not much detailed information about how they were exactly implemented, how the negotiations were conducted, and so on.⁴⁹⁹

5.4.3 Applying to Court

The third way of maintaining the peace within neighborhood was to file or otherwise bring the matter to the court's attention. When there was a threatening action or person, the residents could apply to the court. This could be done collectively as well as individually. If the residents collectively applied to the court, this mass appeal was called *cemm-i gafîr cem'-i kesîr* in the records. Ergenç states that we see such mass appeals when there was an issue related to the internal order of the community. These issues could be grouped into three categories: firstly, appeals to or complaints about the administration and administrative bodies; secondly, appeals to the state to provide for the security of cities; and lastly, appeals about taxation.⁵⁰⁰ In some cases, local notables could apply to the court in the name of the community. These

⁴⁹⁸ Ginio, "The Administration of Criminal Justice in Ottoman Selanik (Salonica) During the Eighteenth Century," 204-08. For more information on *sulh* in neighborhoods of different parts of the Ottoman Empire, see Zeynep Abacı Dörtok, "Bir Sorun Çözme Yöntemi Olarak Sulh: 18. Yüzyıl Bursa Kadı Sicillerinden Örnekler ve Düşündürdükleri," *OTAM* 20 (2006), 105-115. Işık Tamdoğan, "Sulh and the 18th Century Ottoman Courts of Üsküdar and Adana," *Islamic Law and Society* 15 (2008): 55-83.

⁴⁹⁹ Işık Tamdoğan, "Sulh and the 18th Century Ottoman Courts of Üsküdar and Adana," 65.

⁵⁰⁰ Özer Ergenç, "Toplumsal Düşünce Açıklama Kanalı Olarak "Cemm-i Gafîr ve Cem'-i Kes'ir," in *Şehir, Toplum, Devlet: Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 443-48.

notables were from the *'ulema* (religious men), *sulehâ* (righteous people), *meşâyih* (sheikhs), and *ümerâ* (commanders). Specific to neighborhoods, generally we confront *imam* as the representative of the residents when there was a neighborhood-based problem. Sometimes, the *imam* and the residents applied to court together. For example, in October 1704, the people of Topkapı along with their *imam* reported a murder and requested the arrest of the murderers.⁵⁰¹ The smearing of tar or the hanging horns on someone's door, as discussed above in detail were examples of bringing matters to the court's attention in more informal ways.

5.4.4 Neighborhood Raid

The fourth way in which neighborhood conflicts were settled was actual intervention against unlawful actions. When there was word of illicit sex or prostitution which are considered as one of the great sins (*kebâir*) in Islam⁵⁰² residents could raid the house of evil-doers along with the *imam* of the neighborhood. A *mahalle baskını* (neighborhood raid) from the eighteenth century was narrated by Enderunlu Fâzıl picturesquely with the title of "Der-Beyân-ı Ahâl-i Mahalle ve İmâm be-Hâne-i Fâhişe" in his book *Zenânnâme*.⁵⁰³ It is a great depiction to see how a neighborhood watch turned into a condemnation and collective action. However, there is no record about neighborhood raiding in the sixty-two court records of Istanbul in the early eighteenth century. In addition, hue and cry from a house could merge the public into the private sphere of the home. As Philip Benedict argues for early-modern French cities, residents could intercede in quarrels "to protect their neighbors 'as a good neighbor should.'"⁵⁰⁴ A case from a Konya court register details how one Mehmet, son of Halil, used to beat his wife Asiye. On 22 December 1691, he beat her with a piece of wood, and Asiye ran to the window and desperately cried for help.

⁵⁰¹ D.BŞM 15747, 13 cited in Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700-1800*, 130.

⁵⁰² For a detailed information about sins and their varieties, see Vecihi Sönmez, "İslam İncisinde Günah Kavramı," *Journal of Islamic Research* 28, no. 1 (2017): 42–66.

⁵⁰³ Fazıl, "Zenân-Nâme." See appendix B for the whole text.

⁵⁰⁴ Benedict, "French Cities from the Sixteenth Century to the Revolution: An Overview," 16–17.

Thereupon, neighborhood residents rushed to her aid and saved Asiye. The day after, this issue was carried to the court and the *imam* and two more people testified about the event. They also attested to the *su-i hal* (bad manner) of Mehmet by asserting that he did not pray and had a close relations with unrelated and unknown women.⁵⁰⁵ In this case, the actual intervention is seen at the time of the event firstly. However, as discussed in previous pages, the privacy of a home could not be disrupted without a cry for help from one of its inhabitants or the permission of the court. The mere occurrence of a crime was not enough to enter someone's house.⁵⁰⁶ As Bálint found in the case of early-modern Transylvanian towns, "as houses and courtyards in town were closed off from the street, an outcry coming from inside the household could not rally unbiased outsiders to reestablish order."⁵⁰⁷ From Amanda Flather's study on early modern England, we understand that very similar phenomenon was also valid for England's neighborhoods. When the domestic issues came to a state of cruelty or overflowed to street as disrupted social peace, external intervention could be the running-up time for external intervene.⁵⁰⁸ It seems that the protection of privacy, even in the absence of clear-cut boundaries between private and public space, was not restricted solely to Islamic or Ottoman culture. Examples from some studies about early-modern European cities show that there were similar approaches toward the protection of privacy and the inner-home while keeping social order. In other words, what was valid for early-modern European cities in terms of the protection of privacy and external intervene for establishing order was also valid in early-modern cities in Ottoman lands because the public could not intervene in what was going on

⁵⁰⁵ "...bî-namâz ve nâmahrem ecânib 'avratlar ile muhtelit yaramaz kimesnedir..." For the record, see İzzet Sak, *37 Numaralı Konya Şer'îye Sicili (1102-1103/1691-1692) Transkripsiyon ve Dizin* (Konya: Konya Ticaret Odası, 2009), 19; cited in Çetin, "Osmanlı Şehirlerinde Sosyal Kontrol ve Birey Üzerine Bir Takım Gözlemler (Konya Örneği)," 7.

⁵⁰⁶ Yılmaz, "XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahremiyetin Sınırlarına Dair," 102-104.

⁵⁰⁷ Emese Bálint, "Mechanisms of the Hue and Cry in Kolozsvár in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," in *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, ed. Riitta Laitinen and Thomas Cohen (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 56.

⁵⁰⁸ Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*, 42.

in people's homes unless the residents themselves called for help.⁵⁰⁹ However, the ambiguity of these early-modern societies about private and public issues should not be forgotten.

The other three ways to respond undesired behaviors, threatening elements, or potential dangers on the way toward keeping social order were witnessing about someone's *hüsn-i hâl* (good conduct) or *su-i hâl* (bad conduct) when asked by the court, the surety system (*kefalet bi'nefs*), and expulsion from neighborhood. These ways are the only ones which I could find their examples through my study on Istanbul court records.

5.4.5 Hüsn-i hâl (Good Conduct) or Su-i hâl (Bad Conduct)

Witnessing about someone's *hüsn-i hâl* (good conduct) or *su-i hâl* (bad conduct) was the fifth way in which residents policed one another.⁵¹⁰ Neighborhood surveillance could be seen clearly in their witnessing because they gave detailed information about other residents' general tendencies, behaviors, moral values, etc. When the residents conceived some of their neighbors' behaviors as undesired or troublesome, they sued in court and testified to their wrongdoings by stating their *su-i hâl* (bad manner) and blamed them for *kendü halinde olmamak* (not being law-abiding and righteous).⁵¹¹ These two usages are general labels about the bad-manner of defendants. When we look at the details of the residents' testimonies in the court records, we see that welcoming unknown men or women into their residences, having unlawful sexual relations, being verbally abusive, not being about one's business, plotting mischief, and harming people in word or deed were the main

⁵⁰⁹ Emese Bálint, "Mechanisms of the Hue and Cry in Kolozsvár in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," 61.

⁵¹⁰ About the "ideal" neighbor who is in good manner and far away from ill-minded and mischievous, Kinalızâde says that "... *Bir menzilde ola ki cîranı sulehâ vü küremâ ve nîk-nefs ve hûb-ahlâk kimesneler ola; ve fesaka vü zaleme vü cehele civârından ihtirâz eyleye.*" in Kinalızâde Ali Çelebi Kinalızâde, *Ahlâk-ı Alâ'î*, ed. Mustafa Koç (Istanbul: Klasik, 2015), 328.

⁵¹¹ For example, see Istanbul Bab Court Records No. 86, 77/2a.

common reasons for labelling someone as undesirable, deviant, and troublesome.

These behaviors are defined as in the following list:

*kendü halinde olmamak, su-i hal üzere olmak, nâmahremden ictinab etmemek, menzillerine giceleri nâmahrem ademler getirmek, menzillerine nâmahrem avrat getirmek, fahişe avratlar ile fisq ve fesad itmek alenen fisq ve fesad etmek, bi'd-defe'at kendülere tenbih oldukça mütebeyyine olmamak, şaribü'l-hamr olub menzillerinde alenen şürb-ü hamr ve fisq ve fesad etmek, harâm-zâde, gammâz ve şerir olmak, mezbûrenin zevci zabt ü rabtına kâdir olmayub mezbûreden âmâli mahalle vechen mine'l-vucûh emîn ve sâlim olmamak, kendi hâllerinde olmayub dil-i âzâr ve şütûm-ı galîza ile her birimize şetm ve ırzımızı hetk itmek, mahalleye şütûm-ı galîza etmek, fi'li şeni' kastıyla menzil basmak, Müslümanların mallarını sırka etmek, bî-namâz olmak...*⁵¹²

On the other hand, false accusations were also possible, as understood from the court records studied by other scholars⁵¹³. When someone was accused falsely, the residents could testify to the defendant's *hüsn-i hâl* and point out that the relevant accusation was made by *ashâb-ı agrâz* (malevolent people). If the defendant minded his/her own business, did not disrupt others, was virtuous and honorable (especially for women) and went to mosque five times a day (especially for men), these were seen as the indicators of having a good manner. The statements about someone's good manner in the court records generally indicate that the residents knew the defendant as a good person who was law-abiding, virtuous, chaste, inoffensive, and had not acted against shari'a. Some frequently used positive descriptions are in the following list:

⁵¹² *İstanbul Ahkam Defterleri: İstanbul'da Sosyal Hayat*; M. Emin Serkan, "İstanbul/Üsküdar 415 Numaralı Şeriye Sicili Transkripsiyonu ve Tahlili" (Master thesis Erciyes University, 2000); Abacı, *Bursa Şehri'nde Osmanlı Hukuku'nun Uygulanması (17. Yüzyıl)* 202; Özer, "113 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri'nin (H. 1112-1115/M. 1701-1703) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi"; Tok, "Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Osmanlı Şehrindeki Mahalleden İhraç Kararlarında Mahalle Ahalisinin Rolü (XVII ve XVIII Yüzyıllarda Kayseri Örneği)," 166; Ülkü Geçgil, "Üsküdar at the Begining of the 18th Century: Case Study on the Text and Analysis of the Court Register of Üsküdar Nr. 402" (Master Thesis Fatih University, 2009); Çetin, "Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahalleden İhraç Kararları ve Tatbiki: Konya Örneği (1645-1750)," 48-49, 56-57; Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order*, 190.

⁵¹³ See Çetin, "Osmanlı Şehirlerinde Sosyal Kontrol ve Birey Üzerine Bir Takım Gözlemler (Konya Örneği)."

*kendü halinde, hüsn-i hal, ehl-i ırz, ırzaları ile mukayyed, âhıra töhmet-i sâbıkâsî mesmû' olmamak, hilâf-ı şer'i şerîf kendüye taarruz etmeyüb töhmet-i sâbıkaları mesmû' olmamak, ehl-i arza kendi hâlinde kâr u kesbinde mukayyed olub hilâf-ı şer'i şerîf vaz' hareket olmayub sâbıkası olduđu ma'lûm ve mesmû' olmamak...*⁵¹⁴

In some cases, the defendants themselves asked to be investigated in order to clear their good manner to the neighborhood residents because they were quite aware the existence of the neighborhood watch on themselves and knew that this would be an emancipation in the time of need. For example, there was a murder trial in 1704. Mustafa Beşe, a bath attendant was killed in Hasköy *Hamamı* (public bath). Thereupon, five of his colleagues who were at the bath when Mustafa was killed were arrested by claiming that they knew who killed Mustafa. However, they argued that they did not know the people who had come to the bath and killed Mustafa and requested an investigation about their conduct and to be released (*keyfiyet-i halimiz su'al olunub itlak olunmak matlubumuzdur*). After the investigation, the *mü'ezzin* Mustafa Bin Mehmed and fifteen more persons from Çelebioglu Neighborhood apprized that defendants have been in their own business by this time. Following this, their release was decided to meet the necessity of shari'a.⁵¹⁵

Similar example from Kayseri, a man named Ismail complained on two of his neighbors, one Mehmed and his mother, for smearing tar on his door at night. Ismail requested to be investigated to clear his name to the residents of his neighborhood. From his neighbors' positive testimony in the inquiry, it was understood that Ismail was a righteous person. This example is important for two reasons. The first one is that it shows that there was an awareness about the legal process because Ismail was sure that his neighbors would testify to his good manner and that the court would

⁵¹⁴ *İstanbul Ahkam Defterleri: İstanbul'da Sosyal Hayat*; Serkan, "İstanbul/Üsküdar 415 Numaralı Şeriye Sicili Transkripsiyonu ve Tahlili"; Abacı, *Bursa Şehri'nde Osmanlı Hukuku'nun Uygulanması (17. Yüzyıl)*, 202; Özer, "113 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri'nin (H. 1112-1115/M. 1701-1703) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi"; Geçgil, "Üsküdar at the Beginning of the 18th Century: Case Study on the Text and Analysis of the Court Register of Üsküdar Nr. 402."

⁵¹⁵ İstanbul Bab Court Records No. 78, 29/3b.

rely upon their testimonies.⁵¹⁶ The second is that it shows that Ismail was quite aware that the eye of neighborhood was on him and that to clear his name from an immoral accusation, he needed to apply internal surveillance within the neighborhood.

Also, those who violated a law but otherwise minded their own business generally could have faith in their community's testimony. For example, es-Seyyid İbrahim and es-Seyyid Ömer were imprisoned for perjury, but their neighbors testified before the court as to their *hüsn-i hâl* (good conduct). Es-Seyyid İbrahim and es-Seyyid Ömer then wrote a petition and requested a *ferman* to be excused and released, which was granted on the condition that leave Istanbul after recording their guarantors.⁵¹⁷

It seems that investigations stemming from accusations of official misconduct were carried out with special care, at least judging by the number of people who were called upon to testify in such cases. For example, there is a record from 1705 with a *derkenâr* (postscript) saying that "*hüsn-i hâlin ihbârlarıdır*" (the annunciation of good conducts). This record is about the *mü'ezzin* of Seccah Çavuş Neighborhood in Istanbul. It was not written why the *mü'ezzin* was on trial, but from the statements of the witnesses, we understand that he was accused of being a *müneccim* (soothsayer), *sâhir* (magician), and *da'i-yi ecinne* (spiritualist). The list of witnesses is long: from Seccah Çavuş Neighborhood, Mehmed Efendi son of Resul, the *imam*, and nine more persons; from Davud Paşa Neighborhood, el-Hac Mehmed Efendi son of el-Hac Mustafa Efendi, the *imam*, and four more persons; from Bekir Paşa Câmî'i Neighborhood, eş-Şeyh İbrahim Efendi Bin Ramazan, the shaikh and Mehmed Çelebi Bin Hasan, the *mü'ezzin*, and sixteen more persons; from Altı Mermer Neighborhood,

⁵¹⁶ Kayseri Court Records No.131, 110 cited in Tok, "Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Osmanlı Şehrindeki Mahalleden İhraç Kararlarında Mahalle Ahalisinin Rolü (XVII ve XVIII Yüzyıllarda Kayseri Örneği)," 160.

⁵¹⁷ In Ottoman Turkish, "*Devletlû sa'âdetlu Sultânım hazretleri sag olsun, bu kulları zûr şahitlerdir deyu hilâf-ı inhâ olunub be her birimizin sû-i hâlini mahalinde sû'âl olundukda cemâ't-at-i Müslimîn hüsn-i halimizi şer'-i şerîfe haber virmeleriyle bunca gündür habs olunub 'özü olunmagı mercûdur ki ba'de'l-yevm itlak buyrulmak bâbında emr-i fermân sultanımındır. Es-Seyyid İbrahim, es-Seyyid Süleyman, es-Seyyid Ömer*" Imperial order: "*İstanbul Kadısı fazîletlu Efendi suret-i şer'îyle kefilleri alub İstanbul'da durmamak üzere i'lâm eylesen deyu.*" Istanbul Bab Court Records No. 85, 91/4b.

seventeen persons; from Seyyid Ömer Neighborhood, Mehmed Çelebi son of Süleyman, the *mü'ezzin* and two more persons; and Abdurrahim Efendi son of Mahmud, the *imam* of Odabaşı Câmî'i. All testified about the *hüsn-i hâl* (good conduct) of the defendant *mü'ezzin*. In total, fifty-four people from five different neighborhoods and one mosque informed the court that the *mü'ezzin* of Seccah Çavuş Neighborhood, es-Seyyid Mustafa Bin Mehmed, used to earn his keep by saying related prayers from the Prophet Muhammed (*edi'ye-i me'sure okuyub*). There were six additional names, some of whose were already from the testifiers but some were additional names as witnesses at the court (*şuhudü'l-hâl*).⁵¹⁸ Also, almost all of these testifiers had an honorable title like *Efendi* (gentleman), *Çelebi* (educated and courteous person), *Hacı* (pilgrim), and so on. As this example shows the status of the

⁵¹⁸ In Ottoman Turkish: "Mahmiye-yi İstanbul Seccah Çavuş Mahallesi sükkânında olub benim ve sair devâ'i-yi aciz olmak üzere ittiham ve tefahhus olunan müezzin es-Seyyid Mustafa Bin Mehmed nâm kimesnenin keyfiyet-i hâli mahalle ahalisinden isticâr ve zararları muharrer olunmak bâbında sâdır olan fermân-ı şerîfe imtisâlen savb- şer'i evvelden Mevlana es-Seyyid Mustafa Efendiye irsâl olunub ol-dahî mârûz-zikr Seccah Çavuş Mahallesi'ne varub imamı Mehmed Efendi İbn Resul ve ahalisinden Mehmed ve es-Seyyid Mustafa ve Mustafa, el-Hac Halîl ve Abidin Çelebi Bin Mehmed ve Ahmed Bin Hasan ve Hasan Bin Mustafa ve Âli Aga Bin 'Abdullah ve 'Ömer Bin Mehmed ve civârında vâki' Dâvud Paşa Mahallesi ahâlisinden İmam el-Hâc Mehmed Efendi Bin el-Hâc Mustafa Efendi ve el-Hâc Abdulhalim Efendi Bin Mustafa Efendi ve Hattat Mustafa Efendi Bin Mehmed Efendi ve eş-Şeyh 'Ali Dede Bin Ahmed ve Ahmed Beşe Bin Mehmed ve Bekir Paşa Câmî'i şerîf şeyhi eş-Şeyh İbrahim Efendi Bin Ramazan ve mü'ezzin Mehmed Çelebi Bin Hasan ve Ahmed Bin Hasan ve Süleyman Çavuş yedine Ahmed Çavuş Bin Mustafa ve Monlâ Abdullah Bin Mustafa ve diger 'Abdullah Bin Ahmed ve İsmail Bin 'Ali ve 'Ali Bin Mustafa ve Ahmed Beşe Bin 'Ali ve İbrahim Bin Mustafa ve Ahmed Bin 'Ömer ve 'Ali Çelebî Bin Ahmed ve Ahmed Efendi Bin Şa'ban ve İbrahim Bin Şa'ban ve Çukadar Defterdar Mehmed Beşe Bin Ahmed ve Siyavuş Bin 'Abdullah ve Mehmed Çelebî Bin Hasan ve Muhzır Çelebi Bin Osman ve Altı Mermer Mahallesi ahalisinden Mehmed Bin Ahmed ve 'Abdullah Bin İsmâ'il ve Ca'fer Bin İbrahim ve Hasan Bin es-Seyyid 'Abdullah ve Mehmed Bin Halîl ve 'Ömer Bin 'Osmân ve İsmail Bin Mustafa ve 'Ali Bin Hasan ve Mustafa Bin Abbas ve Ahmed Bin Hüseyin ve Mehmed Bin Hüseyin ve 'Abdullah Çelebi Bin Abdurrahim ve es-Seyyid Mustafa Bin İbrahim ve Mustafa Bin Ahmed ve berber Abbas Bin Abdullah ve Mehmed Bin Ahmed ve 'Abdullah Çelebi Bin Mustafa ve Seyyid 'Ömer Mahallesi ahalisinden mü'ezzin Mehmed Çelebi Bin Süleymân ve İsmail Çelebi Bin 'Ali ve Hasan Efendi Bin 'Ali ve Odabaşı Câmî'i şerîfi imamı 'Abdurrahim Efendi İbn Mahmud nâm kimesnelerden mezbûrun keyfiyeti sû'âl iyledigi onlardan her biri mezbûr mü'ezzin ve es-Seyyid Mustafa magdur-ı ma'sumla edi'ye-i me'sure okuyub ve anınla taayüş idüb vech-i muharrer üzere münecim ve sâhir ve da'i-yi ecinne olduğu ma'lumumuzdur degildir kendü hâlinde bir kimesnedir deyü be her biri hüsn-i hâlini haber virdükleri Mevlanayı mezbûr mahalinde ketb ve tahrir ve --- olunan Muhzır el-Hâc Yusuf Bin 'Abdullah ile meclis-i şer'îye gelub 'ala vuku'ihî haber virmeğe mâ vâka' bi't-tâleb ketb olundu. Fi'l-yevmü's-salis ve'l aşer min muharremü'l-harâm lî sene 1117. Şuhudü'l-hâl: Mustafa Bin Şa'ban, Ahmed Bin İsmail, Muharrem Bin Mustafa, Hasan Bin Mustafa, Hasan Bin Abdullah, Ali Bin Abbas." Istanbul Bab Court Records No.86, 39/2b. See appendix F.

defendant affected the number and status of those who would give testimony about his or her good or bad conduct. In addition, the fact that people from different neighborhoods were called to testify is an indicator that each neighborhood was not as closed off as some have suggested.⁵¹⁹ This case might be also a good example to show how well-known neighborhood officials were in their communities.

The fact that residents testified to the good or bad manner of people in the neighborhood means that residents were cognizant of each other and their life styles. The awareness of others' gaze on one could make someone more cautious while acting against shari'a. In other words, this mutual awareness of the neighborhood watch which enabled residents to see and to be seen could inform, suggest, and implant each other for particular behavioral codes.⁵²⁰ By doing so, this surveillance come up with the auto-correction within neighborhood zones at least, it was the desired or idealized picture of the society by the authorities.

When we make an analysis about the number and dates of these cases in the court records, it is seen that there are only six cases related to witnessing about someone's good or bad conduct. One of these six records dated before Edirne *Vak'ası* and four of them were after. We do not know the exact date of the last one. However, these numbers which someone can count them on the fingers of one hand are not enough to make a hypothesis about the effect of internal and external dynamics on neighborhood surveillance. On the other hand, five of these cases were recorded before the edict of 1705 and we do not know the exact date of the last one. Therefore, again it is possible to claim that we do not see the direct effect of the edict on neighborhood residents even though the number is very few.

⁵¹⁹ See Islamic city debate section.

⁵²⁰ For a similar approach in neighborhoods of early-modern London, see Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century*, especially 291.

5.4.6 The Surety System (*Kefalet bin-Nefs*)

There were two types of surety in Ottoman law: The first one was *kefalet bi'l-mal* (the surety for property or debt). This meant that the guarantor makes a commitment that the person in question would pay his debt; otherwise, the guarantor himself would be responsible for the payment. The second type was *kefalet bi'n-nefs* (the surety for the personality of someone). In other words, the guarantor assumed responsibility for bringing the person in question to the court or to hand him over to authorities at the appointed time. In other words, it was the safe pledge.⁵²¹ Within the topic of the thesis, I will focus on the *kefalet bi'n-nefs*.

There are some Islamic requirements in order to allow someone to be a guarantor of someone else. First and foremost, people who could be guarantors must be trustworthy and reliable in the society. Also, the bail should be pubescent and sanity. Children, senile people, and mental patients cannot be guarantors. If the surety is required for a debt, it must be accurate and currently valid debt. Also, guarantor and the one who was guaranteed must know each other and their residential addresses. Generally, Muslims became guarantors of each other and non-Muslims became guarantors of each other. However, it was also possible to find a Muslim guarantor for a non-Muslim through the contrary situation was rare.⁵²²

⁵²¹ For detailed information about the surety system and its variants, see Halis Demir, "İslam Hukukunda Kefalet" (Master thesis Atatürk University, 1995); Abdullah Kahraman, "İslam Hukukunda Şahsa (Nefse) Kefalet Müessesesi ve Türk Ceza Muhakemeleri Hukuku'ndaki Teminatla Salıverme Müessesesi İle Mukayesesi," *Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 2 (1998): 301–28; Hüseyin Nejdet Ertuğ, "Osmanlı Kefalet Sistemi ve 1792 Tarihli Bir Kefalet Defterine Göre Boğaziçi" (Master thesis Sakarya University, 2000); H. Yunus Apaydın, "Kefalet," *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 25: 168-77, 2002, <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c25/c250119.pdf>; Osman Uysal, "XIX. Yüzyılda Osmanlı'da İç Güvenlik ve Asayişin Temini Açısından Kefalet Sistemi," *Balıkesir Üniversitesi F.E.F. Karesi Tarih Kulübü Bülteni* 1 (2007): 1–30; Osman Safa Bursalı, "Osmanlı Hukuku'nda Kefalet Sözleşmesi: İstanbul ve Galata Mahkemeleri Şeriye Sicillerine Göre Mala Kefalet, 1791-1795/ 1206-1210" (Master thesis Marmara University, 2010); Efendi, *Açıklamalı Osmanlı Fetvaları: Fetâvâ-yı Ali Efendi Efendi*, vol.2, 522-55; Halebi, *İzahlı Mülteka El Ebhur Tercümesi*, 3, 171-195.

⁵²² Apaydın, "Kefalet," 174-75.

When we look more closely at cases including surety, the titles of the guarantors catch the attention. These guarantors distinguish themselves with their prestigious titles in Ottoman society. *Beşe* (those from *askerî* class), *Agha*, *Efendi* (gentleman), *Çelebi* (educated and courteous person), *Hacı* (pilgrim), and *Seyyid* (descendants of Prophet Muhammed)⁵²³ are frequently encountered titles of the guarantors. However, it must be noted that the status and “quality” of the guarantors also depended on the social status of the defendant. If the defendant was one of the prestigious members of the society, his/her guarantors would be as well.⁵²⁴ Their recognition and respectability within the society built up trust. Also, the fact that they knew the other residents must be an important factor for this preference. On the other hand, it was uncommon for family members who knew each other well to be the guarantors of each other was not common because it is hard to ensure the credibility of the suretyship. However, it was not unheard of. For instance, when a man named Süleyman injured someone on 22 August 1703, his friend Mustafa from Dülgerzâde Neighborhood was with him. Even through Mustafa did not hurt anyone, he was also arrested with his friend. Thereupon, Mustafa’s mother became the guarantor of her son and el-Hac Mustafa from Balaban Ağa and Bezâzistâni Bekir Çelebi from Kadiasker Mehmed Efendi Neighborhood became the guarantor of Mustafa’s mother. Probably because the guarantor of Mustafa was his mother, additional guarantors were required to be sure of the testimony of the mother. Otherwise, the reliability of the testimony of a mother for her son would be suspected.⁵²⁵

⁵²³ However, it should be kept in mind that the usage of “*hacı*” and “*seyyid*” increased from the seventeenth century on, but did not necessarily correspond to an increase in the related number of pilgrims or descendant of Prophet Muhammed. It thus becomes difficult to differentiate who was a real *hacı* or *seyyid*. On the other hand, it is clear that these titles were used for religiously respected and prestigious people in the society. See Özkaya, *18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumı*, 233-34.

⁵²⁴ For example of the honorable guarantors of honorable people, see Galata Court Records No. 199, 71/1a.

⁵²⁵ Istanbul Bab Court Record No. 77, unnumbered page/b.

In my survey on sixty-two Istanbul court registers and other archival records, the majority of the cases related to the surety system in the commercial transactions, debit-credit issues, alimony, or indemnity cases involved *kefalet bi'l-mal*.⁵²⁶ However, for the purpose of this thesis, I focus on cases involving *kefalet bi'n-nefs*. Therefore, suretyship in this study refers to *kefalet bi'n-nefs*.

The surety system is a great example of collective responsibility within the same group of people. To hold one person liable for another kept both sides alert. In other words, the guarantor kept his eyes on the behaviors of his “guarantee” because he was responsible for that person to the state. On the other side, the guarantee had to be cautious because he or she was responsible to the guarantor, who would be from among neighborhood or village residents, those who stayed at *bekar odaları* (bachelor rooms)⁵²⁷ or inns, tradesmen, and so on. In this respect, *aval* that is to say, commercial suretyship is another type of *kefalet bi'n-nefs* which I frequently encountered in *sijils*. Especially, there are many records about *çeyrekçi ta'ifesi* (mobile butchers) and their suretyship for one another.⁵²⁸ The important thing among these records is the fact that the guarantors of a *çeyrekçi* could be from different neighborhoods.⁵²⁹ They thus show that surveillance was not limited to

⁵²⁶ For some examples for *kefalet bi'l-mal*, see A.{DVN.ŞKT.d-31,132/533; A.{DVN.ŞKT.d-31, 326/1255; A.{DVN.ŞKT.d-33, 132/591; A.{DVN.ŞKT.d-33, 587/3; A.{DVN.ŞKT.d- 35, 25/93; A.{DVN.ŞKT.d-36, 286/1149; A.{DVN.ŞKT.d-36, 288/1155; A.{DVN.ŞKT.d-39, 259/1090.

⁵²⁷ Bachelor rooms had three men in charge, namely *odabaşı* (concierge), *hâkim* (judge), and *zabit* (officer). These officials asked people who want to stay at these rooms to show a guarantor for themselves. See Celal Musahipzade, *Eski İstanbul Yaşayışı* (Istanbul: İletişim, 1992), 194-95. For a sociological study about Istanbul's contemporary bachelor rooms, see Bülent Şen, Alim Arlı, and Ayşe Alican Sert, *Yoksulluğu Bölüşmek: Süleymaniye Bekâr Odası Göçmenleri* (Istanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2016).

⁵²⁸ Istanbul Bab Court Records No.84, 89/1b; No.84, 90/2b; No.84, 91/whole page; No.84, 92/whole page No.84, 93/whole page.

⁵²⁹ To show the networks and different neighborhoods of guarantors and those who were guaranteed, I quote a part of a *sijil* record from 1705-1706: “...*çeyrekçi tâ'ifesinden Mahmiye-yi İstanbul'da Akseki Mahallesi'nde sâkin Baş Çeyrekçi Kethüdâ Mehmed Çelebi Bin el-Hac İbrahim ve mezbûrun şerikleri olub 'Ali Paşa Mahallesi ahalisinden Emir Ahmed ve Ali Beşe ve diger Ahmed Beşe ve Yigitbaşı Mustafa Beşe Bin Veli mezbûrlar Mustafa'nın şerikleri olub Karaman'da sâkin İbrahim Çelebi --- Kirmasti Mahallesi'nde sâkin Mehmed Aga ve Müfti 'Ali Çelebi Mahallesi'nde sâkin İsmail Çelebi ve Hoca Hayreddib Mahallesi'nde sâkin Ahmed Çelebi*

neighborhood residents. Actually, people from the same group could watch one another even if they lived in separate neighborhoods. From this perspective, it seems that neighborhood residents kept an eye not only on other residents but also on other members of other groups they belonged to. However, because this study only focuses on neighborhood surveillance, I do not count this kind of surveillance among tradesmen.

Among sixty-two court registers, and there were thirty-five cases related to *kefalet bi'n-nefs* taken place in residential areas. However, five of these records were about the surety among village residents, for example.⁵³⁰ Therefore, I excluded them. Among the rest of thirty records, the names of neighborhoods in five cases were not

ve ve yine Akseki Mahallesi'nde sâkin baş çeyrekçi Bazarıcı Ahmed ve şerikleri olub yine mahalle-yi mezbure sükkanından Mehmed Çelebi Bin Ramazan ve Ahmed Beşe Bin Mehmed ve Ali Paşa Mahallesi'nde sakin Baş çeyrekçi Mehmed Beşe Bin Ahmed ve şerikleri olub Gül Camii Mahallesi ahalisinden Hüseyin Beşe Bin Ahmed ve Ahmed Bin es-Seyyid Mehmed ve Mî'mâr Sinan Mahallesi'nde sâkin baş çeyrekçi Kara Hüseyin Bin Ali ve şerîki ve karındaşı Hasan ve aher şerîki Ali bin Ya'kub ve Hoşkadem Mahallesi'nde sâkin Selim Beşe Bin İbrahim ve mezbûrun şerîki Altı Pogaça Mahallesi'nde sâkin Yusuf Bin 'Abdullah ve Hürrem Çâvuş Mahallesi'nde sâkin İbrahim Bin Ramazan ve Hamamcı Muhyiddin Mahallesi'nde sâkin baş çeyrekçi Yusuf Odabaşı Bin Ebubekir ve mezbûrun şerikleri Mehmed Çelebi Bin Hüseyin ve 'Ali Çelebi Bin İbrahim ve Divân Yolu'nda 'Ali Paşa Mahallesi'nde sâkin baş çeyrekçi 'Osman Beg Bin Mustafa ve şerîkleri Tavuk Bazârı'nda sâkin Sâlih Bin İbrahim ve Ahmed Beşe Bin 'Ali ve Hüsrev Paşa Mahallesi'nde sâkin baş çeyrekçi Ahmed Beşe Bin Receb ve mezbûrun şerikleri olub Bayezid Aga Mahallesi'nde sâkin Mehmed Çelebi Bin Ali ve Kara Hüseyin Bin --- ve Yedikule'de sakin Kayyir veled-i Merko ve Kirmasti Mahallesi'nde sâkin Baş çeyrekçi Ali Beg Bin Ömer mezbûrun şerikleri olub yine mahalle-yi mezbûre ahalisinden Süleyman Çelebi Bin ve Hasan Çelebi Bin Mehmed ve Tavuk Bazarı sükkanından Mehmed Çelebi bin Abdî ve Mercan Çarşusunda sakin Ebû Bekir Çelebi bin Ömer ve Timur Han Çeşmesi kurbunda sâkin baş çeyrekçi Mustafa Bin 'Osman mezbûrun şerikleri olub mahalle-yi mezbûrede sâkin Ali Beşe Bin Mustafa ve Mehmed Beşe Bin Mustafa ve Altımermer'de sâkin baş çeyrekçi Süleyman Çelebi Bin Ali ve şerîki olub Çıkırıkçı Kemal Mahallesi sükkanından Ahmed Çelebi Bin Mehmed ve Dülgerzade Mahallesi'nde sâkin Mustafa Beşe Bin Süleyman ve Ayazma Kapsu Kurbunda Hoca Hayreddin Mahallesi'nde sâkin baş çeyrekçi Kara Mehmed Bin Kâsım ve şerikleri olub yine mahalle-yi mezbûre ahalisinden el-Hac Mehmed Bin Hasan ve Mustafa Bin Abdullah ve yine Hoca Hayreddin Mahallesi'nde sâkin..." Istanbul Bab Court Records, No. 84, 91/whole page.

⁵³⁰ See Istanbul Bab Court Record No. 85, unnumbered second page/1b; No. 85, 90/2b; No. 85, 90/3b; Galata Court Records No. 199, unnumbered first page/5b; No. 199, 1/1b.

given. Rather the location could be given as a district like Ayazma,⁵³¹ Tahte'l-kal'a⁵³² or according to the closeness to somewhere which was well-known by the society like a *kapu* (door) of the city⁵³³ or a bazaar.⁵³⁴ Hence, we do not know the exact neighborhood, which was the subject to these five cases.⁵³⁵ In addition, there is a record about the suretyship for Mustafa who was not a neighborhood resident rather was a tenant in Hacı Mehmed Odaları (the Rooms of Pilgrim Mehmed) in Firuz Aga Neighborhood.⁵³⁶ As a result, there are only twenty-four cases which are directly related to the suretyship among neighborhood residents and twenty-nine cases in total related to suretyship in residential areas. I grouped these twenty-nine cases into six categories according to their contents.

Firstly, people could be guarantors of some of their neighbors when there was a penalty like imprisonment or penal servitude. By doing so, they became responsible for bringing the defendant to the court when requested. For example, Mustafa killed Ahmed near Çehârşenbe Bazaar on 12 July 1705. Kürd oğlu Ali from Kaya Başı Neighborhood near Karagümrük vouched for Mustafa.⁵³⁷ Mustafa from Emin Efendi

⁵³¹ Galata Court Records No. 199, 1/5a.

⁵³² Istanbul Bab Court Record No. 85, 91/5a.

⁵³³ For example, "Galata'da Kürkçü/Kürekci Kapusu dâhilinde ..." Galata Court Records No. 199, 1/7a.

⁵³⁴ For example, Istanbul Bab Court Record No. 78, 183/2a.

⁵³⁵ We do not know the estimated borders of neighborhoods as well as division of Istanbul neighborhoods with some inner places within a neighborhood or among neighborhoods in early modern period. Therefore, it cannot be asserted that those places which were stated according to their closeness to some public buildings like mosques or spaces like bazaars rather than a specific name of a neighborhood were directly belonged to a neighborhood or not.

⁵³⁶ *"Firuz Aga Mahallesi'nden Hacı Mehmed odalarında müste'cir Mustafa İbn 'Abdullah bâ-fermân-ı 'âli merkûmun nefsine kefil mahkeme-yi mezbûrda zikrolunan odalarda sâkin Mehmed Bin Mustafa Galata'da Arab Cami'-yi şerif kurbunda mülk ü menziline Abdullah Bin Hasan --- mezbur Mustafa'nın nefsine kefil oldılar. Fî 18 Ramazan sene 1116"* Tophane Court Records No. 109, unnumbered second page/1a.

⁵³⁷ *"Bundan akdem Çehârşenbe Bazarı kurbunda cerh ve katl olunan Ahmed'in kâtili olan Mustafa nâm kimesnenin nefsine ve hüsn mutâlebede meclis-i şer'i ihzârına Karagümrük*

Neighborhood in Kasım Paşa was accused of theft and arrested by the Topçubaşı Agha. Thereupon, we see that he had a Muslim guarantor from İtmekçi Başı Neighborhood in Kasım Paşa.⁵³⁸ In a record from Tophane Court in November 1706, one Hüseyin from Süheyl Beg Neighborhood was arrested because he stabbed an unknown person. Thereupon, someone from the same neighborhood named Mustafa, who was a *çeyrekçi*, became the guarantor of Hüseyin. The important point here is that there are two more *çeyrekçi* guarantors, one from Kazgancı Başı Neighborhood and the other from Katip Mustafa Çelebi Neighborhood. These two were the guarantors of Mustafa, who was in turn the guarantor of Hüseyin.⁵³⁹ There are two important issues in this record. The first is that the guarantor had his own guarantors and none of these three men had titles. It was likely because of their lack of titles that the credibility of the surety of any one of them was not strong enough on its own. The second point is that rather than the neighborhoods of Hüseyin, his colleagues become his guarantors. This means that *kefalet bi'n-nefs*, even when it related to a social issue, was not only limited to people in a given neighborhood. Identifiability and having stronger relations could be the main reason for suretyship.⁵⁴⁰

The second type of *kefalet bi'n-nefs* was to be a guarantor for a debtor who received a punishment to make him or her released. This type includes also a kind of

kurbunda Kaya Başı Mahallesi sükkânından Kürd oğlu 'Ali Bin Mehmed nâm kimesne kefil olduğu bu --- ketb olundı. Fî 20 Rebiü'l- evvel 1117" Istanbul Bab Court Records No. 81, 67/1b.

⁵³⁸ Tophane Court Records No. 111, unnumbered page/4a.

⁵³⁹ "*Kapu kethüdâsı el-Hâc 'Ali Bin Salih mübâşirleriyle kefil-i şer'i olunmak üzere ihzâr-ı şer'i olunan Tobhâne'de Süheyl Beg Mahallesi'nde sâkin olub gâib ani'l-meclis ism-i nâ-ma'lûm kimesneye bıçak ile darb idüb deyu bir ay mikdarı mahbus olan Hüseyin'in nefesine vasî mutâlebede meclis-i şer'i ihzârına çeyrekçi tâ'ifesinden olub mahalle-yi mezbûrede sâkin Mustafa nâm kimesne kefilî olduktan sonra mezbûr Mustafa'nın da nefesine yine tâ'ife-yi mezbûreden olub Kazgancı Başı Mahallesi'nde sâkin Muslu Bin İsmâ'il ve Katib Mustafa Çelebi Mahallesi'nde sâkin Hasan Bin Hüseyin kefil oldukları mübâşir-i merkûm kâtibiyle tescil-i şer'i olunmuştur. Bâ- fermân veliyyü'-emr hazretlerininindir. Fî el-yevm 15 Şa'banü'l-mu'azzam lî-sene 1118" Tophane Court Records No. 111, unnumbered page/1b.*

⁵⁴⁰ For other examples related to this categorization, see Istanbul Bab Court Records No. 85, unnumbered second page/1a; Galata Court Records No. 199, 1/6a; No. 199, 1/9a.

witnessing. For example, when a debtor was put in prison because he could not pay his debts, someone from his neighborhood could be his or her guarantor and the debtor could be released from the prison. In a case dated 2 February 1707, it is stated that one el-Hac Hasan had been in prison since the month of *Rebû'levvel* (June or July of 1707) because he owed three hundred qurush to Mehmed. After ten people informed the court that Hasan could not afford to pay this debt because of his poor economic circumstances, el-Hac Musa and el-Hac Ebubekir from Tahte'l-kal'a became his guarantor and requested a *ferman* for Hasan to be released from prison.⁵⁴¹ In another record from 27 September 1706, we learn that an Armenian owed 160 qurush to Hasan Kapudan from Küçük Piyale Paşa Neighborhood in Kasımpaşa and that because of this debt he had been in prison for four months and twenty-two days as of the day of the record. However, according to his statement, he was unable to pay because he did not have any property except for the clothes he was wearing. Hence, he requested a survey about his conditions among those who did not hold a grudge against him and asked to be released from prison after some people became his guarantors was.⁵⁴² In this record, the debtor relied on the testament of the residents as well as the function of suretyship to be released from prison thanks to his awareness about the legal process.

If there was a misunderstanding or false accusation, it was applied to the testament of neighborhood resident to the defendant's *hüsn-i hal* which would be also asked guarantors. According to an example from 15 December 1706, after a *ferman* the condition of Kılıçcı Ali was asked to Muslims from both inside and outside of Kürkçü/Kürekçi Kapusu.⁵⁴³ He had probably been accused of something, but there are no details in the record. After the survey, twenty-five Muslims testified to the *hüsn-i hal* (good conduct) of Yusuf and it was stated that he was a faithful person who

⁵⁴¹ Istanbul Bab Court Records No. 85, 91/5a.

⁵⁴² Galata Court Records No. 199, 71/1a.

⁵⁴³ Both readings are possible, but Evliya mentions Kürkçü Kapısı, see Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 304 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu - Dizini*, 208-209.

regularly prayed with the congregation. So that he was thus cleared of the accusation. In addition, Helvacı Veli Beşe son of Osman ve Kapûdan Mustafa Beg son of Ali and Kalaycı Hasan son of Abdullah vouched for Yusuf.⁵⁴⁴ It is a nice example to shows the sense of solidarity and reliability of people for one of their neighbors. Their commitment stemmed from their reliability to themselves. In other words, they had an air of confidence about their knowledge about Yusuf thanks to the keen neighborhood eye or awareness of one another.⁵⁴⁵

Another form of surety related to travel and exile from city. Those who wanted to come to Istanbul, for example were requested to show at least one guarantor to settle in the city. In addition, there would be some cases in which defendants who had exiled needed to show some guarantors to that they would leave the city. For example, from a record written on 16 February 1707, it seen that an edict sent to the *kadi* of Istanbul to the effect that after three men who had been most probably exiled from the city, one Süleyman, Ömer, and İbrahim, had recorded their guarantors and ensured their leave. One of the things deserves attention is the fact that the guarantors of Süleyman were two Armenians from around Sultan Hamamı. As stated earlier, the suretyship of non-Muslims for Muslims is rare.⁵⁴⁶ Another example

⁵⁴⁴ *Vürûd iden fermân-ı ‘âlilerine binâen derûn-ı ‘arzuhâlde zikrolunan Kılıçcı Yusûf’un keyfiyet-i ahvâli mahrûse-yi Galata’da Kürkçü/Kürekci Kapusu dâhilinde ve hârîcinde sâkinler olan ba’zıları Müslimînden isticar olundukda fi’l-vaki’ mezbur Yusuf namazını cemâ’at ile edaya mukayyed müstakim ve dinadar kimesne olub töhmet-i merkûmeden her ne vechle beridir deyu yirmi beş nefer Müslimîn-i mezbûr Yusufun hüsn-i hâlini ‘âli-yi tarik-i-şer’ide haber virdiklerinden sonra mezbûr Yusuf’un nefsine ve hîn-i mutâlebede meclis-i şer’iye ihzarına hemcivarlarından Helvacı Veli Beşe Bin ‘Osman ve Kapûdan Mustafa Beg Bin Ali ve Kalaycı Hasan Bin ‘Abdullah nâm kimesneler kefil olmagın mezbûrların kefâletleri sicîl-i mahfûza kayd olunmuşdır. Fî 9 Ramazan 1118” Galata Court Records No. 199, 1/7a.*

⁵⁴⁵ For another similar record which is about both testament and suretyship see Istanbul Bab Court Records No. 77, unnumbered first page/7b; Tophane Court Records No. 110, 67.

⁵⁴⁶ *“Ma’rûz-ı dâ’îleridir oldur ki, Derûn-i ‘arzuhâlde isimleri mezkûr Süleymân ve ‘Ömer ve İbrahim ba’de’l-yevm İstanbul’da durmayub aher diyara gitmek üzere mezbûr Süleymân’a Sultân Hamamı kurbunda sâkin Babal Asiceyan veled-i Armoya ve Patris veled-i Ameli nâm Ermeniler ve merkum ‘Ömer’e Küçük Karaman’da Malta Sûkunda handa sâkin Derzi Ahmed Bin ‘Abdullah ve Mustafa Bin ‘Ali mezbûr İbrahim’e Mahmiye-yi İstanbul’da Hoca-zade odalarında sâkin Sâlih bin Ahmed ve Üsküblü Mahallesi’nde sâkin Hasan Bin Mûsa ve Veli Bin ‘Osmân nâm kimesneler kefil olub ber vech-i muharrer kefil oldukları ba’de’t-tescil huzur-ı*

around the end of 1706 mentions a *ferman* for Ahmed and Yusuf. According to the *ferman*, Şeyh Mustafa Efendi from İbrahim Efendi Neighborhood in Fındıklı and Muhammed son of Ali stood as guarantors for Ahmed and Attar İbrahim Beg, and İsmail Beg from İsmail Aga Neighborhood stood as a guarantor for Yusuf so that they could leave the city and go to another place.⁵⁴⁷

The fifth type of the surety system was applied as a guaranty for a person who had undesirable actions to ensure he/she would not act unlawfully again. This type aimed directly at the prevention of an unlawful action in the future and it would have been seen as a kind of collective promise for that. Among the examples of such cases, the most common issue was to vouch for surety to a former barkeeper, most often a non-Muslim. In some cases, this collective promise of guarantors helped these barkeepers to out of prison. There are eight cases from the Galata Court Records about suretyship and barkeeping.⁵⁴⁸ The guarantors promised that the person they vouched for would no longer be a barkeeper but would become a law-abiding person and that they would bring him to the court when asked. For example, on 22 April 1706, five non-Muslims from Aksaray, Ayazma, and İki Odalar Başı became guarantors of the imprisoned Yorgi to guarantee that Yorgi would give up barkeeping and become a righteous person (*kendü halinde olub meyhaneci olmamak üzere*).⁵⁴⁹ A very similar

'âlilerine i'lâm olundu. Bâki fermân men lehü'l-emrindir. Fî 13 Zilkade 1118." Istanbul Bab Court Records No. 85, 91/3b.

⁵⁴⁷ *"Ma'rûz-ı dâ'i-yi devletleridir ki, Derûn-i 'arzuhâlde mezkûr olan Ahmed ve Yusûf'un sâdir olan fermân-ı 'âlilerine imtisâlen İstanbul ve etrâfında durmamak üzere mübâşir ta'yin buyurulan Ahmed Çavuş ve kapu kethüdâsı Abbas Beşe ma'rifetleriyle mahrûse-yi Galata'ya tâbi' Kasaba-yı Fındıklı'da İbrahim Efendi Mahallesi'nde sâkin Şeyh Mustafa Efendi ibn-i İbrahim ve Muhammed bin 'Ali mezbûr Ahmed'in ve Mahruse-yi İstanbul'da İsmâ'il Ağa Mahallesi'nde sâkin Attar İbrahim Beg bin Mûsa ve İsmâ'il Beg ibn Hasan nâm kimesneler mezkûr Yusuf'un -- durmayub aher diyara gitmeğe kefil olmuştur. Fermân men lehü'l-emrindir. Fî 29 min Şa'bân 1118"* Istanbul Bab Court Records No. 85, unnumbered second page/3a.

⁵⁴⁸ See Galata Court Records No. 199, unnumbered page/6b; No. 199, unnumbered page/7b; No. 199, unnumbered page/9b; No. 199, 1/1a; No.199, 1/2a; No. 199, 1/5a; No. 199, 1/8a; No. 199, 1/4b.

⁵⁴⁹ *"Ma'rûz-ı dâ'ileri oldur ki, Mahbus mezbûr Yorgi veled-i Satani ba'de'l-yevm kendü hâlinde olub meyhaneci olmamak üzere İstanbul'da Aksaray'da bakkal Yoliro veled-i Peto ve Ayazma'da bakkal Andrehas veled-i Yani ve Keno veled-i Piyanot ve iki odalar başında bakkal*

case is recorded on 16 August 1706 about imprisoned İskami. He had one guarantor from Rüstem Paşa Neighborhood and one guarantor from Sultan Bazarı Neighborhood in Galata.⁵⁵⁰ In another record from 11 September 1706, six non-Muslims from Sultan Bazarı Neighborhood in Galata were listed as the guarantors of Dimitri, who was to abandon barkeeping and become an honorable person.⁵⁵¹

In these eight cases, the guarantors could be from the same or different neighborhoods and even quarters because living in different neighborhoods was not an obstacle to knowing someone and have an eye on him. This indicates that some relations outside the neighborhood, like religious connections and inter-neighborhood relations, were also functional in terms of social control within the city. Also, it interesting to see that even though these eight cases are very similar in terms of the subject matter, date, and status of the defendant (non-Muslim and without honorable titles) the number of the guarantors could vary from two to eight regardless of whether they were from the same neighborhood. Unfortunately, there is no clue to assess the possible reasons for these differences.

In addition to suretyship for repentant barkeepers, there is an interesting record, again in the Galata Court register, dated 2 September 1706. A Jew from Sultan Bazarı Neighborhood and three Jews from Fenâr became guarantors of another Jew named

Nikola veled-i İstani ve Kosta veled-i Yani nâm zimmîlerden be her biri sicîl-i mahfûza kayd olunmuşdır. Bâki emr men lehü'l-emrindir. Hurrîre fî 8 Muharrem sene 1118." Galata Court Records No. 199, 1/5a. The names of non-Muslims may not be accurate because some of them are written based on estimation.

⁵⁵⁰ *"Mahbus mezbûr bakkal İskami veled-i Kirco ba'de'l-yevm meyhanecilik itmeyub kendü hâlinde olmasına ve hîn-i mutalabede meclis-i şer'îye ihzârına --- olub her vecihle mu'temedler olan İstanbul'da Rüstem Paşa'da sâkin Hristo veled-i Rizro Galata'da Sultân Bâzarı Mahallesi'nde sâkin Hıyatozaferd veled-i İskoli nâm zimmîler kefil olmagın kefâletleri sicîl-i mahfûza kayd olunmuşdır. Fî el-yevm 6 Cemaziye'l-ahir sene 1118"* Galata Court Records No. 199, 1/2a.

⁵⁵¹ *"Derun-i 'arzuhalde olan merkum Dimitri veled-i Yorgi ba'de'l-yevm kendü hâlinde olub meyhaneci olmamak üzere Galata'da Sultân Bâzarı Mahallesi'nde sâkin Kiryazi veled-i Yani ve Yani veled-i Kavaniko ve Savok veled-i Yorgi ve Vatikor veled-i Kostantin ve Yorgi veled-i Alas ve Samandra veled-i Yani nâm zimmîlerden her biri meclis-i şer'ide kefil olmagın kefâletleri sicîl-i mahfûza kayd olunmuşdır. Fî 2 min Cemaziye'l-ahir sene 1118."* Galata Court Records No. 199, unnumbered page/9b.

Musa, who promised that he would never go to the Frank church again.⁵⁵² No name or quarter is given for the mentioned church, so we can speak more about possible connections of different probable aspects like religion as in this example. This example shows that there would be stronger ties than being residents of the same neighborhood and it is hard to claim there were unified and completely harmonic neighborhoods and so that the city. While Jews wanted to be harmonic among themselves, they differentiated themselves from others in this record. Without a doubt it was not unique to Jews in each eighteenth-century Ottoman Istanbul.

Also, we see that Mustafa from Lütfi Paşa Neighborhood, two non-Muslims from Meydan Towns (*Meydan Kasabaları*), and another non-Muslim who was a gardener in Langa Bostanı (orchard) vouched that Miho and Matodornik would be righteous people moreover.⁵⁵³ This is another example of the suretyship of both Muslims and non-Muslims together for non-Muslims.

The sixth type of surety was *müteselsil kefillik* (solidary suretyship). This kind of suretyship which is confronted only after the late sixteenth century is more interesting and important for neighborhood studies. As Ergenç and Alada indicate, neighborhood residents could be asked to be guarantors of one another, just as in the edict cited at the beginning of the chapter.⁵⁵⁴ By doing so, a surety chain was created within a neighborhood. These chains of neighborhoods ties constituted a kind of security apparatus for the state for keeping social order. However, solidary suretyship was irregular in the pre-modern era and especially when there was a

⁵⁵² Galata Court Records No. 199, unnumbered page/8b.

⁵⁵³ “*Ma’rûz-ı dâ’ileridir oldur ki, Mahmiye-yi İstanbul’da Lütfi Paşa Mahallesi’nde sâkin Mustafa Bin Hüseyin nâm kimesne ile Meydan Kasabaları’ndan Yorgi veled-i Nikola ve Kola veled-i Hafko ve Langa Bostanı’nda bağçevan Savo veled-i Valno nâm zimmîler meclis-i şer’ide hâzîrûn olub mahbusan --- mezbûrân Miho ve Matodornik ba’de’l-yevm kendü hâllerinde olmak üzere nefislerine ve hîn-i mutalebede ihzarına kefilleri olub vech-i muharrer üzere kefâletleri tescil olundu. Fermân men lehül-emrindir. Fî 20 Şevval 1118*” Istanbul Bab Court Records No. 85, 91/1b.

⁵⁵⁴ Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehrindeki Mahallenin İşlev ve Nitelikleri Üzerine,” 73; Bayramoğlu Alada, Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle, 151-53.

threatening event like wars or rebellions, it was applied to a particular group like neighborhood residents or craftsmen who were seen as a part of the source of public disorder in the eyes of official authorities.⁵⁵⁵ The edict in 1705 was ordered two-years after the Edirne *Vak'ası*. This would seem to indicate that there was a relation between the rebellion of 1703, the different segments of the society that participated in the rebellion, and the 1705 edict. On the assumption that this hypothesis is true, it means that the state saw neighborhoods as one of the possible sources of public disorder and wanted to be sure that everyone in neighborhoods was identified and responsible for one another. At the same time, it could be interpreted that the authorities saw the neighborhood as a possible problem-solving community by taking the hit of their trustworthy neighborhoods or policing them. Therefore, collectiveness of Istanbul neighborhoods targeted to be used as a tool of social control within the city. After such a remarkable rebellion in 1703 and dethronement of the sultan, it is mostly probably that the new sultan, Ahmed III gave much attention to maintain the order and safety of the community as well as his own throne after accession to the crown. In this respect, neighborhood watch and policing were a useful tool for maintaining order within the society.

On the contrary to the *kefalet* case, which was very systematic and inclusive, studied by Uğur for Edirne in 1703, according to Betül Başaran's thesis, the earliest *kefalet* registers which contained great details and were repeated at regular six-month periods begun in 1790s.⁵⁵⁶ She distinguishes these registers from earlier examples with three traits. First of all, she states that the registers of 1790s were in more systematic and methodological manner to collect information for the aim of more efficient control and surveillance in the society. Secondly, while previous inspections were carried by temporary appointed officials, she interprets the new form of appointments of inspection officials in this new approach of surety practice as "an

⁵⁵⁵ Turna, "Public Anxieties in Early Nineteenth Century Istanbul Neighborhoods," 2; Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order*, 110.

⁵⁵⁶ Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order*, 110.

experimentation in building bureaucratic-administrative structures backed by police authority and aiming at more effective control of certain segments of population.”⁵⁵⁷ Thirdly, these new forms of registers contained detailed information about social topography, relations, and spatial information of Istanbul.⁵⁵⁸ In this regard, the edict of 1705 about the practice of surety in Istanbul neighborhoods along with the 1703 Edirne inspections could be counted as one of the earliest indicators of this new approach. One of these two was given just before the Edirne *Vak’ası* and the other one two-years after the rebellion. Probably, the rebellion was the main reason for such an increased concern of the state for social order.⁵⁵⁹ They were neither systematic nor regular yet. In addition, we cannot see any new allocation of officials for this inspection. Even we cannot any clear impact and echo of this edict on society according to the findings from court records. However, ordering such a general survey which was not a common practice among all neighborhoods of Istanbul for social security concerns would be an indicator of the state tried to make police authority and social order in a more systematic manner.

Among all *kefalet bi’n-nefs* cases I examined for this study, there are some other cases which are not parts of my six categorizations because it was not clearly stated why there was a need for a surety. One of them is the suretyship for Havva Hatun by Hasan Çelebi from the people of Bit Bazarı. There is not an exact date on the records but the *sijil* register dated to 1703 and 1704.⁵⁶⁰ In another register of the Istanbul Bab Court including cases from 1705-1707 (H. 1117-1118), one Mehmet Beşe from the *askerî* class, Nikola from Kireçciler Hanı, Petro from Haslar Kazası, and Terzi Vasil from

⁵⁵⁷ Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order*, 113.

⁵⁵⁸ For her interpretations and analysis, see Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order*, 110-13.

⁵⁵⁹ Such a state concern was always felt acutely in times of social crisis, flux, and unrest. Hamadeh, “Mean Streets: Space and Moral Order in Early Modern Istanbul,” 253.

⁵⁶⁰ “*Mezbure Havva Hatun’un nefesine ve hi-i mutalebede meclis-i şer’iyi ‘ali ihzârına İstanbul’da Bit Bazarı ahalisinden otuz akçe Hasan Çelebi Bin Abdulkadir kefil olduğu kayd olundu.*” Istanbul Bab Court Records No. 78, 183/2a.

Balat were written as guarantors of a person named Poka.⁵⁶¹ Again, there are both Muslims and non-Muslims from different neighborhoods as the guarantor of a non-Muslim. Bugos, Asvari and Marvos from Kötehorya⁵⁶² Neighborhood outside Galata are seen as the guarantors of Arakid.⁵⁶³ From a record dated 20 January 1707, there is again a guarantor named Arslan Mehmed son of Ramazan for another guarantor, es-Seyyid Mehmed son Süleyman.⁵⁶⁴ However, in this record the guarantor had the title *es-seyyid*. This raises some questions about the titles and credibility. In the earlier example, the bail did not have a title and it was thought that he was not reliable enough to serve as sole guarantor, so another person had to become the guarantor of the guarantor. In this second example, however, we see one of the honorable titles: *es-seyyid*, but this was not enough for the title holder to serve as sole guarantor. The fact that there was an increasing usage of the titles of *es-seyyid* and *el-hac* might be a possible reason for the need for another reliable person who could vouch for the reliability of the guarantor. In another similar example, we see five more guarantors for Manav (grocer) Mustafa, the guarantor of Yusuf. Mustafa as a guarantor did not have an honorable title and five more people were linked to this

⁵⁶¹ “*Ma’ruz-ı dâ’î oldur ki, Mezbûr Poka’nın nefsine ve hîn-i mütâlebede ihzârına otuzuncu bölük yoldaşlarından Mehmed Beşe bin Hüseyin Kireçciler Hanında sâkin Nikola veled-i Aslan Haslar Kazasına tâbî Sulu anlı kurbunda sâkin Petro veled-i Istvan ve Balatta sâkin terzi Vasıl veled-i Meymun kefiller olub ber vech-i muharrer kefâletleri tescîl olunmuşdur. Fermân men lehü’l-emrindir.*” Istanbul Bab Court Records No. 85, unnumbered second page/2a.

⁵⁶² The name of the neighborhood was written as “Ketehorya” in Evliya’s travel book. See Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 304 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu - Dizini*, 204.

⁵⁶³ “*Ma’rûz-ı dâ’îleridir oldur ki, Sâhib-i ‘arzuhâl Arakird nâm zımminin nefsine ve hîn-i mutalebede ihzarına Mahmiye-yi İstanbul’da mahallesinde sâkin Bugos veled-i Kirkor ve mahruse-yi Galata haricinde Kötehorya Mahalesi’nde sakin Asvari veled-i Kirkoz ve Marvos veled-i Masan nâm zımmiler kefil olmuşlardır. Fermân men lehü’l-emrindir. Fî 1 Zilka’de 1118*” Istanbul Court Records No.85, 90/5b.

⁵⁶⁴ “*Mezbûr Ömer’in nefsine ve hîn-i mutâlebede ihzarına Kasım Paşa’da Kurd Çelebi Mahallesi’nde sâkin ve mahalle-yi mezbûrede --- olan es-Seyyid Mehmed Bin Süleyman nâm kimesne kefil olub mezbûr es-Seyyid Mehmed’in nefsine ve hîn-i mutalebede ihzarına dahi yine Kasım Paşa’da Sürur Efendi Mahallesi’nde sâkin olub Galata’da Mumcular sükundan (çarşı) Arslan Mehmed Bin Ramazan nâm kimesne kefil olduğu kayıtdır. Fî 15 Şevval 1118*” Galata Court Records No. 199, 1/3b. See also Galata Court Records No. 199, 1/3b.

suretyship.⁵⁶⁵ A possible reason for this is that the reliability of the guarantor was not enough so a kind of small surety chain was created.

Taking all these records into consideration, the fact that guarantors could be from different neighborhoods serves as a supportive evidence that the claim that inter-neighborhood relations existed in Ottoman Istanbul. In other words, these facts show that Istanbul neighborhoods were not completely homogeneous and closed to other neighborhoods. It means that the neighborhood watch could have a broader view for surveillance because people's relations with other neighborhood residents made a connection network that is more complicated than that found in the Islamic city debate and some cliché sayings about neighborhoods as unified and closed entities.⁵⁶⁶ Also, seeing Muslims and non-Muslims as guarantors together is further evidence for the existence of heterogeneous networks among neighborhood residents.

As stated above, among thousands of cases there are only twenty-nine cases related to suretyship in residential areas of Istanbul except for cases about villages. Among them only twenty-four are directly give the name of at least one neighborhood. When their dates are considered, it is seen that all of them were dated after Edirne *Vak'ası*. Also, only one of them was recorded before the edict of 1705. However, twenty-two of them were dated after the edict of 1705 and we do not know the exact date of the last one case. Even though the total number of suretyship examples as a result of my survey is not enough to make general and strong arguments, more cases about suretyship among neighborhood residents after Edirne *Vak'ası* leads us to think about the effects of state-based dynamics on the neighborhood watch and

⁵⁶⁵ Galata Court Records No. 200, 163/4b.

⁵⁶⁶ Özen Tok also gives similar example for relational network among different neighborhoods of Kayseri. See Kayseri Court Records No. 59, 67 in Tok, "Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Osmanlı Şehrindeki Mahalleden İhraç Kararlarında Mahalle Ahalisinin Rolü (XVII ve XVIII Yüzyıllarda Kayseri Örneği)," 162. Yunus Uğur has very similar argument about inter-neighborhood relations in his study about neighborhoods of Edirne. See Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its *Mahalles*: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries."

surveillance. On the other hand, although twenty-two of total twenty-four cases were dated after the edict of 1705 and the exact dates of the last case is not known, it is hard to say that the effects of the edict are clearly seen in these records. In other words, all these suretyship cases are related to a specific situation not a result of general surety survey among neighborhood residents. Also, there is not any reference to the edict in these records. As a result, it is hard to come up with a clear hypothesis about whether internal or external dynamics of neighborhood surveillance was stronger for urging residents to be more cautious and alert about one another. Nevertheless, the fact that we cannot see direct effects of such a clear imperial order in the society would be considered as an indicator of state-based factors were not so strong to mobilize neighborhood residents about suretyship.

The possible reasons for the fact that there were not many examples of suretyship from Istanbul neighborhoods in the first six years of the eighteenth century would be seen as a supportive indicator of Özer Ergenç's argument. Ergenç says that ideal person of Ottoman society has not changed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but the cohesiveness of the society loosened because increased mobility changed the ideology which defined *nizâm-ı 'alem* (public order) in a very static society.⁵⁶⁷ Probably because of growing number of immigrants, relatively increased social tension, and the rise of anonymous crimes and the anxiety of authorities for the social order, as discussed in the second chapter, confidence among neighborhood resident went into a relative decline.⁵⁶⁸ This would lead to make more suretyship chain (*müteselsil kefalet*) in the eighteenth century as in the case of Uğur's study for Edirne and Başaran's study for the late eighteenth-century Istanbul. To clarify, neighborhood cohesion still was a useful tool for the state and society to keep social harmony. The edict of 1705 can be given as an example of how neighborhood was still seen as a useful entity toward social control and keeping social order in local level. Similarly, it is most probably neighborhood residents would become keener and

⁵⁶⁷ Özer Ergenç, "İdeal İnsan Tipi' Üzerinden Osmanlı Toplumunun Evrimi Hakkında Bir Tahlil Denemesi," in *Şehir, Toplum, Devlet: Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 426.

⁵⁶⁸ For a similar view, see Turna, "Public Anxieties in Early Nineteenth Century Istanbul Neighborhoods," 4.

more cautious about the unlawful or potentially dangerous people. On the other hand, all this mobility would be considered as the initial signs of the weakening of social cohesion within neighborhoods of Ottoman Istanbul. However, it must be also kept in mind that still we do not have enough study and therefore enough information about the frequency of suretyship cases in earlier times of Istanbul. Hence, it is not possible to make a calculable comparison with the earlier periods of Istanbul with my findings from early years of the eighteenth century and claim that there was a significant decrease in the eighteenth-century Istanbul neighborhoods.

5.4.7 Expulsion from Neighborhood

The Ottomans used expelling undesirables from their community as a method of social control by putting the collectiveness of the community into effect. In the words of Abraham Marcus from very state-centered perspective, “In the limited privacy of neighborhood life the government found an instrument of social control which it turned conveniently to its own advantage. It exploited group familiarity to manufacture, at minimal cost and effort for itself.”⁵⁶⁹

There were different types of expulsion in Ottoman society. Those who broke the norms and acted unacceptably according to their groups’ norms could be expelled. If they were officials, they could be expelled from civil service, for example.⁵⁷⁰ Similarly, if they were artisans and broke the norms of artisanship, they would expelled from their professions.⁵⁷¹

⁵⁶⁹ Marcus, “Privacy in Eighteenth-Century Aleppo: The Limits of Cultural Ideals,” 177.

⁵⁷⁰ İbrahim and İsmail who were clerks at the Üsküdar Bab Court were accused not of being *kendü halinde* (righteous) and were expelled from the court. See Üsküdar Court Records No. 334, 148/1a. For another example, see also Istanbul Bab Court Records No.84, 89/1a.

⁵⁷¹ Eleven *kazgancıs* (boilersmiths) alongwith Hasan Kethüda (chamberlain) applied to court on 15 November 1704 and complained about Laz Mehmed Çelebi, who was also a boilersmith, and proclaimed that he was not righteous and law abiding and so was always bothering them. As a result, they wanted to expell him. Istanbul Bab Court Records No.78, 161/2a. For some other examples, see Istanbul Court Records No. 73, 145/3a; No. 76, 143/1a; No. 79, 29/1a; Galata Court Records No. 199, 67/1a; No. 199, 126/4b. Similar attitude was also existed in Germany, for example. Walker says that guild moralism was a method to exclude unwanted members from the profession. For more information, see Walker, *German Home Towns: Community, State, and General Estate 1648-1871*, 103-105.

Likewise, if these undesirable elements were students, they would be expelled from madrasah;⁵⁷² if people of a zawiya or dervish lodge, from this zawiya and lodge;⁵⁷³ if tenants, from bachelor rooms, a han, or a house where they stayed;⁵⁷⁴ and if they acted against the neighborhood norms and moral values, they would be expelled from the neighborhood. In some cases, expulsion from the city was also possible.⁵⁷⁵

Within the scope of this study, I will focus on expulsion from the neighborhood. In Ottoman law, which consisted of Islamic shari'a and *kanun* (sultanic law), there were three main classifications of crimes and their penalties. *Hadd* is the fixed shari'a penalty in the Qur'an and sunnah. There are only five crimes whose penalties were fixed: fornication, drinking, falsely accusing of a woman of adultery, robbery, and banditry.⁵⁷⁶ These were conceived as crimes against the community. However, in the implementation of shari'a in the Ottoman legal system, it seems that *hadd*

⁵⁷² Üsküdar Court Records No. 333, 74/1a.

⁵⁷³ On 18 April 1704, six Sufis from Miskinler Zawiya in Üsküdar went to court to expell Ali from their zawayah. They stated that Ali was an untrustworthy and foulmouthed person. Also, he was accused of stealing their lights. As a result, they wanted Ali to leave their zawayah: "...mezbûr 'Ali kendü hâlinde olmayub be-her birimize itâle-i lisân ve bize i'tâ olunan sadakât çerağımızdan hafiyeten gasb ile cümlemize müte'addi itmekle ve'l-hâsıl mezbûr Ali zâviyemizden ihrâc olunmak murâdımızdır... The record ends with recommendation of expelling Ali from the zawayah: "her biri mezbûr 'Ali'den teşekki itmeleriyle mezburun talebleriyle merkûm Miskinler Zâviye-yi mezbûreden ihrâcına tenbih olunub mâ hüve'l-vâk'i bi't-tâleb ketb olundu." See Üsküdar Court Records No. 331, 13/3a.

⁵⁷⁴ For examples of exulsion from house, see Ahi Çelebi Court Records No. 95, 19/4b; Üsküdar Court Records No. 334, 155/1b; No. 334, 155/2b; Istanbul Bab Court Records No. 70, 3/3b. In addition to these, there is one record dated 1 February 1707 about a request to expel of Yani from El-Hac Ahmed Odaları in Tomtom Neighborhood because he was a Frank, but the rest were Armenian. It seems that the Armenian tenants did not want a Frank among themselves and Yani indicates that he was willing to leave. See Galata Court Records No. 199, 123/1a.

⁵⁷⁵ Hafiz Ali son of Kara Ahmed was expelled from his city Bolu because he was old and leper. He applied to Mecrumlar Zawayah in Istanbul, but the people of the zawayah did not accept him either. The court decided that Haifz Ali was not a leper and that he be treated with medicine. See Üsküdar Court Records No. 328, 61/3B.

⁵⁷⁶ Some jurisprudents add rebellion against authority and apostasy to the list of crimes that warrant *hadd* penalties. For detailed information about *hadd*, see Ekinci, *Osmanlı Hukuku: Adalet ve Mülk* 344-51; Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law: Theory and Practice from the Sixteenth to the Twenty-First Century*, 53-68.

punishment was rarely practiced. *Ta'zir* (discipline and reprimand) is another shari'a punishment for some crimes whose penalties are not determined by the Qur'an or sunnah, and the right to punishment could be carried out by a *kadi*. Therefore, *ta'zir* punishments could vary from *tenbih* (admonition) to *ihzar* (warning), *habs* (imprisonment), *falaka* (bastinado), *nefy* (banishment), or even *idam* (execution).⁵⁷⁷ *Siyâsa* also refers to discretionary punishment like *ta'zir*, but its justifications came from the sultan as caliph, not from shari'a directly.⁵⁷⁸

The banishment of undesirable people was originally a shar'ia law.⁵⁷⁹ It also existed in imperial law codes. Hence, expulsion from neighborhood was a means of punishment applied from the early years of the Ottomans. The earliest edict about the issue was in the *Kanunnâme* (law-code) of Selim I. Later, the *kanunnâmes* of Süleyman I, Selim II, and Mehmed IV also included the same edict with minor changes. The law-code of Selim I states that:

... Furthermore, if the neighborhood residents do not want someone among themselves because (s)he is a thief or prostitute and this imputation is known by the residents, then expel her/him from the neighborhood. If the people of the new place where the evil-doer goes do not accept him/her, then exile him/her from the city. However, wait a few days before expulsion maybe (s)he repents and become well-behaved. If so, very well. Otherwise, just expel him/her from the city altogether and let him/her go away.⁵⁸⁰

⁵⁷⁷ For detailed information about *ta'zir*, see Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 271-75; Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law: Theory and Practice from the Sixteenth to the Twenty-First Century*, 65-67; Ekinçi, *Osmanlı Hukuku: Adalet ve Mülk*, 328, 364-65.

⁵⁷⁸ For detailed information, see Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law: Theory and Practice from the Sixteenth to the Twenty-First Century*, 67-68.

⁵⁷⁹ Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 303.

⁵⁸⁰ The translation belongs to me. In Turkish: "*Fasl-ı der beyân-ı ahvâl-i töhmetyân: ... Ve dahi bir kimesne hırsuzdur veya kahbedir deyu mahallesi ve kurâsı cemâ'atı şikâyet idüb bize gerekmez deyu red itseler vâkı'a töhmeti dahi ol kimesnenin beyn-en-nâs ma'rûf olsa mahallesinden tehi idüb ya'ni red düb süreler ve dahi eger vardugu yerde dahi kabûl itmeseler şehirden süreler ammâ bir kaç gün tevakkuf ideler şâyed ki ol evvelki yaramazlığı gidüb tövbe idüb salâh üzre olursa hoş ve illâ andan dahi red idüb bil-küllüyye süreler şehirden çıka gide.*" Selami Pulaha and Yaşar Yücel, "Derbeyan-ı Kanunname-i Osmani," *Belgeler* 12, no. 16 (1987), 31.

The law code of Süleyman I, article 124, is almost the same as the edict of Selim I.

There are only few slightly different words:

Furthermore, if the community of his (or her) [town-]quarter or of his (or her) village complains that a person is a criminal or a harlot, saying: 'He (or she) is not fit [to live with] us', rejects him or her, and if that person has in fact a notoriously bad reputation among the people, he (or she) shall be banished, i.e. ejected from his (or her) quarter or village. And if he (or she) is not accepted also in the place to which he (or she) moves, he (or she) shall be expelled from the town [altogether]. But action shall be suspended [for] a few days [to see how things turn out]: If that person repents his (or her) former misdeeds and henceforth leads a righteous life, very well. If not, he (or she) shall be expelled from there too and be definitively expelled; he (or she) shall leave the town and go away.⁵⁸¹

In the citation from H.1153 (M. 1740-41) law code by Ergenç, we see that the mentioned edict was still valid in the 1740s.⁵⁸²

Expulsion from a neighborhood could occur in one of three ways according to Tok's classification. First, an individual plaintiff could file suit in court to have someone exiled. For example, on 9 July 1705, Fatıma and her opponent Aişe appeared in court three or four times. Even though it had been decided to leave her house in the Neighborhood of Muhtesib and she had been warned several times, Fatıma did not leave the neighborhood. After the denunciation of her bad conduct by the imam and people of the neighborhood, Fatıma was exiled to Bursa.⁵⁸³ In this case, again we see the *imam* and also other residents' testimony before the decision. Secondly, neighborhood residents collectively or the *imam* as a representative of the

⁵⁸¹ Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law: Theory and Practice from the Sixteenth to the Twenty-First Century*, 87. In Ottoman Turkish, "Ve dahi bir kimesne hırsuzdur veyahûd kahbedir deyu mahallesi ve karyesi cemâ'atı şikayet idüb bize gerekmez deyu red itseler vâkı'a töhmet dahi ol kimesnenin [üzerine] beyn-en-nâs ma'rûf olsa mahallesinden veya karyesinden nefy idüb ya'ni red ideler. Ve eger varduğu yerde dahi kabûl itmeyeler şehirden süreler, ammâ birkaç gün tevakkuf ideler tâ ki ol evvelki yaramazlığa tövbe idüb salâh üzre olursa hoş ve illâ andan dahi red idüb bil-küllüyye [süreler] şehirden çıka gide." Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 92.

⁵⁸² Ergenç, "Osmanlı Şehrindeki Mahallenin İşlev ve Nitelikleri Üzerine," 75.

⁵⁸³ Istanbul Bab Court Records No. 81, 66/2a.

neighborhood could apply to court and complain about someone's habitual unlawful behaviors and mischief. Thirdly, the court itself could decide to expel someone from the neighborhood after the required investigation.⁵⁸⁴

However, in all kinds of complaints, whether individual or mass appeal, it was often the *imam* and some other outstanding members of neighborhood who were applied to as witnesses to get accurate information.⁵⁸⁵ For example, on 26 October 1703, eight Armenians filed suit against Paloş from the neighborhood of Muhsine Hâtun to request his expulsion from the neighborhood. Thereupon, the civil status of Paloş was asked to thirteen Muslims who knew Paloş and did not hold any grudge against him (*mezbûrenin keyfiyet-i ahvâli ma'lûmları olan bî-garez-i Müslimînden istihbâr olunub*). Among them the *imam* es-Seyyid İsmail Efendi son of Ali and the *mü'ezzin* el-Hâc İbrahim son of Hüseyin were also included. The titles of others were also honorable, namely, "*el-Hâc Mustafa Bin el-Hâc Ahmed ve Osmân Çelebî Bin Mehmed ve Şa'bân Beg İbn Ahmed ve Ali Bin Abdullah ve Hasan Bin Süleyman ve Ahmed Bin Abdullah ve Mustafa Beg bin Mustafa ve Mehmed Aga İbn 'Osman ve 'Osman Çelebî Bin Abdurrahman ve Eyüb Çelebi Ibn Mehmed ve Süleyman Aga.*" Only the complaint was recorded, without mention of any decision or sanction taken against the complainees.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸⁴ Tok, "Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Osmanlı Şehrindeki Mahalleden İhraç Kararlarında Mahalle Ahalisinin Rolü (XVII ve XVIII Yüzyıllarda Kayseri Örneği)," 163.

⁵⁸⁵ However, Çetin argues that the testimony of imams was rarely encountered in the cases of exile in his study on Konya, see Çetin, "Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahalleden İhraç Kararları ve Tatbiki: Konya Örneği (1645-1750)," 55-56.

⁵⁸⁶ In Ottoman Turkish: "*Husûs-u ati'z-zikrin mahalinde istifâr ve teftîş için fermân-ı 'âli sâdır olmagın imtisâlen savb-ı şer'iden irsâl olunan Mevlâna Mehmed Efendi bin Şa'bân dergâh-ı 'ali çavuşlarından Mustafa Çavuş ile Mahmiye-yi İstanbul'da Muhsine Hâtun Mahallesi'nde vâki' Palaş veled-i Rigo nâm nasrâniyyenin ücret ile sâkin olduğu menzile varub zeyl-i vesîkade muharrerü'l esâmi Müslimîn mahzarlarında 'akd-i meclis-i şer'i kavîm itdikde mahall-i mezbûrede sâkin Ermenî tâ'ifesinden Kostantin veled-i Apol ve Vasıl veled-i Yani ve Sefer veled-i Kalender ve Hristo veled-i Lefter ve Babataralı veled-i Toros ve Papayani veled-i Todori ve Hristo veled-i Nikola ve Panayod veled-i Yani nâm zimmîler meclis-i şer'-i makûd-ı mezbûrede takrîr-i kelâm ve bast-ı anî'l- merâm idüb sâlifü'z-zikr Palaşa kendü hâlinde olmayub dâ'imâ fîsk u şekâvet üzere olub menziline ecnâs-ı muhtelif alub Tari yedinde mal-ı mesrûk (çalınmış) bulunub dâ'imâ sû-i hâl üzere olmagla mahalleden ihrâcını mûrâdyledigimizde teyît ve --- ider. Mezbûrenin keyfiyet-i ahvâli ma'lûmları olan bî-garez-i Müslimînden istihbâr (haber alma) olunub mahallemizden ihrâc olunması matlûbumuzdur*

According to the samples from Istanbul court records, *mühimme* registers, and other expulsion cases cited in previous studies on different times and cities from Arap cities to the Balkan, the main reasons for expulsion from the neighborhood were habitual misconduct that threatened the public good and damaging the morality of the community. The undesirable behaviors which were listed as the reasons for *su-i hal* (bad conduct) like gathering *namahrem* (unrelated) men and women at one's house, drinking alcohol, using abusive language, plotting mischief and so on were the backbone of the exile from neighborhood. However, euphemisms were frequently used while narrating cases rather than openly giving details of unlawful actions. Being known for *su-i hâl* (bad conduct), *kendü halinde olmamak* (off the straight path, not being about his/her business), being *ehl-i fesâd* or *saibü'l-fesâd* (mischievous) are the most frequently used indirect usages to define crimes. One possible reason for this preference of both neighborhood residents and the court rather than an open language about the crime could be the aim of concealing the details of crimes from the public. By doing so, crimes would not be popularized and normalized in the eyes of the public while trying to keep social order and eliminate undesirable actions. Another reason was probably related to the legal process Boğaç Ergene calls this a "strategy of substitution."⁵⁸⁷ To be clearer, when the requirements for an accusation were not enough to make a shar'i punishment, evil-doers were charged with *siyâsa* based on circumstantial evidences.⁵⁸⁸ By doing so, those who were marked as "marginal" offenders were out of favor by the community.

didikde gıbbe'l-isticâr mahalley-i mezbûre imâmı es-Seyyid İsmail Efendi Bin 'Ali ve el-Hâc Mustafa Bin el-Hâc Ahmed, mü'ezzin el-Hâc İbrahim Bin Hüseyin ve 'Osmân Çelebî Bin Mehmed ve Şa'bân Beg İbn Ahmed ve Ali Bin Abdullah ve Hasan Bin Süleyman ve Ahmed Bin Abdullah ve Mustafa Beg Bin Mustafa ve Mehmed Aga İbn 'Osman ve 'Osman Çelebî Bin Abdurrahman ve Eyüb Çelebi İbn Mehmed ve Süleyman Aga mahalle-yi mezbûrede el-Hâc Ahmed nâm kimesnelerden istihbâr olundıklarında fi'l-hakîka kasaba-yı vech-i muharrer üzere olub mezbûre Palaş'a kendü hâlinde olmayub sû'-i hâlini haber virdiklerini Mevlâna'yı mûmâileyh tahrir ve --- olunan İbrahim Beşe Aga Mustafa ile meclis-i şer'îye gelüb mahall-i vuku'a haber virmeleriyle mâ vâka' bî't-taleb ketb olundu. Fî 15 Cemaziye'l Ahir lî sene 1115"
Istanbul Bab Court Records No. 77, 120/4a.

⁵⁸⁷ Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire*, 159-60.

⁵⁸⁸ Semerdjian has also similar views about the usage of euphemism in Aleppo's courts. For detailed information, see Semerdjian, *Off the Straight Path: Illicit Sex, Law, and Community in Ottoman Aleppo*, 94-99.

Expulsion of neighborhood officials like an *imam* or *mü'ezzin* was also possible. There are some examples from the first years of eighteenth-century Ottoman Istanbul mentioned by Fariba Zarinebaf which are about the expulsion of religious men because of prostitution. In December 1695, Nureddin Ramazan -the *imam* of Eyüp Mosque- and his prostitute were exiled to Sadd Al-Bahr after they were caught.⁵⁸⁹ In another case, the *imam* of the mosque of Abdulislam in Kasımpaşa was caught having illicit sex at his home and he was imprisoned in the Anadolu fortress together with his prostitute from August 1700 to December 1701.⁵⁹⁰ Because Zarinebaf did not give us the whole of the record, we cannot see the details or fathom why one of the *imams* was exiled while the other was imprisoned. However, most probably the first *imam* had been warned several times before the banishment decision because exile was not a punishment which was implement easily, as will be discussed later in more detail.

On the other hand, as Betül Başaran states, in the expulsion of *imams* and other neighborhood officials, euphemisms were used.⁵⁹¹ This could have been to protect the reliability and prestige of such official and prevent a degeneration of the official apparatus that served as a bridge between the state and the community. Otherwise, it would have become hard for these officials to maintain the social order in their neighborhood.

Euphemisms were generally preferred for sexual crimes and fornication.⁵⁹² Vague terms were used both by the complainants and court itself rather than referring to fornication or adultery openly. This is an understandable situation because both *zina* (adultery) and the accusation of an unprovable claim of fornication to a woman requires *hadd* punishment, which is the most severe punishment according to shari'a.

⁵⁸⁹ Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700-1800*, 98.

⁵⁹⁰ Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700-1800*, 98

⁵⁹¹ Başaran, "'Unidentified' City Dwellers and Public Order in Istanbul Neighborhoods at the End of the 18th Century," 8.

⁵⁹² Semerdjian, *Off the Straight Path: Illicit Sex, Law, and Community in Ottoman Aleppo*, 96.

Therefore, residents complained about unlawful relations between men and women without using the term *zina* openly; rather, they used accusations like '*ırzıyla mukayyed olmama, menzillerine giceleri namahrem ademler/avrat getirmek, nâmahremden ictinab etmemek, fahişe avratlar ile fısq ve fesat itmek*. These are indirect discourses imply *zina* without using the term itself. In this way, complainants avoided the necessity of proving *zina* in court, which is almost impossible because one had to bring at least four male witnesses who had seen the illicit sex in action and there was also a ban against entering someone's house without the permission of the court. On the other hand, the court winked at this trick because the government preferred to implement exile rather than *hadd* punishments for illicit sex. Through the use of euphemisms, both the court and the society infringed on the shari'a with a silent agreement.

In studies about neighborhood exile in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the common argument is that the majority of complaints about the disruption of peace within the neighborhood were about people's not being virtuous (*'ırzıyla mukayyed olmama*) and welcoming unknown men and women into their homes (*menzillerine giceleri namahrem ademler/avrat getirmek*). In this respect women are seen as the group most vulnerable to such accusations.⁵⁹³

However, of the sixty-two Istanbul *sijil* registers, I examined for this study only five cases dealt with women facing such accusations of these, only one case dealt with expulsion: a woman named Emine, the wife of Mü'min, from Arakiyeci el-Hac Mehmed Neighborhood in Üsküdar was complained on for not minding her business and not being virtuous, and a *ferman* was requested for her expulsion. Also, because the residents did not want Emine in their neighborhood, her husband ran away. In the petition, the resident states that Mehmed son of Satılmış had entered her house

⁵⁹³ Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700-1800* 168; Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order*, 189. Also, in prostitution cases, banishment from someone's neighborhood was the dominant punishment in Aleppo. See Semerdjian, *Off the Straight Path: Illicit Sex, Law, and Community in Ottoman Aleppo*, 129.

(hala yine bugün menziline Mehmed Bin Satılmış nâm kimesne ile ahz itdi).⁵⁹⁴ Even though there is such an open accusation and information, there was not any raiding or *hadd* punishment. Rather, the *kadi* investigated the accuracy of the complaint by the *imam* and community and then reported the petition to the Imperial Council and requested a *ferman*. In response, it ordered to the *kadi* of Üsküdar was ordered to comply with the request via the *imam* of the neighborhood.⁵⁹⁵ Another important point in the record is that the residents indicated their anxiety by saying they were afraid of the harm and that might come from these unknown men and women (*ricâl ve nisâdan menziline bilinmeyub ve ma'lûm olunmayan kimesneler getirub ve götürub gelub ve gidub şerlerinden ve fesâdlarından külli havf olunmagla*). However, even though their problem was only with Emine and there was no complaint about her husband, it is interesting that Mü'min ran away. Maybe he was afraid of being marked with his wife or of being exiled because of her. In any case, he preferred to leave the neighborhood of his own accord without waiting for a court decree. It seems that he was sure that when the residents of the Neighborhood of Arakiyeci el-Hac Mehmed applied to the court, the *kadi* would accept their request to banish of Emine. Then, what about her husband who knew about his wife's immoral actions and did not or could not do anything to stop them? Would the decree force Mü'min into exile with Emine or force him to divorce her? If a wife and husband or a family acted unlawfully together, residents would generally call for all of them to be exiled

⁵⁹⁴ "Ma'rûz-ı 'abd-ı dâ'î devletlûdur ki, Derun-ı 'arzuhâlde mestûru'l-isim olan Mü'min nâm kimesnenin zevcesi Emine kendü hâlinde olmayub dâ'imâ nâmahremden ictinâb olmadıgından mukaddemâ menziline ba'zı kimesneler ile ahz olunmadı. Hala yine bugün menziline Mehmed Bin Satılmış nâm kimesne ile ahz itdi. Mahalle-yi mezbûreden ihrâc murâd ittigimizden zevc-i mezbûr Mü'min firâr ider cümlemiz mezbûre Emine'den 'âciz olub mahallemizden ihrâc olundukda nail-i ecr-i cezîl olunurlar deyu mahalle-yi merkûme imâmı ve cemâ'ati bî-ecma'hîm meclis-i şer'iyeye gelub ihbâr teşekkî itmeleriyle vâka'-yı hâl devlet medâra î'lâm olunır. Bâ-fermân men lehü'l-emr hazretlerinindir." Üsküdar Court Records No. 333, unnumbered first page/1b.

⁵⁹⁵ "Devletlû ve merhametlu Sultânım hazretleri sag olsun, Bu kulları Üsküdar'da Arakiyeci el-Hac Mehmed Mahallesi'nin ahalişi olub mahalle-yi mezbûrede sâkin Mü'min nâm kimesnenin zevcesi Emine nâm Hâtun kendü hâlinde olmayub ricâl ve nisâdan menziline bilinmeyub ve ma'lûm olunmayan kimesneler getirub ve götürub gelub ve gidub şerlerinden ve fesâdlarından külli havf olunmagla devletlu Sultânımdan mercûdur ki, Üsküdar Kadısı Efendi mezbûrenin ahvâlini şer'iyeye imam ve cemâ'atden tefahhus idüb vukû' üzere huzur ve sa'âdet î'lâm olundukda merhameten mahalemizden ihrâc oluna fermân Sultanımındır." Üsküdar Court Records No. 333, unnumbered first page/2b.

together, and this information is given in the case.⁵⁹⁶ However, because there is no detailed explanation and information in the case of Emine, we cannot know what would have awaited her husband had he chosen not to flee. However, it is clear that Mü'min's presence within the community would not have been comfortable. As for Emine, again because of a lack of information, as is common in many expulsion cases, it is not known where Emine went to or for how long.

However, the crucial point leading to someone's expulsion from the neighborhood was making these undesired behaviors a constant habit (*'âdet-i müstemirresi olub*) and disregarding multiple warnings over and over again (*bi'd-defa'ât kendülere tenbih oldukta mütebeyyine olmamak*).⁵⁹⁷ This means that expulsion from the neighborhood was not the first deterrent action. There were some initial counteractions to prevent these undesired behaviors and the shari'a did not prefer to exile easily. The court gave several chances to evil-doers because of the importance given to repentance and rehabilitation in the Ottoman legal system. Therefore, the evil-doers would be warned and ta'zir punishment would be implemented only if they did not start acting like righteous persons after several warnings.⁵⁹⁸ It seems that exile

⁵⁹⁶ For example, the residents of Dervişoglu Neighborhood in Istanbul expelled es-Seyyid Mehmed Efendi and his wife together in 1808. Istanbul Court Records No. 94, 21 in Turna, "Public Anxieties in Early Nineteenth Century Istanbul Neighborhoods," 1-2.

⁵⁹⁷ For some examples for the usages, see *İstanbul Ahkâm Defterleri: İstanbul'da Sosyal Hayat*; Serkan, "İstanbul/Üsküdar 415 Numaralı Şeriye Sicili Transkripsiyonu ve Tahlili"; Özer, "113 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri'nin (H. 1112-1115/M. 1701-1703) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi"; Geçgil, "Üsküdar at the Beginning of the 18th Century: Case Study on the Text and Analysis of the Court Register of Üsküdar Nr. 402."

⁵⁹⁸ When Ebussuud was asked about getting rid of an evil-doer from a neighborhood, he said that you must get rid of his/her unlawful behaviors. This *fetwa* shows that the ideal act was not to exile someone; but rather to lead a sinner to become a well-behaved person. In Ottoman Turkish: "*Mes'ele: Zeyd evine nâmahrem getirip, avreti yanında şurb-i hamr edip, fîsk u fücûru zâhir olsa, ehl-i mahalle Zeyd'i mahalleden gidertmeğe kâdir olurlar mı? el-Cevab: Mübâşeret ettiği kabâyihî giderirler.*" *Fetwa no.172 in Düzdağ, Şeyhülislam Ebussu'ud Efendi'nin Fetvalarına Göre Kanuni Devrinde Osmanlı Hayatı: Fetâvâ-yı Ebussuud Efendi*, 62. In response to another question related to exile from the city, Ebussuud said that if the defendant had property, then the necessity of shari'a was implementing ta'zir and imprisonment. This gives us a clue that property was one of the factors affecting banishment from the city. In Ottoman Turkish: "*Mes'ele: Tezvîr ve şekavet ile meşhur olan Zeydin sâkin olduğu şehir halkı Zeydin fesadından aciz olub şehirden sürülmesin istediklerinde, hakimü'l-vakt mezburlar talebi ile şehirden sürmeğe kadir olur mu? el-Cevab: mülkü olunca olmaz.*"

was the ultimate remedy, but there was a possibility to come back if sinners repented and promised to live a righteous life in case (s)he had not run out of luck before.⁵⁹⁹

For example, in a case from Galata Court which includes the records of 1705 (H. 1117), the legal procedure after a demand for someone to be expelled from a neighborhood was narrated clearly by the *kadi*. The person in question was one Anton, an Armenian English translator living in the neighborhood of Kamer Hatun near Galata. The people of five neighborhoods outside Galata petitioned for him to be expelled. He must have discomforted and been viewed as a big threat for many people because such appeals generally were limited to the residents of only a single neighborhood. A petition from the people of five neighborhoods is almost unheard of in the in *sijils*. Anton was accused of creating a pig slaughter house and turning his home into a bar room near a Muslim graveyard (*mekâbir-i Müslimîn kurbunda hınzır selh-hanesi ile meyhâne ihdâs idüb*). Further, the people said that Anton spilled the blood of pigs into the graveyard (*dem-i hınzır-ı mekâbir-i Müslimîne ilka*) and that the ummah of Prophet Muhammed were upset (*ümmet-i Muhammed fukarası asûde hal olmadugu*) because mischief makers and bandits gathered in his bar room (*meyhanede dahi fusekâ ve eşkiya cem' olub*). The closeness of the Muslim graveyard to the scene of the crime as well as the spilling of the blood of pigs there was underlined and was probably especially discomforting because of the importance of graveyards in Islamic culture. From the record, it is understood that the residents had already informed the authorities about Anton's unlawful actions and the Sultan had ordered the pig slaughter house completely closed. However, Anton had denied the accusation of selling wine in his house and indicated that the wine in his house was bought for the ambassador within the permission of the Sultan and put in his house

Ta'zîr ve habs ile şerrin def' eder. Salâhı zahir ve muhakkak olmadan zindandan çıkarmamak gerektir." Fetwa no. 678, Düzdağ, Şeyhülislam Ebussu'ud Efendi'nin Fetvalarına Göre Kanuni Devrinde Osmanlı Hayatı: Fetevayı Ebussuud Efendi, 181; also see other *fetwas* related to troublemakers disturbing public order between pages 179 and 182. Also see Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700-1800*, 171-74.

⁵⁹⁹ Ginio says that in eighteenth-century Salonica, most often *kadis'* adjudications were generally mere warnings (*tenbih*) rather than issuing a verdict to the culprits. Ginio, "The Administration of Criminal Justice in Ottoman Selanik (Salonica) During the Eighteenth Century," 195-97.

(*tercümân-ı mezbûr menziline hamr-ı kesîr olduğunu ikrar lakin yed'imizde olan işbu emr-i 'âli mûcebince elçi için iştirâ olunub yed'ime ira' olunan hamrdur deyi iş'ar*). Thereupon, he promised to transfer the wine to somewhere else and not to sell wine to anyone thereafter. Even so, he was also cautioned.

In short, the necessity of the order and shari'a was done (*fermân-ı şerifin mûcebince ve şer'-i şerîfîn muktezâsı kema-yenbagi icrâ olunub*). However, the community remained unsatisfied and wanted Anton permanently exiled from the neighborhood (*inkitâ'-yı ebedî ile ihrâc*). In response, the *kadi* informed them about the operation of law by saying that if you want to exile of Anton because his neighborhood is close to yours, even if shari'a is available, Anton could not be only expelled. If you wanted to expel him, all non-Muslims in this neighborhood must be also exiled (*zimmi Mahallesi mahallemiz kurbundadır andan ötürü zimmînin ihrâc olunması murâdımızdır dersiniz ol mertebeye şeri'at müsâ'id olduğu takdirce dâhî mezbûr zimmî etrâfında olan sâ'ir zimmîler ile ma'ân ihrâc olunmaga muhtacdur ol-vechile ihrâc mezbûr zimmîye mahsus olmaz deyü*). However, the residents were insistent in their demand, claiming that Anton would not change his ways. In response, the *kadi* said that according to the law they had to wait to see whether Anton would become righteous after this warning. If he failed to do so, his punishment would be severe *ta'zir* or long imprisonment, not exile (*ba'de't-tenbîh olmaduğu zahir olmaga muhtacdur ve zahir oldukda dâhî ta'zir-i şedid ve habs-i medid ile men' ve red? olunur yine ihrâc lâzım gelmez deyü*). When the residents could not get what they wanted after several trials, they applied to Imperial Council to expel Anton. It is interesting that while the *kadi* reported the case to the Imperial Council, he noted that the people who did know the requirements of shari'a, counseled that their petition must not be accepted, and recommended that their imam, who was known for his misdeeds and malevolence, must be imprisoned.⁶⁰⁰ After reporting the case to the

⁶⁰⁰ In Ottoman Turkish: "*Ma'rûz-ı dâ'ileri oldur ki, fi'l-vâki' İngiltere tercümanı olan merkum Anton mekâbir-i Müslimîn kurbunda hınzır selh-hânesi ihdâs iyledüğü zahir olub ve mahalle-yi mezbûre ahâlisi mezbûr tercüman menziline meyhane ittihâz idüb (kurup) fusekaya hamr bey' ider ve menziline hamr-ı kesîr vardır deyu haber virdikleri kâ'ime ile mufassalan huzur-ı 'âlîye inhâ olundukda nefyi bâbında vârid olan emr-i 'âli mûcebince ber-muktezâ-yı şer'-i şerîf hınzır selh-hânesi bi'l-küllîye men' ve ref' olunub ve tercümân-ı mezbûr menziline hamr-ı kesîr*

Imperial Council, the Sultan ordered that the requirements of shari'a be carried out.⁶⁰¹

As can be seen in the previous cases, generally there are some gaps in our knowledge about the expulsion cases. Most of time we cannot learn within how many days they had to leave the neighborhood. According to some findings from the expulsion cases of different Anatolian cities, this time could be several days or ten days.⁶⁰² Because

olduğunu ikrar lakin yed'imizde olan işbu emr-i âli mücebince elçi için iştirâ olunub yed'ime ira' olunan hamrdur deyi iş'ar ve fusekâya hamr bey'in ba'de'l-inkar menziline olan hamrı dahi bi'l-küllîye aher yere nakle ve ba'de'l-yevm bir ferde hamr bey' itmemeğe müteahhid olub ve tenbîhen tekid dâhî olundukdan sonra fermân-ı şerifin mücebin ve şer'-i şerifin muktezâsı kema-yenbagi icrâ olunub beyân iyledikleri münkir ve mahzuz bi'l-cümle mündef olunmuşken ahali-yi mezbûre elbette mezbûr zimmînin mahalleden ihrâc olunmasını isteriz deyu ma'anda iylediklerinde zimmi Mahallesi mahallemiz kurbundadır andan ötürü zimmînin ihrâc olunması murâdımızdır dersiniz ol mertebeye şeri'at müsâ'id olduğu takdirce dâhî mezbûr zimmî etrâfında olan sâ'ir zimmîler ile ma'ân ihrâc olunmaga muhtacdur ol-vechile ihrâc mezbûr zimmîye mahsus olmaz deyü cevab verüldükde mezbûrlar tercüman-ı mezkûr men' olundığı husûslardan memnu olmaz elbette ihrâc olunsun deyu tekrâr ma'anda iylediklerinde ol dahi ba'de't-tenbîh olmaduğu zahir olmağa muhtacdur ve zahir oldukda dâhî tazir-i şedid ve habs-i medid ile men' ve red? olunur yine ihrâc lâzım gelmez deyü cevab verüldükde mezbûrlar vechen-min-el-vücuha şer'ân müceb-i ihrâc --- beyanına kadir değıller iken biz anı elbette ve elbette fermân ile ihrâc etdirirüz huzur-ı âlîlerine müteveccih olub ve bu güne cüret-i azimeye müsaraat itmışlerdir husûs-ı mezbûrda zimmi-yi mezbûr hakkında muktezâ-yı şer'at icrâ olunmuşdur lakin muktezâ-yı şer'at-ı şerîfeye ve muktezâ-yı fermân-ı münife kat'a imtisâl itmeyub hakim ile ulu'l-emr beyninde bu makûle hasarat-ı azimeye ictira iden ahaliyi reddiye 'ale'l-husûs kemal-mertebe şirret ile meşhûr ve garaz-ı fasidi mütevatir olan reislerin imamı habs-i te'dib-i azimeye muhtacdur baki emr veliyü'l-emr hazretlerininindir." Galata Court Records No. 197, 139/2b.

⁶⁰¹ The petition of the people and the response from the Imperial Council in Ottoman Turkish: "Devletlû ve meveddetlû Sultanım hazretleri sag olsun, bu kulları Galata haricinde vâki' beş mahallenin ahaliyi olub Kamer Hâtun Mahallesi'nde Anton nâm bir Ermenî tercümânlık iddiasıyla mekâbir-i Müslimîn kurbunda hınzır selh-hanesi ile meyhâne ihdâs idüb dem-i hınzır-ı mekâbir-i Müslimîne ilka ve meyhanede dahi fusekâ ve eşkiya cem' olub ümmet-i muhammed fukarası asude hal olmaduğu men'i için devletlû Sultânım hazretlerine 'arzuhal olundıkda şer'le keşf olunmak üzere Galata efendisine hitâben fermân-ı 'âlileri ihsân ve cânib-ü şer'den naib gönderilüb vech-i meşruh üzere olduğu zahir ve tescil-i şer'i olunmagla devletlû sultânımdan mercûdur ki mûmâileyh efendi hazretleri günâgun görünüb zabt ve tescil-i şer'i olundığı üzere husûsen i'lâm ve mesfur i'lamıyla maan huzur-ı saadete ihzar ve su-i halî ma'lûm-ı devletleri oldukda meyhanesi ve hınzır selhanesi men' ve ref' ve mahalle-yi mezbûreden inkitâ'-yı ebedî ile ihrâc ve bir dahi --- olunmamak babında emrin. Mahallat-ı merkumun fukarası." Galata Court Records No. 197, 139/3b.

⁶⁰² See Ronald C. Jennings, "Limitation of the Judicial Powers of the Kadi in 17th Century Ottoman Kayseri," *Studia Islamica* 50 (1979), 178; Tok, "Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Osmanlı

there is no law article about the time given to prepare for leaving and not every case mentions this time, we cannot know the criteria according to which this limit of time varied. One factor could be the type of the expulsion decision and whether it was for a limited time or permanent. To be clearer, if someone was expelled from the neighborhood permanently, the preparation time allowed to that person could be more because the evil-doer had to sell his/her house and belongings. For example, in a case from seventeenth-century Kayseri, a woman had relations with *namahrem* (unrelated) men and drank wine. Even though the residents warned her several times, she continued her unwanted and immoral behavior. Therefore, the court gave her ten days to sell her house and leave the city.⁶⁰³ In this case, we cannot know why the court did not implement any ta'zir punishment before expelling the women. Maybe warnings were considered as a part of ta'zir. However, the severity of the crime or trouble would also affect the deadline for leaving. For example, in the case of Fatima, who was exiled to Bursa in 1705, her belongings were carried by a naib. Even though there is not any mention about the deadline for her leaving, it is understood that she was not given much time for preparation.⁶⁰⁴

The places where evil-doers were exiled to are not always stated in the records either. Hence, we do not know whether there was a relation between the severity of their misdoings and the place where they were exiled. In Aleppo and Damascus exiles were generally between neighborhood rather than between cities.⁶⁰⁵ The new place where evil-doers relocated could be only a few feet away from their previous residence.⁶⁰⁶ Zarinebaf claims that banishment in Istanbul was generally external that

Şehrindeki Mahalleden İhraç Kararlarında Mahalle Ahalisinin Rolü (XVII ve XVIII Yüzyıllarda Kayseri Örneği),”167.

⁶⁰³ Jennings, “Limitation of the Judicial Powers of the Kadi in 17th Century Ottoman Kayseri,” 178.

⁶⁰⁴ Istanbul Bab Court Records No. 81, 66/2a.

⁶⁰⁵ See Marcus, “Privacy in Eighteenth-Century Aleppo: The Limits of Cultural Ideals,” 177; Rafeq, “Public Morality in the 18th Century Ottoman Damascus,” 181-82; Semerdjian, *Off the Straight Path: Illicit Sex, Law, and Community in Ottoman Aleppo*, 131.

⁶⁰⁶ Semerdjian, *Off the Straight Path: Illicit Sex, Law, and Community in Ottoman Aleppo*, 128.

is to a different city, however she does not show evidence to prove this argument.⁶⁰⁷ Zarinebaf also argues that some islands and Anatolian cities, mostly Bursa were main places to send evil-doers.⁶⁰⁸ Unfortunately, my findings about expulsion cases from the early eighteenth-century Istanbul court records insufficient for me to offer a firm conclusion on this point. Among my findings, there is only one case in which the problematic person was exiled from Istanbul to another city which was Bursa.⁶⁰⁹ However, if we consider the banishment of immigrants back whence they came, then the argument of Zarinebaf makes sense; otherwise. In addition, it is not written how long they would stay in their new places. From both Istanbul court records and *mühimme* registers, we understand that it was also possible for undesired elements to return their previous neighborhoods if they proved that they had reformed (*islah-ı nefis*), while others were exiled permanently, never to come back (*inkitâ'-yı ebedî ile ihrâc*). For example, in the month of April 1702, a woman named Hadince was exiled to Samsun as a deterrent punishment because of her mischievous behaviors, like habitual abusive language and theft (*sû'-i hâl üzere olmağla ehl-i 'ırz kimesnenin haremine dâhil ve ehl-i 'iyâlin izlâl ve mâlını itlak ve hetk-i 'ırz 'âdet-i müstemiresi olmağla*).⁶¹⁰ After one month, the *kadi* of Istanbul sent another edict stating that he

⁶⁰⁷ Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700-1800*, 233.

⁶⁰⁸ Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700-1800*, 108.

⁶⁰⁹ See Istanbul Bab Court Records No. 81, 66/2a.

⁶¹⁰ "Samsun kadısına hüküm ki, Hadince nâm hâtun sû'-i hâl üzere olmağla ehl-i 'ırz kimesnenin haremine dâhil ve ehl-i 'iyâlin izlâl ve mâlını itlak ve hetk-i 'ırz 'âdet-i müstemiresi olmağla mukaddemâ fermân-ı şerîfimle bî-garez kimesnelere tafahhus olundukda Abdurrahman ve Sultân Selim Câmî'i İmamı Şeyh Mehmed ve bi'l-fi'il Belgrad Kadısı Mehmed zîde fezâilühû ile müderrisler Mehmed ve İbrahim ve Hekimbaşı Şâban ve Hüseyin ve Halil ve Mustafa ve İsmail ve Hüseyin ve Mustafa ve diğer Mustafa mezbûr için meclis-i şer' de kendü hâlinde olmayub bazı ehl-i 'ırz ve 'ulemânın haremlerine dâhil ve hafiyeten bazı nesnelere alub ve fisk-ı fücûr tâ'limi ile izlâl ve kendüsü dâhi ahz olduğu muvâcehesinde haber verdiklerin akzâ kuzâtü'l-müslimin İstanbul kadısı Mevlânâ Eş-şeyh Mehmed zîde fezâilühû i'lâm itmeğın mevlânâ-yı mûmâileyhin i'lâmı mûcebince mezbûre Samsun kazasına nefy olunmağın bilâ-emr-i şerîf itlâk ve ihrâc olunmamak için hükm-i şerîf yazılmıştır. Fî Evâhir-i Zi'l-ka'de sene 1113" Mühümme Register No. 89 in Özer, "113 Numaralı Mühümme Defteri'nin (H.1112-1115/M.1701-1703) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi," 124.

had written an edict to release Hadince, but Hadince was not chastened and even the complainants still have an axe to grind. Hence, she needed to stay in Samsun.⁶¹¹

On the other hand, there were some cases in which even though there had been a decree for expulsion, the evil-doers continued to stay in the neighborhood. There are some examples from eighteenth-century Ottoman Istanbul, like some Anatolian cities, Damascus or Aleppo, in which evil-doers did not leave the neighborhood despite the written order for exile.⁶¹² Because there is not any evidence, we cannot know what enabled them to disobey the collective wish of the neighborhood residents. One possible reason could be the closeness to someone who had an honorable position in the society. This would mean that like a kind of patronage relationship enabled some undesirable persons mostly prostitutes to continue to stay in their neighborhoods as Semerdjijan argues the patronage relationships between janissaries and prostitutes in early-modern Aleppo.⁶¹³ However, from a case from the Konya courts cited in Çetin's work, it seems that closeness to someone with a honorable title could not always work if the solidarity and agreement of the residents was strong.⁶¹⁴ There is no example of such a violation in the court records of Ottoman Istanbul which I examined. Another reason could be the agreement of the residents about the fact that the defendant had reformed and become well-behaved after the warning.

⁶¹¹ "Samsun kadısına hüküm ki, bundan akdem sû'-i hâlin müş'ir İstanbul kadısı i'lâmı mûcebince islâh-ı nefis için fermân-ı şerîfimle Samsun'a nefis ve iclâ' olunan Hadince nâm hâtun islâh-ı nefis eylemişir deyü hilâf-ı inhâ ile ıtlakı için emr-i şerîfim sūdûr lâkin mezbûre ber vechle islâh-ı nefis itmeyüb henüz müdde'isi dahî şikâyet üzere olmağla mukaddemâ nefiyi içün virile emr-i şerîfim mûcebince 'amel olunmak bâbında fermân-ı 'ali şânım sâdır olmuştur deyü hüküm yazılmışdır. Fî Evâhir-i Rebû'l-evvel sene 1114" Mühimme Register No.113 in Özer, "113 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri'nin (H.1112-1115/M.1701-1703) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi," 132.

⁶¹² For example, see Rafeq, "Public Morality in the 18th Century Ottoman Damascus," 194-95; Istanbul Bab Court Records No.309, 14/2 in Başaran, "'Unidentified' City Dwellers and Public Order in Istanbul Neighborhoods at the End of the 18th Century," 15; Konya Court Records No. 49, 206/3 in Çetin, "Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahalleden İhraç Kararları ve Tatbiki: Konya Örneği (1645-1750)," 58-59.

⁶¹³ Semerdjian, *Off the Straight Path: Illicit Sex, Law, and Community in Ottoman Aleppo*, 99-129.

⁶¹⁴ See Konya Court Records No. 53, 247/1 in Çetin, "Osmanlı Şehirlerinde Sosyal Kontrol ve Birey Üzerine Bir Takım Gözlemler (Konya Örneği)."

For example, a non-Muslim named Manol applied to court in 1706 with a decree about the expulsion of non-Muslim mother and daughter from Bereketzâde Neighborhood in Galata because they sold wine and arrack at their homes. Manol complained that even though there had been an edict for their expulsion five months earlier, they were still in the neighborhood. Therefore, he requested to ask their conducts (*keyfiyet-i ahvâl*) to those Muslims and non-Muslims who were in the court (*işbu hâzirûn bil'l-meclis-i müslimîn ve kefereden su'âl olunub*) and expel them. However, when the moral conditions were asked to three unbiased Muslims and three unbiased non-Muslims, they testified that the mother and daughter had been about their own business since the date of expulsion (*târih-i mezbûreden bu ana gelince menzillerinde hamr ve arak bey'den 'ârî ve dâ'imâ kendü hâllerinde olmagla sâ'ir fuhşiyatdan beridür deyü*). Thereupon, Manol was banned from any opposition against the decision.⁶¹⁵ This example verifies that the previous decision for exile was really more of a warning to shake neighborhood residents' finger at these mom and daughter who had acted unacceptably by their neighbors. When the majority of the neighborhood agreed on their *hüsn-i hal*, there was no need for expulsion. This means the court acted as the approving legal authority toward the already decided action of the neighborhood.⁶¹⁶

Then, why did neighborhood residents not want some of their neighbors in their midst? The first reason was on external factor, which is the effect of the state and legal system. As discussed above and previous chapters, the collectiveness of neighborhood-based communities made them responsible for one another's behaviors in legal and economic duties, so they did not want any potential troublemakers who could cause a collective sanction for the neighborhood residents. In other words, because of some pragmatic reasons, residents desired appropriate members to the law and social norms by getting out dead woods. Another reason was internal, stemming from the people of a neighborhood, like their social norms,

⁶¹⁵ Galata Court Records No.200, 118/3a.

⁶¹⁶ Kaplanoğlu, "Mahalle Hukukunda 'Hüsn-i Hal', 'Su-i Hal' ve Mahalleden İhraç Kararları," 54.

desire for peace, religion, and moral values. In exile cases, residents frequently stated their anxieties, fears, and sufferings⁶¹⁷ because of inappropriate and unlawful actions of some persons. In other words, they could not feel safe and peaceful when there were troublemakers living among them. In order to escape from decay, they needed to get rid of bad apples. Also, their descriptions about “marginal” elements of the society also define their acceptable and ideal persons according to a pragmatic moral code.⁶¹⁸

Expulsion from the neighborhood was used as a deterrent warning or punishment. However, when we think about some examples stated above about the continuity to stay in the same neighborhood or continuity of undesirable behaviors after expulsion, it is doubtful how well it worked to prevent the unlawful actions. Because there is not enough information in all cases, we cannot trace of all of those who were exiled. How did they confront in their new places? Did the residents of the neighborhood where banished people relocated know their status? If so, did they have a right not to accept them? If so, what then? Were there some specific neighborhoods to which exiles were sent? These and more are other questions which we cannot yet answer.

One of the five banishment cases are dated before the imperial edict was given in 1705. The exact date of one of them is not given in the record. The rest three cases are dated after the imperial edict was given. However, it seems that none of them related to the edict because there is no mention about the exile of those who did not have guarantors. There could be three possible reasons for this silence: the first one is that there was no unknown person without a guarantor in Istanbul; the second, that community ties and moral codes began to get loose in neighborhoods within the changing nature of the city and the increasing imbalance and insecurity especially

⁶¹⁷ The residents stated their concerns and anxieties in these words: “*fesadlarından emin değiliz, cümlemiz mutazarrır olmamız mukarrerdir, şerrinden emin değiliz, mezburlar mahalle-i mezburede olursa bizler rencide hali olmazız...*” Kıvrım, “Osmanlı Mahallesinde Gündelik Hayat: 17. Yüzyılda Gaziantep Örneđi,” 247.

⁶¹⁸ Immanuel Kant, *Ahlâk Metafiziğinin Temellendirilmesi*, trans. İoanna Kuçuradi (Ankara: Türkiye Felsefe Kurumu, 2015), 36.

right after the Edirne *Vak'ası*; and the last and most possible one is that even despite the increasing governmental control in public spaces like coffee houses and taverns after 1703,⁶¹⁹ the emergence of new public spaces like public parks and gardens⁶²⁰ as new optional places allowed people to act “freely” without the risk of being caught by the neighborhood watch. On the other hand, because people could have new areas to socialize, the neighborhood gaze might have slightly turned from the neighborhood. It is clear that this issue needs also more detailed studies and further conceptualizations.



⁶¹⁹ Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700-1800*, 126.

⁶²⁰ For more information, see Artan, “Architecture As A Theatre of Life Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus”; Hamadeh, *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul*; Hamadeh, “Mean Streets: Space and Moral Order in Early Modern Istanbul.”



Figure 5.2: A scene from *Zenannâme*, depicting some women relaxing in public garden.⁶²¹

⁶²¹ *British Library Or.7094, f.7r* "Women Relaxing in a Park," accessed July 21, 2018, <http://blogs.bl.uk/asian-and-african/2016/11/the-ottoman-turkish-zenanname-book-of-women.html>.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

So far, I have discussed the community-based neighborhood social structure of cities in different Ottoman lands, the crucial role of belonging to a neighborhood in people's identities, and the collectiveness of neighborhoods. There was a communal form of living in Istanbul neighborhoods in the early eighteenth century, like in many early-modern Ottoman and European cities. In this respect, I discussed the role of this communal living and collectiveness among neighborhood residents in creating a kind of social control to maintain internal security and social order. I listed seven communal ways in which neighborhood units could use disclosure, mark, warn, control, suppress, or exclude their members: warning and condemnation methods (like smearing tar or hanging horns on someone's door), *sulh*, suing a person into court, neighborhood raids, offering testimony about someone's *hüsn-i hal* (good manner) or *su-i hal* (bad manner), the surety system, and expulsion from the neighborhood.

In pre-modern times, neighborhood watch and policing used to be much more important for both the state and society because there were no professional police services or other control mechanisms.⁶²² In those days, the personal information residents obtained about other persons' identities, family issues, behavioral and moral conditions, etc. by overseeing was the most effective tool to manage the affairs of neighborhood in micro and society in macro level, and pursuit social control as well as cohesion.⁶²³ While this communal familiarity and awareness could be seen as a source of social inclusion and harmonic cohesion, it was also a source of manipulation, social conflict, and exclusion within neighborhoods. In other words, while warning, condemning, marking, or expelling someone the residents of a

⁶²² See Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700-1800*, 130.

⁶²³ For a similar view about eighteenth-century Aleppo, see Marcus, "Privacy in Eighteenth-Century Aleppo: The Limits of Cultural Ideals," 174.

neighborhood also approved, embraced, and guaranteed others. Therefore, conflict and inconsistency were inseparable parts of the pursuit of social cohesion and harmony.

In the pursuit of social harmony within neighborhoods, I mentioned two main factors: one was internal and the other was external. In other words, residents had some unwritten rules which protected them from the intrusion of undesired members. The internal factors of the neighborhood life were collective identity, society's moral codes, Islamic principle of commanding right and preventing wrong among the society, and security concerns of the residents directly affected the direction of the neighborhood watch and residents' intervention in one another's lives. In addition to that, the external factors of collective responsibility and sanctions which could be implemented on all neighborhood residents because of the unlawful actions of only one of their members influenced the neighborhood watch as a way of social control and policing.

Many of these points are subject of some discussion. Some scholars argue that state coercion and the fear of the community was the main factor affecting public policing. Abraham Marcus, for instance, claims in his study about Aleppo in the eighteenth century that official coercion and community fear were the main reasons why local people watched one another.⁶²⁴ On the other hand, Rafeq argues that there was a weak administration in eighteenth-century Damascus that could not enforce social order on its own. As a result, "quarter solidarity" increased for public order, and the community policed itself.⁶²⁵ Similarly, Semerdjian, who also studies eighteenth-century Aleppo, questions whether Ottoman coercion was the main determining factor for neighborhood residents or not. After his survey on the records of Aleppo, he says that the records which he analyzed do not provide a clear picture about the main source of public policing. Eventually, he says that morality was not only the concern of state officials, but that monitoring morality was built in the practice of the

⁶²⁴ See Marcus, "Privacy in Eighteenth-Century Aleppo: The Limits of Cultural Ideals."

⁶²⁵ Rafeq, "Public Morality in the 18th Century Ottoman Damascus," 180.

community and Ottoman legal codes. He offers the Mamluk period as an example, arguing that community surveillance and policing existed prior to the Ottomans.⁶²⁶ Başak Tuğ also emphasized the independence of social surveillance from the regime.⁶²⁷ Similarly, Boğaç Ergene mentions “communal domination” in the court of Çankırı and Kastamonu, mostly in cases related to the social order and security.⁶²⁸ Taking all of these studies and views into consideration, as Betül Başaran points out, residents’ collectivity, neighborhood watch, and public surveillance cannot be reduced only to the state’s coercion and the fear of the community or only to the internal dynamics and concerns of the neighborhood residents.⁶²⁹ During my study on court records of Ottoman Istanbul, I could not find any evidence showing that the state’s pressure was the main factor affecting public policing. Even though it was given an edict in 1705 demanded neighborhood residents to vouch for one another and threatened to expel mischievous ones who did not have any guarantor from their neighborhood, we cannot see any record which directly reflects the implementation of this imperial order. Even though most of the cases about the suretyship and expulsion are dated after this edict, it seems that their contents are not related to the edict. If the fear of community was the main reason for public policing, we would expect to find many more cases about solidary suretyship and expulsion from neighborhood after 1705 when the imperial edict was given. These factors, state coercion and community fear and internal dynamic and norms of neighborhoods are inseparable from each other. Both of them had an important impact on neighborhood watch.

⁶²⁶ Semerdjian, *Off the Straight Path: Illicit Sex, Law, and Community in Ottoman Aleppo*, 84-86.

⁶²⁷ Başak Tuğ, “Politics of Honor: The Institutional and Social Frontiers of ‘Illicit’ Sex in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Anatolia” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2009), 185-86 cited in Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order*, 173.

⁶²⁸ Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire*, 151-52.

⁶²⁹ Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order*, 173-74.

An integrated community occurs or is created especially when there is a period of crisis in a state like war, territorial changes, political insecurity, economic hardship, or social unrest. And in order to bring about internal stability and public order and to assert control, a mutually reliant and integrated community develops or is obliged to develop.⁶³⁰ According to Foucault's theory, behind each disciplinary mechanism, there can be "a haunting memory of 'contagions', of the plague, of rebellions, crimes, vagabondage, desertions, people who appear and disappear, live and die in disorder."⁶³¹ This is also valid for eighteenth-century Ottoman Istanbul. Similarly, Başaran says that "during times of crisis, the scrutiny over public order became less forgiving at the neighborhood level, in parallel to the increased anxiety of the imperial administration."⁶³² In relation to that, Tülay Artan argues that there were deeper moral anxieties in eighteenth-century Ottoman Istanbul because of military defeats, economic hardship, scarcity, increasing poverty, unemployment, and migration to the city.⁶³³ As a result, crime rates increased, or at least the state's interest about keeping track of crime increased. In the beginning of my study, I chose the years just before and after the Edirne *Vak'ası* with a similar hypothesis and wanted to see the effect if any of the imperial presence and so of state coercion, on the neighborhood watch and policing. In this respect, I found an edict in 1702/1703 (H. 1114) about a ban on going out at night without a lantern.⁶³⁴ In addition, especially the edict of 1705 was a good indicator of state's desire to see more stable and integrated neighborhood communities within the imperial capital. However, within Istanbul neighborhoods, I could only find examples of the last three ways of social cohesion/control/conflict which are testimony of someone's *hüsn-i hal* (good manner) or *su-i hal* (bad manner), the surety system, and expulsion from the

⁶³⁰ Walker, *German Home Towns: Community, State, and General Estate 1648-1871*.

⁶³¹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 198.

⁶³² Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order*, 168.

⁶³³ Artan, "Forms and Forums of Expression: İstanbul and Beyond, 1600-1800," 390-91.

⁶³⁴ See Istanbul Bab Court Records No. 78, 183/4a.

neighborhood. Even though there was an order about bail surveys and the exile of those who were mischievous and did not have any guarantor, why there were not numerous examples of the order being carried at? This edict and further examination on court records to trace the impacts of the imperial order are quite important for the new information they may provide about the changing dynamics of the early eighteenth century. Even though there was an increasing concern in the eyes of officials about maintaining social order and security, we cannot trace its impacts on the local level.

This non-finding would be related to the changing dynamics of the eighteenth century from an early modern to a modern state. As Marcus claims for eighteenth-century Aleppo, there was not a remarkable change in the perceptions of people toward privacy, moral codes, or “ideal” behaviors, even though there were many changing political, economic, and social dynamics.⁶³⁵ We can argue this for also early eighteenth-century Ottoman Istanbul because there were similar discourses and complaints about similar acts and actions in Istanbul court cases just like in the cases of previous centuries. Reasons for exile from neighborhood, behaviors and perceptions which were used to state someone’s good or bad conduct were quite similar to previous examples from court records. However, Ergenç argues that there was a relative decrease or in other words loosening in the social cohesion of the community.⁶³⁶ However, we do not have enough information and reliable statistical data about the crime rates and society’s actions against criminal behaviors which would be shown as a part of social cohesion. Therefore, it is not possible to make a calculable comparison between the earlier times and the early eighteenth-century Istanbul to support the claim of Ergenç.

Also, migration to Istanbul brought many unknown people to the city. Along with them, the potential danger of crime also increased especially on the eyes of the state

⁶³⁵ Marcus, “Privacy in Eighteenth-Century Aleppo: The Limits of Cultural Ideals,” 180.

⁶³⁶ Ergenç, “‘İdeal İnsan Tipi’ Üzerinden Osmanlı Toplumunun Evrimi Hakkında Bir Tahlil Denemesi,” 426.

authorities. Also, the increasing population could cause a relative underpinning the social solidarity from early eighteenth century. Without forgetting the argument of Başaran about the fact that it is hard to claim that migration to Istanbul in the eighteenth century changed the population of Ottoman Istanbul,⁶³⁷ it is clear that officials' concerns for social order placed migration on the state agenda. Also, the spread of some public places like coffee houses or public gardens would be another factor affecting the neighbors' eyes in Istanbul neighborhoods. Even though such changes became more remarkable especially in the following years, they were not one-night changes and their preliminary effects might be searched for in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁶³⁸ In addition, changing trends of the state toward social control and order could be both a cause and a result not to see the direct effects of the edict of 1705. In other words, this edict ordering a chain of *kefalet* survey would be counted as the indicator of a new state policy which was increasing social control toward a modern state. On the other hand, this was a new trend for the society and because of that people could not be obey to this edict given in early eighteenth-century Ottoman Istanbul

⁶³⁷ Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order*, 27.

⁶³⁸ Remarkable changes in the sense of communal relations and cohesion were experienced more in the cities of late eighteenth century in Ottomans like many European contemporaries. Jeremy Boulton points out that social cohesion, the sense of community involvement, and belonging are "thought to have broken down in the modern industrial city, marked as it was by physical segregation of social classes and distinguished by class rather than social solidarity, developed by people living close together with others of similar means rather than similar trades and crafts." Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century*, 166.

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APPENDICES

A. A newspaper clipping from 1994 about the neighborhood of Kuzguncuk.

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BİR SEMT - BİR YAŞAM

6-7 Eylül olaylarının vuramadığı, yılların bozamadığı tek semt: **'Kuzguncuk...'**

Dinler ve dillerin dansı

BERAT GÜNÇİKAN

Başını hafifçe öne eğip soruyor, "6-7 Eylül olayları nedir bir misin?"

İnsanı ait ilk izlerin ta poleolitik döneme, İsa'dan önce yüzbinle otuzbeşbin yıllarına denk düştüğü bir yerden, üstelik dünyanın en büyük ud unası Öznik'in evinden kalkıp otuzdokuz yıl önceye dönüşüyor soru...

Akşam Gazetesi sekiz sütuna manşet atmış, "Selanik'te, Atatürk'ün enk. bombalandı." Demokrat Parti'nin Marshall planları için milli birlik ve beraberliğe gerek duyduğundan mıdır nedir, radyo da onüç ajanslarında doğrulamış "balon" haberi. Bir anda sokağa dökülen binlerce kişi, Kaşımpaşa, Karaköy, Beyoğlu, Kurtuluş, Tarlabasi nerede Rum, Ermeni, Yahudi dükkânı, evi varsa yerleber etmiş. Balon haberi çıkarılanlar bile ösleyememiş yağmalanmış. İki gün, benlerce yıldır okuyuşu kültürün, barışın, dostluğun üzerine kapkara bulut olup dökülürmüş...

Ama onun yaşadığı yeri, yani Kuzguncuk'u zaptedememiş bulduktan, "Sessiz...da, arınmadı"ması da his yüzlen işte. Kilsenin caminin sirt sirta vermiş, üç önedeki havranın zangoçluğunu bir müslümanın yaptığı Kuzguncuk'ta müslümanlar, çapuklu yobazlara, ölümlü kesmiş Kimselerin evi yakılmamış, kimselerin burnu kanamamış, "Ama" diye yeniden giriyor söze Mimar Cengiz Bektaş, "Yüreklere kanadı, korkular, engelleyemedik. Yahudiler İsrail'e, Rumlar Yunanistan'a gitti. Ermeniler de İstanbul'da bir semtte toplanmayı yeğledi."

Cengiz Bektaş öyle dededen kalma deşil, sadece onaltı yıllık Kuzguncuklu. Ama onaltı yıl,

Cami-kilise ikilisinin arasında yeşilin büyüdü damcı çan sesyle ezanın gizemli karşısına dönüşüp büyülüyor insanlar. Mimar Cengiz Bektaş da Kuzguncuk aşıklarından. (Fotograf: GARBİS ÖZATAY)

tarhini ve kültürünü de araştırınca "Kuzguncukluym" deniç için yetip de arımış bile. Bir de herşeye rağmen dördü inancın içiçeliğini sürmesi, Yahudiler için mezarlıklarını Kudüs'e büyük sayılması, dünya - haham-başının burada söpimesi etkilemiş.

Artık İcakiye Caddesi üç gün halılarla kaplanırsa, çiçekler atılmasa, laternalar çalınıp ilans edilirse de "Yaşadısı ve yaşadısı tek yer Kuzguncuk" diye düşünmüş. "Yaşamın sömüçodrilmesinde demokratik katılım ve eş düzeyde bilgilenme bağunsuzluğu"nu iki temelini de böyle atılmış.

Üryanızade sokagında ilko-ortaoakul öğrencilerinin yararılarındığı binlerce kitaptan oluşan kütüphaneye işte bu temel ilacine oturtulmuş. Eski maraz-gorhane yeni kütüphaneye zaman gelmiş profesyonel tiyatro gruplarına prova sahnesi olmuş, zaman gelmiş mahalle sakinlerinin yemekli toplantılarına tonkük etmiş. Altınbaşın farla evin nöbevesi bu temelde dayanıp çıkarılmış. Yine bu temel Bereket sokagında Karagöz gösterilerine küçük açmış "İnsanların çevrelerine sahip çıkmaları çocukluktan başlar" demilip yaz

okulu açılmış. Özüzbey üniversitesi hafız sonları işker saşatlarını ayırıp çocukları restime, müzize yakınlaştırmış. Kuzguncuklu çocuklar bu okul sayesinde görmüş Topkapı Sarayı'nı, bir de çocuk tiyatrosu kurulmuş ama ericişinin seçim derdine yoklmuş. Evlerindeki eski eşyalarını, eski oyuncaklarını onaran çocuklar kendilerine bir panayır kurmuş, üstelik para kazanmışlar...

Bir gün tek yeşil alanları hastane yapılmış istenmişinde kendisini göstermiş bu temel üzerine kurulanlar.

Tüm Kuzguncuklular aları döndürüp bir başkaldırı pekmiş düzenlemişler. Akordeonlar çalınmış, valider, tangoalar yapılmış. Alan da tüm yeşillikle Kuzguncuklular'a kalmış.

Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Başkanı Hüsamettin Cindoruk, Güngör Dilmen, Can Yücel, Erdal Alevi, Unal Cimit Balıkcı Namık İsmet Baba Restoranı'nın sahibi Seydi Dokumacı, Berber Muzafer eski ya da yeni arma hep Kuzguncuklu. Turistik bir tesis dönüştüren İsmet Baba da hala onlar için her zaman boy bir masa var. "Beşoğullu bile belalemasana" diyor Cengiz Bektaş, "Anılarını saklayan insanların onardığı tek semti Kuzguncuk."

Yine eski Kuzguncuk'a dönüşüyor Bektaş. Yüzme ve futbol - karagözlülerinin yapıldığı, desenli sabitlerin diye denize batırılan yazmalar, ilk kırık metemim yapılmışın, kadınların eye iş almaması nedeniyle İstanbul'da ilk kreşin kuruluşu.

Çarşan denilen hamamın alanında Ermeni sığımı olduğunu, çünkü Ermeniler'in evinde bunyo bulamadığım anlatıyor Rumlar, Ermeniler ve Yahudiler gidince yerini alan Karadenizlilerin burada farklı bir kültürün varlığını seçip bozmamak için barcadıkları çaba da yabana atılır gibi değil. Bir sıt alanı olması bir de dargınlık insanları küçük çocukların müteahhillerin itahası söndürmesi koruyor Kuzguncuk'u betondan...

Nazım Hikmet'in teyzesi Sare Hanım'ın anımsıyor. Beşoğullu'na çıkıp da ayağını sandığı uzatan Sare Hanım'a soruyor boyuca, "Kuzguncuklu musunuz hımmefendi?" O Sare Hanım ki, ergoventlar arasında kurulan sofrada Cami Koço'nun omuzuna elini atmıştı, "Kardeş gibi değil miydik Barba?"

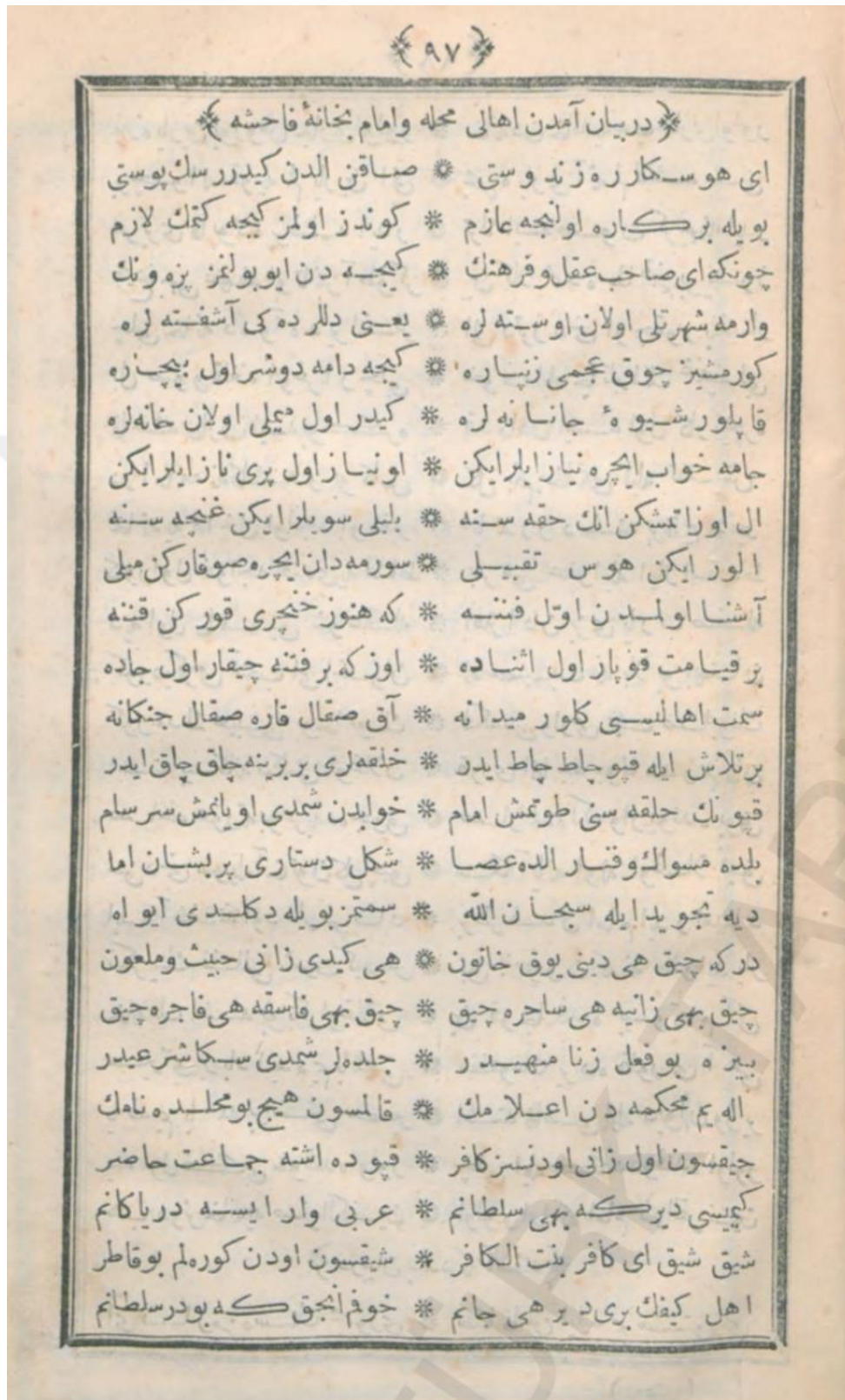
Dükkanının önüne getirilen cennazının başına toplandıklarında, o açık sıcak ilkerler anlatan Berber Muzafer'in başını tabutun üstüne "İşiniz gücünüz yok mu sizin" diye sormasını beklidiklerini de anımsıyor Bektaş.

Kuzguncuk orada. Üsküdar'la Beylerbeyi arasında, bunca din savaşına, boygörü-süzülüğe kuryi diremiyor. Birle-nin de onun üzerine yürüyor. Peki, sizin üzerine sitediğimiz bir sokagınız, semtiniz var mı?"

Kıyafet Argüvenler İstasyonu Biletleri
Taha Toros Arşivi

Source: Istanbul Memory in Personal Archives Taha Toros Archive, Istanbul Şehir University, ID Number: 001501331006, January 16, 1994.

B. A very vivid depiction of a neighborhood raid under the leadership of an *imam* in the eighteenth century on the house of a prostitute.



بیره یارین بوروش جاری اولور * خانه دن خانه یه هب ساری اولور
 برحواله قویه لم یارین انی * بحر ه باری آته لم لاشه مننی
 هرری قاپوده برفتنه ایدر * ترک ایسه صوت کر بهیله ایدر
 چیخ بهی غهغه او تانمز آطو کز * بن کلاهمده طاقنیم بوینوز
 چلبی خانه ده وآه دیر اغلر * الی دترردخی او چقور باغسلر
 بل صوو قلغه او غرار چلبی * خوف ایله چاتلر انک غنچه لی
 فاحشه عارف ایسه بو کره * قدمادن ایسه اول کار ایچره
 در اما مه نه کلشدر بو کلش * کل بنم خانمی ایله تفتیش
 خانه یه داخل اولنجده او فقیر * یا ندرر دستنه بر قاج منقیر
 کلور اول خواجه افندی یه نشاط * جرمی عفو ایله ایلا اسقاط
 دیه اول عالمه بق شو عقلمه * افترا دن بزى یارب صقاله
 کوردیکرمی نجب ای اخوان * نه مصیبت نه بلا بو بهتان
 کور مدک عیبی بو خاتونک * لکده سی وارمی عجب صابونک
 اشسته یسکانه دکش اوغلان * قوری اناجده بولا شدرم قان
 صالحه عورته بو عریبه ده جوق * صار غمده لکه وار بونده یوق
 سن دخی سوبله آخاتون کل چچق * سکا آیانه اوله اوغلان بچق
 ایده آشفته اود ملر فریاد * برطر فدن امام ایدر امداد
 تکرینک ظالمی شرت کیدیلر * بق بنه چون که نه حلواید یلر
 خاله مک اشسته بو بکر اوغلانی * بن قوجا غمده بیوتم آنی
 سبزی بریاد ایده یم باللهی * مظلومک برده قلور می آهی
 یا قه یم باشمه براسکی حصیر * اشته قاضی ایله دیوان وزیر
 ینه اول کبی شو قنده اولور * چلبی ایله ککه ذوقنده اولور
 هب دوزخانه یه صفر الکفین * اولور اما که امام ذوالقرنین
 در بیان بندد که آشفته *

ای نسا زمزه سنک مجبوری * سکا فاش ایله یم مستوزی

(بعض)

Source: Enderunlu Enderunlu Fazıl, "Zenân-Nâme," in *Defter-i Aşk; Hûbân-Nâme; Zenân-Nâme; Şevkengiz* (Istanbul: Rıza Efendi Matbaası, 1869), 97-98. I thank my professor Kahraman Şakul for sharing this depiction with me.

In Ottoman Turkish of Page 97:
Der-Beyân-ı Ahâlî-i Mahalle ve İmâm
be-Hâne-i Fâhişe
Ey heveskâr-ı reh-i zendostî
Sakın elden giderirsin postu
Böyle bir kâre olunca âzim
Gündüz olmaz gece gitmek lâzım
Çünkü ey sâhib-i 'akl u ferhenk
Geceden eyü bulunmaz pezevenk
Varma şöhretli olan ustalara
Yani dillerdeki âşüftelere
Görmüşüz çok 'acemi zenpâre
Gece dama düşer ol bîçâre
Kapılır şive-i cânânelere
Gider ol mîmli olan hânelere
Câme-hâb içre niyâz eyler iken
O niyâz ol peri nâz eyler iken
El uzatmışken onun hokkasına
Bülbülü söyler iken goncasına
Alur iken heves-i takbîli
Sürmedân içre sokarken mîli
Âşinâ olmadan evvel fennine
Ki henüz hançeri korken kınına
Bir kıyamet kopar ol esnâda
Özge bir fitne çıkar ol câda
Semt ahâlîsi gelür meydâne
Aksakal, karasakal, cingâne
Bir telâş ile kapu çât çât eder
Halkaları birbirine çâk çâk eder
Kapunun halkasını tutmuş imâm
Hâbden şimdi uyanmış sersâm

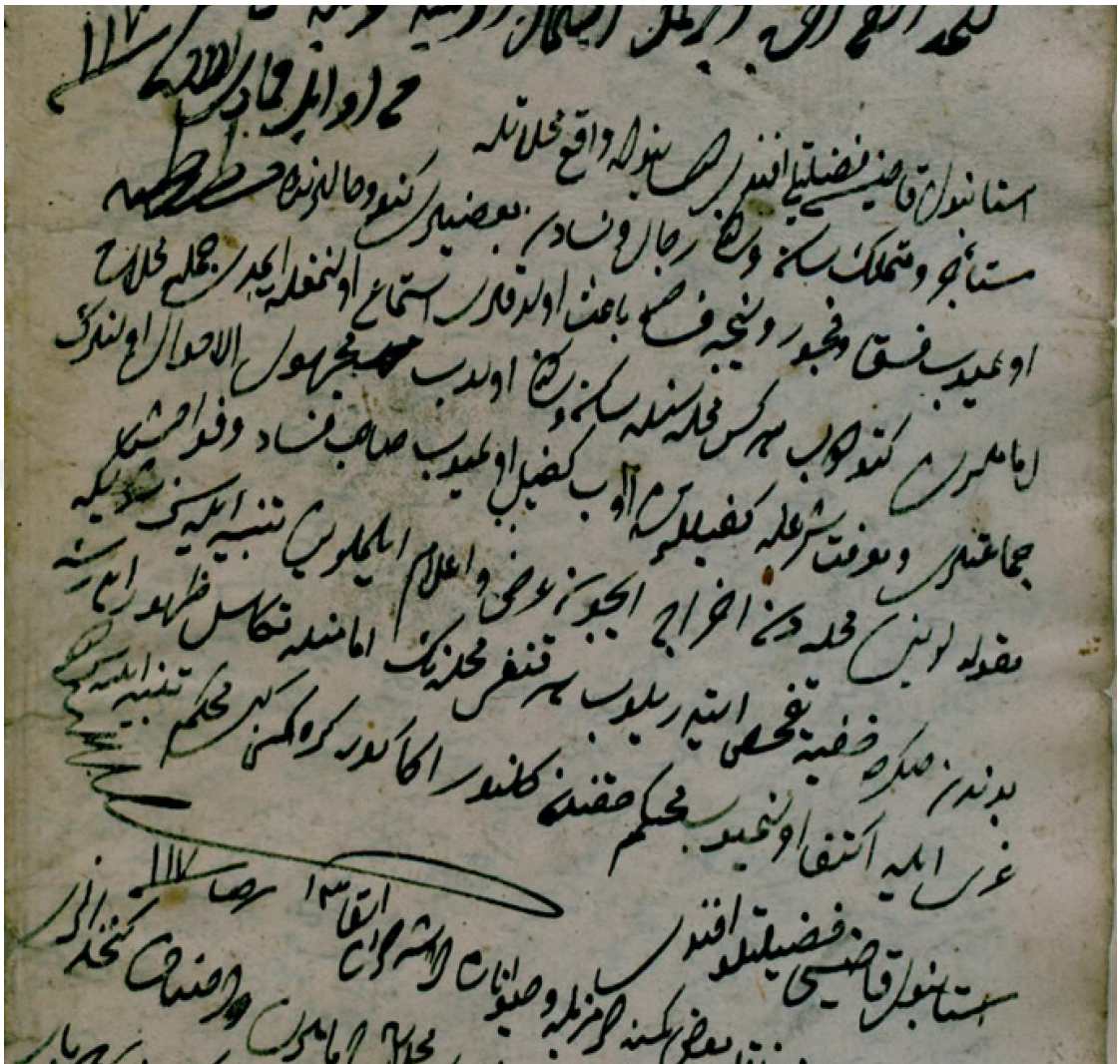
Belde misvâk ve fenâr elde âsâ
Şekl-i destârı perîşân ama
Diye tecvîd ile Sübhânallah
Semtimiz böyle degildi eyvâh
Der ki çık hey dîni yok hatun
Hey gidi zânî habis u mel'ûn
Çık behey zâniye hey sâhire çık
Çık behey fâsika hey fâcire çık
Bize bu fi'l-i zînâ menhîdir
Celdeler şimdi sana şer'îdir
Alayım mahkemedan i'lâmın
Kalmasun hiç bu mahalde nâmın
Çıksun ol zânî o dinsiz kâfir
Kapuda işte cemâ'at hâzır
Kimisi der ki behey sultânım
'Arabî var ise der yâ kânım
Şık şık ey kâfir bintü'l-kâfir
Şıksun evden görelim bu kâtır
Ehl-i keyfin biri der hey cânım
Havfım ancak ki budur sultanım.

In Ottoman Turkish of Page 98:

Bize yarın bu revîş cârî olur
Hânedan hâneye hep sârî olur
Bir çuvala koyalım yarın ânı
Bahre bâri atalım lâşesini
Her biri kapıda bir fitne eder
Türk ise savt-ı kerîhiyle ayder
Çih behey gahfe utanmaz a donuz
Ben külahımda takınmam boynuz
Çelebi hânede vâh der aglar
Eli ditrer dahi uçkur bağlar
Bel sovuğluguna ugrar çelebi
Havf ile çatlar anın gonca lebi
Fâhişe ârif ise bu kerre
Kudemâdan ise ol kâr içre
Der imâma ne gelişdir bu geliş
Gel benim hânemi eyle teftîş
Hâneye dâhil olunca o fakîr
Yandırır destine birkaç mangır
Gelür ol hoca efendiye neşât
Cürmünü 'afv ile eyler iskât
Diye ol 'âleme bak şu akla
İftirâdan bizi yâ Rab sakla
Gördünüz mü ne 'aceb ey ihvân
Ne musîbet ne belâ bu bühtân
Görmedik 'aybını bu hatunun
Lekesi var mı 'aceb sabunun
İşte bî-gâne degilmiş oğlan

Kuru agaca bulaşdırmam kan
Sâlihâ avrete bu arbede çok
Sarığımda leke var bunda yok
Sen dahi söyle a hâtun gel çık
Sana âyâne ola oğlancık
İde âşüfte o demler feryâd
Bir taraftan imâm eder imdâd
Tanrının zâlîmi şirret gidiler
Bak benimçün gene hulv idiler
Halâmın işte bu Bekir oğlanı
Ben kucagımda büyüttüm ânı
Sizi berbâd edeyim billahi
Mazlûmun yerde kalır mı âhı
Yakayım başıma bir eski hasîr
İşite kadı ile dîvan-ı vezîr
Yine ol kenbi şevkinde olur
Çelebi ile ki zevkinde olur
Hep döner hâneye sıfrü'l-keffeyn
Olur amma ki imâm zülkarneyn.

C. The original version of the edict ordering the bail survey and exile of mischievous people who did not have a guarantor, which was cited in the beginning of the fifth chapter.



Source: Istanbul Bab Records No. 82, 67/2a.

E. The original version of the edict ordering the bail survey and exile of mischievous people who did not have a guarantor, which was cited in the beginning of the fifth chapter.

عقد حاکم و صلوات اللہ علیہ
۱۳ ص ۱۱۷
غلطہ درہ واقعہ محلات مستاجر و قسطنطنیہ کنس و کتورہ حال نشانی
بعضیہ سرکنڈ و صاللمزہ او کیسور و قسطنطنیہ و قسطنطنیہ و قسطنطنیہ
اولاد قارالسینج اولیٰ و ثانیہ ایکدی جملہ محلات اماکن کتورہ
بکرین محله بندہ ساکن و ساکنہ اولاد مجاہد اولاد اولاد اولاد
جماعتین و معرفت شرعیہ کتورہ اولاد کتورہ اولاد کتورہ
ف و فواش منقولہ این محله در افواج ایچون بعضی اعلام
ایلمارین بتبندیہ سز شویلمیکه بونوز حکم خفیه نفی ایندیور
بهر قسطنطنیہ اما مندره کانسل ظہور اولاد اولاد اولاد اولاد
اولاد کتورہ حکم خفیه کلنو اکاکورہ کرک کتورہ تبندیہ اولاد
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Source: Galata Court Records No. 200, 146/3b.

