

MIGRATION INTO EIGHTEENTH-
CENTURY “GREATER ISTANBUL” AS
REFLECTED IN THE KADI REGISTERS
OF EYÜP*

Migration into the Ottoman capital and the surrounding region constitutes a topic about which as yet we know very little. With respect to the later fifteenth century, when Mehmed the Conqueror and his son Bayezid II were still concerned with the repopulation of what, during the later Middle Ages, had come to be almost a ghost city, we know of forced population transfers from the provinces to Istanbul. Sometimes we even learn something about the ways in which certain people tried to avoid such transfers, or leave Istanbul after they had lived there for a while and did not relish the experience¹. But for the sixteenth century, there is little evidence of such forced migration, presumably because the capital had become a magnet for migrants hoping for a better life. This was especially true for the years before and after 1600, i.e. the period of Anatolian civil wars known as the Celali rebellions. During those unset-

* This study was prepared as part of the project on eighteenth-century Eyüp undertaken by a group of scholars under the direction of Halil İnalcık and Tülay Artan. I am grateful to both of them for allowing me to see photocopies of the three relevant kadi registers.

¹ Halil İNALCIK, “The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXIII-XXIV (1969-70): 231-249.

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bled times people from remote Anatolian towns such as Kemah sought shelter and a livelihood in Istanbul².

By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the sultans no longer attempted to bring people into the capital, but to the contrary, were actively trying to stem the flow. Murad IV claimed to have made Anatolia safe again, and forced large numbers of refugees, many of whom by the 1630's had made new lives for themselves in the Ottoman capital, to return to their provinces of origin³. Nor did this policy end with Murad IV's death in 1640. Throughout the eighteenth century, there were periodic razzias for people who could not show that they possessed a legitimate source of livelihood in the capital⁴. Those unfortunate enough to be caught were forced to return to their provinces of origin. We learn of even more drastic measures: thus the number of petitioners allowed to visit the capital in order to take care of the affairs of their fellow townsmen or villagers was strictly limited. At certain times road blocks were even set up on the access routes to the capital, which travellers were not allowed to pass unless they satisfied the officials stationed there that they had legitimate business in Istanbul⁵.

Behind these measures of control and repression, there was the problem of feeding the city's large population, which necessitated inter-regional trade in grain. As prices administratively enforced in Istanbul (*narh*) were fixed at low levels for political reasons, it must have appeared important to keep down the costs of this operation, which constituted a heavy load on the backs of provincial taxpayers. Particularly in times of scarcity, the demands of buyers carrying off much-needed food-grains to the ever-hungry capital aroused local resentment⁶. In addition eighteenth-century Sultans were concerned about urban uprisings, which presumably became more menacing as larger numbers of people were involved. Moreover the Ottoman administration always regarded peasants as *the* primary taxpayers, and was concerned about the erosion of the tax base due to the migration of villagers into towns⁷.

² Hrand D. ANDREASYAN, "Celâlilerden Kaçan Anadolu Halkının Geri Gönderilmesi," in *İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya Armağan* (Ankara, 1970), 45-54.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Münir AKTEPE, "İstanbul Nüfus Mes'elesine dair Bazı Vesikalar," *Tarih Dergisi*, IX, 13 (1958), 5, 16, 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*: 20.

⁶ Suraiya FAROQHI, "Town Officials, *Timar*-holders and Taxation: the Late Sixteenth-Century Crisis as seen from Çorum," *Turcica* XVIII (1986): 53-82.

⁷ M. Aktepe, *art. cit.*: 3-4.

However the measures designed to prevent immigration into Istanbul never can have been more than semi-effective. Migrants could reach the city on footpaths avoiding the main roads, and thus elude controls. More importantly, the wealthy inhabitants of Eyüp and Istanbul generated demand for the services of migrants. Many powerful personages must have used their political leverage to make sure that servitors remained at their disposal, and secured temporary relaxations of migration controls.

Such *de facto* tolerance must have been practiced especially after the greater plague epidemics, which caused heavy losses well into the nineteenth century⁸. Between 1701 and 1750, 37 larger and smaller plague epidemics were recorded in Istanbul, and 31 between 1751 and 1800. This means that in two thirds of all years encompassing the eighteenth century, people died of this dreaded disease. Moreover in Istanbul, plague epidemics tended to last longer than in most of the provinces. While in southern Anatolia, the average epidemic lasted 1.37 years, and in present-day Bulgaria or Cyprus, 1.5 years, the average duration in Istanbul was four years. Ports were always particularly threatened by the plague: before the advent of iron ships, it was impossible to exterminate the rats and fleas which accumulated in the holds. There were years of exceptionally severe plagues; during the period concerned by our study, the most menacing epidemic occurred between 1739 and 1743⁹.

In the aftermath of plague epidemics, the Ottoman state itself depended on the influx of migrants into Istanbul. Artisans supplying the court could not have delivered unless there was sufficient labor available, to say nothing of the needs of the army. Craftsmen supplying the goods and services required by army and navy often lived within Istanbul and its immediate environs, including the district of Eyüp. In addition, neither the Sultan's court nor the city itself could function without goods brought in by sea; and the port in turn depended for its operation upon a large crowd of porters. Many of these hard-working and poorly paid men must have been immigrants. We can therefore surmise that the control of immigration into Istanbul was much more a matter of economic and demographic conjuncture, than of principle.

⁸ Daniel Panzac, *La peste dans l'Empire ottoman, 1700-1850* (Leuven, 1985): 195-227.

⁹ *Ibid.*: 208.

Compared to *intra muros* Istanbul, but also to the “Greater Istanbul” of the eighteenth century, which already included Galata, Üsküdar and Eyüp, the structure of Eyüp’s population, and the manner in which it was represented in the kadi registers, showed certain peculiarities. Eyüp was a small town, functionally dependent upon Istanbul, a major pilgrimage center and the site of large cemeteries. But from an administrative point of view, it was the center of an independent district, the Haslar kazası, which included all of Istanbul’s Rumelian hinterland, from Büyük Çekmece in the south to Arnavudköyü on the Bosphorus in the north¹⁰. Given the large numbers of boats and waterways, and the presence of well-frequented roads, transportation from the rural areas to the district center was much easier than in other, more outlying and land-locked regions. From villages such as Makrihora (modern Bakırköy) or Terkos people routinely appeared before the court in Eyüp. In addition, as the Haslar kazası began at the land walls of Istanbul, this district encompassed the khans inhabited by merchants and transients, which often lay just outside the city gates. In this zone, there lived and/or worked a very specific mixture of people. Apart from market gardeners exploiting the fertile earth which had filled the moats of Byzantine times, there were the denizens of the khans and last but not least, the tradesmen who made a living from these transients, such as blacksmiths and cookshop-keepers. As the area just beyond the Istanbul land walls lay within easy walking distance of Eyüp, cases originating on the outer fringe of the capital were well represented in the Eyüp registers.

The Haslar kazası was primarily rural, and the inhabitants of the town of Eyüp proper should have remained a minority. But it was rurality with a difference. For this area formed part of the zone supplying Istanbul with goods which could not be transported over any distance, such as fresh milk, vegetables or flowers. In the terms of the model invented by the scholarly gentleman farmer Johann Heinrich von Thünen at the beginning of the nineteenth century, these perishable goods were burdened with prohibitive transportation costs. Therefore they had to be produced in the immediate vicinity of the central city whose demand, along with transportation costs, determined agricultural production over

¹⁰ For general information on Eyüp, see the relevant articles in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1994).

its entire hinterland¹¹. Thus the district of Eyüp formed part of the "first ring" of Von Thünen's model. However, in the case of Istanbul, the ubiquity of water transportation distorted the shape of this zone to such an extent that it was of highly irregular appearance, and no longer bore much resemblance to a ring¹².

Milk, eggs, fresh fruit and even flowers can be supplied to city dwellers without recourse to the market. Anatolian towns were surrounded by gardens and vineyards owned and cultivated by the town dwellers, who often moved to these lands for the summer and consumed their own produce. But in the case of the larger Ottoman cities, autoconsumption was only part of the story. Particularly for the hinterland of Aleppo and Damascus, there is a good deal of evidence on urbanites acquiring land, binding peasants to themselves through the debt nexus, and selling the produce of farms and gardens on the urban market¹³. In the case of Bursa, from the seventeenth century onward, the cultivation of mulberry trees gained importance¹⁴. Mulberries can be eaten and the leaves used as animal fodder, but these non-market-oriented uses generally are secondary concerns, and the primary reason for cultivating mulberry trees is the production of raw silk. We can therefore assume that, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a not inconsiderable part of the Bursa countryside was given over to market-oriented production. These findings lead us to believe that the area surrounding Istanbul equally produced milk, vegetables and flowers intended for sale in the market.

We will pay special attention to the labor needs of market gardening, which, being relatively labor-intensive in comparison with field agriculture, should have provided employment opportunities for rural immigrants. In the kadi registers of Eyüp, references to gardens and vineyards abound: in some cases these gardens were plots where cabbages and other vegetables were grown. Given the numerous non-Muslims living

¹¹ Johann Heinrich von THÜNEN, *Der isolierte Staat in Beziehung auf Landwirtschaft und Nationalökonomie*, ed. by Hermann Lehmann and Lütz Werner (Berlin, 1990).

¹² Compare Map 5 in Suraiya FAROQHI, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia, Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting* (Cambridge, 1984).

¹³ Compare for instance Jean-Paul PASCUAL, "The Janissaries and the Damascus Countryside at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century, According to the Archives of the City's Military Tribunal," in Tarif Khalidi ed, *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East* (Beirut, 1984): 357-370.

¹⁴ Haim GERBER, *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City: Bursa, 1600-1700* (Jerusalem, 1988): 81 ff.

in the villages near Istanbul, the local vineyards must have produced some wine; but also the table grapes sold on the capital's streets and markets must have been grown in this area close to the city. Producers of yoghurt and fresh milk are also on record. But along with these everyday needs, certain gardeners served the needs of wealthy gentlemen by cultivating rare and expensive flowers for sale. Even though the Tulip Age had ended in bloodshed in 1730, this type of demand was apparently by no means extinguished.

MIGRATION IN THE KADI REGISTERS

As the source for our study we have employed three kadi registers, dated 1746-1749, 1748-1750 and 1748-1750 respectively. Two of them contain mainly inheritance inventories, while the third holds the usual miscellany of cases apt to come before a kadi's court.¹⁵ As the first step in the present research, an attempt has been made to record all persons whose provincial origin is stated in our three registers. Barring error, these three volumes contain 130 cases involving migrants. In all but fourteen cases, a single migrant was involved; however, the maximum number of migrants referred to in a single record is thirteen. In most cases involving multiple migrants, just two people were mentioned.

These men — and in a few rare cases, women — might be plaintiffs or defendants in a contested case, buyers or sellers in a sale, or heirs to a deceased who had resided either in Eyüp or else in the migrants' province of origin. In order to provide a "snapshot" picture pertaining to a limited number of years, only people who were living at the time the registers were compiled have been taken into consideration. As a result, our tabulations do not contain the migrants whose inheritance inventories were compiled by the court scribes, but merely their heirs. When describing the origins of provincials, the kadis' scribes normally recorded the home province (*vilayet*), district (*kaza*) and village of the man or woman in question. Since in the overwhelming majority of cases, the home province is the extremely large *vilayet* of Rumeli, this information is of limited utility. Even less useful are the village names, as extensive name changes in modern Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria, in

¹⁵ For general information on these registers see Ahmet AKGÜNDÜZ *et alii*, *Şer'îye Sicilleri*, 2 vols (Istanbul, 1988, 1989). We are concerned with the registers 184, 185 and 186.

addition to older migrations which have changed the composition and names of villages, often make eighteenth-century names of settlements very difficult to identify. In the present study, the district (*kaza*) therefore has been used as the crucial variable.

Even though at first glance, this proceeding appears simple, upon reflection, quite a few difficulties crop up. The first problem concerns the criteria by which the kadis' scribes identified migrants. When did a person living in the district of Eyüp cease to be an immigrant, and was considered a local? At present no information has been found on this issue, and the contours of the group therefore remain fuzzy. Moreover it would be important to separate out migrants who came to the district of Eyüp for a long period of time — although this long-term residence should not have excluded occasional visits to the village of origin, especially when there was an inheritance to be divided. In addition there may have been people who came to Eyüp annually, for instance to guard gardens and vineyards during the crucial weeks when the crop was ripening. Last but not least, there were the temporary sojourners, the men bringing a petition to court or delivering sheep to the butchers of Istanbul — after all the Edirnekapi area, which even today is crowded with sheep at Kurban Bayramı, formed part of the district of Eyüp. Unfortunately, in many cases it is not possible to differentiate between these categories. The temporary sojourners are relatively easy to distinguish, but the kadis' scribes did not record criteria which permit us to separate seasonal and potentially permanent immigrants. Nor did the Ottoman administrators who drafted the orders intending to control immigration differentiate between the three categories established here: similar to immigration officials in present-day European Community countries, they regarded even the most short-term sojourners as potential immigrants.

On the other hand, not every sale of land on the part of villagers in an often remote province which happened to find its way into the registers of Eyüp constitutes usable evidence of migration. It is of course more than probable that such sales only appeared in the registers if there was some kind of connection with Eyüp. But the connection may have been remote, for instance a buyer whose family originated from a provincial locality, but who had been a resident of the Eyüp district for many years, if not generations. Thus when we find villagers recording the sale of land without there being any reference to a person who was present at the transaction in the Eyüp kadi's court and at the same time, originated from outside Eyüp, we have excluded the case in question.

Migration as recorded in the registers of Eyüp was almost exclusively a male phenomenon. We possess only two references to female migrants, both involving Muslims¹⁶. In one case a woman from Ruse married in Eyüp sold an unused piece of real estate, located in her home town, to another Muslim woman who appeared in person to have the sale recorded. Possibly the buyer was due to travel to Ruse, so that the land would be of use to her. Presumably this was not true in the case of the seller, who may not have expected to return there. The second case is more difficult to interpret: the mother of a five-year old girl, an immigrant from the small Anatolian town of Bartın, stated that the child had not inherited anything from her deceased father, and she herself was unable to feed her daughter. Now a male relative had agreed to provide support for the girl, and for that purpose the mother handed her over to a certain Hatice Hatun, whose relationship to the child is not specified. Possibly the young widow was planning to remarry, and therefore turned over her daughter to the child's paternal family. It is also imaginable that the "poor cousin" growing up in her relatives' household was scheduled to work for her keep, in the manner of the *beslemes* not rare in wealthy Ottoman households. In this case, Hatice Hatun would have been the girl's immediate supervisor.

To what extent this near-absence of women conveys an adequate picture of reality is difficult to say. There must have been slave women in some of the wealthier Eyüp households, who were of necessity immigrants, the enslavement of Muslim or non-Muslim subjects of the Sultan being forbidden by the *seriat*. However the fact that I have been unable to locate any examples of this kind indicates that the number of slave women was probably smaller than it had been for instance in the sixteenth century, an impression which the eighteenth-century Bursa records also confirm. *Beslemes* for the most part also remained invisible in our records. Until evidence to the contrary is found, we will assume that single males predominated among the migrants.

Among the information recorded, our first concern will be with the personal characteristics of the people involved in the transactions or disputes found in the kadis' registers. Names will show whether the person concerned was a man or a woman, a Muslim or a non-Muslim. Moreover the latter fact often is indicated in so many words. Unfortunately it is not possible to distinguish between Greeks and other Orthodox by

¹⁶ *Ibid.*: 185, 15/5; 24,6.

virtue of name alone. Given the importance of Albanian immigration into the region of Istanbul, well attested in other sources, this is a particular difficulty¹⁷. Even though there may well have been some Greeks who resided for a while in Arnavud Belğradi (Berat) or Avlonya and then found their way into the district of Eyüp, we have assumed that people originated from these places were generally Orthodox Albanians. But a margin of error does remain.

Of significance are also the titles by which the kadis' scribes distinguished some of the personages with whom they needed to deal: *efendi* will here be taken to mean "literate gentleman" often a member of the *ulema* or the administration. *Beşe* is more specific, being limited to men associated with one of the military corps, which by the eighteenth century, contained numerous tradesmen and are probably better described as paramilitary. *Ağa* seems to have been used as a title of respect for people without any particular "quality", for instance the servitors of an important household. *Hacıs* and *seyyids* were also present. Unfortunately the kadis' scribes were not in the habit of regularly recording the occupations of the men who appeared before them. But they did so in a large enough number of instances that we can gain an idea of the occupational profile of "our" migrants. In addition, the type of transaction or dispute which caused the record to be made in the first place, the goods transferred (where applicable) and the place of residence (the town of Eyüp, its rural district and *intra muros* Istanbul) have also been recorded. Last but not least, we have distinguished between immigration into the Eyüp region and out-migration, often to Anatolia. These latter cases were frequently due to the fact that officeholders appointed to the provinces, who previously had lived in Istanbul or Eyüp, brought a retinue of "their" men with them. Some of the latter might have originated from Eyüp, while others had migrated there at an earlier stage and found employment in the household of a candidate official, whom they followed to the provinces when he was in fact appointed. In both cases, families were frequently left behind. If it so happened that the servitor died while absent on duty, his inheritance would be settled in the Eyüp kadi's court. Given the closeness of this town to Istanbul and its multitude of office holders, occurrences of this type were relatively frequent.

¹⁷ Robert MANTRAN, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle, Essai d'histoire institutionnelle, économique et sociale* (Paris-Istanbul, 1962): 63.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS AND
 INSERTION INTO THE DISTRICT OF EYÜP

A glance at the map shows that migrants referred to in the Eyüp registers came from a limited number of localities, almost all of them Rumelian. Apart from a Muslim woman from Bartın, an Armenian from Egin (Kemaliye) and a Muslim male from Ereğli (here we have a guess : which of the numerous Ereğlis was intended ?), and a few isolated cases involving İzmit, Kalecik, Küre, and Sivas, Anatolia was not represented at all. Presumably Anatolians were present in *intra muros* Istanbul. But those migrants who sought out the small-town and rural banlieue environment with which we are concerned here must have settled in Üsküdar. Judging from the migrants it attracted, Eyüp can be described as part of the Balkans.

But even within Rumelia, the inhabitants of only a limited number of places seem to have been tempted by the possibilities of Eyüp. The largest group of immigrants, 21 cases in all, came from the town of Izdin (subprovince of Ağrıboz, modern Lamia). Among other well-represented localities were Istarve/Ostrovo (present-day region of Lake Vegoritis near the northern Greek town of Edessa), with twelve cases involving migrants on record. This area was closely followed by the Thessalian district of Yenişehir, sometimes called Yenişehir-i Fener (Larisa), with eleven recorded cases¹⁸. Six cases concerned migrants from Grebeneş, a district presumably corresponding to modern Grebena (Pindus), equally situated in present-day northern Greece, and from Premedi (modern Premeti in Albania). Among other districts mentioned at least three times we find Arnavud Belğradı (Berat), Dibre (district of Ohri, modern Dibar), Gramos (probably identical with the northern Greek Grammos Oros), Gölkesri (Kastorya in northern Greece) and Opar.

Migrants came from such upon a limited number of localities because most of them did not make the long and dangerous trip to Istanbul alone. Not only did migrants normally travel in groups, they also could count on the aid of compatriots when after arrival, they needed to find work in Eyüp or Istanbul. This explains why the migrants from a given place often specialized in a limited number of occupations. Thus the small island of Tinos off Salonica in the eighteenth century sent household

¹⁸ I thank Areti Paschalidou for her help in identifying these localities.

servants to the mainland, while in the years around 1900, as Aziz Nesin has recounted in a memorable chapter of his memoirs, Istanbul gardeners were recruited from a few localities in the district of Şebinkarahisar¹⁹.

One of the oldest types instances of migration concerned the Albanians. Well before the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul, in the first half of the fifteenth century, Albanian migration to Italy involved relatively large numbers of people²⁰. A team of researchers under the direction of Alain Ducellier has shown how the limited agricultural potential of the Albanian mountains, natural calamities, the conflicts among rival local lords and, last but not least, the territorial ambitions first of Venice and later the Ottoman Sultans forced many people to emigrate. Notarial records, widespread in Italy by this period, show the migrants in Venice itself, where the newcomers often were exploited in poorly paying jobs, but also in the region of Ancona and in the south of the peninsula. In the latter region, depopulated by wars and plagues, the Albanians were able to settle in compact villages, and in some of these settlements, Albanian is spoken to this day. By the later sixteenth century, Ottoman records also show Albanians migrating into the Istanbul region, where they found employment as seasonal laborers on farms belonging to wealthy people²¹. Some of them even passed into northwestern Anatolia, and we possess complaints concerning Albanian guards, hired to protect gardens and vineyards, who clashed with the local population. Presumably the servitors of wealthy men, who according to the *adaletnames* of the years around 1600 drove peasants out of lands coveted by this or that powerful person, also consisted at least in part of these immigrants²². A low degree of local integration and a total dependence on their employer should have made migrants from remote places the ideal tool for this kind of violence.

¹⁹ Aziz NESİN, *Böyle Gelmiş, Böyle Gitmez, Özyaşam (Otobiyografi)* (Ankara, 1969): 54.

²⁰ Alain DUCELLIER, ed., *Les chemins de l'exil, bouleversements de l'Est européen et migrations vers l'Ouest à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1992). For a shorter version compare the same author's "Marché du travail, esclavage et travailleurs immigrés dans le nord-est de l'Italie (fin du XIV^e siècle-milieu du XVI^e siècle)" in Michel Balard, ed., *État et colonisation au Moyen Âge*, (Lyon, 1989): 217-250.

²¹ S. Faroqhi, *op. cit.*: 271-272.

²² Halil İNALCIK, "Adaletnameler," *Belgeler* II, 3-4 (1965): 126.

However the Albanians recorded in the registers of Eyüp for the most part seem to have been engaged in more peaceful pursuits. The three migrants from Arnavud Belğradı recorded in our registers worked, one as a gardener, the second as a street paver, while the third was a high court official, namely the Sultan's Stable Master (*mirahor-evvel*). One of the two men from Avlonya was a porter who carried his load on his back (*küfeci*), while among the six men from Premedi, one was a grocer and three, or possibly even four, were gardeners. This mix of occupations is altogether characteristic of immigrant mountaineers not only in Ottoman cities, but in seventeenth- or eighteenth-century France as well. In both these places we encounter agricultural labor, often seasonal, household service in the mansions of the great, including that of the ruler himself (it is tempting to classify at least some of the gardeners in this category), and, in the urban sector, poorly paying unqualified labor.

Gardening constituted one of the more popular occupations among migrants who had recently entered the Eyüp district, possibly because villagers here were able to employ their specific skills²³. Eleven cases have been located, involving three Muslims and eight Christians. In all but three cases, we know where the men in question lived and worked: Two plied their trades in the area of Yenikapı, one near Kadırğa limanı, and one near Edirnekapı; these gardeners must have exploited the silt which had accumulated in former moats and alongside the walls, as can be observed around Mevlevihane Kapısı to the present day. The well-known gardens of Langa were represented by a single case, and so was Bayrampaşa. The remainder were villagers from the rural part of the Eyüp district, who had come in contact with the court while living in Makrihora, Rumelihisar and Azadlı(Terkos).

Certain documents allow us to lift at least a corner of the veil of anonymity covering these modest migrants. Mustafa b Ömer, gardener, who lived in the vegetable garden he had worked, died in this place without known heirs, and the official in charge of seizing heirless property confiscated his effects. But in short order, Molla Osman b Abdi sued the official, demanding the inheritance as a nephew of the deceased. He cited the names of a grandfather and great-grandfather, that he shared with the deceased, and claimed that the family originally

²³ R. MANTRAN, *op. cit.*: 506.

came from a village in the district of Arnavud Belğradı. He was able to provide a number of witnesses to his claim, among them the *kethüda* of the gardeners, all resident in the district of Topkapı, quarter of Bayezid Ağa²⁴. Since these people needed to be knowledgeable about the family relationships between Mustafa b Ömer and Molla Osman, there is a fair chance that at least some of them were themselves immigrants, and we can provisionally put down the quarter of Bayezid Ağa as favoured by immigrants from Arnavud Belğradı.

Mustafa b Ömer died without immediate family. We do not know whether he had never married (he may have been too young or too poor to do so) or whether his family had predeceased him. In other instances we know that gardeners and other men seeking employment came to Eyüp alone, leaving behind a family in their home village. Thus Nikola from the district of Grebeneş had worked as a gardener in the village of Azadlı (Terkos), which a few decades later was to become the site of a major Ottoman gunpowder manufacture²⁵. At his death, Nikola left a widow and a small son back in his home village. His case came to the attention of the court because it was necessary to officially entrust somebody with the property of the deceased, who would take it upon himself to hand goods and money over to the widow. The person accepting this responsibility must have been a native of the same village as the deceased. Since he was called Panayot, just as the deceased's son, it is likely that he was the child's godfather. We do not know if Nikola had come to Eyüp with the intention of working for a short period only, or whether he had counted on having his wife and child follow him once he had established himself.

In most cases, the kadıs' registers do not tell us whether the immigrant gardeners owned the plots they cultivated. But we do have clear evidence that some of these migrants sold land in their home villages, either to relatives or else to unrelated people. These cases are somewhat enigmatic. In some instances land sales may mean that the migrant had succeeded in establishing himself in Eyüp, and harbored no thoughts of eventual return. But the work of Laurence Fontaine on Savoyard migrants, a common sight in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century

²⁴ The existence of a "kethüda of the gardeners" suggests, though it does not prove, the existence of a gardeners' guild.

²⁵ Anaide TER-MINASSIAN, "Une famille d'amiras arméniens: les Dadian," in Daniel Panzac, ed., *Histoire économique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman et de la Turquie (1326-1960)* (Leuven, 1995): 509-511.

Europe, has shown that such transfers of land also might have a totally different meaning: many of these migrants depended on credit provided by fellow villagers, and if business was bad, land might be transferred in lieu of cash²⁶. Given the limited amount of evidence available, it is not at present possible to evaluate the land sales of the migrants to Eyüp.

GROCERS

Among the migrants whose occupation is known, grocers (*bakkal*) constitute the largest category (15 cases). All of them were Orthodox Christians, most of them probably Greek or at least Greek-speaking. In most of our cases, only a single migrant was involved. But in one case, three grocers were recorded in the same document. All three came from Agrafta in the Peloponnese, while in another instance, six of their colleagues were concerned, all of them originating from İzdin (Lamia). But even if we disregard the case of İzdin, the grocers mentioned in the Eyüp registers came from a small number of localities: aside from Agrafta, we find an unidentified locality, Çatalca near İnebahtı/Lepanto (not to be confused with the Çatalca on the outskirts of Istanbul) in addition to Grebeneş, İzdin, Premedi and Yenişehir. Quite a few grocers seem to have come to the Eyüp district from Grebeneş, as three cases are recorded in our registers.

Thus one may surmise that among the Istanbul grocers of that time, natives of İzdin and Grebeneş held an important position. The expression “Istanbul” is here used consciously instead of “Eyüp”, as in almost all the cases in which the residence of the grocers is known, a quarter of Istanbul proper is mentioned: Sultan Mehmed (probably identical with modern Fatih), the region of Kasımpaşa near the dockyards, home of seafaring men, Edirnekapı, Demirkapı, Bahçekapı, Tophane and the Uzunçarşı. Only rarely do we encounter village grocers, one of whom plied his trade in Litros (district of Eyüp).

Of special interest is the transaction involving (at least) six grocers from İzdin, all originating from the same village. They appeared before the court as plaintiffs, and along with them came some fellow villagers established in the Istanbul area who were not grocers — in fact, one of them was a gardener. As the defendant, there appears another grocer and fellow villager, who was accused of having collected twelve purses

²⁶ Laurence FONTAINE, *Histoire du colportage en Europe, xv^e-xix^e siècle* (Paris, 1993).

(*kise*) *para* from inhabitants of the plaintiff's home village, without having been authorized to do so. Unfortunately the text does not tell us what this money was intended for. But recent work on village indebtedness in what is today northern Greece has shown that at least in the seventeenth century, villagers borrowed money as a collectivity to pay their taxes. Contrary to the *şeri'at* rule that debts have to be settled out of the estate and the heirs cannot be made responsible for any amounts remaining unpaid, in the case of these collective obligations, a share in the debt owed by the entire village passed from father to son²⁷. It is tempting to assume that the grocers from İzdin had advanced the money for the taxes of their fellow villagers, and one of the creditors had attempted some kind of fraud. For the alternative would have been that the villagers had ordered goods from Istanbul which they now needed to pay for, which seems altogether less likely.

RELIGION AND OCCUPATION

Nineteenth-century observers have commented on the so-called "ethnic division of labor" which supposedly prevailed in many Ottoman localities²⁸. Particularly with respect to the Balkans, it was often claimed that Turks and Muslims preferred military and administrative positions in addition to agriculture, while non-Muslims dominated the trades and commerce. During the last few decades, particularly the work of Halil İnalcık and Ronald Jennings has shown that this division of labor, whatever its degree of prevalence in the nineteenth century, did not apply in the period down to the seventeenth²⁹. At the end of the fifteenth century, Black Sea trade was mainly in the hands of Muslim merchants, while in the towns of seventeenth-century Anatolia, money-lending was by no means a non-Muslim speciality. But since the period examined here can be regarded as a time of transition between the patterns characterizing

²⁷ Eleni GARA, "Indebtedness of Peasants and its Impact on Agrarian Relations — the Case of the Karaferye District in Macedonia in the Seventeenth Century," paper read at the CIÉPO-congress, Amsterdam, 1995 (to be published).

²⁸ Charles ISSAWI, *The Economic History of Turkey, 1800-1914* (Chicago-London, 1980): 13-14.

²⁹ Halil İNALCIK, "The Question of the Closing of the Black Sea under the Ottomans," *Archeion Pontou*, 35 (1979): 74-110; Ronald JENNINGS, "Loans and Credit in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records, The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XVI, II-III (1973): 168-216.

the “classical period” and the situation obtaining in the nineteenth century, it is of interest to look at occupational patterns in connection with religious allegiance. Unfortunately our data usually do not permit us to distinguish between ethnic communities sharing one and the same religion.

Among the 25 cases in which the occupations of the immigrant Muslims are known, seven involved service of some kind, in the household of an important personage or a pious foundation. Military and administrative positions at various levels were held by seven further migrants: this group included high-level dignitaries such as the Master of the Sultan’s stables we have encountered in a prior context, or the Sultan’s imam and the *çuhadar* of a vizier. But more modest people were also included, such as an ordinary imam, a soldier and a janissary. Agricultural pursuits were well represented: three gardeners and a farmer *cum* merchant fell into this category. This leaves only nine men for the trade and communications sector; several of the latter filled the unskilled jobs normally open to recent migrants. Muslim tradesmen properly speaking were often involved in the trade and preparation of meat: we encounter two kebab sellers, a liver vendor and a butcher; in addition the janissary we have already encountered doubled as a butcher.

In 37 cases, the occupation of immigrant non-Muslims has been recorded. The fifteenth cases concerning grocers and the eight gardeners apart, we find two bakers, three unspecified shopkeepers, two drovers who died as transients in a khan, and miscellaneous artisans who, as far as our documentation is concerned, were alone in representing their craft. This means that the occupational mix did differ significantly for the two groups. But one would need to study other areas of Greater Istanbul, to judge whether this distribution reflected a general trend. Moreover the data presented here show the utility of monographs on some of the more important crafts and occupations, such as bakers, butchers or grocers. Strangely enough, such monographs are virtually non-existent for the period before the nineteenth century³⁰.

While out-migration was very much a minority phenomenon, the men who left the Eyüp area, and usually died while on their travels, also

³⁰ For the nineteenth century monographs on selected trades have been prepared by Donald QUATAERT, compare *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire, 1881-1908, Reactions to European Economic Penetration* (New York, 1983) and *Workers, Peasants and Economic Change in the Ottoman Empire, 1730-1914* (Istanbul, 1993).

merit attention. Thirteen cases are on record, all of them involving Muslims. Eight of the men concerned bore a title; four were *hacı*s, three were known as *ağa* and one was a lower-level military man described as a *beşe*. In three instances the men in question had been travelling to or from Mecca; one may presume that one of them died on the way out and the two others on the return journey, as only two Mecca travellers were given the title *hacı*. In two cases the men who left the district of Eyüp definitely did so because they were in the service of an important man appointed to a provincial position, and this may have been true in certain other instances harder to pin down. It is difficult to draw conclusions from the fact that all the out-migrants were Muslims, for we must assume that some return migration occurred among non-Muslims as well, to say nothing of merchants, other transients and migrant laborers. The easiest way out is obviously to say that the number of cases is too small to permit conclusions. But one may also surmise that Eyüp was dominated by the houses of important personages who awaited their turns at provincial employment, and who possessed significant numbers of Muslim servitors. The problem definitely needs further study.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This preliminary exploration of eighteenth-century migration into the Greater Istanbul area leaves us with a number of observations, whose validity is limited to the short period covered by the registers we have studied. These observations can however be used as the bases of more general hypotheses, which later work may prove or disprove. Thus if we look at the migrants attracted to the Eyüp district, we find that this area formed part of Rumeli and was only marginally linked to Anatolia; for the modest migrants documented here, the Bosphoros seems to have formed a more serious obstacle than one might assume at first glance. Links to the Balkans are also visible in the sizeable number of Christians who migrated to the Eyüp district. Although the town itself, with its important Muslim sanctuary, presumably did not provide many opportunities to Christian migrants, the surrounding villages had possessed significant non-Muslim populations since the sixteenth century at the least, and the latter, in all likelihood, attracted their co-religionists. Moreover the court of Eyüp dealt with quite a few cases involving people whose major activities were located in *intra muros* Istanbul, so

that some of the migrants we have encountered here, particularly the Orthodox grocers, should be regarded as migrants to Istanbul proper, rather than to Eyüp.

Certain relatively small regions seem to have specialized in providing migrants to Eyüp and/or Istanbul. Macedonia constitutes an obvious example, and further to the west, Albania. But the most dramatic case is the region of İzdin/Lamia, an apparently inexhaustible source of grocers. By contrast, the absence of migrants from important towns not too remote from Istanbul is noteworthy: no migrants from Salonica, Athens or Sarajevo, to say nothing of Bursa or İzmir. Of course it is possible that migrants from urban areas preferred *intra muros* Istanbul. But with the evidence we possess to date, one might hazard the guess that migrants came mainly from rural areas, and that the modern tendency of many villagers to move first to a provincial town and only then continue to Istanbul was not typical of the first half of the eighteenth century, at least where the district of Eyüp was concerned.

It comes as no surprise that migrants made use of networks of relatives. Many remained in contact with their home villages, at least to the extent that they sold their property to relatives and neighbors. Even remote places of origin were visited by migrants to Eyüp with a degree of regularity. For when inheritances needed to be conveyed to heirs in the home villages, people could easily be found who would take this obligation upon themselves. One might of course surmise that relatives of the deceased made the trip for the express purpose of settling the inheritance, and this was certainly true in some cases. But given the difficulties and dangers of the journey, the more modest inheritances were probably entrusted to people travelling in any case, for purposes of their own.

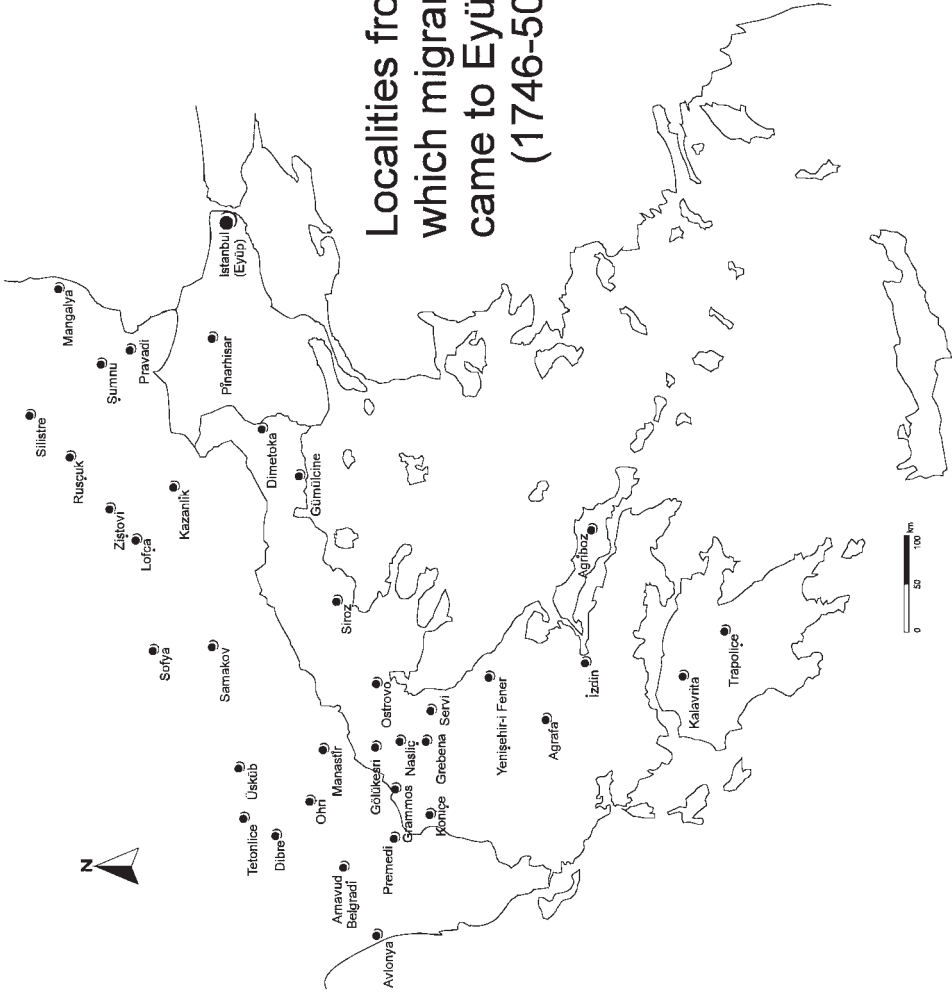
Our data have shown that among migrants from a given locality and/or community, occupational specialities were common. This was linked to the “carving up” of the labor market by groups of immigrants into the Istanbul area. Given the limited resources of most migrants, they would have stood little chance in a competitive labor market of the kind modern economists often envisage. Only if they were able to limit competition in the labor market by ascribing certain kinds of jobs to certain people on the basis of “extraneous” criteria such as residence and/or communal affiliation, did new migrants stand a chance of establishing themselves. It made sense for a grocer from İzdin with a business in the Ottoman capital or Eyüp, to call in his sons and nephews to help him, and ultimately take over the shop.

Moreover eighteenth-century Istanbul guildsmen relied on the notion of the *gedik*, that is the exclusive right to pursue a given occupation in a given locality, much more than had been true of their predecessors³¹. A *gedik* might be difficult to acquire, but once that had been achieved, the very difficulty of its acquisition made it more likely that a son or nephew would follow the occupation of his older relative. Presumably the "communal division of labor" dear to historians of the nineteenth-century Ottoman world, which, to a certain extent, we have encountered among our migrants, must be seen in this context. Apparently the division of labor by communal affiliation was much less marked in the sixteenth or seventeenth century than in the period we are studying here, or *a fortiori* in the nineteenth century. This may be connected with the observation that *gediks* were less important in earlier periods. If Engin Akarlı is right in his contention that *gediks* only became a significant feature of Istanbul artisan life in the second half of the eighteenth century, and the "communal division of labor" also developed roughly during this period, it makes sense to link the two phenomena.

If we can generalize from the observations of Haim Gerber with respect to seventeenth-century Bursa, Ottoman guilds for a long time seem to have retained a certain fluidity. Yet during the "hard times" of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, guildsmen defended themselves by developing the notion of the *gedik*, which restricted the mobility of artisans while giving the masters a degree of protection. In this situation, Muslim and non-Muslim craftsmen often must have regarded each other as dangerous competitors; the revitalization of old stereotypes of exclusion in times of economic difficulty after all is a familiar feature in our present-day world. It is unlikely that *gediks* often passed back and forth between Muslims and non-Muslims, although this is a hypothesis which has not as yet been tested by research. In this setting the "ethnic division of labor" must have developed apace. While these considerations transcend the migration problem properly speaking, part of the latter's fascination lies in the fact that it can be used a mirror, or window, which allows us to perceive a wider social reality.

³¹ Engin Akarlı, "*Gedik: Implements, Mastership, Shop Usufruct and Monopoly among Istanbul Artisans, 1750-1850*," *Wissenschaftskolleg-Jahrbuch* (1985-1986): 223-232.

Localities from which migrants came to Eyüp (1746-50)



Suraiya Faroqhi, *Migration into Eighteenth-Century "Greater Istanbul" as Reflected in the Kadi Registers of Eyüp*

Although eighteenth-century Sultans did their best to prevent migration into Istanbul, the measures taken were only partly effective. Evidence from the mid-eighteenth century kadi registers of Eyüp indicate the presence of numerous migrants, not only in the town proper, but also in the surrounding rural areas. Commercial stock breeding, as well as the cultivation of vegetables and even flowers provided work for newcomers, in business on their own account or else subtenants of wealthy Istanbulis. Migrants came from Rumeli, in present-day terms, from Turkish Thrace, Albania, Bulgaria, Macedonia and northern Greece. Many jobs were held by migrants from a single locality; this indicates the existence of migrants' networks. Division of labour by religion also occurred, although religion was not the only criterion determining who held down which job. All these indicators allow us to assume the existence of a fairly organised migratory movement, as known from reports on nineteenth and twentieth-century Istanbul. In the future, models developed by specialists of contemporary migration may well be useful when we try to make sense of these eighteenth-century phenomena even though we possess only a limited amount of statistical information.

Suraiya Faroqhi, *Les mouvements migratoires vers le « Grand Istanbul » au XVIII^e siècle à travers les registres de kadi d'Eyüp*

Les sultans ottomans du XVIII^e siècle faisaient de leur mieux pour freiner l'immigration vers la capitale. Cependant les mesures de contrôle se sont avérées assez peu efficaces. Une étude des registres de kadi de la bourgade d'Eyüp, proche de la capitale, sur les rives de la Corne d'Or, démontre la présence d'un nombre appréciable d'immigrants. La culture des légumes et des fleurs, ainsi que la fabrication de yaourt, occupaient une main-d'œuvre nombreuse, souvent immigrée. Parmi les cultivateurs, il y avait des gens qui travaillaient pour leur propre compte, mais aussi pour le compte de membres de l'élite stambouliote. La presque totalité des immigrants venait de la Thrace orientale, (c'est-à-dire la Turquie moderne) mais aussi de Macédoine, de Bulgarie, de Grèce du nord et d'Albanie. Une forte proportion des emplois mentionnés étaient détenue par des groupes de personnes originaires d'une seule ville, ce qui démontre l'existence de réseaux d'immigration. Dans certains cas, l'emploi est tributaire de l'affiliation religieuse, mais ce n'est pas le seul critère déterminant la division du travail. Cette situation indique que, tout comme au XIX^e ou au XX^e siècle, Istanbul était le but de migrations bien organisées. Les modèles développés par les spécialistes des mouvements migratoires contemporains nous seraient probablement d'un certain secours dans l'interprétation des phénomènes observés au XVIII^e siècle, même si nous manquons de données chiffrées.