

CRIME & PUNISHMENT
in ISTANBUL
1700-1800

FARIBA ZARINEBAF

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Fariba Zarinebaf



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*To my mother and the memory of my father,
who fought for justice all his life*

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

All the translations of Ottoman sources in the text are my own, and I have tried to remain close to the original text as much as possible. I have used Christian calendar dates when citing documents.

For terms other than common English forms (e.g., *pasha*), I have generally followed modern Turkish orthography. For specific Ottoman terms, I have followed Sir James Redhouse's *Turkish and English Lexicon*, New Edition, Beirut, 1987, for the English transliteration of Ottoman words. For proper names (Turkish and Arabic), I have followed modern Turkish orthography (e.g., *Ayşe*, *Mehmed*).

Pronunciation of modern Turkish letters that are not transliterated in English:

- ç ch, as in *church*
- ş sh, as in *ship*
- ğ unvocalized, lengthens preceding vowel
- ı as in *bird*
- c as in *jam*

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Introduction

A Mediterranean Metropolis

The city drove men to crime!

—BERNARD CHEVALIER, *LES BONNES VILLES DE FRANCE
AUX XIVE DU XVIIÈ SIÈCLE*¹

European travelers, diplomats, and artists left a rich narrative and visual record of daily life and their encounters in the Ottoman capital for a curious and eager audience back home.² For some, Constantinople was the embodiment of Ottoman decline, the violence of the Turk, the decadence of Islam, and the slow pace of European modernity's attempts to gain a firm foothold in Ottoman culture. The Ottoman modernization effort actually started in Istanbul in the late eighteenth century. For the romantic traveler, it was a picturesque Eastern city in the process of decline, with its rich Byzantine and Ottoman heritage and diverse religious, ethnic, and linguistic mosaic. As European women began traveling to the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century, a genre of travel narrative by women developed that was more ethnographic and less biased than previous accounts and that focused primarily on the lives of Ottoman women in the harem, whether imagined or real. It goes without saying that these narratives influenced modern Western perceptions of the Ottomans, their once great imperial capital, and their place in world history.

However, recent scholarship has challenged this paradigm. Following Fernand Braudel's pathbreaking study that incorporated Istanbul as a prominent city into the Mediterranean urban network, André Raymond, Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters offered an alternative method of studying Ottoman and Middle Eastern cities. Instead of categorizing Ottoman cities into Arab and Islamic prototypes that lacked civic institutions and urban autonomy in comparison with European cities, as Max Weber had done, they called for a more flexible and a bottom-up approach that highlighted geographical, socioeconomic, and historical factors. Moreover, rather than looking back at these cities from the nineteenth-

century nationalist and modernist perspective, they emphasized the importance of developments during the transitional seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the different trajectories of each city's integration into the world economy. Thus, they argued that as an imperial port city, Istanbul, unlike Izmir and Aleppo, consumed more than it exported. It would therefore lend itself better to a comparison with its counterparts in Europe like Paris and Venice. Moreover, Istanbul, Aleppo, and Izmir were situated uniquely on the borderlands of the Mediterranean world, with commercial connections to both the East and Europe. Istanbul in particular was the largest hub; Palmira Brummett has recently suggested placing it at the center of the Mediterranean network of commerce (with the East), travel, and warfare.³

Turkish and Western historians have made important contributions to studies of Istanbul's social and economic history during the early modern period, although that history remains largely understudied compared with the examination of the history of Paris, Venice, or London.⁴ Using archival sources, they have studied how the Byzantine capital changed into an Ottoman imperial city and have outlined its administrative and social structure in the early modern period. Art historians have studied the architectural transformation of Istanbul from a Byzantine city to an Ottoman city and later from a traditional Ottoman city to a modern city. But these approaches still center on the role of the Ottoman state in urban life.⁵ Shirine Hamadeh's recent book has attempted to integrate the architectural and social history of Istanbul during the eighteenth century, going beyond the study of the patronage of ruling class.⁶ More recently, a few scholars have paid more attention to the roles of artisans, non-Muslim minorities, women, and European traders in the social and economic history of Istanbul during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁷ Others have studied urban rebellions in Istanbul and the political changes that they catalyzed.⁸ However, they have focused on violence not as an important aspect of daily life but as single moments in the history of the city and the breakdown of law and order. Moreover, with few notable exceptions, the history of Istanbul in the eighteenth century has received very little attention from the historians.

What has been lacking in previous analyses has been a more integrated study of the social history of Istanbul during the transitional eighteenth century that focuses on violence and crime as well as on social control and policing. The eighteenth century was an important transitional and formative period in the history of the city and the transformation of its penal system. This period is significant in setting the stage for many social as well as institutional and legal changes that historians usually associate with the impact of the West and the process of modernization in the nineteenth century. The study of violence and crime not only provides a more nuanced picture of history from below but also sheds an important light on conflicts between various social groups, and the study of policing and punishment sheds light

on the modalities of control and punishment. While scholars of European history have made important contributions to the history of violence and policing in Paris and London, the history of crime in Ottoman cities has been understudied. This book will show that the history of crime and punishment in Istanbul was similar to that of many European cities during the eighteenth century.⁹

ISTANBUL FROM A CRIMINOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Rather than relying on the sensational and exotic accounts of European travelers, this book normalizes the history of Istanbul and places it in the historiography of Ottoman and Mediterranean cities. It examines changes in the city's physical structure and social fabric, crime and violence, and state control through the study of policing and law enforcement. In other words, it shows how the Ottoman state tried to impose a regime of social control and policing in a city that was experiencing rapid urban growth and increased social conflict and crime.

The first and second chapters provide a backdrop for the physical and social transformation of Istanbul during the Tulip Age and analyze continuity and change in the urban fabric between 1650 and 1800. I argue that many of the changes that took place in the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth century can be traced back to the late seventeenth century. This was a long century of wars and large-scale migration from the regions where they were being waged, economic crises, fiscal and administrative reforms under the Köprülü viziers, and urban rebellions. Chapter 1 examines the physical expansion of Istanbul, the social and ethnic landscape of its neighborhoods. This chapter takes the reader through the four districts of Istanbul (Eyüp, Istanbul proper, Galata, and Üsküdar) and their neighborhoods to illustrate their changing social and ethnic composition, to locate crime, and to describe the specific patterns of criminal activity discussed more fully in later chapters. I argue that increasing social polarization in the city during the eighteenth century led to heightened social conflict. While the ruling class and its dependents moved to villages along the waterfront, an underclass crowded into and inhabited the dense neighborhoods in the core areas of Galata, Kasım Paşa, and Mahmud Paşa, where poverty and crime were concentrated. The plague and fires caused more damage in these areas. As the city grew and its economy became more commercial, the rates of petty crimes and crimes against property increased.

Chapter 2 explores how migration into Istanbul swelled the ranks of the city's poor and marginal populations. I focus on the policies of the state in controlling migration, protecting the guilds, and preserving the social order. The state responded by tightening its control over various groups such as artisans and rural migrants through increased surveillance and policing.

Chapter 3 places the 1703 and 1730 rebellions in Istanbul within the larger frame-

work of urban violence and uprisings. The various threads of argument in this chapter continue through the rest of the book. I examine the profiles of some of the participants in these rebellions in the context of Istanbul's political and social history. I argue that these rebellions were the result of political, economic, and social changes that took place between 1650 and 1730. Violence and crime formed the undercurrent of urban life in eighteenth-century Istanbul and exploded in urban rebellions at times of acute social and economic crises.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 explore daily incidents of crime as described in the city's prison and police records, Islamic court documents, and imperial orders, also drawing on the narratives of Ottoman and European authors. The chapters offer a detailed description of crime, with special attention paid to crimes against property, victimless crimes (prostitution and the vice trade), and violent assaults and homicides. Using the records of convicts who were sentenced to penal servitude in the galleys, banishment, or imprisonment, each chapter discusses the nature of these crimes, the backgrounds of those who committed them, and the policies of the state used to punish the criminals. The vice trade and sexual transgressions made up fewer than 5 percent of convictions. Women's transgressions of the moral, religious, and gender boundaries of their communities led to heightened anxiety over the breakdown of order at times of social and political crises. Finally, chapter 6 discusses sexual assault and violent crimes, which included armed theft and robbery. Violent assault was widespread in working-class neighborhoods and formed part of daily life.

The final three chapters examine the state's attempts (through law enforcement and policing) to impose its vision of social order on the burgeoning and diverse population of the capital city. Chapter 8 sheds light on the expansion of policing due to the state's growing concern about rebellion and crime.

No study of the Ottoman vision of urban order in the eighteenth century is complete without a consideration of the relationship between Islamic law and punishment. Chapter 8 discusses the plural legal system and the roles of Islamic and non-Muslim courts as well as the Imperial Council in punishing crime. The Ottoman penal code combined elements of the shari'a (Islamic law), the *kanun* (imperial statutes), and custom or communal traditions (non-Muslim laws). I discuss the authority of the sultan, his officials, and the judge in the prosecution and punishment of crime. The transformation of the Ottoman penal system from one employing corporal and capital punishment, blood money, and fines to one using penal servitude in the galleys, banishment, and imprisonment and from private to public punishment is the subject of chapter 9.

Thus, this study of crime and punishment in eighteenth-century Istanbul addresses the following themes: the impact of socioeconomic changes, long wars, and growing poverty on urban violence and criminality; important institutional changes in modalities of surveillance and policing; and the emergence of a multilayered but

effective legal and policing system to detect and to punish crime more effectively. These eighteenth-century developments not only paralleled those in other Mediterranean cities but also laid the foundation for the reforms of the Tanzimat period and the modernization of the penal system in the Ottoman Empire.

TEXT AND CONTEXT

Historians have used Islamic court records to study Anatolian, Arab, and even Balkan cities. Recently they have started utilizing the Islamic court records of Istanbul to write on various aspects of its social and economic history.¹⁰ I have used a sample of Islamic court records for Istanbul and Galata as well as police records, prison records, surveys, and a rich collection of imperial orders to municipal and local officials. I have also used Ottoman narrative sources like Evliya Çelebi's travelogue (*Seyahatname*) on Istanbul (Book 1 of 10) and Ottoman chronicles that contain information on Istanbul. Exercising some caution, I have complemented Ottoman narratives and archival material with European narrative sources.

The bulk of archival records were produced by state officials in charge of dispensing justice, enforcing laws, and policing. They therefore represent official notions of law, justice, morality, order, and disorder. Much has been written on the limitations and biases of official sources and historical narratives. The official legal discourse from the top or the center, however, was subject to negotiation on a daily basis in the courts as litigants moved among various courts, consulted with more than one legal authority, and appealed to sultanic justice in the Imperial Council. The legal boundaries were porous, and the culture of the courts promoted an open door policy. Moreover, the state constantly consulted with local judges and governors and kept them informed of the processes of legal redress.

Scholars have rightly argued that the Islamic courts were primarily used by members of the middle and lower classes and were not the only arena of dispute resolution.¹¹ The judge was primarily a mediator between the parties and between the state and society, and one of his many roles was to restore the social equilibrium. As Leslie Peirce has shown, many cases were settled outside the courts in sixteenth-century Aintab.¹² In Istanbul, because of rules of procedure, few cases of crime were tried in the courts, although the judge and his staff played an important role in gathering evidence and recommending a sentence to the Imperial Council.

Moreover, legal disputes were only one aspect of the courts' daily activities. The registration of property, loans, property transactions, inheritance, and other issues form the backdrop to the legal disputes and criminal prosecutions. Courts were also used as local councils where local issues having to do with order and security were discussed. Thus, the daily records of the local courts can illuminate the lives of men and women who were involved in crime in ways that police reports alone cannot. The court records also provide a historical lens, a *longue durée* of the lives of the

residents of a given locality. As with any text, the historian must cross-examine the source, balance it with other sources, read between the lines, and extract any information that would shed light on a given case.¹³

In the eighteenth century, real voices from below crept into official records in the form of testimonies and summaries of petitions as well as through a few actual petitions. Imperial orders to local officials usually contained a summary of the petitions submitted by the subjects in writing or in person.¹⁴ A few petitions and intermediate texts have survived and have been utilized in this study.¹⁵ This was primarily an oral legal culture, and attorneys and written records were largely absent. We have to rely on the official view of the scribes and their transmission and translation into legal language of the oral testimonies. The scribe sometimes would quote oral testimonies directly although they would be often translated into a legal language. However, women rarely testified or acted as expert witnesses since the shari'a valued their testimonies less than those of men. However, this is not to deny that women used the courts in large numbers as litigants in civil and criminal cases and made up an important segment of defendants. In addition, women and minorities turned to the Imperial Council for redress.

I have compared Islamic court records with imperial orders, police reports, and prison records to get a more comprehensive view of crime, trials, and punishment. In the eighteenth century, a separate record of convicts and those sentenced to prison and penal servitude in the galleys was kept in the arsenal. The registers contained the name of the convict, the nature and location of the crime, the sentence and details of arrest and release, and the name of the scribe who prepared the report and the court he served. Forced labor in the galleys (*kürek*) can be traced back to the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁶ It was widespread in the Mediterranean world in cities and countries like Venice and France that had large navies. Uriel Heyd and Mehmet İpşirli have found several fragmentary registers for the sixteenth century. I have located short registers for the early eighteenth century and one complete register (more than 1,500 convicts) for 1719–27, just before the Patrona Halil rebellion.¹⁷ The earlier registers are fragmentary and short (fewer than twenty folios).

Caution must be taken in establishing any statistical trends from these documents since systematic records were not kept until the twentieth century and since fires have destroyed many records. Moreover, these records may reflect the rising frequency of crime and conviction as well as the navy's demand for oarsmen at times of war. With the decline of the navy, convicts were kept in fortress prisons in and around Istanbul.¹⁸ Unfortunately, in the absence of Islamic court records of trials, we know very little about the vast majority of convicts and their victims, their motives for committing crimes, the testimony of witnesses, and the outcome of any trials, if these took place at all.

I have tried to lend a voice to the man accused of theft, the woman accused of

prostitution, and the vagabond rounded up and expelled from the city. Many of the chapters begin with an official police report and weave the stories of men and women who were convicted, taking the reader through the streets, workshops, and private and public spaces where crime formed the rhythm of daily life. This book is as much about the social history of eighteenth-century Istanbul as it is about crime and punishment in the Ottoman Empire.

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PART ONE

Political and Social Setting

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Istanbul in the Tulip Age

We arrived the next morning at Constantinople, but I can yet tell you very little of it, all my time having been taken up with receiving visits, which are at least a very good entertainment to the eyes, the young women all being beauties and their beauty highly improved by the good taste of their dress. Our Palace is in Pera, which is no more a suburb of Constantinople than Westminster is a suburb of London. All the Ambassadors are lodged very near each other. One part of our house shows us the port, the city and the seraglio and the distant hills of Asia, perhaps altogether the most beautiful prospect in the world. A certain French author says that Constantinople is twice as large as Paris. Mr. Wortley is unwilling to own it is bigger than London, though I confess it appears to me to be so, but I don't believe it is so populous.

—LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU, *THE TURKISH EMBASSY LETTERS* ¹

Lady Montagu, wife of the English ambassador, wrote these words to her women friends and relatives in England about their trip and her Ottoman friends in Edirne and Istanbul during 1717–18. She was in Istanbul during the Tulip Age (1718–1730), which witnessed a construction boom by Sultan Ahmed III (1703–1730) and his grand vizier and son-in-law, Nevşehirli Ibrahim Pasha (1718–1730). The sultan also demonstrated a great interest in all varieties of tulips and had them planted in gardens everywhere to beautify Istanbul. The Tulip Age (*Lale Devri*) is considered Istanbul's first serious cultural opening up to the West that led to the growing establishment in Pera of a Western European colony, particularly with an increasing population of women.

Lady Montagu was impressed by the quality of life in the European colony of Pera, finding that part of the city more cosmopolitan and the whole city larger than Paris and London.² The Europeans were traditionally confined to Galata and Pera, but some, like Lady Montagu and later Antoine-Ignace Melling, gained access to Ottoman society and intermingled with Ottoman women. Lady Montagu criticized the bias among some of her predecessors and contemporary European visitors, who often painted a negative picture of a declining empire and a capital plagued by disease and fires.³



FIGURE 1. Thomas Allom, *Constantinople [Viewed] from Kasım Paşa*. From *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated*, 2 vols. London: Fisher, Son and Co., 1838.

From European narrative accounts, engravings, and sketches, as well as from Ottoman archival material, an urban society emerges that was not very different from European cities like Paris and London in the eighteenth century.⁴ The growing wealth of the ruling class and its clients was on display in numerous mansions and villas in the suburbs on the waterfront while the poor overcrowded the old neighborhoods. The old city faced similar problems of demographic expansion, congestion, disease, social violence, and crime as well as an emerging culture of “bourgeois civility” and consumption that followed more or less the same trajectory of development as that of some European cities. The city expanded from the walled towns of Istanbul and Galata to north of the Golden Horn and the suburbs along the waterfront (see figure 1).

Greater Istanbul was divided into four districts: Istanbul proper (inside the walls), Galata (inside and outside the walls), Eyüp, and Üsküdar. Separated by the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, each district developed a distinct urban and social character.⁵ The Golden Horn and the Bosphorus divided the city but also connected it to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.⁶ In the popular Ottoman imagination, the district of Istanbul was the “abode of felicity,” where the sultan resided, while Galata inside the walls was the “abode of the infidel” and the “sin city,” where the Europeans resided next to the Ottoman non-Muslim subjects. Galata inside the walls

and the hills of Pera to the north became the hub of Western European trade and diplomacy in the eighteenth century. The city's social diversity was changing as the Europeans gained more freedom to move around and as their gaze turned from Istanbul to the European-like modernity and bustle of Galata and Pera in the eighteenth century. Eyüp and Üsküdar were sleepy districts and more rural in character. The more traditional towns of Üsküdar and Eyüp contrasted sharply with European-influenced Galata, which was also becoming more prosperous, middle-class, and diverse in its social make-up and appearance.

In reality, Istanbul proper and Galata were becoming more socially and physically integrated with the settlement of Muslims in Galata and non-Muslims all over greater Istanbul as well as with the movement of the ruling class from the district of Istanbul to the villages along the Bosphorus. Some neighborhoods inside the walls experienced more congestion and social stratification as evidenced by the high rate of crime in both districts. The European community eventually moved out of the walled town of Galata to the hills of Pera in the north.

ISTANBUL IN THE EUROPEAN IMAGINATION

European diplomats, merchants, and travelers to the Ottoman Empire recorded numerous accounts of their stays in Istanbul in the eighteenth century. The accounts of diplomats and visitors like the Venetian *bailo* (envoy), the French ambassador Marquis de Villeneuve (1728–41), and the British ambassador John Montagu, the fourth Earl of Sandwich (1718–92), focused on Ottoman government and politics, diplomacy, and trade.⁷ Others, like James Dallaway, the chaplain and physician to the British embassy in the late eighteenth century, offered a description of Istanbul and its monuments as well as views of life in Galata and Pera.⁸ Since the society had become more receptive to foreigners, visitors could more fully detail the world they observed. The more colorful accounts written by women like Lady Mary Montagu dealt with the manners and customs of Ottoman women. For example, she commented on their sexual lives and exposed the use of the veil by some Ottoman women as a cover for illicit affairs.

The manners and customs of the denizens of Istanbul became the theme of Western as well as Ottoman painting and travel narratives, which often complemented each other in a single text.⁹ The primary vantage of European artists was the great panorama that featured Istanbul's Byzantine and Ottoman monuments and depicted the beauty and tantalizing mystery of oriental life. The artists' charcoal, oil, and watercolor works were in the style of premodern tourist guides. European artists like the French Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (1671–1737), Antoine-Ignace Melling (1763–1831), and Thomas Allom (1804–1872) illustrated some of these accounts.¹⁰ Other writers commissioned artists to provide sketches for their accounts. For example, Cornelis Galkoen (1696–1764), the Dutch ambassador to the court of



FIGURE 2. Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, *The Scene of a Picnic*, 1726. Courtesy of Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

Ahmed III, commissioned Vanmour in 1726 to paint scenes of embassy receptions to the sublime court and of daily life in Istanbul in the Tulip Age. One painting of a picnic shows janissaries and prostitutes drinking in a public park (see figure 2). A student of Musavvir Hüseyin who was influenced by Vanmour, the illustrious painter of the late seventeenth century Abdülcelil Levni (d. 1732) painted portraits of sultans and a cross-section of Istanbul's residents, including women in their colorful and sexy costumes.¹¹ Under the patronage of Sultan Ahmed III, he also illustrated the festival of 1720 in his *Surname-yi Vehbi* (Book of Festivities), which depicted the sultan, his grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha, and state dignitaries, together with Istanbul's population, watching the parade of guilds, janissaries, and entertainers. Such Ottoman depictions of everyday life differed from what European artists were representing. The Western accounts of the Ottomans became more tame in the eighteenth century with the decline of Ottoman power.¹² Some Europeans, like François Baron de Tott (1733–1793), a French aristocrat and military officer of Hungarian origin who lived in the empire after 1755, and others who imagined it, like Montesquieu (1689–1755), both admired this alien culture and were repelled by the cruelty and despotism of sultans and janissaries relative to victims—slaves, women, and subjects (chiefly Christian) of the empire.¹³ However, the Enlightenment writers were really critiquing the despotism and decadence of the court

of Louis XIV when they focused on the cruelty of harem life in the Ottoman Empire and Persia.

The European accounts and visual representations of harem life and the public bath had a pornographic content that was clearly aimed at the European male.¹⁴ Many commented on the harem they had never visited.¹⁵ The slave market manifested the sexual violence of the Turk against his Christian victim, a theme that became more popular in the nineteenth century. These works were fantasies of Muslim sexuality that reflected the imagination of Western artists, voyeurs, and spectators more than the actual subjects they depicted. These sexually charged scenes fit well with the dramatic setting: a city of minarets, domes, and churches set on seven hills overlooking the blue expanse of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus.

The European fascination with Istanbul was intensified in Orientalist art that developed fully in the nineteenth century as Europe gained the upper hand in Ottoman affairs.¹⁶ Orientalism became a way of thinking, imagining, representing, and writing about the Orient from a position of cultural and political superiority. Istanbul, once the great imperial capital of a powerful empire, was depicted as a city in the process of decline and as picturesque.¹⁷ In Orientalist works, Istanbul was the opposite of London, a city that represented progress, industry, and capitalism in contrast to a decaying Oriental capital. One Italian author, Edmondo De Amicis, equated Ottoman decline with the idleness of the people in Istanbul:

Although at some hours of the day Constantinople has an appearance of industry, in reality it is perhaps the laziest city in the world. Everybody gets up as late as possible. Even in summer, at an hour when all our cities are awake, Constantinople is still sleeping. . . . Then there are the holidays: the Turkish Friday, the Jewish Sabbath, the Christian Sunday, the innumerable Saints' days of the Greek and Armenian calendar, all scrupulously observed. . . . Every day one or the other of the five peoples of the great city goes lounging about the streets, in holiday dress, with no other thought than to kill time. The Turks are masters of this art. . . . Their idleness is the real thing, brother to death, like sleep, a profound repose of all the faculties, a suspension of all cares, a mode of existence quite unknown to Europeans.¹⁸

Many Europeans, however, appreciated the relatively slow pace of life in Istanbul, its colorful mosaic of ethnic groups, and its slow integration into the modern world. Its air of leisure certainly attracted many European visitors to the city and the villages on the Bosphorus. Places like Galata and Pera offered a shared space of coexistence and intermingling for the Europeans as well as the non-Muslim and Muslim subjects of the empire.¹⁹

The Ottoman ruling class was equally becoming interested and curious about life in Paris, London, and other European cities. Ottoman envoys to Europe collected information on European progress and reported back to Istanbul. For ex-

ample, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi, the Ottoman envoy to France in 1720, described French palaces like Versailles as well as gardens, factories, and canals in Paris and in the towns he visited in his embassy report that he submitted to Sultan Ahmed III upon his return.²⁰ He brought back engravings and plans of Versailles and other palaces from Paris that influenced the construction of Ottoman palaces and other buildings. In addition, European military advisers were hired to modernize the Ottoman military and establish military academies in Istanbul in the late eighteenth century.

Ottoman women were becoming more curious about European women and culture. Antoine-Ignace Melling became the imperial architect to the Ottoman princess Hadice Sultan (1768–1822) and designed her palace and its interior decoration as well as a European garden in the form of a labyrinth in the late eighteenth century. Melling also purchased European goods for Hadice Sultan and taught her the Latin alphabet.²¹ Melling's beautiful sketches of the newly built mansions along the waterfront clearly exhibit the influence of French neoclassical, baroque, and rococo styles used in the construction, decoration, and furnishings of the palace of Hadice Sultan and those of other dignitaries in Istanbul.²² The influence of European fashion among the palace women is also evident in Melling's sketches. However, the adoption of European fashion by the Ottoman elite and particularly by women invited religious scrutiny. The conservative ulema placed bans on European fashion worn by non-elite Ottoman women in public.

PATRONAGE OF PLEASURE

*Come, let's grant joy to this heart of ours that founders in distress:
Let's go to the pleasure gardens, come, my sauntering cypress.
Look, at the quay, a six-oared boat is waiting in readiness—
Let's go to the pleasure gardens, come, my sauntering cypress.*

—NEDIM, "SONG," IN HALMAN, *NIGHTINGALES AND PLEASURE GARDENS*

Seeking pleasure was not new among the Ottoman ruling class but its public expression was. What was novel were the public displays of pleasure among upper-class Ottomans, material wealth, royal grandeur, and the growing visibility of Ottoman women in public spaces. Tulip gardens, public fountains and parks became the foci of social interaction, illicit sexual activities, and recreation for the Ottoman elite as well as middle-class men and women (see chapter 5). The trend signaled an intensified sense of leisure among the ruling class and the public at large.²³

The private funds of the royal household, drawn largely from extensive tax farms and pious and religious foundations, supported the greater portion of these public and private projects (see chapter 3).²⁴ The Ottoman ruling class invested its wealth in the construction of waterfront palaces, kiosks, tulip gardens, public fountains, and parks that closely resembled the Safavid (1501–1722) royal parks and kiosks in Is-

fahan and the royal gardens in Versailles.²⁵ Social gatherings known as *helva* feasts were held in the waterfront palaces; during these courtly men and women enjoyed poetry, music, philosophical discourse, and the serving of *helva* (sweet paste).

The craze of sultan Ahmed III (1703–1730) and his grandees for tulips led to the importation of enormous quantities of bulbs from Iran and Holland, which created a huge inflation in the flower markets of Istanbul. Tulips of every variety and color appeared in public parks and royal gardens and as a motif in tiles, paintings, and textiles. The state placed a maximum price of fifty *kuruş* on tulip bulbs and ordered the kadi of Istanbul to prepare a register of their variety and price in 1730.²⁶ In the seventeenth century, the importation of tulips from the Ottoman Empire into Holland had created an age of Tulip mania that lasted from 1634 to 1637 and led to a financial crash in the tulip market.²⁷ The high demand for tulip bulbs in Istanbul a century later created a similar situation. Ahmed III ordered the kadi of Istanbul to banish anyone who sold tulip bulbs above the maximum price or exported them from Istanbul. The sultan and his grand vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, spent so much time in tulip festivals during the spring season that the French ambassador, Villeneuve, had a hard time getting an audience with the grand vizier to conduct business.²⁸ The French ambassador had to turn to Ibrahim Pasha's wife, the powerful Ottoman princess Fatma Sultan, to get the attention of the grand vizier. The sultan held the spring festival under the moonlight in the famous tulip garden in the fourth court of the Topkapı Palace every year. Row upon row of tulips of many varieties and colors were displayed with tiny lamps of colored glass that accentuated the color of the tulips in the garden. Guests were required to dress in colors harmonious with those of the tulips.²⁹

A new age of consumerism and celebrations was manifesting itself. Ahmed III marked with great pomp each birth, circumcision, and wedding of his twenty-two sons and twenty-five daughters born to his fourteen favored concubines as well as the events of his nieces.³⁰ The marriage of the princesses to high-ranking officials was common in the eighteenth century. Fatma Sultan, the five-year-old favorite daughter of Ahmed III, married Silahdar Ali Pasha in 1709 in a ceremony that spared no expense. The sultan also celebrated the military conquest of his grand vizier and son-in-law, as when he commemorated the victory of Silahdar Ali Pasha in the Morea with a week-long royal festival in Istanbul and Edirne in 1715. After the death of Ali Pasha, Nevşehirli Ibrahim Pasha married Fatma Sultan in 1717 and became the grand vizier, gaining more power and prestige as the sultan receded into the background.³¹

The grand vizier was the absolute deputy of the sultan and represented his political as well as executive authority. He was the head of the bureaucracy and the army. The grand vizier also issued orders bearing the sultan's seal and signet. All petitions and appointments had to be submitted to him first. In the eighteenth century, the grand vizier met with foreign ambassadors and negotiated treaties at his headquarters, the Sublime Porte.

Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha and his wife, Fatma Sultan, played an important role in the urban development of Istanbul through the institution of Islamic pious and charitable foundations.³² They built schools, mosques, libraries, and public fountains from the endowed revenues of urban and rural properties in Istanbul and elsewhere.³³ Ibrahim Pasha also built palatial mansions in Besiktaş (Çırağan Palace) and Kağıthane (Sadabad Palace) from his private funds and revenues from tax farms. Islamic pious and charitable endowments (*vakfs*) had an important part in the development of Istanbul and other Ottoman cities. Members of the ruling class as well as Ottoman queen mothers and princesses endowed revenues from urban and rural properties for the construction and expenditures of mosques, schools, libraries, soup kitchens, hospitals, hospices, and fountains in Istanbul and other cities. Pious and charitable foundations were exempt from taxation and confiscation by the state since they provided religious, charitable, and public services from private revenues in perpetuity.³⁴ The sultan, his favorite grand vizier, and his daughters as well as members of the ruling class launched a building and cultural effort that enhanced the physical landscape of Istanbul and encouraged settlement in the new neighborhoods along the waterfront.

THE ETHNIC MOSAIC

The city that is now Istanbul was founded as Byzantium, an ancient Greek city, in 667 B.C. In 330 A.D., the Emperor Constantine I established it as the capital of the Roman Empire, and it was called Nova Roma or New Rome since it was built on seven hills, resembling Rome. The city was renamed Constantinople after the emperor's death in 337. It served as the capital of the Roman Empire (330–395), the Byzantine Empire (395–1204 and 1261–1453), the Latin Empire (1204–1261), and the Ottoman Empire (1453–1922). Because of its location on the Strait of Bosphorus between the natural harbor known as the Golden Horn and the Sea of Marmara, the city functioned as a bridge between Asia and Europe.

The city underwent many changes through a series of conquests. The Latin crusaders breached the sea walls along the Golden Horn and took the city by force in April 1204. They sacked Constantinople, looted its treasures, and took its relics to Western Europe. Next, Michael Palaeologus captured the city and restored the Byzantine Empire in 1261. The city slowly recovered but never reached its former glory. The Ottomans tried unsuccessfully to capture the city in 1422. Mehmed II then laid siege to the city from April to May 1453 in an attack that lasted fifty-four days. Finally, on May 29, 1453, the Turkish forces breached the sea walls with cannon fire and stormed the city. Constantine XI, the last Byzantine Emperor, was killed during battle. The Ottoman forces sacked Constantinople and caused so much destruction that Mehmed II had to stop them on the second day of looting.

The aim of the Ottoman conqueror was to turn the former Byzantine capital into

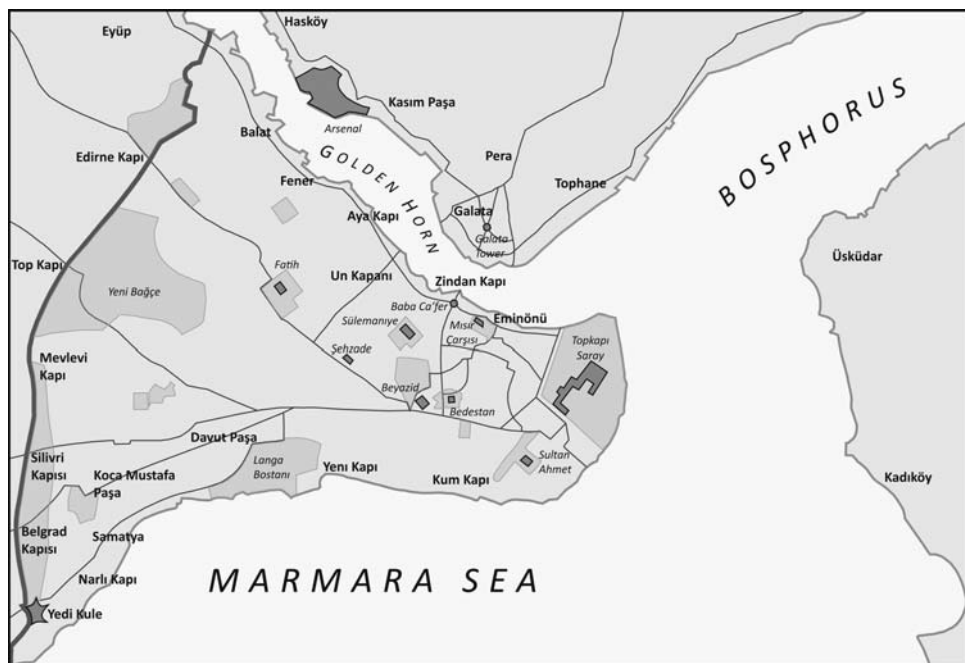
an Islamic-Ottoman imperial city that would surpass its former glory.³⁵ Mehmed II ordered members of the ruling class to rebuild Constantinople and by force settled Greeks, Armenians, and Turks from Anatolia and Thrace in the city. He also settled many Jews from Edirne in Istanbul. Many Jewish refugees fleeing Spain and Portugal were invited to settle in Istanbul later in the fifteenth century (see chapter 2). Mehmed II also converted six churches, such as Hagia Sophia, into mosques and one into a college and built pious and religious foundations around them to attract Muslim settlers.

The Ottoman resettlement policies enhanced the city's diversity and demographic growth, although initially many Greeks and Latins either lost their lives in battle during the siege or fled. The new Turkish and Muslim settlers prevailed numerically by a small margin over the Christian population in the district of Istanbul (see chapter 2). Galata inside the walls remained predominantly Christian although Muslims were settling inside and outside the walls. The shari'a recognized and protected the confessional and cultural rights of Christians and Jews since they were "people of the book." They maintained their confessional and legal autonomy as long as they recognized the political authority of the sultan and the supremacy of the shari'a and paid the poll tax. The poll tax was a head tax imposed on non-Muslim households in return for protection and autonomy. It was collected as a lump sum from the community, but its amount varied according to the level of income of each household (high, middle, low). The very poor could win exemption from the poll tax.

Mehmed II centralized the administration of non-Muslim communities by setting up their religious heads (the Greek and Armenian patriarchs) in Istanbul. The legal autonomy of various religious communities notwithstanding, there was much overlapping in their legal administration among the kadi courts, the Imperial Council, and the non-Muslim religious courts—if they existed in the early modern period (see chapter 8).

Non-Muslim communities were required to obtain official permission to rebuild and repair their places of worship. As they gained economic and social status, they were more successful in obtaining official permission to repair and build churches and synagogues in new neighborhoods.³⁶ The Europeans too were able to build Catholic churches in Galata and gain converts, particularly among the Armenians, in the eighteenth century. For example, after a great fire in 1721, the Dominican community in Istanbul was able to obtain permission to repair the three convents of St. Pietro, St. Georgio, and St. Benedetto (Benoit) in Pera.³⁷

But this construction invited scrutiny from Muslim neighbors and other religious leaders, who from time to time demanded that the state expel non-Muslims. The state usually supported the Muslim claims relative to the encroachment of Christians in neighborhoods and around mosques and placed bans on the building of non-Muslim houses.³⁸ Despite these bans, in the eighteenth century many prosperous Muslims, Jews, Greeks, Albanians, and Armenians lived in Galata and



MAP 1. Istanbul. Cartography by Paul Kaldjian, based on Mantran's maps of Istanbul (1962).

Pera and in villages along the Bosphorus such as Ortaköy and Arnavutköy. Even a district like Eyüp with its sacred symbolism for Muslims housed a large Muslim majority and a small number of Armenians, Greeks, and Jews at that time.³⁹ In business districts, Muslim and non-Muslim artisans often worked together as members of the same guild.

Residential quarters developed around a mosque, church, or synagogue, although many neighborhoods remained socially and ethnically mixed. Each district was headed by a *kadi* (Islamic judge) and his deputies, a *subaşı* (chief of day police), and a market inspector (see chapter 7). The subdistricts were administered by the deputy judge and his staff. These subdistricts were further divided into several *mahalle* (quarters) that were usually headed by a local imam (leader of Friday prayer). Each neighborhood in a subdistrict was self-contained and was locally administered. A group of local notables and non-Muslims in every quarter helped the imam and the *kadi* or his deputies in their daily tasks. The residents were responsible for the collection of garbage and for hiring men from the fire brigade to put out fires.⁴⁰ They helped pay taxes, maintain security, and protect the neighborhood against crime. Gates often closed off some neighborhoods at night, and the police imposed a night curfew after the evening prayer. There was no street

lighting until the mid-nineteenth century, and anyone who ventured out at night had to carry a lantern.⁴¹

The contemporary European sketches and maps highlighted the densely populated districts of Istanbul and Galata on both shores of the Golden Horn in contrast with the less populated districts of Eyüp and Üsküdar. The expansion of the city took place beyond the walls to the north of the Golden Horn in Eyüp, to the hills of Pera north of Galata, and to the villages along the Bosphorus (see map 1).

THE SACRED TOWN: *EYÜP*

Eyüp is located on the upper reaches of the Golden Horn, outside the walls of Istanbul. The district developed around the tomb of Şeyh Ebu Ensari, the patron saint of the city and a companion of the Prophet who led the first Muslim siege of Constantinople (674–78), according to legend. The mystical leader Şeyh Ak Şemseddin, who accompanied Sultan Mehmed II during the conquest, discovered the tomb. Sultan Mehmed II later set up an Islamic pious and charitable foundation around the tomb: a mosque with two minarets, a large Islamic religious school, and a soup kitchen. As the third-most sacred site in the empire (after Mecca and Medina), it developed into a major pilgrimage center and burial site for the Ottoman elite and religious dignitaries. In addition, Eyüp's vast and scenic cemeteries contained the tombs of leading religious figures and Ottoman dignitaries. Members of the Ottoman dynasty regularly paid visits to Eyüp during religious festivals. The girding of a new sultan took place in Eyüp as well.⁴²

Eyüp also served as the bread basket of greater Istanbul. Greek, Armenian, Albanian, and Bulgarian grocers and gardeners supplied vegetables and fruits from its vast gardens and orchards to the rest of the city during the eighteenth century.⁴³ The Beylik farm supplied fresh milk and yogurt for the palace; local vineyards produced wine.⁴⁴ In addition, Armenians worked in forty-two pottery workshops in the Defterdar neighborhood.⁴⁵ Rural migrants from the Balkans also settled in Eyüp and supplied the city with foodstuff and seasonal workers.⁴⁶

Eyüp's sweet springs, meadows, gardens, and orchards gave it a rural character and made it a favorite location for summer residence. The beautiful meadow of Kağıthane that overlooked the Golden Horn was on the road to Eyüp and was a favorite spot for Friday picnics and fishing.⁴⁷ Nedim (1681–1730), a poet of the Tulip Age, praised the gardens and the sweet waters of Kağıthane as a spot for lovers.⁴⁸ Members of the Ottoman dynasty built summer mansions and palaces in Eyüp. It was there that in 1721 Nevşehirli İbrahim Pasha built the Sâdabad Palace for Ahmed III, where the sultan and his grand vizier held many banquets and festivities. Sultan Selim III (1789–1807) endowed and built a mosque-tomb complex for his mother, Mihrişah Sultan, there. However, among the more conservative residents of Istanbul, Kağıthane became synonymous with ruling-class decadence and moral decline.

THE ROYAL DISTRICT: *ISTANBUL*

The triangular peninsula, the old city of Constantinople and Istanbul proper, was bounded on the west by the Theodosian walls (seven kilometers in length) built by Theodosius II in the first half of the fifth century A.D., by sea walls on the north and along the Golden Horn, and by the Sea of Marmara on the south. The city walls had twenty-seven gates that opened into several neighborhoods.⁴⁹ The district of Istanbul had fifteen subdistricts; each was named after a mosque complex, and each was divided into several quarters in the late seventeenth century.⁵⁰ The quarters did not spread beyond the walls, and the population within was dense.⁵¹ Harbors and bays rimmed by fishing villages and wooded orchards dotted the shores of the Bosphorus.⁵²

The Greek communities lived along the seacoast in Kum Kapı, Samatya, and Fener. The headquarters of the Greek Orthodox patriarchate had been located in Fener since 1601. Members of the Greek Phanariot community carried out trade on the Black Sea, supplied dragomans (translators) to the Porte, and were appointed as princes of Moldavia and Wallachia. The Jewish community lived mainly in Balat and Ayvan Sarayı along the left bank of the Golden Horn in the eighteenth century (see chapter 2).⁵³ The Armenians and the gypsies lived by the western wall in Sulu Kule and Samatya. The headquarters of the Armenian patriarchate was in Samatya. The Greek Orthodox and Armenian patriarchs were appointed by the sultan with extensive rights to administer the religious, legal, and cultural affairs of the Greek Orthodox and Armenian communities throughout the empire.

The district of Istanbul contained the Topkapı Palace, the Hippodrome, the Friday mosque of Aya Sophia, and the Grand Bazaar. The Topkapı Palace complex, the private residence of the Ottoman dynasty and the center of government, stands on the first hill at the eastern tip (Saray Burnu) of the peninsula. Mehmed II built the palace over parts of the Great Byzantine Palace and the Acropolis in 1479.⁵⁴ Enclosed by walls and divided into four courts, the Topkapı Palace contained public buildings where government business was conducted. The Topkapı Palace housed more than 6,000 people, of whom 500 were women, in the late eighteenth century, according to some accounts.⁵⁵

The first court of the Topkapı Palace, also called the janissaries' court, contained military installations, the armory, the mint, and the Executioner's Fountain, where the executioner washed his hands after beheading high officials. The second court contained the Imperial Council, which functioned as a cabinet and a higher court of appeals (see chapter 8); the Inner Treasury; the Public Records Office; the grand vizier's office; and the palace kitchens (ten spacious rooms) that served food for several thousand people daily in addition to the poor. The executioner's room with a small prison was at the gate of the second court. The third court contained the

Throne Room, where the sultan received officials, petitioners, and foreign ambassadors; the Pavilion of Holy Mantle, where the relics of Prophet Muhammad were preserved; the Privy Chamber; the Campaign Chamber; the Treasury Chamber; the palace school, the mosque of the janissary agha (head of the janissaries), and the library of Ahmed III.

The imperial harem, the tulip garden of Ahmed III, and kiosks were located in the fourth court, the center of the private life of the sultan and his family, which overlooked the Sea of Marmara.⁵⁶ The imperial harem was a vast building that occupied parts of the second and third courts and had more than three hundred rooms that housed several hundred female members of the dynasty, Ottoman princes, and their large staff headed by the chief black eunuch.⁵⁷

The Topkapı Palace was used as the royal winter residence in the eighteenth century. Sultan Ahmed III commissioned a public fountain across the outer (Bab-i 'Ali) gate of the Topkapı Palace, added a library to the palace, and restored several buildings such as the Imperial Hall, the dining rooms (the fruit room), and the petition chamber. Persian decorative floral patterns and the French rococo style marked the new additions to the palace made by Ahmed III, Abdulhamid I, and Selim III in the eighteenth century.

Adjacent to the Topkapı Palace was the Friday mosque of Aya Sophia and the former Byzantine Hippodrome. The Hippodrome was the ancient ceremonial center and the public square. Built by Emperor Setemius Severus in 1203, it was later extended and remodeled by Emperor Constantine the Great. It contained obelisks and columns, three of which still stand today; the Ibrahim Pasha Palace (grand vizier of Sultan Süleyman); and the mosque of Sultan Ahmed I (the Blue Mosque).⁵⁸ Due to its function as a ceremonial center and location, many riots began in the Hippodrome in ancient (532 A.D.) and Ottoman times (see chapter 3). Under the Ottomans, it was renamed At Meydanı and continued to function as the ceremonial center. Processions, military drills, and public festivals celebrating the birth and circumcision of Ottoman princes and the birth and wedding of princesses took place in the Hippodrome. The janissary barracks (old and new rooms) and the Et Meydanı (meat square), where janissaries received their meat ration, were located on Divan Yolu and near the Hippodrome. The rebels used the Hippodrome as their base in 1703 and 1730 (see chapter 3).

The commercial hub of the city was located very close to the Hippodrome and the Topkapı Palace. The Divan Yolu (*via ignatia*) branched out in several directions from the Hippodrome and connected the area to the mercantile center of the city, the Grand Bazaar and its surrounding residential and commercial districts on the one side as well as the Egyptian Market and the port (Eminönü area) on the other side on the Golden Horn. Most of the 3,667 shops, numerous *hans* (guest houses) and caravanserais, mosques, *medreses* (Islamic seminaries), hospitals, and hospices

were part of the Fatih, Bayezit, Süleymaniye, and Turhan sultan imperial pious and charitable (*vakf*) foundations that were built during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in this district.⁵⁹

In addition, the shipment, provisioning, and distribution of foodstuff and raw materials took place in the port area on the Golden Horn, where ships from all over the empire and the Mediterranean ports anchored. The Un Kapanı (flour depot) and Yemiş iskelesi (fruit scale) distributed flour to bakers at government-set prices and fruits citywide. In the marketplace various religious communities mingled together, carried out business, and belonged to the same guilds. As would be expected, this area also became a center of crime due to its commercial wealth and social diversity.

The district of Istanbul was under stricter government control than the rest of city because the Topkapı Palace, the main residence of the sultan and his family, was located here. The administration of the city was under numerous officials: the grand vizier and his retinue of janissaries, the chief kadi (Islamic judge) of Istanbul, the chief inspector of markets, the chief of night police, the chief of day police, the *agha* (commander) of janissaries in Istanbul, and the head of the palace guards (see chapter 7).

THE EUROPEAN HUB: GALATA

Galata and Pera, on the opposite side of the Golden Horn from the district of Istanbul, were the hub of Western European trade and the center of diplomacy, finance, entertainment, and European residence in the early modern period. The walled town of Galata was a former Genoese colony, part of the Italian trading settlement on the Black Sea during Byzantine times. Galata had gained full autonomy because of its alliance with the Byzantine Empire against Venice during the restoration of Byzantine rule in 1261. It also had lent financial and military support to Byzantine forces during the Ottoman siege of March–April 1453. Some merchants had collaborated with the Ottoman army and handed the keys of the city to Mehmed II two days after the fall of Constantinople.⁶⁰ Because of its timely surrender, Galata survived as a distinct city within a city under the Ottomans.

The Ottoman sultan had rewarded the colony by granting capitulations to Genoa and partial autonomy to the town. The treaty provided the Genoese colony with religious and commercial freedom, security, and protection of property as well as exemption from extraordinary taxes, forced labor, and residents' service in the army. The colony also received the right to elect freely a person to represent its interests before the sultan. In return, the residents had to agree not to build new churches or ring their bells too loudly.⁶¹ These privileges were later granted to other Italian city-states and western European nations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Mehmed II divided the community in Galata into two groups, the non-

Muslim Ottoman subjects who paid the poll tax and the subjects of Genoa who resided temporarily in Galata for commerce. The first group of non-Muslim subjects (*zimmi*s) included Greeks, Jews, Armenians, and some Genoese. The second group, defined as protected non-Ottoman merchants, received the freedom to trade in return for payment of customs dues. Both groups enjoyed distinct legal and religious autonomy.

To establish Ottoman control over Galata, Mehmed II razed some of the land walls and kept the sea wall intact.⁶² However, the walls were restored by his son Sultan Bayezid II (1481–1512). The Galata tower (100 feet high and 50 feet in diameter) functioned as a fire-watch facility, a prison for indebted merchants and slaves, and a storage place. Galata was divided into three wards separated by inner walls that still stood in the seventeenth century. Its sea walls and inner walls had eleven outer gates and six inner gates opening into different neighborhoods.⁶³

Galata inside the walls was a densely populated subdistrict with 200,000 non-Muslim and 64,000 Muslim residents in its eighteen Muslim, seventy Greek, two Armenian, one Jewish, and three Frankish quarters in the seventeenth century.⁶⁴ The Jews lived predominantly in the village of Hasköy outside the walls, a dependency of Galata on the right bank of the Golden Horn.⁶⁵

In the fifteenth century, Galata had eleven Catholic and nine Greek Orthodox and Armenian churches and only two mosques. However, the number of mosques had increased to twelve inside and around the walls of Galata by the sixteenth century.⁶⁶ Many Moriscos fleeing Spain had settled in Galata and had converted the Dominican church of Mesa Domenko into Arab Cami'i in the early sixteenth century. There were also two Mevlevi lodges in Galata and Beşiktaş that housed the Mevlevi Sufis. In the eighteenth century, as more non-Muslims settled in the district of Galata, the number of Greek churches in the district of Galata rose to forty despite an earlier ban on church construction.⁶⁷ Additionally, Western European nations were again able to restore and build new Catholic churches according to the Treaty of Carlowitz and as their commercial presence grew after 1699.

Holland, France, and Great Britain negotiated commercial treaties that granted them extraterritorial rights, freedom of trade, lower customs duties (3 percent), and legal immunity. France succeeded Venice as an exporter of silk textiles and other luxury goods.⁶⁸ Capitulations granted to France in 1740 also protected the Catholic community and led to an increase in French missionary activity in the eighteenth century. The number of French residents increased from forty in 1682 to 175 in 1719.⁶⁹ The growing French community resided in the neighborhood of Bereketzade. European embassies moved to the vineyards of Pera to the north of Galata in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their palaces had a large staff and retinue that employed many people. The French embassy even contained a church, a law-court, a printing press, and a prison.⁷⁰ The British embassy built summer residences in villages along the Bosphorus in Büyükdere and Tarabya.

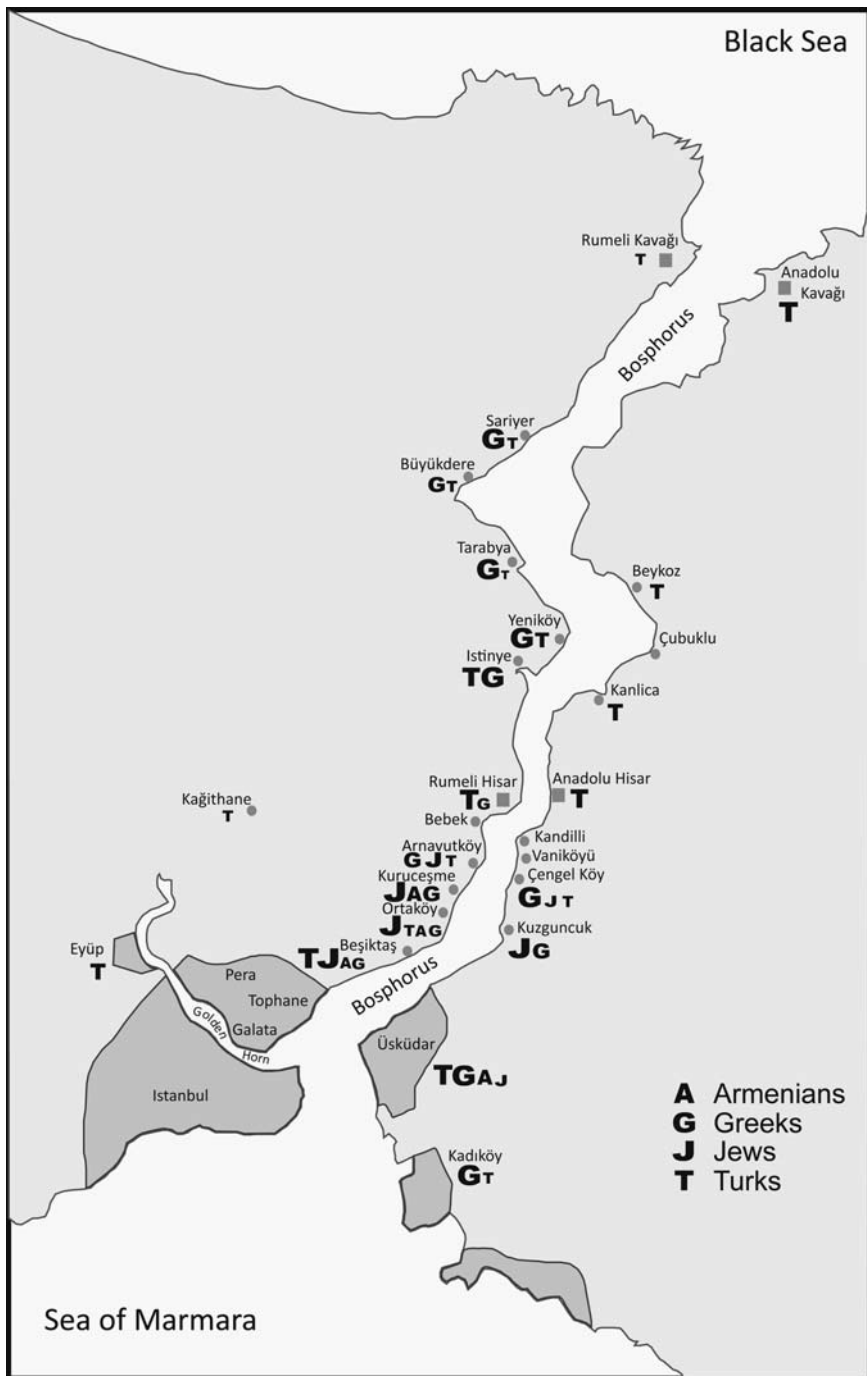
Galata became an important commercial and financial center where many wealthy Armenian and Jewish merchants operated as agents for the European nations and as bankers for members of the ruling class, including tax farmers and janissaries.⁷¹ European goods cleared through the marina of Galata, where ports, warehouses, shops, custom houses and workshops were located on the waterfront in Karaköy, Mumhane, and the Azap Kapı. Galata had a covered market with twelve domes, 3,080 shops, twelve major houses of commerce, *hans*, and a wheat depot that belonged to Greeks and Franks.⁷² The arsenal and shipyard in Kasım Paşa and the gunpowder factory and cannon foundry in Tophane were the military-industrial sector of Istanbul and employed many workers and galley slaves.

Galata inside the walls also contained the red-light district of Istanbul, with many brothels and taverns along the harbor catering to sailors, merchants, janissaries, and a large number of single and working-class men who resided in bachelors' rooms (see chapter 5). Evliya Çelebi (1611–89), the well-known Ottoman traveler and resident of Istanbul, counted two hundred houses of ill repute and taverns along the seashore walls in the mid-seventeenth century; these were operated by Greeks and Jews, each serving a clientele of five hundred to six hundred Muslims and non-Muslims in the middle of the seventeenth century.⁷³ Serving alcoholic drinks to Muslims was forbidden by the shari'a, but many Muslim visitors took respite from the watchful gaze of neighbors and local officials when they frequented the many taverns and brothels in the winding alleys of Galata and along the harbor of Kasım Paşa.

Galata was the most crime-ridden area of the city, requiring greater policing. Mehmed II appointed a chief kadi, *subaşı* (police chief), and *voyvoda* (mayor) to oversee the affairs of residents.⁷⁴ The chief kadi of Galata was the most important official and reported directly to the sultan. His deputies held court in the subdistricts and worked closely with the heads of non-Muslim communities. The *voyvoda* was appointed by the sultan, functioned like the mayor, and worked with the chiefs of day and night police. The market inspector controlled weights and scales and supervised prices. The *agha* of janissaries held law and order particularly in red-light district, where brawls occurred frequently (see chapter 7).⁷⁵ The non-Muslim and European communities had their own officials and representatives who worked with the kadi and police officials to maintain law and order.

The population of Galata inside the walls dispersed as time went on to the villages on the European shore of the Bosphorus like Beşiktaş, Ortaköy, and Bebek that were mixed in ethnic and social makeup (see map 2). All these villages were ethnically, religiously, and socially mixed. Beşiktaş had, in addition to a Muslim majority, one Greek and one Jewish quarter, six thousand summer houses, and many gardens belonging to notables and grandees.⁷⁶

The sultan and members of his household, particularly the princesses, constructed palaces and mansions along both shores of the Bosphorus, visible symbols of conspicuous consumption. The Çırağan Palace, built by Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha,



MAP 2. Villages along the Bosphorus Identified by Ethnic Populations. Cartography by Paul Kaldjian, based on Mantran's maps of Istanbul (1962).

and the Dolmabahçe palace as well as Yıldız Palace were located in Beşiktaş. Ortaköy was inhabited predominantly by Greeks, Armenians, and Jews.⁷⁷ The palace of Hadice Sultan (1768–1822), daughter of Mustafa III (1757–74), in the Defterdar neighborhood is the most famous.⁷⁸ Ottoman princesses Beyhan Sultan (1765–1824) and Esma Sultan the elder (1726–88) also owned palaces in Ortaköy and Bebek.

THE ASIAN HUB: ÜSKÜDAR

On the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, the district of Üsküdar was a smaller settlement of five subdistricts known for its cypress groves, peaceful villages, cemeteries, and carved tombstones.⁷⁹ Üsküdar was a well-populated district with seventy Muslim quarters, eleven Greek Orthodox and Armenian quarters, and one Jewish quarter during the seventeenth century.⁸⁰ The villages of Kadıköy, İstavros, Beylerbeyi, and Kuzguncuk on the same side of the Bosphorus had populations of Muslims, Greeks, and Jews and contained the mansions and gardens of grandees.⁸¹ Üsküdar also contained mosque complexes endowed by royals. The great mosque complex called the Atik (old) Valide Cami was built by the great architect Sinan for Nur Banu Sultan, mother of Murad III, in 1583.

It was composed of a mosque, *medrese*, hospice, bath, and guesthouse. The Yeni Valide mosque complex of queen mother Gülnüş Sultan (d. 1715), which was built between 1700 and 1710, included a public fountain was also located close to the shore of Üsküdar. Sultan Selim III (1789–1807) built a mosque and the modern Selimiyye barracks in 1800 to house the new troops.

Üsküdar never developed into an international port but did become an indispensable *entrepôt* of Asian goods on their way to Istanbul and Galata. Its primary trade was with Iran, many of whose merchants carried on a caravan trade in silk and other commodities and resided in the *hans* of Üsküdar. The Iranian envoys lived in Üsküdar and, like European envoys, were not allowed to reside in the district of Istanbul. Great caravans of pilgrims encamped in Üsküdar for several weeks prior to their march to Mecca every year. Moreover, it was a place of banishment for Ottoman officials who fell from favor.⁸²

The administration of Üsküdar was in the hands of the kadi and his five deputy judges, a *subaşı*, and a division of the janissary corps. Its population did not increase at the same rate as that of the districts of Istanbul and Galata because its population flow was in the direction of trade, industry, and government activities.

PLAGUES, EARTHQUAKES, AND FIRES

The constant occurrence of natural disasters like plagues, earthquakes, and fires checked the population growth in Istanbul, knocked down and reduced many buildings to ashes, transformed the urban fabric, and more importantly, forced mem-

bers of the ruling class to move outside the densely populated walled towns. The plague epidemics hit Istanbul almost every year. Istanbul has been hard-hit by great and small earthquakes throughout its history. Moreover, due to overpopulation and the use of wood as the usual building material in the makeshift houses of the poor, fires occurred frequently, destroying whole neighborhoods and districts.

Plague epidemics decimated the populations of Istanbul and other major towns in the early modern period. Istanbul was on the intersection of major maritime and caravan trade routes that followed the Istanbul-Edirne-Sofia route. The bubonic plague spread by rats on board ships bound from Istanbul to Bursa, Izmir, and Alexandria. In Istanbul, it first infected the arsenal in Kasım Paşa and then spread quickly to areas along the Golden Horn and to Galata. It was spread by travelers and mariners to *hans*, janissary barracks, public baths, coffeehouses, barbershops, and bachelors' rooms, and from these places it infected the rest of the city through human contact.

In Istanbul, the plague usually occurred in the spring, worsened in the summer season, and lasted until autumn. The main carrier of the plague was a flea that lived on rats on ships and in old clothing, bedding, rugs, wool textiles, and other goods belonging to the victims and spreading through human contact as well. The rats usually survived well in humid and dark places. The reuse of clothes and the furnishings of the victims caused a rapid explosion of the epidemic. In premodern societies, the recycling of unwashed clothes and used furniture was an everyday practice. The Bit Pazarı (flea market), shops, bachelors' rooms, *hans*, and bathhouses helped spread the disease from the port areas and infected people in the rest of the city. The plague's intensity was characterized by different degrees of fever and infection. It usually started with symptoms like weariness, discomfort, fever, pain, flashy eyes, and buboes. Children and the elderly were naturally more vulnerable. Cleanliness, dry weather, good personal hygiene, health, and lack of human contact were considered natural protections against the plague. However, it was very difficult to maintain order, cleanliness, and human isolation in a port city like Istanbul. Human refuse and garbage were disposed of in the Sea of Marmara and on the outskirts of the city. Moreover, nomads, merchants, soldiers, sailors, and pilgrims helped spread the bacillus from Iran and eastern Anatolia to the Balkans, the Aegean, the Mediterranean, and North Africa and vice versa.

Big plagues broke out every twenty or thirty years and either preceded or followed famines and other natural disasters, claiming 10 to 20 percent of the population of Istanbul, Izmir, Salonica, Aleppo, Alexandria, and Cairo between 1700 and 1850.⁸³ Istanbul had the highest number of plague-ridden years (94 years), followed by Egypt (72), western Anatolia (50), and central and southern Syria (50), from 1700 to 1850.⁸⁴ The plagues of 1705, 1726, and 1778 in Istanbul claimed a mortality rate of 12 to 20 percent of the total population.⁸⁵ The plague of April 1778 started in Galata and claimed 1,000 dead every day.⁸⁶ It halted all economic activity from

spring to autumn. The European communities in Pera and Galata took refuge in Büyükdere and Tarabya. The plague reappeared in 1780 and 1781 in the same cities of Salonica, Istanbul, and Edirne. Smaller outbreaks occurred almost every year and made up the majority of plagues in Istanbul (81.6 percent) although only a small number (10 percent) had grave demographic consequences.⁸⁷ In Istanbul and other cities, the average annual mortality rate from the plague was 1 to 1.2 percent of the total population.⁸⁸

In the absence of systematic research on Ottoman medical practices, it is not clear what measures the state and the medical community in Istanbul undertook to treat patients and protect against the plague in the eighteenth century. According to Lady Montagu, who resided in the Ottoman Empire from 1716 to 1718, the residents of Edirne used some type of inoculation for smallpox.⁸⁹ The periodic inspection of *hans* and bachelors' rooms to prevent migration into the city and the isolation of the sick and the dead were plague-control measures. The local residents, shopkeepers, and attendants of mosques and public baths were in charge of maintaining hygiene. The chief of city cleaners and the chief of garbage collectors employed 1,000 workers to collect the garbage from the streets of greater Istanbul.⁹⁰ Most of the Ottoman population resorted to prayer and intercession with the saints and religious authorities to deal with natural disasters. The members of the elite took refuge outside the city in summer resorts and summer houses.

The Western European countries adopted some sort of quarantine system in the late seventeenth century. The spread of plague to Europe through the maritime route stopped after 1743, thanks to the introduction of temporary barriers on the waterfronts in Provence and Marseilles. Prior to these measures, the plague of 1720–23 had claimed 126,000 lives in Provence and a quarter of the residents of Marseilles.⁹¹ The Austrian government built the first military sanitary cordons along the Ottoman frontier (2400 kms) in 1812.⁹²

Plague epidemics were not the only disasters hitting Istanbul. The city of Istanbul is located on the great Anatolian fault line that runs from northern Anatolia to the Sea of Marmara. As a result, Istanbul, Izmit, Edirne, Bursa, and Izmir are regularly subjected to major earthquakes.⁹³ The district of Istanbul was hit by two major earthquakes on September 2, 1754, and May 22, 1766.⁹⁴ According to the reports of the English ambassador, Porter, and a Dr. Mackenzie, the earthquake of September 2, 1754, shattered the towers and the land walls of the district of Istanbul from Edirne Kapısı to Yedikule and damaged the domes and minarets of some imperial mosques. Some buildings of the Topkapı Palace were also damaged, and two pavilions were demolished. The Galata Tower was cracked, and the prison in Galata collapsed, burying the people inside. Aftershocks continued from September until January and caused further damage to the Topkapı Palace and the tower of Yedikule.⁹⁵

The next major earthquake took place on May 22, 1766, in a region to the east

of the Sea of Marmara, causing heavy damage to the towns of Izmit, Edirne, and Bursa and to greater Istanbul. It took place early in the morning of the third day of the Feast of the Sacrifice and began with a loud subterranean sound followed by a two-minute shock. Many people died in the ruins of their houses; the death toll was between 4,000 and 5,000 people. Extensive damage occurred in the districts of Istanbul, Galata, and Pera and in some of the villages along the Bosphorus. The land walls of the city were ruined, together with two towers of Yedikule Prison. The imperial mosque of Mehmed II and its complex were heavily damaged. This earthquake also caused damage to 173 small mosques and baths. Several buildings in the Topkapı Palace, including the mint, the imperial kitchens, and the towers, were damaged or ruined, forcing the sultan to live under tents for several days. Many *hans*, such as the Vezir Hanı, were ruined. The vaults of the Grand Bazaar and the slave market collapsed. The water supply channels were also broken. Some parts of Galata and Kasım Paşa were damaged, and the sea flooded the coastline opposite Galata and the villages along the Bosphorus. In addition, some islands in the Sea of Marmara sank halfway into the sea. The town of Izmit was also hard hit, and several towns and villages on the Gulf of Izmit and on the south coast of the Sea of Marmara were destroyed.⁹⁶ This earthquake, the continuing aftershocks, and the fires that followed it caused great unrest in Istanbul, and the authorities worried about the potential for rebellion. People lived in the open for some time.

A second earthquake hit Istanbul, Bursa, Edirne, and the region of Thrace two months later on August 5, 1766. Fortunately, this time Istanbul did not suffer much; some mosques and masonry buildings that had probably been weakened in the May quake were destroyed, three roads in front of the customs house cracked, and about thirty people were killed and one hundred injured.⁹⁷ Aftershocks continued for two years, and it took five years to rebuild some of the public buildings that had been destroyed during these two earthquakes and the fires. Many people died under the collapsed houses, mosques, and *hans*. Many of those who survived became homeless and lost their loved ones. The state undertook certain measures to rebuild public monuments but could not provide much in the way of relief for individual victims.

Fires sometimes followed earthquakes like the one in 1766. The fires of Istanbul were as old as its history, but they occurred more frequently and claimed more victims in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries due to congestion, overbuilding, and arson. In Istanbul, nine of twenty-three major fires between 1613 and 1780 occurred in the eighteenth century.⁹⁸ The great fires occurred in 1633, 1660, and 1693, burning down 300 mansions and 280,000 houses in 1660.⁹⁹ The fire of 1696 destroyed half of Galata and burned down three Latin churches, Saint-Benoit, Saint-George, and Saint-François. After this fire, the state issued an order for the expulsion of the French nation from the Bereketzade quarter and built a mosque in place of the church of Saint-François.¹⁰⁰

Many fires started in the kitchens during the hot summer season and rapidly

spread to the nearby buildings, consuming many quarters and neighborhoods within hours. The great fires of 1717, 1720–21, 1756, 1770, 1782, and 1784 destroyed many commercial and residential areas of the capital.¹⁰¹ Lady Montagu described a fire that burned down five hundred houses in Galata in 1717.¹⁰² The fires of July and August 1782 lasted for two days and three nights and destroyed 10,000 houses between Fener and Balat along the Sea of Marmara as well as mosques, churches, shops, mills, ovens, warehouses, and the janissary barracks. They claimed at least 5,000 victims. The fire of August 1784 started in Balat and spread east to Fener, destroying many mansions, small houses, and mosques.¹⁰³ Acts of arson by rebellious janissaries and artisans were the cause of smaller fires (see chapter 4).

The use of wood in the makeshift houses of the poor and overcongestion were the main reasons for the rapid spread of fires. It was almost impossible to put out these fires and to save the lives and property of the residents. The janissaries had the sole authority to extinguish the fires by pulling down the burning houses rapidly. A French convert to Islam established the *tulumbacı* corps (fire brigade), which used pumps to extinguish fires, in 1719. The fire department put out the fire of July 8, 1721, with the help of 150 firemen.

STATE REGULATIONS TO CONTROL FIRES

The Ottoman state attempted to regulate society in its major urban centers through forceful settlement policies, a ban on migration to major cities, and the issuing of building codes. The offices of the prefect of Istanbul, the chief architect, the kadi, the *subaşı*, and the local imam (leader of prayer) supervised the application of these regulations. These regulations acquired a greater sense of urgency in the eighteenth century due to overcrowding, frequent fires, earthquakes, plagues, and shortages of water, essential materials, and foods. Natural disasters such as earthquakes often created great discontent, undermined the economy, and led to riots. The state only invested in the repair of mosques and palaces and lacked a program to help the majority of victims during fires, earthquakes, and plagues.

The government of Ahmed III issued a series of regulations banning the use of wood in the construction of *hans*, bachelors' rooms, and shops. It also limited the height of houses to two stories and the size of upper-level living rooms. The state banned construction of houses along the water and by the walls although these bans were often violated. The state required a permit from anyone who desired to pull down houses and remodel and construct new ones.¹⁰⁴ After a major fire, all the Jewish houses in the Çift Mahalle near the Yeni Cami and outside the fish market in Eminönü were to be razed, according to an imperial order issued in 1728. The residents were expelled, and their land was incorporated into the port along the Golden Horn.¹⁰⁵ The state also placed a ban on the construction of houses, shops, and bachelors' rooms in a *han* in Gedik Paşa, which burned down in the fire of 1751.¹⁰⁶ In

another example, the government of Mahmud I issued an order to the kadi of Istanbul to prevent the construction of bakeries and bun stands and shops due to fire hazard in the Kantarçılar market in November 1756.¹⁰⁷

The report of Derviş Mustafa Efendi (d. 1817) on the fires of July and August 1782 offer a local perspective on the causes of the fires and the damage they caused. He attributed the great fires to drought, summer heat, overbuilding, and the use of wood as the main building material. He also suggested certain measures, such as a ban on rural migration and the enforcement of building codes by the state, to prevent future fires.¹⁰⁸

After major fires, the state set up night curfews and banned the use of festive illuminations at night. An order issued to the kadi of Istanbul in October 1769 banned the congregation of women and children at night to celebrate the victory of Muslim soldiers due to fire hazards and illicit activities among the crowd.¹⁰⁹ The night police and his men were usually the only ones allowed to carry lanterns, and they arrested those who violated the curfew.

Ahmed Refik's coinage of *Lale Devri* (the Tulip Age) to describe the Ottoman *ancien régime* provides a modern perspective by Turkish as well as Western historians on the perceived consumerism and decadence of the court of Ahmed III (1703–1730) that led to the Patrona Halil rebellion of 1730.¹¹⁰ Modern historians tend to take the partisan views of contemporary Ottoman authors or nineteenth-century travelers and diplomats uncritically without regards to their patronage ties. Historians also have not paid adequate attention to the social transformation of the city during this period. Moreover, the history of Istanbul is linked very closely to the history of the Ottoman state, its rise and decline.¹¹¹

Although the Ottoman state exerted great control over the administration of the city of Istanbul and its economy, particularly in the district of Istanbul, the rest of greater Istanbul followed its own path of development like any other city.¹¹² Despite government regulations, greater Istanbul expanded outside the walls and along the waterfront as members of the ruling class moved from the Topkapı Palace to the suburbs along the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus. A flourishing European community in these areas had also become an important part of Istanbul's social landscape, and its narratives and sketches of the city assumed a central place in Ottoman history. A new sense of leisure and pleasure as well as consumerism became evident with the growing visibility of the dynasty and its female members.

Meanwhile, as an increasing number of rural migrants settled in the commercial and industrial area of the Golden Horn, Galata, Kasım Paşa, and Tophane became more working-class and congested. Fires and the plague caused more devastation in these areas than in the suburbs, causing more poverty and inviting more government regulation and policing than was present in other areas. The rebels in

1730 gathered force in this core area and attacked the new mansions and palaces along the Golden Horn as well as the commercial buildings belonging to European traders and their non-Muslim protégés in Galata.

Mediterranean and European cities faced similar problems of rural migration, food shortages, riots, frequent fires, the plague, growing poverty, and crime. Not surprisingly, other early modern states sought similar solutions for these and other urban problems.¹¹³ The state intervened regularly in urban life to prevent fires and the plague and to control congestion as it did in European cities such as Paris. Like many Mediterranean and European cities, Istanbul had become a more socially divided and polarized city during the eighteenth century.

Migration and Marginalization

Who made up the underclass and the poor in eighteenth-century Istanbul? What was the social profile of men and women, Muslims and non-Muslims, who engaged in crime and violence? Records of the estates of deceased residents of Istanbul reveal a general level of poverty among a good portion of the residents, especially less-skilled artisans, servants, unskilled laborers, peddlers, and divorced or widowed women.¹ Mendicancy was a way of life for many residents of Istanbul whose lives had been affected by natural disasters, wars, economic difficulties, and illness. But the vast majority of migrants, despite their hardships, stayed in the city, preferring their marginal status in Istanbul to an even more unsettled life in their home villages. They overburdened food and housing resources and created slums along the walls and in the outskirts of the city.

SETTLEMENT TRENDS

As a port city and as the capital of a vast empire, Istanbul was a magnet for migrants because of its numerous opportunities for newcomers of every religious and ethnic background.² Many were peasants who had abandoned their villages because of oppressive tax farmers and landlords or because of growing insecurity and unrest (e.g., the Celali rebellions) in the countryside, especially in the Balkans and Anatolia.³ Some were artisans and janissaries whose wages were not enough or barely enough for survival. Others were women, children, the elderly, and the disabled who had migrated to Istanbul to look for better living conditions, security, or charity. Migrants swelled the population of old neighborhoods. The lucky ones found jobs as servants, seasonal workers, peddlers, and construction workers. But employment

opportunities were limited, and many newcomers were never completely integrated into the formal economy. At the time of the Ottoman conquest of 1453, the population of the city had greatly diminished due to the decline of the Byzantine empire, the flight of its population during the siege, and the plague epidemics that occurred regularly.⁴ The Greek and Latin populations of Istanbul dropped sharply during and after the conquest.⁵ After Mehmed II (1451–81) conquered the city in 1453, he issued orders and provided tax incentives to repopulate the city. In hopes of transforming the Byzantine capital into an Islamic one, he moved Muslim Turks from Anatolia and Jews from Edirne to resettle in the city. His son Bayezid II (1481–1512) invited Jewish refugees from Spain, Portugal, and Italy to settle in the city and revive its economy. These measures were successful: the population of the city increased considerably from 1478 to the early sixteenth century.

The population of the city slowly recovered from the devastations of the Ottoman conquest a few decades later. In the absence of systematic and comprehensive census records, it is impossible to come up with any accurate figures for the population of the city before the institution of census surveys in the nineteenth century.⁶ Evliya Çelebi's estimates of population for the seventeenth century are unreliable and must be used with great caution.⁷ A population survey taken after the Ottoman conquest allows a glimpse of the populations of tax-paying residents of Istanbul and Galata inside the walls in 1478.⁸ However, we have to keep in mind that these surveys were carried out for the purpose of tax collection and thus left out important segments of the population that were exempt from taxation (members of the Ottoman dynasty, the military, the bureaucracy, and the religious establishment). The survey of 1478 shows that the walled town of Galata contained 592 Greek households (39 percent), 62 Armenian households (4 percent), 332 Catholic/Latin households (22 percent), and 535 Muslim households (35 percent).⁹ A similar survey for the district of Istanbul inside the walls lists 8,951 Muslim households (60 percent), 3,151 Greek households (21.5 percent), 1,647 Jewish households (11 percent), 267 Caffan households (2 percent), 372 Armenian households (2.6 percent), 384 households of Karamanians (2.7 percent) who had an Armenian appearance, and 31 gypsy households (0.2 percent). These data give a total of 16,324 tax-paying households for the two districts.¹⁰ If we assume an average of five to six residents per household, these figures add up to between 81,620 and 97,944 residents, a total that does not include soldiers and members of the ruling class. The majority of the surveyed population (81 percent) resided in the walled areas of Istanbul and Galata. Whereas in Galata Muslims made up one-third of the population, in Istanbul they made up a little more than half of the population. By 1481 many Muslim immigrants from the Anatolian cities of Ankara, Gelibolu, and Bursa had settled in twenty new quarters of Istanbul.¹¹ The Muslim quarters in Galata developed around the arsenal (Tersane), the Galata tower, the Azep Kapı (Mariners' Gate), and the Arab Cami'i.

In the sixteenth century, the population of many Ottoman cities increased by 80 percent, and that of greater Istanbul (four districts) grew even more to 100,000 households.¹² Using a multiplier of five residents per household, Barkan estimated that the total population of greater Istanbul rose to 400,000 residents between 1520 and 1530 and then to 600,000 residents (120,000 households) in 1550.¹³ Istanbul became one of the most populous and prosperous cities in Europe in the early modern period.¹⁴

The non-Muslim population of greater Istanbul showed considerable growth as an influx of Greeks, Latins, Armenians, Jews, and Europeans took up residence in Galata. They also settled in Tophane, Kasım Paşa, and the villages along the Bosphorus. Jewish households were dispersed in fifty-eight quarters in 1595.¹⁵ *Chain migration*, in which individuals and families are drawn to a new location because of the support offered by their kin and fellow villagers who preceded them, led to their clustering in particular neighborhoods. Consequently, these neighborhoods acquired a distinct ethnic or religious character.¹⁶

Poll tax registers provide limited information on members of the non-Muslim adult male population, their origin, and their place of residence in some districts in the seventeenth century.¹⁷ The registers show, for example, that Jews from Spain, Portugal, and the Balkans steadily migrated into Istanbul throughout the seventeenth century and well into the eighteenth, clustering in neighborhoods according to their place of origin and congregation (Ashkenazi versus Sephardim). Many came from Ottoman towns like Edirne and Salonica by force or voluntarily. When in 1569 and 1660 high population density and the use of wood for building caused great conflagrations in the Eminönü neighborhood in the district of Istanbul, many Jewish residents were resettled in places such as Hasköy and Balat on the Golden Horn. The mosque complex of Valide Turhan Sultan (Yeni Cami) was built in the former Jewish quarter in Balık Pazarı in 1660. Nevertheless, a small Jewish community remained in Balık Pazarı, which also housed Muslim workers and artisans. Hasköy and Balat became the largest and most important Jewish neighborhoods between 1597 and 1660.¹⁸ In the seventeenth century, Balat became overpopulated with Jewish families of every socioeconomic stratum. An increasing number of Jews settled in Galata and Ortaköy between 1628 and 1648.¹⁹ Ortaköy and Kuruçeşme became the richest Jewish neighborhoods in the eighteenth century.²⁰

The poll tax register from 1609 shows the Sephardic and Marrano Jewish communities in Istanbul as clustering according to their place of origin in Portugal, Spain, or Sicily and as keeping separate from the Romaniot Jewish and the Ashkenazi communities, who lived predominantly in Balat in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Marrano Jews, who had migrated from the Iberian Peninsula, had been forced to convert to or sometimes voluntarily converted to Catholicism but secretly practiced Judaism.²¹ The 1609 poll tax register counted 819 Jewish households; of these, 85 came from Portugal, 93 from Aragon, 53 from Catalonia, and

80 from Sicily. The households were listed according to level of income (44 high income, 349 middle income, 426 low income), which determined the amount of poll tax paid.²² Another poll tax survey taken in 1691 shows that the majority of the Jews (3,928 households) were considered low income and that most of the poor lived in Balat (1,128 households), Galata and Tophane (851 households), and Hasköy (473 households).²³ The majority of high-income households were also concentrated in Balat and Fener (110 households) and Galata and Tophane (63 households). Their largest concentrations were in Balat and Fener (1,602 households), Galata and Tophane (1,229 households), Ortaköy (637), Hasköy and Piri Paşa (592), and Cibali (455). The communities in Beşiktaş and Fındıklı (142), Kuruçeşme (128), and Kuzguncuk (130) were also increasing.

Ottoman chronicles indicate a sense of overpopulation stress from high immigration rates. However, population figures for eighteenth-century Istanbul, like those for the seventeenth century, are hard to come by. European and Ottoman accounts offer rough estimates, and some are more reliable than others. James Dallaway estimated the population of Istanbul to be 400,000 at the end of the eighteenth century, of which 200,000 were Turks, 100,000 were Greeks, and the rest were Armenians, Jews, and Europeans.²⁴ However, an Ottoman-Armenian author, Inciciyan, estimated the population of the two districts of Istanbul and Galata to be 88,185 households in 1765. Galante provided a figure of between 600,000 and 1,000,000 for the total population of the city and 60,000 for the Jewish population of the city (10 percent) in the years 1771 through 1793, based on European sources.²⁵ Certainly, we know from the number of bachelors' rooms and *hans* that rural migration swelled during this period.²⁶ Even if the population of Istanbul had increased by 6.5 percent from 1720 to 1760, the plague, fires, and earthquakes would have had a negative effect. Probably the population was around 500,000 by the end of the eighteenth century.²⁷

The streams of migration were diverse during the eighteenth century. Many Greeks, Albanians, Kurds, and Armenians migrated to Istanbul during the Cretan wars, the war against Venice in 1715, and the war against Iran in the first half of the seventeenth century. The city housed ten to twelve thousand Albanian migrants alone in the eighteenth century.²⁸ The vast majority of artisans in Galata and Kasım Paşa had the title *beşe*, which indicated their military status. The flow of Muslim refugees (Crimean Tatars and Circassians) from the Russian and Balkan fronts increased in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and continued throughout the nineteenth century.

The intensification of rural migration caused congestion in the walled districts of Galata and Istanbul.²⁹ The state constructed numerous bachelors' rooms in Istanbul, Tophane, and Kasım Paşa to accommodate the growing migrant population. Galata became more Turkish and Muslim in ethnic and religious composi-

tion but also attracted a large number of non-Muslims, many of whom settled in the villages along the Bosphorus during the eighteenth century. Records show that these neighborhoods were quite ethnically, religiously, and socially diverse. An undated (probably late-eighteenth-century) survey of Beşiktaş and Ortaköy lists Greek households, led by their warden; Jewish households (single and married), led by their community leader and rabbi; and Armenians households, led by their priest.³⁰

This demographic expansion led to greater demand for food, services, and housing. It also created a rural working class that serviced transportation, construction, and the food supply. Overcrowding in neighborhoods where cheaper housing and work were available caused more fires, crime, and social tensions. Tensions also arose among various communities and social classes. The poverty and social decline of some neighborhoods of modest two-story wooden houses stood in sharp contrast to the luxuriousness of the royal gardens and mansions on the waterfront.

JANISSARIES, ARTISANS, AND PEDDLERS

Istanbul had the largest janissary garrison in the empire. In addition, many demobilized janissaries and soldiers came to Istanbul from the war front in search of employment and ended up as itinerant workers. Some of these eventually got involved in crime and violence: they carried arms, belonged to gangs, and were a constant source of trouble and political disturbance in Istanbul as well as in other major cities of the empire.³¹

The janissaries, *yeniçeri* (new army) in Turkish, formed the infantry unit of the Ottoman army and were established sometime in the late fourteenth century. They were originally recruited from among prisoners of war and from Balkan villages. Each year, state agents forcefully recruited one child between the ages of eight and twenty from every forty Christian households, a policy that added 1,000 to 3,000 youths every year.³² The child levies received their education and training in the palace and became the sultan's personal servants (*kul*). The sultan appointed the head (agha) of the janissaries, who enjoyed considerable power. Sultan Mehmed II increased the size of the janissaries from a few thousand to 10,000 and appointed them to important positions within the government. Their number grew to 53,849 men in 1670, and most were stationed in Istanbul.³³ The janissaries were divided into 196 battalions, 101 groups, and 61 regiments. In addition to Istanbul, janissary garrisons were assigned to other major cities like Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, Baghdad, Algiers, Erzurum, Konya, Van, Belgrade, Sarajevo, and Budapest.³⁴ As a professional standing army, the janissaries were equipped with firearms and received salaries in cash as well as food rations. Their salaries were paid in quarterly installments ranging from three to twenty *akçe* a day in the 1670s, depending on their rank.³⁵ In 1703 the av-

erage salary of a janissary was ten *akçe* a day. This salary was low compared with the salaries of other government employees and skilled workers.³⁶

Janissaries lived as single men in their barracks, but in time the method of their recruitment changed as more volunteers without proper training joined the army. Local recruits as well as volunteers or irregulars (*sekbân*) entered the janissary ranks due to long wars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; their addition resulted in a great deal of tension among the imperial, the irregular, and the local forces. Many janissaries also married in time and formed families. In addition, many janissaries joined guilds and associations of unskilled and low-skilled urban workers because they needed more money to augment their pay. This military-artisan symbiosis has not been studied adequately, but it clearly played an important role in the social unrest and urban violence in many Ottoman cities.³⁷

The state carried out inspections of janissary payroll registers from time to time and expelled many who did not serve in the army from the corps. However, it is not clear what portion of Istanbul's artisans were actually janissaries and vice versa. A military title (*beşe*) did not necessarily demonstrate actual membership in one of the military divisions since fraudulent janissary pay certificates were being sold in the markets of Istanbul to anyone who could afford them, and some craftsmen obtained them for the privileges and pay they provided. It appears, however, that by the mid-eighteenth century some craft guilds and corporations in Istanbul (e.g., those of butchers and coffeehouse attendants) were dominated by janissaries. A 1763 survey of guilds and artisans showed that the janissary corps and the navy supplied the majority of artisans and service workers in Kasım Paşa and Tophane, at least if we consider their title as some form of affiliation: most of the shield makers, coffeehouse attendants, stool makers, carpenters, chest sellers, and tanners in Galata and Kasım Paşa had military titles. The growing number of coffeehouses provided another important source of employment for janissaries. For example, in Galata during this period, single Muslim men who belonged to the janissary corps or the navy operated most of the 115 coffeehouses.³⁸ In Kasım Paşa, about 75 percent of Muslim workers in 107 coffeehouses came from the military or the navy.³⁹ Butchering, with its guild of 999 shops and 1,700 members in 1638, was another guild long dominated by janissaries.⁴⁰ Evliya Çelebi, writing in the seventeenth century, describes a festival procession during which they were "allowed to march clad in armor."⁴¹

Artisans often lived in poor and miserable conditions. The 1763 survey shows that many of them lacked a place of residence. Many slept in their shops; most coffeehouse workers, for example, and all of Galata's barbers did.⁴² Still others, like most boatmen and porters, crowded into bachelors' rooms that were located close to their places of work.⁴³ The state constructed these rooms in the working-class neighborhoods of Galata and Kasım Paşa to house workers who could afford the low rent. In 1763 the total number of bachelors' rooms in Galata and Kasım Paşa exceeded 250 and lodged around 1,500 to 2,000 single artisans. Each room held between one

and five men. The highest concentration of such housing (110 rooms) was near the arsenal in Kasım Paşa. These rooms were built above shops, and members of the same craft and profession tended to stay in the same rooms. For example, twenty-five boatmen resided in ten rooms in Cıgalazade Han near Galata.⁴⁴ Likewise, most of the non-Muslim tailors and artisans resided in the same rented rooms in Galata. The majority of the residents of bachelors' rooms and *hans* (95 percent) in Galata and Kasım Paşa were Muslim and had military titles.⁴⁵ Some janissaries owned and managed these houses and were accused of using them for organizing criminal activities such as smuggling and prostitution. Community watches kept a lookout for such enterprises; in one instance, neighborhood residents' complaints to police led the state to close down bachelors' rooms near the Balaban harbor in Üsküdar because of their use for prostitution.⁴⁶

Although some men without a residence eventually settled down, moved to residential neighborhoods, or went back home, many led marginal lives and never saved up enough money to form a married household. The police officials eventually expelled those who could not secure jobs and find someone to stand as a guarantor (see chapter 7). Normally, members of a guild or neighbors stood as moral guarantors for rural migrants and pledged their uprightness. These measures helped expand the authority of the police and local officials and sanctioned the use of force and violence against rural migrants and the poor and unemployed residents of Istanbul.

Despite the fact that the state, blaming rural migrants for causing overcrowding, food shortages, vagrancy, and crime, imposed increasingly rigid guidelines on migration to Istanbul, such migration continued and even intensified throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and into the twentieth.⁴⁷ It changed the urban landscape by loosening the grip of some guilds on production and adding to a marginal population of itinerant sellers, peddlers, and petty criminals.

REGULATING PRODUCTION

In Ottoman cities, guilds were loose artisanal and trade associations that can be traced back to the ancient Roman cities. Craft guilds were an important part of urban and industrial life of Ottoman cities and survived until the mid-nineteenth century. Evliya Çelebi listed 793 craft guilds and professional associations that marched in a procession before Murad IV in 1638. His long list included all kinds of professional groups and semilegal artisans that were more like associations than rigid craft guilds. These groups had their own hierarchy, from the most respectable professions to the least reputable ones (pimps, tavern keepers).⁴⁸

Craft guilds protected the common interest of masters and exercised monopoly over membership, training, quality control, production, pricing, and distribution.⁴⁹ Each guild had a head, usually chosen by the elders of the guild and confirmed by

the judge. Guilds defended their interests before the Islamic judge and the state and against outsiders (i.e., peddlers) who cut into their business. They displayed strong social bonds and provided for the welfare of their members from a charity fund. Masters also exercised their authority to expel from the guilds and the community those artisans who had questionable reputations or were guilty of personal and public misconduct. To maintain the spirit of egalitarianism, guilds normally restricted artisans from making more than 10 to 20 percent profit on their products and expelled those who exceeded this limit from the guild. A 1763 survey of guilds in Galata and Kasım Paşa shows that some guilds were homogeneous in religion, ethnicity, and civilian versus military status while others were mixed. For example, Istanbul's guild of Jewish butchers was separate and was monitored by rabbis for compliance with special ritual requirements.⁵⁰

Guilds contained shops that functioned as both workshops and retail stores. Each shop was usually headed by a master, who employed one to five workers. A worker had to undergo a period of apprenticeship before becoming a journeyman, and then became a master with the endorsement of the master and the judge. Certain guilds required a longer period of apprenticeship while those in the service sector (e.g., porters) did not require particular skills. In Istanbul, petty producers rather than journeymen were dominant in the guilds. The workers had no say in guild affairs. Most workers did not even own the tools of production and were completely dependent on the master. Masters usually did not own their shops; they rented them from pious and charitable foundations and private individuals.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, janissaries were increasingly joining the artisans to survive, entering the craft guilds in growing numbers as the state's cyclical budget crises held back their pay and forced them to supplement their income.⁵¹ In the late seventeenth century some became well-to-do and acquired their own houses and shops, which were valued at between five thousand and three hundred thousand *akçe*.⁵² By entering guilds, janissaries created a social hierarchy in an otherwise more egalitarian setup. Many were exempt from paying guild taxes, a privilege that must have caused a great deal of resentment among other guild members since it increased the tax burden for the rest of the workers. Since rural migrants were also increasingly entering craft guilds during this period, their competition with the janissaries sometimes led to tensions.

While some guilds became more rigid in their policies toward outsiders, others showed more flexibility, depending on their size and need for labor. Ottoman guilds, despite their traditionalism, were to some extent fluid and loosely organized in the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth.⁵³ They were flexible about allowing newcomers to the city to become members, especially in the service professions and especially when the demand for labor was high.⁵⁴ But as more and more itinerant workers and janissaries tried to rent shops and drove up the rents, the guilds reacted by becoming more exclusive. In the later eighteenth century the *gedik* system

was established, in which the right to open a shop and exercise one's craft in a given place could only be acquired through inheritance or purchase from a master within the guild. Clearly this system limited labor mobility by making property rights inalienable within the guild.⁵⁵

Overlying the guilds' controls over their own business were the controls of the state. Most guild shops were confined to certain areas to make the collection of taxes easier. The state set and enforced maximum prices on flour, bread, meat, and other staples.⁵⁶ For example, an imperial order of 1707 forbade butchers to sell meat above the official price of twelve *akçe* per *vukiyye* (1.28 kg), and butchers were under especially strict control by the state during times of food shortages.⁵⁷ Such restrictions kept guild members' profit margins low, thus contributing to smuggling and illegal sales. The state could also intervene in guild business to support the claims of artisans against masters, as when in 1756 it accepted the demand of brickmakers in Hasköy for higher wages (from 100 *akçe* per 1,000 bricks to 110 *akçe*) and ordered the judge to supervise the guild's affairs.⁵⁸ The judge wanted to ensure that brickmakers got their higher wages since a fire had increased the demand for brickmakers.

The state supported guilds in numerous ways. Sometimes it intervened to control the rents for guild shop space. In 1757, for example, when the owners of bread shops tried to raise the rent, the tenants refused to pay, so the owners rented their shops to those outside the guild. But when the guild petitioned the state, the state intervened and ordered the judge of Istanbul to renew the old rental agreement.⁵⁹

In the second half of the eighteenth century, petitions against itinerant workers and traders multiplied as the guilds met with increasing competition from those who could not acquire shops because of rigid property rules and higher rents.⁶⁰ The state did not always support the guilds in these disputes since they had to allow janisaries and rural migrants some means of making a living. But in times of social and economic unrest, the state supported the demands of guilds, whether indirectly by conducting sweeps and mass deportations of migrants who did unregulated work or directly through specific rulings in a guild's favor. In one case, the guild of tobacco sellers, which consisted of fifty Muslim, fifteen Jewish, and five Christian masters, presented a petition to the Imperial Council about unknown and unskilled peddlers who sold impure tobacco mixed with the leaves of pears, cucumbers, and figs in baskets on the streets of Istanbul. They also claimed that the peddlers used inaccurate weights and measures and thus were harming the guild members' business and reputation to the extent that guild members were unable to pay their debts to the customs collector of tobacco. The Imperial Council issued an order to the kadi of Istanbul to support their claims against outsiders in 1762.⁶¹ In another case, in 1757, the state supported the claim of the guild of embroiderers against competing outsiders (women).⁶²

In line with its provisionist policy, the state supported the claims of guilds (e.g.,

bakers and butchers) and merchants in charge of supplying Istanbul with staple foodstuffs and raw materials (e.g., grains, olive oil, coal, meat) against outside competition and profiteering.⁶³ For example, in response to a petition presented by the guild of butchers, an imperial order of 1701 prevented sailors from slaughtering sheep in the slaughterhouses of the arsenal and from selling meat above the market price.⁶⁴ In another petition, made by a group of Muslim and Armenian bakers in Hasköy against another group of Muslim and Jewish bakers in 1758, the former tried to prevent the distribution of bread by the latter from the latter's shops in Balat, Kasım Paşa, and Ayvansaray, arguing that they themselves baked enough bread to satisfy the demand in Hasköy. In this case, bakers from other neighborhoods were trying to sell bread in Hasköy, causing losses to the local bakers. The bakers of Hasköy regarded any increase in the supply of bread as a threat to their sales, and the state supported their claim.⁶⁵ In Ottoman cities, every group within a guild was restricted to a specific location to prevent competition. Clearly, the existing number of bakers did not satisfy the growing demand for bread in Hasköy, but the guilds resisted competition from outsiders, and the state helped them do it.

In adjudicating the rival claims of guilds and merchants, however, the state's role was more ambiguous. Traditionally, merchants had a limited role in the sale and distribution of goods; usually they just supplied raw materials. But their role increased, and they became more independent of guilds during the eighteenth century with the expansion of the market and new demands.⁶⁶ With these changes, merchants' conflicts with the guilds increased, requiring state intervention. For example, in 1767 a group of Jewish glass-merchants in Galata complained to the Imperial Council and the Islamic court about the intervention of the guild of Muslim glass-makers in selling European glass that they had purchased directly from European merchants in Izmir. They produced a legal document from the Islamic court supporting their claim of monopoly. The Muslim glass-makers claimed that the Jewish dealers were selling European glass at one akçe and a half above their own price and claimed the exclusive right to sell European glass. The court supported the monopolistic claims of the Jewish merchants, and the Imperial Council issued an order to prevent the Muslim artisans from interfering in the business of Jewish merchants.⁶⁷ It is interesting that in this case the Jewish merchants took their claim first to the Islamic court in Galata, which issued a legal document in their favor, and then approached the Imperial Council, which in turn issued an order to the judge of Galata supporting the Jewish merchants' claim against the Muslim artisans.

With the increasing competition and commercialization of the economy, the economic conditions of some artisans deteriorated, and some took to begging during the eighteenth century. Journeymen (e.g., bakers) were at greatest risk since they did not fully belong to guilds and were sometimes paid per piece of work rather

than daily wages. Low sales, high taxes, inflation, illness, or competition from outsiders, therefore, could drive artisans into complete poverty.

VAGRANTS AND THE STATE

Mihael the Macedonian (disabled); his sons, Yorgi (healthy) and Nikole (healthy); Yorgi and his wife (healthy); Kaluriye; Yanaki (healthy); Maria and her older daughter (healthy); Yorgi (healthy), has a son; Maria (healthy).

—REGISTER OF HEALTHY AND DISABLED MENDICANTS FROM CHIOS
IN ISTANBUL AND GALATA, JUNE 1736, CB 1738, BBA

In the aftermath of the 1730 rebellion, the state, with the help of guild elders and police officers, carried out regular surveys of beggars to control vagrancy, as the above example demonstrates. Another such survey carried out in 1738 listed about 289 beggars in Istanbul and Galata who either were from the Greek island of Chios (54), other Mediterranean islands (41), Anatolia (14), or Rumelia (36) or had unknown origins (144).⁶⁸ Many were listed with their wives and children; a good number were listed as women, elderly, or disabled, and one was listed as mentally ill. Except for a few, they were predominantly non-Muslim. They lived on the streets; frequented churches, probably for meals; and begged from rich Christians.

Before the modern period, vagrancy was recognized as an enduring aspect of urban life, and begging was socially accepted as a legitimate means of survival, at least for women, children, the elderly, and the disabled, who had fewer prospects for employment and were bereft of other support when they were abandoned, divorced, or widowed. The Qur'an required almsgiving from Muslims as one of the main pillars of Islam. Mendicancy (in the dervish way of life) was also a Sufi practice to cleanse the soul of material attachments. Beggars had their own association in Istanbul, numbering around seven thousand men in 1638.⁶⁹ During a public festival in 1638, beggars took part, along with the city's other associations, in a procession before Murad IV. Evliya Çebeli describes it this way: "Relying on the Koran and asking for alms for the 'poor wretched,' [the beggars] pass carrying banners in a great crowd of strange figures dressed in woolen cloth and turbans of palm leaves. The blind hold one another, some having lost a hand or foot, some naked and barefoot, and some mounted on asses. They place their sheikh in the center, and after his prayer is performed[,] they all cry together, 'Allah, Allah, Amen.' Their prayer is performed for the sultan's health immediately under the Alay Köşkü, where they receive alms."⁷⁰ Similarly, beggars in Aleppo had their own association that was registered in the kadi's court. In the eighteenth century they even had a professional code that regulated their conduct.⁷¹

The presence of large marginalized and impoverished populations was not unique to Istanbul; it was typical of early modern cities in the Ottoman Empire, in

the Mediterranean world generally, and indeed throughout Europe.⁷² Not only Istanbul but also London, Paris, Cairo, and Aleppo all had large numbers of poor people who lived on the edge of poverty and starvation.⁷³ In Aleppo, two-thirds to three-quarters of the population belonged to the lower class in the eighteenth century.⁷⁴ While European states designed a system of public hospitals (such as the *dépôts de mendicité* in France) and houses of correction (such as Bridewell in England) to confine beggars and policed them more tightly with the rise of capitalism and social unrest, the Ottoman state provided limited poor relief, usually on a random basis, and relied primarily on private charity, whether in the form of family members' help, almsgiving, or soup kitchens run by communal charitable foundations.⁷⁵ It did not pass vagrancy acts until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but it did refer to vagrants as "idle and disorderly."

The Ottoman state's antagonistic attitude became stronger in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As migrations into Istanbul continued, tensions among rural migrants, itinerant workers (many of whom were former janissaries), guild members, and the state increased. The state became less tolerant of rural migrants in the aftermath of urban rebellions and deported many after regular inspections of neighborhoods, bachelors' rooms, guilds, *hans*, and coffeehouses. The state also supported the claims of organized groups against outsiders and sought their cooperation in clamping down on crime and violation of guild rules. But all its measures did not stop migration from the countryside into Istanbul or reverse the trends of the increasing urban poverty and crime.

The state was less tolerant of begging by healthy, able-bodied Muslim men and rural migrants, as numerous government documents make clear. For example, an Istanbul police report documents the arrest, for subsequent deportation, of often healthy Muslim men who had been begging on the streets, disturbing people, and sleeping in the coal rooms of bathhouses. In September 1757 the inspector of customs was ordered to deport by ship 640 unemployed, able-bodied men and migrants from Istanbul for causing public disorder by begging.⁷⁶ Two years later, forty-three beggars were rounded up and sent to Iznikmit by ship. An order to the kadi of Iznikmit commanded him to put them to work according to their capacity in different neighborhoods, villages, and towns and to prevent them from coming back to Istanbul.⁷⁷ In June 1768 yet another imperial order was issued to the inspector of customs to deport healthy beggars on a ship to Iznikmit.⁷⁸

The periodic inspections of *hans* (guesthouses), public baths, bachelors' rooms, and coffeehouses frequently netted unemployed persons, as in a 1763 inspection in Tophane that resulted in the arrest and deportation of thirteen unemployed men.⁷⁹ Such measures continued into the nineteenth century. In June 1802 the Istanbul customs inspector was ordered to round up all the vagrants who were living in Istanbul without a guarantor, a place of residence, and employment and to send them off to their hometowns and villages. The order stated that a previous at-

tempt to do this had failed because ship captains had taken bribes of three to five *kuruş* and had refused to transport the vagrants to their destinations.⁸⁰ It is not clear to what extent such deportation policies were successful since the same people could return to Istanbul a few days or weeks later and escape the attention of the authorities until they got involved in some trouble or were reported by guild elders.

Unmarried or divorced women often became targets for arrest and deportation, particularly because they could so easily drift into vagrancy, homelessness, and prostitution. In July 1763 the customs inspector of Istanbul was commanded to send a certain Ayşe, originally a resident of Kazanlık, her two children, and one other dependent, together with their belongings, to their hometown, accompanied by a guard.⁸¹ Ayşe probably did not have permission to stay in Istanbul or had overstayed her permission and gotten involved in some kind of trouble with her neighbors, who had reported her to the authorities.

Sometimes poor families who had migrated to Istanbul now wanted to go home and petitioned the state to help them return. For example, in September 1777, Mustafa Hafız, a resident of Jerusalem, submitted a petition in which he claimed that he had traveled with his family of five or six to Istanbul to earn a living. He had been unsuccessful and needed to return home but could not afford the expenses of the trip, so he asked the state for assistance either to pay their way or to put them on a ship to Jerusalem. His petition was granted; an imperial order was issued to take the family to Jerusalem by ship.⁸² In a similar petition, Şeyh Muhammad; his wife, Fatma; and his brother, Abdulkadir, all residents of Medina, stated that they had come to Istanbul to earn a living but had been unable to earn any income and now wanted state assistance to return to Medina. In November 1777 the Imperial Council ordered the customs inspector to send them on a ship to their homeland and allocated twenty-five *kuruş* for their travel expenses.⁸³

Unsupported children sometimes received a mixture of state and private charity. For example, a certain Fatma presented a petition to the Imperial Council claiming that her husband had abandoned her and her minor children in Istanbul for five years and had left for Kütahya. He had not sent a single *akçe* for their expenses. She had sold all her belongings and had borrowed 300 *kuruş*. Then she had fallen into destitution, so she was hoping that the state would help her claim her rights.⁸⁴ Since there were no orphanages, women abandoned their out-of-wedlock children in mosques and public baths, hoping that someone would adopt them or that the state would pay for their upbringing. There are records of the state's payment of foster care expenses for orphaned and abandoned children as well as records of the houses of religious authorities in neighborhoods that took in such children and provided for their care. For example, when an abandoned female child was discovered in a public bath in Istanbul in May 1801, a woman named Şerife Emine submitted a petition to take care of the child if the state would provide for her expenses. Her petition was granted; an imperial order was issued to pay her ten *akçe* a day for child

support.⁸⁵ In another petition submitted to the sultan in June 1811, a homeless prostitute who claimed to be near starvation asked for child support for her minor daughter in Istanbul since her father had probably abandoned her. After an investigation had been carried out, the child, Fatma, was taken to the imam's house, where she received ten *akçe* a day from the state. It is not clear what happened to her mother; she might have been arrested, imprisoned, and deported to her hometown. Often deportation was the worst option; many women and children may have found begging to be a more secure way of life than what might have awaited them on their return to their villages.

POLICING MIGRATION

Throughout the eighteenth century and especially after the 1703 and 1730 rebellions, imperial orders to the kadi and municipal authorities regarding the control of migration reflect the government's concern about the water and food shortages, overcrowding, fire hazards, rising cost of living, shrinking tax base in the countryside, vagrancy, crime, and urban violence that migration might entail.⁸⁶ The governments of Ahmed III (1703–30), Mahmud I (1730–54), Mustafa III (1757–74) and Selim III (1789–1807) undertook several measures to regulate and control rural migration into Istanbul.⁸⁷ They issued a series of imperial orders to local authorities in Istanbul and Edirne to investigate the backgrounds of men and women who intended to visit Istanbul. The state also set up checkpoints at entrances to the city and required official certificates for travel that allowed visitors to stay for a fixed period only and only for certain reasons such as the need to conduct business, seek legal redress, visit relatives, or receive medical treatment. In addition, the state placed bans on the movement of women and restricted their travel to Istanbul to control vagrancy and prostitution. Unmarried men were another group viewed with particular suspicion; local residents were asked to stand as moral guarantors for newcomers who intended to reside in the bachelors' rooms and *hans* (see chapter 7).

Moreover, an informal policing network was put in place at the community level and through the craft guilds. Local residents led by their imam served as a community watch that identified outsiders and reported them to the police. Every member of a guild had to have a sponsor and prove five years of residence in Istanbul.⁸⁸ The guilds, hostile to outside competitors, cooperated with the police in surveying workers and identifying and expelling those who did not meet membership requirements or who worked entirely outside the guild system. Peddlers, who managed to avoid paying taxes, rents, and fees, were particularly targeted as economic parasites, although they clearly responded to a growing demand for cheaper goods and services. In time, the state forced many of them to form their own guilds or become part of the existing ones.

Many peasants migrated to Istanbul to escape the payment of taxes, so measures were instituted to recoup taxes from them and increase state revenue. For instance, one imperial edict issued in 1715 ordered the collection of extraordinary taxes from migrants who had lived in Istanbul for more than ten years and had refused to go back to their original homelands, where they would have been required to pay regular taxes.⁸⁹ In 1718 rural migrants who had been residing in Istanbul for fewer than ten years had to return to their villages or pay agricultural taxes.⁹⁰

Sometimes the state prevented whole groups from entering the city. In June 1720 the state issued an imperial order to cavalymen, tax farmers (see chapter 3), and superintendents of *vakfs* (religious and charitable foundations) to prevent the migration of peasants into Istanbul shortly after a fire in Balat. In September 1721 and May 1724, the state ordered local authorities in Anatolia and the Balkans to arrest rural migrants, including men, women, and children, on their way to Istanbul and to forcibly resettle them in their original villages and towns.⁹¹ During the Patrona Halil rebellion in September 1730, an imperial order in October 1730 commanded the port authorities to prevent the landing of any travelers arriving in Istanbul on ships because of the widespread plague.⁹²

These crackdowns were particularly likely to take place during times of economic crisis and political unrest. After the 1730 rebellion, for example, Mahmud I ordered the expulsion from the city of large numbers of rural migrants, particularly Albanians (see chapter 3). In 1763 Mustafa III ordered a thorough inspection of public baths, bachelors' rooms, shops, and *hans* in Kasım Paşa, Galata, and Tophane to find and deport nonguild members who had no sponsor or guarantor.⁹³ A similar inspection of forty-one guilds and 5,156 artisans and workers in Galata and Kasım Paşa resulted in the arrest and expulsion of 497 workers who did not present guarantors.⁹⁴

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, long wars, economic pressures, and political instability in the countryside led to waves of rural migration to towns and to cities like Istanbul and changed their ethnic and social makeup. Istanbul attracted numerous rural migrants and war refugees from the Balkans and Anatolia, but its economy could not absorb most of them. For many rural migrants, vagrancy, peddling, and crime became alternative modes of earning a living and surviving. Guilds' resistance to the entry of newcomers and to competition from outsiders and peddlers led to further marginalization of nonmembers. In the eighteenth century, tensions grew between guildsmen, peddlers, and merchants. The rate of crime by journeymen was also on the rise.

The janissaries had become an important part of the working-class population in Istanbul and other cities in the eighteenth century. At times of acute economic

and social crisis, this group took part in urban rebellions and violence. They played a leading role in both the 1703 and 1730 rebellions. Policing vagrancy, migration, and membership in guilds was a reaction to urban rebellions and the growing rate of crime. Despite these measures, migration into Istanbul continued and profoundly transformed the social landscape of Istanbul during the eighteenth century.

Istanbul between Two Rebellions

The frivolities of some members of the Ottoman ruling class and their public display of grandeur, wealth, and pleasure during the Tulip Age brought about the most violent rebellion in the history of Istanbul, one that led to the overthrow of Sultan Ahmed III in October 1730 and the destruction of many of the recently built royal mansions. The city had barely recovered from the political and social upheaval of the earlier 1703 rebellion when some of the same actors, under the leadership of an Albanian sailor and former janissary, started another rebellion and ruled the city with his followers for several months. The rebels in 1730 were drawing from a common script of rebellion that can be traced back to 1703, if not earlier.

THE 1703 REBELLION

*The whole army of Islam was in war.
Your soldiers (kul) want you now, come back my king.
The people of Istanbul have risen up.*

*Your soldiers were fighting for Vienna, my king.
We came together one by one and took a pause.
We gathered under a banner and marched to the Hippodrome.
We brought down the son of Hashim and appointed our own janissary
Agha.¹*

*Your slaves are under the command of God, my king.
The son of Köprülü² has issued this order.
“Attack,” he commanded your soldiers.
All the janissaries of Istanbul
Are struggling for Vienna, my king.³*

The reign of Ahmed III (b. 1773–d. 1736) came after bloody clashes among janissaries, artisans, ulema, and pasha (high-ranking) households and palace guards in the capital during the 1703 rebellion. The janissary ballad quoted above captures the mood of the populace in Istanbul and their long-held grievances against the state. The riot was started by two hundred armorers in Istanbul on July 17, 1703.⁴ They were demanding their pay, which was ten installments in arrears; the dismissal of Şeyhülislam Fehyzullah Efendi; and the permanent return of the sultan from Edirne to Istanbul.⁵ The retreat of Sultan Mustafa II to Edirne had to do with his avoiding recurrent rebellions in Istanbul. The concentration of janissaries in Istanbul and their growing discontent and rebellions threatened the Ottoman throne in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Withdrawal to Edirne symbolized to the rebels the resignation of the sultan from government affairs in Istanbul, his devotion to hunting and pleasure, and the growing influence of his close advisers over him.

Due to the absence of the sultan and his staff from Istanbul, the rebels created an alternative government in Istanbul that governed in opposition to the one in Edirne. The rebels first appointed a former rebel leader, Çalık Ahmed Agha, as the agha of janissaries and set up camp in the Hippodrome.⁶ They then dragged Mur-tiza Agha Haşimzade, the head of irregular forces who represented government authority in Istanbul, to the Hippodrome and cut him to pieces.⁷ The rebels then ordered the kadi of Istanbul to write to the ulema (religious scholars), inviting them to join the rebels; if they refused, their houses would be looted. The rebels soon attracted a large following made up of janissaries and seminary students to their cause.⁸ Moreover, a riot took place during the Friday prayer that led to the cessation of Friday prayers for five weeks. Because of the growing tensions, the non-Muslims stayed at home for fear of reprisals, and the foreigners left Istanbul for their farms outside the city until the situation got under control.⁹ The rebels sent a delegation led by some ulema to Edirne to deliver a petition demanding their pay and the dismissal and handing over of Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi and his sons.¹⁰ However, the documents were instead seized by Feyzullah Efendi, and the envoys were banished.¹¹ In the petitions, the rebels had accused Feyzullah Efendi of greed, corruption, interference in politics, nepotism, and Kızılbaş heresy.¹² The Kızılbaş were the Shi'i followers of the rival Safavid rulers of Iran. Although the charges of heresy were unfounded since Feyzullah Efendi followed the Hanafi school of law, the other charges of corruption were more substantial.¹³

The *şeyhülislam* was the highest-ranking religious figure and the head of the ulema; he was appointed by the sultan. He was the absolute authority of the sultan in religious affairs. The *şeyhülislam* petitioned the grand vizier for the appointment, promotion, and dismissal of the judges in important regions. He normally rose to this position through the ranks of the religious establishment in Istanbul.¹⁴ However, Feyzullah Efendi did not follow this procedure for promotion. Originally of Iranian descent and born in Erzurum, he came to Istanbul after Köprülü Ahmed

Pasha, the governor of Erzurum, became the grand vizier in 1661. The Köprülü viziers came to power in 1656 and held that position in their household until 1702. They enjoyed enormous power over the sultan and were instrumental in reasserting central power over the provinces and leading the war in Vienna. Feyzullah Efendi had gained a great deal of influence at the court of Sultan Mehmed IV (1648–87) as a result of his close association with Grand Vizier Köprülü Ahmed Pasha and his marital ties to the Kadizadeli ulema. He became the preceptor of the sultan's son (Prince Mustafa) in 1678. The household of the fundamentalist Kadizadeli ulema, also originally from Erzurum, came to power in the second half of the seventeenth century and enjoyed great influence in the court of Mehmed IV. The Kadizadelis opposed any changes to the shari'a and Sufi dance and music. They also ordered the closing down of the Halveti Sufi lodges and coffeehouses. When Mustafa II ascended the throne, he appointed Feyzullah Efendi as şeyhülislam in 1695. Feyzullah Efendi combined this office with that of the sultan's imperial preceptor and spiritual mentor and became as powerful as the grand vizier. Moreover, Feyzullah Efendi made the office of şeyhülislam in effect hereditary by choosing his son Fethullah to replace him. As a result of his power, he took many administrative matters into his own hands, placed his sons in high positions within the *ilmiye* (religious establishment), and amassed great wealth from bribes and rich tax farms (see pages 63–64 in this chapter).¹⁵ The rebels accused Feyzullah Efendi of acting as the vizier and the müfti at the same time.

The ulema had long resented Feyzullah Efendi's growing wealth as well as his nepotism in making appointments, particularly the placement of his sons in high positions, and his disregard for the old system of promotion based on service and meritocracy. The contemporary historian Mustafa Naima (1665–1716) was very critical of the ambition, greed, and corruption of Feyzullah Efendi and his household, which he claimed had formed a dynasty. Naima confronted Feyzullah Efendi on one occasion, warning him about a possible rebellion if he did not mend his ways.¹⁶ High positions in the judiciary, which were traditionally based on an established system of training and promotion, had become hereditary among the leading ulema families based in Istanbul, a development that led to shrinking opportunities for the rank and file, particularly given the influx of provincial seminary students into capital.¹⁷ However, nepotism was not a new phenomenon; critics had warned of its spread and dangerous consequences since the late sixteenth century.¹⁸ But it had become a flashpoint for resentment.

Moreover, tensions between the Köprülü household and Feyzullah Efendi ran high during this period. Köprülü Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha, the former grand vizier who had led the war against Austria in 1685–86 and had been demoted from his position, still enjoyed great support among the janissaries who opposed the Treaty of Carlowitz and its chief negotiator, Grand Vizier Rami Mehmed Pasha.¹⁹ The Ottomans had lost territory in Hungary, Poland, and the Morea as a result of this treaty

and faced a grim economic crisis. To push their agenda for renewed war forward, the rebels put the brother-in-law of Köprülü Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha in charge of the government in Istanbul that stood in opposition to the one in Edirne.

The frustrations over the Treaty of Carlowitz had been accumulating among the rank and file of the janissaries during 1703. The crowds used holy war as a rallying device to get rid of the faction that favored peace with Austria. In the janissary ballad quoted earlier, the rebels accused their enemies of being sympathetic to “infidels” and refusing to continue a holy war to gain lost territories in the second siege of Vienna. Clearly, they expected booty and better pay from a renewed campaign and the accession of a new sultan.

The sultan first refused to hand in Feyzullah Efendi and placed him under his protection. A rebel army then arrived in Edirne and met with little resistance from local forces when they demanded the handing over of Feyzullah Efendi. Following the advice of his mother, the sultan finally agreed to remove Feyzullah Efendi and his sons from power, ordered the confiscation of the property of Feyzullah Efendi, and banished him and his sons.²⁰ He then abdicated the throne in favor of his brother, Ahmed III, in August 1703.²¹

Ahmed III moved from Edirne to Istanbul to take charge, calm the janissaries, remove tainted officials, and punish the culprits.²² He paid the janissary salaries, listened to their petitions, and started a major government shakeup and the dismissal of many high officials. He first imprisoned the sons and relatives of Feyzullah Efendi in Istanbul.²³ Feyzullah Efendi, who had fled, was captured by the rebels in Varna while on his way to Erzurum. Sultan Ahmed III had ordered the exile of Feyzullah Efendi and his sons to the islands. But contrary to the order of the sultan, the rebels instead beheaded him and his oldest son on charges of heresy and corruption in Edirne on August 24, 1703.²⁴ The dismembered corpse of Feyzullah Efendi was then dragged through the streets of Edirne and was finally thrown into the river.²⁵ In reaction, Sultan Ahmed III confiscated all arms in Istanbul for fear of a coup against his life.²⁶ He restored law and order that prevailed in Istanbul for three decades until another rebellion brought his reign to an end.

THE 1730 REBELLION

After the suppression of the 1703 rebellion, Sultan Ahmed III launched a reform program with the help of Grand Vizier Nevşehirli Ibrahim Pasha to balance the budget, raise taxes, and reduce the number of janissaries on state payrolls. When Ibrahim Pasha began his tenure, he immediately signed the peace Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718 ceding control of Banat, northern Serbia, and Belgrade to Austria. However, the disintegration of Safavid Iran in 1722 invited Ottoman and Russian intervention. Ibrahim Pasha first sought the help of the French ambassador, the Marquis de Bonnac, in forging an agreement with Peter the Great that guaranteed Rus-

sian neutrality by essentially dividing the Caucasian provinces between the two empires in June 1724. Peter the Great immediately occupied Darband, Baku, Dagistan, Gilan, and Mazandaran on the western and southern shores of the Caspian Sea in Iran while the Ottoman forces invaded Iran and won the control of Azerbaijan, Shirvan, Ganja, Georgia, Revan (Yerevan), Hamadan, and Kirmanshah in 1725. The new Iranian ruler, Tahmasp Quli Khan, later known as Nadir Shah (1736–47), defeated the Ottoman forces in Tabriz and drove them out of western Iran in the summer of 1730. The news of Ottoman defeat was spread to Istanbul by returning soldiers who were demanding a war against Russia and Iran to recover the lost provinces.

The sultan and his grand vizier had camped in Üsküdar with a large military force awaiting the arrival of the Persian envoys before their military march to Iran. Rumors had spread that the grand vizier was planning to negotiate a peace treaty with Iranian envoys after learning of the army's withdrawal from the Iranian provinces while the populace of Istanbul was still paying war taxes and provisions for the military.²⁷ The impoverished Istanbul artisans could not afford to pay the new campaign taxes for the war against Iran.²⁸ The stalemate with Iran and the continued economic difficulties led to another rebellion that shook the foundations of government in Istanbul. On Thursday, September 28, 1730, a group of twenty-five to thirty armed rebels led by Patrona Halil gathered in the Grand Bazaar of Istanbul, drew their swords, and raised the green standard of rebellion. They demanded the closure of shops and the implementation of justice and the *sharia* (Islamic law). They marched on the imperial road to the market (Et Meydanı) where meat was distributed to the janissaries and set up camp in the Hippodrome.²⁹ Though the head of the janissaries (agha) refused to join the rebels, other janissaries gradually switched allegiance once they witnessed the inaction of the court and the rebels' power. Ibrahim Efendi, a religious teacher, issued a legal ruling declaring the rebellion legal. The rebels then appointed Ibrahim Efendi the chief judge of Istanbul as a reward.³⁰ They then looted the flea market, the shops, the customhouse, and the armory.³¹ The rebels marched to Agha Kapı, the headquarters of the commander of the janissaries, and forced open the prisons there; then they went on to the arsenal, the Rumeli Hisar, and the Baba Ca'fer prison and released many galley slaves and convicts, who joined the rebels.³² The rebels wrote letters to the müfti and the preacher of Aya Sophia, Ispirizade Ahmed Efendi, who held high positions in the religious establishment, demanding the removal of eight officials, including the Grand Vizier Yenişehirli Ibrahim Pasha (1718–30), his steward, and his son-in-law Mehmed Pasha.³³ Nevşehirli Ibrahim Pasha, the grand vizier of Ahmed III, had served for twelve years (1718–30), which was a rare occurrence for a grand vizier (see chapter 1). However, his deputy, Kaimmakam Mehmed Efendi, had also served for twelve years, as had Şeyhülislam Nevşehirli Abdullah Efendi.

Some members of the ulema joined the rebels as well. They opposed the war with another Muslim state (Iran) and the 1724 treaty of alliance with Russia, which had



FIGURE 3. Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, *Patrona Halil*, 1730. Courtesy of Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

basically ceded the Caucasian provinces to Russia and drawn a new border with Iran. They also opposed Ibrahim Pasha's cultural and economic reforms and his close ties to France, which had pushed for peace with Russia. Also among Ibrahim Pasha's opponents was the Albanian Zülali Hasan Efendi, the former judge of Istanbul, whom Ibrahim Pasha had dismissed within a year of his appointment in 1729 during food shortages. Ibrahim Pasha had appointed Mehmed Raşid, the official chronicler, to this post. According to some accounts, Zülali Hasan Efendi's wife had been the target of the grand vizier's sexual advances during a banquet in Kağıthane.³⁴ Ispirizade Ahmed Efendi, the puritanical preacher of Aya Sophia, resented Ibrahim Pasha's proclivities and sexual conduct and joined the rebels to get rid of him.³⁵ Factional rivalries among the members of the ruling class played some role in the mo-

bilization of the masses. Certainly, Patrona Halil enjoyed the patronage of people in high office who had turned against the policies of the government of Ahmed III and held personal grudges against the grand vizier. Patrona Halil was an Albanian mariner who had served on a warship called the *Patrona* and had led a failed mutiny on the ship. Sentenced to death, he had been saved by Kapudan Mustafa Pasha, the ambitious son-in-law and rival of the grand vizier whose protection he enjoyed, and had fled to Niş (in the Balkans), where he entered the janissary corps. Sent to garrison the frontier town of Vidin (also in Balkans) during the signing of the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718, Patrona Halil had participated in a rebellion against the governor that was put down. He then fled to Istanbul and became a peddler, spending most of his days on the streets of Istanbul and his nights in taverns. Patrona Halil became part of the Albanian network of urban gangs made up mostly of underclass single and marginal men, many of whom were public bath attendants or former janissaries.³⁶ During a tavern brawl in Galata, he killed a friend and was imprisoned as a repeat offender and sentenced to death by the *voivoda* (mayor) of Galata. However, once again Kapudan Mustafa Pasha intervened and had him released from prison.³⁷ According to the Earl of Sandwich, he then entered the service of Kapudan Mustafa Pasha and hatched the plan of the rebellion with two former janissaries, Manav (“the grocer”) Muslu Beşe and Emir Ali, on September 25. Muslu Beşe, who came from a village in Niğebolu, had been peddling vegetables and fruits in Istanbul; Emir Ali, a leader in the Izmir rebellion of 1727–28, had also fled to Istanbul and had become a coffeehouse attendant.³⁸ Janissaries and artisans had played an important role in the Izmir rebellion in 1728 as well.³⁹ Later, in October 1730, while that year’s rebellion was still going on, one of Patrona’s companions who had rowed on the ship with him, a certain Arnavud (Albanian) Uzun Hüseyin, was arrested and, upon questioning by the authorities, confessed to being friends with Patrona and having served as his standard-bearer in Istanbul. He also admitted that he had been a janissary in the seventh division.⁴⁰

The absence of the government and the military from the Topkapı Palace, as well as the sultan’s indecisiveness after hearing about the rebellion and his refusal to follow the lead of the grand vizier to suppress it, emboldened the rebels, whose number had increased to three to four thousand men, including many janissaries, within a few weeks. The sultan and his officials returned secretly from Üsküdar to the Topkapı Palace, gathered a group of soldiers and palace guards, and placed the Prophet’s standard outside the palace as a symbol of the call to defend the Ottoman caliphate. The government promised to pay twenty-five *akçe* (silver coins) to anyone who joined its forces.⁴¹

Many low-ranking janissaries in Istanbul who had returned from the war front or who worked as artisans had already defected to the rebel side. The rebels continued to attack and loot the houses of many state officials and distributed stolen money worth forty to fifty *keses* (purses) among their followers.⁴² According to the

Earl of Sandwich, who visited Istanbul eight years later, the rebels attacked the harem and raped the women in Abdullah Efendi's household.⁴³ The rebels also occupied Galata and threatened to attack the European colony there, but the French ambassador, Villeneuve, paid them off and armed his men to secure the lives of French nationals and their property.⁴⁴

Some poor Greek and Armenian artisans also joined Patrona Halil. Halil looted the house of the *voyvoda* of Galata who had sentenced him to death, took his money—worth six thousand *piaster*—and flung it out of the windows to the poor Greek, Jewish, and Armenian residents of Galata.⁴⁵ The rebels looted the old *bedestan* (covered market), some Jewish shops, and the church in the patriarchate and ordered the chief patriarch to follow sumptuary laws for Christians by dressing only in black robes and shoes.⁴⁶

After much destruction was caused by the rebels, the sultan asked Ispirizade Ahmed Efendi, the preacher of Aya Sophia who sympathized with the rebels, to approach them on his behalf. The rebels responded by asking that Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha be removed from office and handed over to their custody, that Zülali Hasan Efendi be appointed as the chief kadi (Islamic judge) of Istanbul, and that Deli Ibrahim Efendi be made the chief justice of Anatolia. To appease them, the sultan took the seal away from Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha, dismissed him from his position, and ordered the confiscation of his property.⁴⁷ Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha, his nephews, *kethüda* (steward) Mustafa Pasha, and Mehmed Pasha were strangled by the order of Ahmed III on September 30, 1730. The court sent the body of Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha in a cart to the rebels, who harnessed a mule to it, dragged it through the streets of Istanbul, and threw his corpse to the dogs, as they had done to the body of Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi twenty-seven years earlier during the 1703 rebellion.⁴⁸ Ibrahim Pasha's dependents were dismissed from their positions; Şeyhülislam Abdullah Efendi and Raşid, the official chronicler, were banished.

To appease the rebels, Silahdar Mehmed Pasha, the new grand vizier, paid the janissary salaries that had been in arrears and distributed money among the rebels. On behalf of the rebels, the new şeyhülislam demanded the deposition of the sultan. Fearful for his life, the sultan abdicated once the rebels had promised not to harm his children and placed his nephew Mahmud, the elder son of Mustafa, on the throne on October 1, 1730. Ahmed III advised him not to depend on his grand vizier and high officials and to take charge of the affairs of state himself.⁴⁹ The former sultan then shut himself up in his apartment on October 1 and withdrew from public life.

The new sultan distributed money among the soldiers and put an end to the innovative and oppressive policies of Ibrahim Pasha, such as campaign taxes.⁵⁰ With a new and inexperienced sultan on the throne, Patrona Halil became the *de facto* ruler of Istanbul and ruled the city in his shabby clothes for a few months. He placed

his followers, mostly of Albanian origin, in positions of power. Patrona Halil appointed Kaplan Giray as the *khan* of Crimea and a Greek butcher named Yanaki, who had supplied him with money, wine, and women, as the voyvoda of Moldavia.⁵¹ He also appointed Zülali Hasan Efendi as the chief justice of Anatolia.⁵²

At the request of Patrona Halil and Deli Ibrahim Efendi, Sultan Mahmud I ordered the destruction and burning of two hundred mansions and palaces, including Sa'adabad Palace, that had been built by the grand vizier and the grandees in Kağthane and along the Golden Horn.⁵³ In Istanbul the rebels brought the Tulip Age to a tragic end by destroying and burning the newly built mansions and tulip gardens that had belonged to grandees and state officials (see chapter 1).

REPRESSION

The conduct of Patrona Halil and his followers had alienated many segments of Istanbul's population whose properties had been looted. Having attained the throne in the midst of rebellion, the government of Mahmud I (1730–54) undertook measures to repress the rebellion. The government finally devised a plan with the help of the former admiral of the fleet, Kapudan Pasha Canım Hoca, to lure Patrona Halil and one of the other two ringleaders, Manav Muslu Beşe, to the palace on the pretext of appointing them governors of Rumelia and Anatolia.⁵⁴ In a surprise attack on November 25, 1730, the palace guards, led by Pehlivan Halil Agha, himself a former janissary, stabbed Patrona Halil, Manav Muslu Beşe, and the agha of the janissaries to death and got rid of their supporters who were waiting outside the palace.⁵⁵ They then threw the corpses of eighteen rebels in front of the Ahmed III fountain outside the imperial gate of the Topkapı Palace.⁵⁶ According to some accounts, officials found three thousand sacks of money in Patrona Halil's house.⁵⁷ The government took charge and ordered the execution of all the rebels, who numbered in the thousands (according to some estimates, ten to thirty thousand), and the expulsion of many Albanians from the city.⁵⁸ Repression continued for several years, from November 1730 into December 1732. Eyewitness accounts described the sacks of corpses and body parts floating in the Sea of Marmara and the Bosphorus that tainted the waters for some time.⁵⁹

Another rebellion led by the Albanian Kara Ali, a supporter of Patrona Halil, and three or four hundred followers took place in the Et Meydanı on March 25, 1731. Their aim was to overthrow Sultan Mahmud, the commander of the navy (Kapudan Pasha), and the grand vizier and to restore Ahmed III to the throne.⁶⁰ The rebels' grievances had to do with lack of pay and their inability to buy meat and foodstuff at inflated prices.⁶¹ Rebellion and arson continued for several months, and the rebels were eventually put down with considerable ferocity.⁶² Mahmud I and his new grand

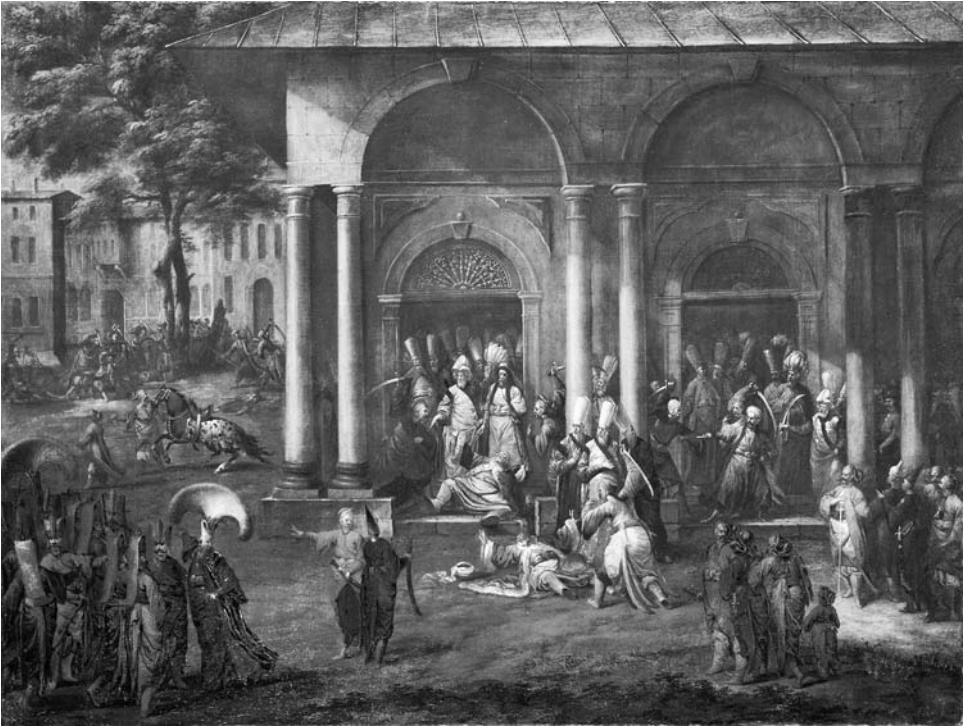


FIGURE 4. Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, *The Murder of Rebels*, 1730. Courtesy of Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

vizier, Topal Osman Pasha, placed a curfew on the city and closed down coffeehouses and public baths where Albanians concentrated. Topal Osman Pasha imprisoned Fatma Sultan, the daughter of Ahmed III and wife of Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha, accusing her of taking part in another rebellion in order to restore her father to the throne. He confiscated her property and placed her on a stipend of two *akçe* a day.⁶³

For several years the government hunted down and arrested those suspected of participating in these rebellions and banished many Albanians and Laz (people from the Black Sea region), some of whom were innocent.⁶⁴ For example, it confiscated a tax farm amounting to five thousand *kuruş* (silver coin equivalent to 120 *akçe*) that belonged to Halil, the son of the former grand vizier, because of his participation in another rebellion in November 1731.⁶⁵ In January 1731, imperial orders had been sent out to local authorities all over Anatolia and the Balkans to arrest and imprison those rebels who had looted the property of Muslims, had stolen goods, and had fled.⁶⁶ Then in late March and April 1731, imperial orders were issued to all the provincial and local officials in the Balkans to be on the lookout for Christian and Muslim Albanians who had fled and to arrest and punish them with no

mercy.⁶⁷ Local authorities in Anatolia and the town of Seydişehir were ordered to arrest Dereköylü Ali, whose banditry in Istanbul had been proven according to the *shari'a* and who was therefore sentenced to death in May 1731. They were also commanded to arrest another rebel who had fled with two thousand gold coins and was hiding in Seydişehir.⁶⁸

Furthermore, the government ordered local authorities to prepare a list of rebels' names, carry out an investigation, arrest and imprison them according to the *shari'a*, confiscate their property, and report back to Istanbul.⁶⁹ In July 1731 another order was sent to the janissary commanders in towns in Üsküdar and Anatolia to arrest all the Albanian, Laz, and non-Muslim bandits and rebels who had gathered in public baths, *hans* (guesthouses), and bachelors' rooms where single men resided in Istanbul; looted the houses of God's servants; and then fled to their hometowns. Zeynel, one of the ringleaders in the rebellion, who had fled to Algeria, was arrested, taken on a ship, and imprisoned in Gallipoli under tight security in December 1732.⁷⁰

The government controlled movement in and out of the city. In July 1732 provincial authorities received an imperial order to prevent rural migrants from coming into Istanbul without official permission and a legitimate reason. Furthermore, officials were told to accompany migrants to make sure they only stayed in Istanbul for a few days and returned home after their business was done.⁷¹ They were not to use any excuse or pretext to migrate to Istanbul with their families without an imperial order. These measures were intended to prevent idle and underemployed men from joining rebellions.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKDROP TO REBELLIONS

Economic grievances were the major causes of the 1703 and 1730 rebellions that shook Istanbul in the first half of the eighteenth century. Postwar economic crises tended to trigger urban uprisings in Istanbul, largely because of the concentration there of large number of janissaries, many of whom were working as artisans. One frequently expressed grievance was the government's inability to pay janissary salaries on time. But other grievances had to do with postwar food shortages and the levying of extraordinary war taxes that amounted to 360,000 *akçe* in 1730.⁷²

The burden of taxation fell heavily on artisans and peasants, and the rate of taxes increased to finance the wars. In Ottoman society members of the ruling class—composed of the sultan and his household, the military, the ulema, and the bureaucracy—did not pay taxes. The *reaya*, or tax-paying subjects, were primarily peasants, artisans, and traders. Non-Muslims paid additional taxes in the form of the poll tax (*cizye*) in return for protection. The kinds and rates of taxes were determined according to custom and *kanun* (sultanic law) and were listed in tax registers for every province.⁷³ Tax collectors were not supposed to charge additional or

higher taxes contrary to the registers, but in reality periodic levies in the form of extraordinary taxes on the population of rich urban centers were imposed by the government at times of budget shortfalls and economic crisis.

Many historians have debated the causes, scope, and duration of the economic crises in the Ottoman Empire. They have contrasted an earlier golden age of territorial and economic expansion with the military weakness and economic decline that started in the late sixteenth century. In this view, the influx of Spanish gold and silver from the New World into Mediterranean markets brought steep inflation to Spain, France, and the Ottoman Empire, and territorial losses and the incorporation of the empire into the world economy marked the beginning of three centuries of vicissitudes.⁷⁴ Istanbul's economy withstood these pressures and survived the ups and downs of the empire's fortunes. However, its incorporation into the world economy, which began slowly in the eighteenth century and increased during the nineteenth century, exacerbated social tensions and conflicts.⁷⁵

The long century of war (1645–1784) had a major impact on Istanbul's economy. Although war making led to some growth in the military-industrial sectors, it destroyed the empire's agricultural base and the urban economies of the frontier regions. The war against the Holy League (1683–99) and the Treaty of Carlowitz (1699) brought territorial losses in Hungary, Transylvania, and the Morea.⁷⁶ The wars against Iran preoccupied the empire from 1723 to 1748 and resulted in the loss of Azerbaijan and the Caucasian provinces in 1730.⁷⁷ The twenty-five-year war against Nadir Shah of Iran devastated northern Iraq and eastern Anatolia. Wars with Russia preoccupied the empire in 1711–1712 and in the second half of the eighteenth century; the Crimea was lost, and the enemy took control of the Black Sea in 1774. Territorial losses were usually accompanied by an influx of refugees and demobilized soldiers like Patrona Halil from the war front to the capital, imposing new pressures on Istanbul's economy. Increasing unemployment and poverty there led to a rise in the rate of crimes against property (see chapter 5). During the 1730 rebellions, high officials, tax farmers, their non-Muslim bankers, and Europeans were the focus of anger and even violence, and some had to leave Istanbul.

Some Ottoman historians have sought the causes of economic crisis elsewhere. Halil Sahillioğlu traces the chronic budgetary deficits to the state's use of the lunar calendar year for the collection of revenue and the solar calendar year for expenditure. Because the lunar calendar is eleven days shorter than the solar calendar each year, a budgetary crisis and a deficit are inevitable every thirty-two years. According to his calculations, the janissaries' income was insufficient during the crisis years by at least one year, giving rise to political disturbances and janissary-led riots.⁷⁸ The solar calendar was finally adopted in 1710 for accounting purposes, and that change partly remedied the problem.⁷⁹

Budgetary crises were also in part due to the expansion of the size of the military. The salaries of many janissaries and bureaucrats were derived from Istanbul's

customs receipts and the taxes on coffee and wine. Military expenses claimed 62.5 percent of the Ottoman budget in 1670.⁸⁰ The janissary corps received 30 to 50 percent of the total state expenditure from 1687 to 1748.⁸¹ The number of janissaries in the empire had risen from 37,627 in 1609 to 53,849 in 1670. Their numbers in Istanbul alone exceeded 21,600 in 1703.⁸² The budget deficit rose from 34,593,099 *akçe* in 1686 to 175,913,051 *akçe* in 1700 and to 358,492,401 *akçe* in 1730.⁸³ Janissary pay fell into arrears by at least one year in 1651, 1687, 1703, 1730, and 1774, and three of these years (1651, 1703, and 1730) were marked by political instability and janissary uprisings in Istanbul.⁸⁴

Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha was briefly able to balance the budget by increasing the rate of taxes on peasants and by taxing charitable foundations. He paid the army's salaries that year in 1720 and started a construction boom in Istanbul.⁸⁵ He also cut the number of janissaries on the state payroll and reduced their salaries, a move that certainly created a great deal of resentment among the janissaries. But budgetary shortfalls continued after 1720. The state imposed new war taxes in 1726 and 1727 for the war against Iran.⁸⁶

Moreover, the payment of janissary salaries in debased coin further exacerbated the economic difficulties. Due to a shortage of silver and currency, the government often debased the silver *akçe*, an action that lowered its silver content and value. European traders also flooded the markets of Istanbul with fraudulent debased currency.⁸⁷ The debased coins brought about immediate inflation and then riots against state-set prices. The state tried in vain to put an end to the circulation of debased coins in 1728.⁸⁸

The state had to increase the poll tax on non-Muslims from 50 to 80 *akçe* in the mid-sixteenth century to 240 *akçe* in the mid-seventeenth century and to regularize the extraordinary taxes (to be paid in cash by all subjects) that continued into the eighteenth century.⁸⁹ The reform of the poll tax system in 1690 and the increase in the tax's amount to one, two, or four gold coins, depending on the income of the non-Muslim subjects (low, medium, or high), quadrupled state revenue. The poll tax claimed 40 percent of the government budget in the first half of the eighteenth century but at the same time created discontent among non-Muslim subjects.⁹⁰ Some became subjects of European powers to escape its payment, and others participated in urban rebellions.

To raise revenue in cash, the state farmed out a growing number of rural revenues as tax farms in the eighteenth century. The institution of tax farming privatized revenue collection in the Ottoman Empire. It predated the Ottoman Empire and existed in Mughal India and Egypt. In the Ottoman Empire, previously only 30 percent of government revenues, mostly from urban sources like customs and the stamp tax, were farmed out to government officials for one or two years. Rural sources of revenue like the grains, olive oil, and sheep tax as well as the most lucrative urban sources of revenue such as the customs on coffee, tobacco, and alco-

holic drinks and the stamp tax on textiles were tax farms. The shortage of currency, budget shortfalls, and the inability of peasants to pay their taxes in cash led to the expansion of this institution. Traditionally, members of Ottoman cavalry received revenue grants or benefices (*timar*) from the state in return for their service in the military. They collected taxes in kind from the peasants, covered their expenses, and remitted the rest of the taxes to the government. The land belonged to the government, and the cavalryman was not a landowner but rather a tax collector who held that position as long as he served in the army. Cavalrymen were required to maintain a certain number of soldiers and to provide law and order in the countryside. But since the cavalry used conventional weapons in warfare, their importance in Ottoman campaigns declined in time. With the growing importance of firearms in campaigns, the state had to increase the size of the janissary corps and hire part-time volunteers in its long campaigns against Venice (the Cretan wars) and Austria in the seventeenth century. The constant shortage of currency and the inability to raise taxes in cash were growing problems for the Istanbul government. Consequently, many janissaries were paid from the tax farm of customs in Istanbul.

The majority of rich tax farmers belonged to the ruling class. For example, grand viziers, palace appointees, royal women, janissary *aghas*, and members of the bureaucracy and the religious elite in Istanbul held the most lucrative tax farms, subcontracting them to local notables. But the abuses of tax farming drove many peasants off the land and to the cities. Tax farmers invested in agricultural production to maximize their profit margin, usually at the expense of direct producers.⁹¹ The lifetime tax farms (*malikane*) established in 1695 prolonged the term of tax farms until the death of the tax farmer, thereby establishing a more permanent class of tax farmers, most of whom were based in Istanbul.⁹² Some *malikane* tax farms became hereditary, establishing quasi-private property. In response to great opposition by taxpayers, especially during the 1703 rebellion, the state briefly retracted the lifetime tax farms in 1715, but Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha restored them in 1718.

Istanbul was the site of a network of bankers, potential bidders, and their palace contacts, who all competed for desirable tax farms in the eighteenth century. Short-term tax farms were auctioned to local notables every three years to increase competition and elicit new bids in the Istanbul market. Most of the lifetime tax-farm holders in the eighteenth century (roughly one thousand) resided in Istanbul and subcontracted provincial revenues to local notables.⁹³ They borrowed from a network of Armenian and Jewish bankers to bid for the highest-yielding tax farms. Some non-Muslim merchants and bankers were very close to courtiers and high government officials like the agha of janissaries, operating as their personal accountants and bankers.

Important positions in both central and provincial government had become attached to tax farms that undermined promotions based on qualifications and train-

ing. The hostility of the population toward holders of high office and rich tax farmers like the grand vizier stemmed from widening economic disparities and the corruption of government officials who had vested interest in the perpetuation of the economic regime.

The rate of corruption increased with the expansion of tax farming. Embezzlement of revenues and fraud by central and local tax collectors persisted during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Tax farmers collected new taxes, and some exacted unpaid labor from the peasants. To remedy the problem, the state conducted an inspection of local registers and removed corrupt officials and tax farmers from time to time. Eventually, the state lost its control over the revenue collection in some provinces as the tax-farming system spread to rural areas, thereby increasing the burden on the peasantry.⁹⁴ In response, peasants petitioned the Imperial Council regarding tax farmers' abuses or, even more frequently, abandoned the land and migrated to big cities such as Istanbul (see chapter 2).

Istanbul's rising population demanded ready supplies of grain and basic foodstuffs from all over the empire. Food production was an important sector of Istanbul's economy, and any disruption caused by famine, devaluation of currency, or shortages resulted in steep inflation. We do not have access to comprehensive annual listings of official and market prices, wages, and incomes for all strata of Ottoman society in the eighteenth century.⁹⁵ Estimates of inflation are often derived from official maximum prices (*narh*), which varied for foodstuffs and raw materials.⁹⁶ Şevket Pamuk found a three-hundred-fold increase (1.3 percent annual inflation) in prices in Istanbul from the late fifteenth century to 1914.⁹⁷ This steep rise was in nominal prices; real prices increased threefold during the price revolution (1500–1640), declined until the early decades of the eighteenth century, and increased again until the middle of the nineteenth century.⁹⁸ The sharpest price increase (twenty-five fold) took place from the 1770s to the 1860s, mainly resulting from twelve devaluations of currency.⁹⁹ Pamuk is critical of Ö. L. Barkan's theory of price revolution and its impact on the overall Ottoman economy. Pamuk attributes the astronomical inflation to the expansion of the cash economy, tax farming, and the integration of the countryside into the urban economy, all trends that were similarly occurring in Europe and Asia. In addition, the government debasement of silver *akçe*, the growing demand for money, the limited supply of coins and goods compared to the number of imports, and the expansion of the credit system caused inflation in major urban centers.¹⁰⁰

The inflation varied in time and space and did not have the same impact in every part of the empire. Cumulative inflation in Istanbul from 1776 to 1794 varied from 50 to 100 percent. This was most visible in the prices of foodstuffs: meat (50 percent), milk (100 percent), wheat (80 percent), olive oil (72 percent), and salt (100 percent).¹⁰¹ Official prices changed from season to season and from year to year. For example, the price of olive oil fluctuated between a 68 percent increase and a

38 percent drop between June and August 1773. Real wages for skilled and unskilled workers in Istanbul declined by 30 to 40 percent in the sixteenth century, remained stable from the mid-sixteenth to the eighteenth century, and increased by 30 percent after the second half of the eighteenth century.¹⁰² Inflation hurt the standard of living of those on fixed incomes like artisans, janissaries, and low-ranking government officials (members of the bureaucracy and the ulema).¹⁰³

Furthermore, the commercialization of the economy in Istanbul negatively affected the lot of rural migrants and marginal people who did not have stable incomes and secure jobs. They often had to borrow money in order to survive. For example, the residents of the district of Eyüp operated on credit for everyday needs in the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁴ Many poor women in Istanbul resorted to borrowing money from bankers and cash *vakfs* and had to place their belongings as surety in case they defaulted.¹⁰⁵ Examination of estate records of the residents of Istanbul shows that they received loans from fellow residents, the charitable and religious foundations (*vakfs*), and bankers for food, trading, and repayment of debt. Many became homeless as a result of indebtedness, temporarily taking shelter in hans, bachelors' rooms, and mosques. Some resorted to violence and crime.

URBAN VIOLENCE

The government here is entirely in the hands of the army. When a minister displeases the people[,] . . . they cut off his head and feet, and throw them before the palace gate, with all the respect in the world; while that Sultan, to whom they profess an unlimited adoration, sits trembling in his apartment, and dare[s] neither defend nor avenge his favorite. This is the blessed condition of the most absolute monarch upon earth, who owns no law but his will.

—LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU, *THE TURKISH EMBASSY LETTERS*

European observers like Lady Montagu commented on the growing role of janissaries in politics (e.g., in the overthrowing of Sultan Mustafa II) as well as the decline in their discipline and loyalty to the sultan. Thomas Smith, an English visitor to Istanbul in the late seventeenth century, predicted that the unruly and mutinous janissaries would bring about the end of the Turkish menace to Europe. James Dallaway, the English chaplain to the embassy, described the decline of the janissaries in the eighteenth century in the following words: “The janissaries form so great a number of the inhabitants of Constantinople, and are so different both in discipline and habits of life from others dispersed over the provinces, that to describe them distinctly appears necessary. True it is, that so enfeebled they are by a certain description of luxury, so corrupted by ease and licentiousness and so lapsed from their former austerity.”¹⁰⁶ Smith, Dallaway, and others presented an idealized picture of the janissaries as the elite army of the sultan responsible for many military victories in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They also commented on the janissaries’

decline in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁰⁷ Cemal Kafadar has rightly critiqued this purity-corruption paradigm in depictions of the janissaries and has called into question the idealized picture presented by European observers and scholars.¹⁰⁸ Kafadar has also questioned the sharp division that historians, following European observers, created when describing the janissaries and the rest of the population.

The janissaries had become part of the urban population of Istanbul and other cities and suffered at times of economic crisis just as the rest of the residents did. The rebels in 1703 and 1730 expressed specific grievances against extraordinary war taxes, high prices, the wealth of the ruling class, and the corruption of some members of the ruling class, as well as the violation of the shari'a. The religious tone of the uprisings in 1703 and 1730 and the quest for justice reflected the widening gap between the ruling class and the poor followers of preachers that included janissaries. The conservative ulema and preachers, disgruntled janissaries, and unemployed and underemployed artisans (many of whom were janissaries) positioned themselves against members of the ruling elite such as Feyzullah Efendi and Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha. They also expressed anger toward merchants, tax farmers, bankers, and wealthy minorities. Freed prisoners added a criminal element to the rebellion that undermined its popular character—as is true of many rebellions. The social dimensions and economic grievances of the urban masses against the ruling class and state officials were nevertheless very important. The rebels in 1730 were using an established tradition and discourse of rebellion. Their social class base had widened in the eighteenth century to include artisans and disaffected members of the ruling class, as had their grievances.

Historians like Rifa'at Abou-El-Haj, Jane Hathaway, and more recently, Karen Barkey, have drawn more attention to intralite rivalries and have argued that the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Istanbul, as well as in Cairo, saw major shifts in political dominance among competing families and their clients.¹⁰⁹ Vizier and pasha households like those of Feyzullah Efendi, Nevşehirli Ibrahim Pasha, and their clients rose to positions of power through their connections to the palace and the dynasty, amassing rich tax farms and replacing the old elites (the Köprülü viziers) and graduates of palace schools. They held a monopoly on more than 40 percent of the top administrative posts as well as tax farms in the capital and the provinces.¹¹⁰ A similar trend emerged among the prominent Istanbul-based ulema families of provincial origins, as in the situation of Feyzullah Efendi, who together with his sons dominated high positions in the judiciary.¹¹¹

Economic and social historians have underscored the role of the institution of tax farming in creating a wealthy class of Istanbul-based elite households and local foci of power among the provincial notables.¹¹² The abuses of tax farming had a direct impact on the lives of taxpayers, peasants as well as the artisans who formed important segments of Ottoman society.¹¹³ While the head of janissaries held rich

tax farms, the rank and file were deprived of this privilege and did not even get their quarterly pay on time. Many were forced to join the working class in Istanbul and other major cities.¹¹⁴

The janissaries, on the other hand, were not a homogeneous group of professional soldiers. In his excellent study of the regicide of Osman II in 1622, Gabriel Piterberg has pointed out the importance of growing tensions between the janissaries (*kul*) and the irregular recruits (*sekbân*) as well as the provincial cavalry.¹¹⁵ Osman's plan to replace the janissaries with local recruits triggered the rebellion and regicide in 1622. The janissaries were divided based on their recruitment, training, rank, pay, and patronage ties to the court. Their rebellion, according to Piterberg, redefined the boundaries of the state, making it more inclusive as a result of the growing rivalry between the dynastic household, the vizier, and the pasha households on one side and the janissaries and irregular troops in Istanbul and the provinces on the other.¹¹⁶ Karen Barkey has also underscored the broadening of the base of political power and the widening of urban networks among the janissaries, artisans, and ulema in the 1703 and 1730 rebellions.¹¹⁷ She has emphasized the peaceful resolution of these rebellions and the co-optation of the rebels by the state.

Although these alliances played an important role in the success of these rebellions, the growing social tensions in Istanbul led to more violence and crime. The career of Patrona Halil shows that he was no longer part of the military establishment but had instead become part of the poor working class and criminal underworld of Istanbul. Moreover, the narratives of the two rebellions clearly demonstrate that the janissaries and artisans took the leading role and forced some of the ulema to join in and issue legal rulings against the sultan and his officials. They demanded the overthrow of the sultan and the execution of the *şeyhülislam* and the grand vizier, and they committed much violence even after their demands had been met. These were very radical actions that could not have been supported or tolerated by the elite. After the overthrow of Ahmed III, the rebels took over the government and ruled the city for several months until they were violently suppressed by the state. Eric Hobsbawm has emphasized the role of artisans in urban movements in pre-industrial cities where guilds functioned as early trade unions. He regards them as politically conscious and as the most politically active section of the urban poor in organizing dissent. But he also sees them as essentially lacking an ideology and organizing primarily around specific grievances. The "mobs" of wage earners, small property owners, and the urban poor in which the artisans so frequently participated were a recurrent feature of urban life. Assembling in opposition to unemployment, inflation, and high taxes, they often acted violently against the rich, foreigners, and outsiders (those not townspeople) and thus attracted criminal elements.¹¹⁸ In some cities of Europe like London, Rome, Palermo, and Naples, the mob developed its own subculture, lived in symbiosis with the ruling class, and expected rulers to provide them with a decent livelihood. When a ruler failed to protect the well-

being of members of the mob and to act justly, they rioted until he did.¹¹⁹ The mob identified with the king and rioted under his banner until he lost his legitimacy for acting unjustly and allowing exploitation and corruption beyond the norm. This was certainly the case in the 1703 and 1730 rebellions in Istanbul.

In Ottoman cities, the mob performed a similar political function in opposing government policies and members of the ruling elite, survived longer as a social phenomenon, and had greater access to more lethal weapons because of the participation of the janissaries. The janissaries and artisans were at the forefront of movements of protest that were triggered by economic crisis and social tensions until 1826, when the janissary corps was eliminated.

Urban rebellions were frequent in many Ottoman cities and particularly in Istanbul during the eighteenth century. These rebellions had a great deal in common and took place at the end of long wars, economic and budget crises, and the withdrawal of Ottoman troops from the war front. Mobs composed of disgruntled soldiers, artisans, rural migrants, and low-ranking religious figures took a leading role in urban violence. Economic grievances were the leading cause of these rebellions.

After suppressing rebellions, the state reasserted its power and responded with repression, policing, and surveillance. The dynasty survived, and the social contract between the sultan and his subjects withstood these challenges, although the legitimacy of the sultan as the defender of Islamic faith was diminishing with every major defeat and loss of territory. The Ottoman state behaved much like its European absolutist counterparts and maintained its power through coercion and co-optation. After each major rebellion a new sultan was placed on the throne, the top layer of the bureaucracy was reshuffled, some officials were dismissed and executed, and their property and tax farms were confiscated. The state also arrested and executed rebel leaders and expelled their followers from the city. Those who survived repositioned themselves in different camps to raise the banner of rebellion again when the right moment arrived and cracks in government authority opened up. Others participated in street crime and urban violence.

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PART TWO

Categories of Crime

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Crimes against Property and Counterfeiting

NAME: *The sailor Halil*

The aforementioned broke into the house of a woman near the house of Şeyhülislam Efendi and assaulted and injured her with a knife. He is a habitual thief and is now sentenced to row in the galleys. He should not be released until the confirmation of Kapudan Pasha.

—APRIL 1724, MALIYEDEN MÜDEVVER DEFTERLERİ, VOL. 729,
P. 208, BBA¹

In the decade leading to the Patrona Halil rebellion, it appears that the rate of convictions for crimes against property, counterfeiting and selling light bread rose in Istanbul, although it is difficult to establish trends in the absence of available research on crime for the earlier period. Petty theft and larceny occurred daily, and some thieves were repeat offenders. Theft from houses made up an important part of convictions. The report from the galley register cited above represents an example of what the state considered armed robbery and assault by repeat offenders against women and minors in Istanbul during the eighteenth century. This particular crime was carried out by a sailor. Sailors as a group had a reputation for violence.

Armed robbery and banditry made up about one-third of the convictions from 1719 to 1721. Larceny accounted for more than 35 percent of the convictions during the same period. One-third of thefts also involved forced entry into houses; one-quarter, into shops; 5 percent, into hans; and 5 percent, into bachelors' rooms. The rest were committed on the streets.² These assaults often ended in injury but rarely in death.

Most thieves were sentenced to forced labor in the galleys, a punishment that may indicate the navy's need for rowers at the time as well as a rising crime rate. The bulk of the records in this and the next two chapters were drawn from police reports and from the register of convicts sentenced to penal servitude in the galleys. The galley register contains the name of the convict and his background, the

nature of his crime based on the report of the police officer or the judge (or deputy judge), the sentence, and the date and reason for release (see the introduction). When a lawsuit by the victim or police officer was presented to the court, the kadi carried out an investigation and recommended a sentence.

THEFT IN OTTOMAN-ISLAMIC LAW

The shari'a (the Hanafi school of law) played an important role in the definition and understanding of crimes against property in the Ottoman Empire. The Islamic and Ottoman definitions of theft shaped the rate of arrest, legal procedure, and punishment. In the eighteenth century there were no fixed penalties for theft, and the sentence depended on prior conviction. Most sentences varied between a few months and one year of forced labor on the galleys. Until the reform of the legal system and the adoption of the French penal code in 1858, the concept of theft was based on Islamic jurisprudence of the Hanafi school of law, and the punishment was discretionary and flexible.

The Hanafi jurists made a distinction between theft (*sarika*) and usurpation (*ghasb*).³ Hanafi jurists defined *usurpation* as intentionally stealing something valuable from someone by force without the owner's permission. The usurper had to return the good or its equivalent to the owner or incur discretionary punishment (*ta'zir*) such as flogging if he failed to do so. Theft was a claim of God and received the fixed Qur'anic corporal punishment of flogging and the amputation of the thief's right hand for the first offense and left foot for the second. In practice, however, most jurists avoided levying this harsh punishment and required evidence and testimony of at least two upright Muslim male witnesses. Moreover, the thief had to be a repeat offender to deserve this extreme punishment; the thief had to also be a sane adult who had stolen from public custody goods worth ten *dirham* (silver coin) or more in which he had no share or quasi-ownership rights. For example, stealing things of low value (wood, hay) or goods that rot quickly (milk, meat, fresh fruit) did not incur corporal punishment.⁴ Furthermore, the Hanafi jurists defined *custody* as private residence like a house or a room. Theft from public places like a bathhouse or a *han* (guesthouse) fell under the authority of secular officials (e.g., the governor and the police). The commander of the navy occasionally prosecuted crimes carried out by sailors.

The Qur'anic punishment of amputation functioned as a deterrent and not as a destroyer in most cases. We have only two cases of recorded amputation of the right hand of a habitual thief and of a female servant in our records in 1757 and 1776 (see chapter 9).⁵ Theft was treated as a tort, and the aim of the law was first restorative and compensatory (to the victim) and then punitive. Moreover, penal servitude in the galleys replaced the fixed punishment of amputation in the eighteenth century. In the Ottoman Empire, communal and family rights took precedence over

private claims of property, and the jurists tried to reserve fixed punishment for extreme cases.

THEFT FROM PUBLIC AND COMMERCIAL PLACES

Theft from commercial places peaked in the eighteenth century. Galata was one area where robbery at night was particularly widespread. The nightlife in Galata undermined the curfew and security that existed in other residential areas. The bachelors' rooms, taverns, and coffeehouses in that district attracted criminal and transient elements who often committed theft. Theft from commercial places was more lucrative than theft from public places and therefore required more planning and special skills. These thefts usually occurred at night and involved forced entry. For example, in a case from the galley register recorded in November 1722, Mehdi son of Ahmed broke into a coffeehouse in Galata and stole silk and woolen clothing belonging to the owner, Osman.⁶

In reading galley register cases such as this one, we learn not only the details of a crime but also information about the criminal and his profession. From his name, it is clear that Medhi was a Muslim man and may have been an unemployed man of rural origins who probably attended the coffeehouse regularly. Medhi may also have been part of a crime ring or may have operated alone. He returned to the coffeehouse at night to steal anything he could lay his hands on while the owner was sleeping on his premises. The coffeehouse owner, Osman, must have taken the thief to the court with the help of the police. Owners often slept in their shops and screamed out for help when thieves broke into their premises. The conviction of theft required at least two eyewitnesses and/or the confession of the thief. Medhi confessed to his theft when he was questioned by the deputy judge in the court of Galata. He was ordered to return the stolen property to its owner and was then sentenced to row in the galleys in the imperial arsenal.

Thieves sometimes stole anything they could find, including textiles. In another case in August 1720, another man called Ahmed broke into a tailor's shop in Tophane and stole a piece of cotton and silk cloth. He was later arrested by the police in charge of protecting Tophane when he was stealing cash from a grocer's shop. Ahmed was sentenced to row in the galleys.⁷ In another similar case a month later in September 1720, Osman son of Mustafa broke into the shop of Mustafa, a shield maker in Galata, stole his shirt, and fled.⁸ When he was arrested and brought to the court, Osman son of Mustafa confessed to drinking but denied stealing Mustafa's shirt. However, Mustafa proved his claim by presenting upright witnesses in the court. The deputy judge then sentenced Osman to row in the galleys for drinking and for stealing.

In the district of Istanbul, the area surrounding the Grand Bazaar outside the gates was also the scene of many crimes against property. The Grand Bazaar itself

was well protected and was completely closed off at night by gates. The office of the night watchman kept a very close eye on thieves around the area. Guards patrolled the bazaar throughout the night and stopped strangers. Thieves used force to get into shops outside the gates at night and were sometimes caught by the owners, the night watchman, the market police, or other officials. For example, in December 1720, the police arrested Ali son of Osman and brought him to court for breaking into Mustafa's shop near the Friday mosque of Sultan Bayezid while the owner was attending the morning prayer.⁹ Ali confessed to having stolen two coffee pitchers and other belongings from the shop. Thieves usually chose an opportune time to break into a shop or a house, such as when the owner was away from the premises, sleeping, or praying in the mosque. Ali must have returned the stolen property, but we do not have any information as to when he was released.

Thieves also broke into rooms in *hans* where merchants resided and stole personal items. For example, in October 1723, Ali son of Mustafa stole clothes and kitchenware belonging to Ibrahim from a room in the *han* of Süleyman Pasha in Galata. He was arrested and confessed to the theft at the court; the deputy judge sentenced him to be held in the imperial arsenal until he could be assigned to row in the galleys.¹⁰ Guesthouses were ideal places for robbery since during the business hours, guests were conducting business and were away from their rooms. The rooms were also used for storage of items for trade and other goods.

Mosques and public baths were also easy targets for robbery in Istanbul. For example, Amir Mehmed, a convicted thief, was in the habit of stealing shoes from mosques. He was arrested in April 1726 while he was stealing towels and muslin from someone in a public bath and was sentenced to row in the galleys. Amir Mehmed had had a prior conviction and consequently received a longer sentence than was usually given for this crime. He was released in December 1726 following the submission of a petition attesting to his good character.¹¹ Amir Mehmed had been interested in stealing personal items and clothing, which must have had a quick resale value in secondhand clothing stores and flea markets. Such thieves usually looked for targets of opportunity; when everyone was busy praying or bathing, the moment was often ripe for stealing shoes and towels. Sometimes these thieves cooperated with the attendants and knew exactly when to carry out the theft.

From these cases it is clear that the courts and the police did not follow clear guidelines on which cases to try and which to convict without a trial; the decision usually depended on the plaintiff or the official who carried out the arrest. The testimony of one person was not always sufficient, so confession was therefore crucial in convicting thieves. We can safely assume that the accused preferred to confess and return the stolen goods to avoid more severe punishment and longer terms in the galleys (up to two years or longer). Some were still sentenced after they had returned the stolen item to the victim since theft from commercial and residential places had become a widespread crime.

THEFT FROM RESIDENTIAL PLACES

The Ottoman penal code had a clearer position on theft from private residences and individuals. Here the concepts of private property and crime against individuals assumed greater importance. Even after a repeat offender had returned the stolen property or paid an amount equaling its value, during the eighteenth century he was still often sentenced to row in the galleys. For example, in August 1720, Ömer, a resident of Eyüp, presented a lawsuit against another Ömer and Salih in the court, claiming that they were trying to break into his house. Ömer and Salih confessed when they were questioned by the judge. The judge then sentenced them to row in the galleys, and they were not released until a year later.¹² The long term of penal servitude in this case is to be noted.

In many instances thieves looted private residences and shops after a major fire. During the fire of November 1708, some janissaries looted the burned buildings, markets, and shops.¹³ In another case after the fire of July 21, 1731, the janissaries sacked burned buildings in Galata.¹⁴ The state considered looting burned houses and stealing the goods of fire victims a serious crime. For example, in October 1725 a certain Ahmed was caught with a copper container, a candleholder, and other small items in his hands after he had looted a house destroyed by fire in Galata. The commander of the navy sentenced him to row in the galleys in the imperial arsenal. Ahmed was released upon the decree of the grand vizier, Mustafa Pasha, five months later.¹⁵

Thieves sometimes targeted women who lived by themselves and could not protect themselves adequately. Thieves often knew these women and were from the same neighborhood. According to a report from the galley register, Fatma Hatun daughter of Mustafa, a resident of Tophane, presented a lawsuit to the court of Kasım Paşa against Ibrahim in July 1726, claiming that he had stolen two towels and a waistband from her house. A man named Ibrahim was arrested while attempting to flee and was later sentenced.¹⁶

The following case shows that women were victims of theft by other women as well. Hava Hatun daughter of Hasan presented a petition to the Imperial Council against four women—Kerime, Servnaz (wife of a slave dealer), Arab Hadice, and Asiye daughter of Defterdar Mehmed Efendi. In numerous lawsuits, Hava Hatun claimed that these women had stolen gold coins worth 7,000 *kuruş* and silver coins worth 7,000 *kuruş* that belonged to her husband from her safe box in the closet in her house near the slave market while she was not home. The women confessed in court that they had stolen and spent the money. Arab Hadice, a slave, admitted that she had given 220 *kuruş* to the slave dealer to buy her freedom and had spent 220 *kuruş* to buy a house. Asiye claimed that she had given 3,500 *kuruş* to her father, Mehmed Efendi, and 680 *kuruş* to her mother, Hadice Hatun. The court registered their confessions and the amounts of money they owed to Hava Hatun in September 1768 and sent a report to the Imperial Council.¹⁷

From the information in the court record, we can assume that Hava Hatun was the wife of a deceased slave dealer and that these women did business with her since they all knew each other. They might also have been her neighbors since they had been able to gain access to Hava Hatun's house and knew where she hid the cash. Hava Hatun may have come home and discovered the women in her house. The slave Arab Hadice may have actually lived in Hava Hatun's house and may have given the others access to it. Female servants and slaves were sometimes involved in robbery from the houses of their neighbors and masters. It is highly possible that the previously mentioned women were part of an organized crime ring and worked together with their husbands or masters (in the case of the slaves). Without the cooperation of local people and others, it would have been difficult for thieves to carry out such crimes. Sometimes a whole family was involved in theft. For example, in another case recorded by the police in March 1792, a certain Esma and her mother, Um Kolsum, were arrested, confessed to theft, and were then banished to the island of Limnos.¹⁸ These cases underscore the active involvement of women in theft.

ARMED ROBBERY

Armed robberies were frequent in Istanbul, and most male thieves used knives to attack and threaten their victims. Many victims were injured during an attempted robbery and then presented their injuries as evidence to the court, which considered armed robbery a serious crime. For example, in June 1720, Abdi son of Ömer broke into the shop of Artvin outside the Azepe Kapı in Galata, stole his goods, attacked him with a knife, and fled. Abdi was immediately arrested and brought to the court.¹⁹ After hearing the testimony of four witnesses, the deputy judge of the court of Galata sentenced Abdi to row in the galleys. In this case, the testimony of four witnesses played an important role in his conviction though he was released after a month upon receipt of the petition of Fatma Hatun, probably his wife.

Journeyman and artisans were also involved in armed robbery from their master's shops. For example, Kalaycı (tinsmith) Ahmed broke into the shop of his master, Ebübekir, after midnight and attempted to steal his tools in July 1725.²⁰ When Osman, who had been sleeping in the shop, screamed out for help, Ahmed attacked and injured him with a knife. Osman and a non-Muslim bread seller, Nayir, who had also been assaulted by Ahmed, brought a lawsuit to the court and called witnesses to testify. Ahmed was subsequently sentenced and was later released from the galleys upon receipt of the petition presented by moral guarantors from his neighborhood a year later in July 1726. In this case, Ahmed's armed assault and injuring of two people led to a term of one year until the residents of his quarter guaranteed his good conduct upon release (see chapter 7 on moral guarantor).

Some seminary students who could not afford to pay their living expenses in Is-

tanbul resorted to theft from the *medrese* and also used violence. For example, Seyyid Ali (from Karahisar) stole goods worth fifty *kuruş* from the room of Halil Efendi in Mihrimah Sultan's *medrese* in Edirne Kapı. Halil Efendi then brought a lawsuit to the court and had Ali arrested and sentenced to the galleys. However, Ali escaped to Bursa, came back, and again assaulted Halil several times for having reported him to the police. Halil had him arrested and imprisoned again in August 1723. Records show that Ali was released in November 1723.²¹

Janissaries were also involved in violent assaults and robbery and were punished more severely than others were when convicted. When two janissaries attempted to assault and rob someone in Samatya, the residents called the police and had them arrested after they had injured two townspeople and two policemen. The janissaries were then imprisoned in the Agha Kapı, which was reserved for janissaries, and were later hanged in July 1810.²² The punishment in this case was more severe since they had injured two police officers in addition to two bystanders.

ORGANIZED THEFT

Organized robbery by professional thieves also took place frequently in Istanbul. They belonged to crime rings and were involved in all kinds of criminal activities like counterfeiting, armed robbery, and sexual assault. The flea market, which still exists in Istanbul, was an important place for the sale of stolen goods. For example, Mustafa, Salih, and Mehmed belonged to a ring of thieves. They broke into a *han*, opened the safe box, and stole goods. They later confessed to their theft in the kadi's court and returned the stolen goods to their owners. However, the three were still sentenced in July 1720 to row in the galleys. They were released after their wives had submitted a petition; after its receipt, an imperial order for their release was issued in April 1721.²³

In another case, a certain Ali Beşe was accused of stealing some kitchenware from Mehmed and was arrested and brought to court in December 1720. Ali Beşe claimed that he had purchased the pots from Mehmed for seventy *para* and that he had not known that they did not belong to Mehmed. After Ali Beşe was able to prove his claim, he submitted the goods to the court and opened a lawsuit against Mehmed. In his defense Mehmed claimed that he had received the pots from Şeyh Mustafa, who was absent from the court. Nevertheless, Mehmed was found guilty of theft and was ordered to pay Ali Beşe seventy *para*. Mehmed was then sentenced in December 1720 to row in the galleys and was released a year later.²⁴ This intricate and intriguing case reveals the nature of organized robbery in Istanbul at the time. Despite the denial of the defendant, Mehmed, it is clear that he was part of an organized ring of professional thieves who had passed the stolen property quickly to a buyer, in this case, Ali Beşe. Obviously, if the court had been willing, it could have

summoned Mustafa, clearly another suspect involved in the robbery ring. The agreement by the defendant to turn over the money that he had collected from the buyer for the stolen property closed the case, although Mehmed was still sentenced to row in the galleys for a year, a relatively long term.

Women were also involved in organized theft. For example, in October 1758, three Turkish women entered the house of Ahmed Odabaşı when he was not home and stole his clothes, but they were caught by Ahmed when leaving the house. He then reclaimed his goods and took them to the police in Istanbul. The Imperial Council issued an order to banish the women to Iznikmit.²⁵ Clearly, their sentence of banishment had to do with their gender and involvement in organized theft.

In addition, non-Muslim residents formed their own crime rings and operated together. For example, three Jewish habitual thieves, Avram, Meresko, and Osa, were arrested in the Agha Kapı and were sentenced to row in the galleys upon receipt of an imperial order in February 1721. Osa and Meresko were later released upon receipt of a petition of a Jewish woman named Ester (a wife or mother of one of them), and Avram was released by an imperial order in September 1721.²⁶

Theft sometimes involved members of European trading communities and their Ottoman middlemen, Jewish, Greek, and Armenian brokers.²⁷ Although European communities enjoyed legal immunity and were tried and punished in their own courts, when the crime involved Ottoman subjects, the kadi courts became the arena of dispute resolution. The English, Dutch, and Venetian traders displayed great mistrust toward their Ottoman brokers and feared their influence as customs agents and translators at the Porte. Moreover, Jewish merchants and bankers acted in solidarity when they were accused of theft. For example, Aslan and Jaco, two Jewish brokers, were suspects in the theft of merchandise and jewelry worth twenty-thousand lion dollars (Dutch silver coins) from the Dutch firm of Leytstar and Company in Galata in 1735. When they refused to confess their theft after being arrested and tortured by the *voyvoda* of Galata, the Jewish community of Galata came to their defense and opposed the efforts of the Dutch ambassador, Cornelis Calkoen, to have them convicted. After much protest by the Dutch Embassy in Istanbul, legal proceedings resumed in 1739 and led to the arrest of one of the suspects. He then confessed the names of other brokers involved in the theft. The Ottoman government was going to hang the thieves, but the ambassador was asking for the payment of damages by the Jews. Finally, Grand Vizier Yegen Mehmed Pasha agreed to charge the Jewish community to pay compensations as much as 10,000 lion dollars to the firm. However, the grand vizier was soon deposed, and the matter was dropped, possibly due to the involvement of the Jewish community. This and other problems, like higher customs dues, led to the insolvency and bankruptcy of this firm and hurt Dutch trade in Istanbul in the long run.²⁸ Although the state took charges of corruption by foreign merchants and ambassadors against Ottoman subjects seriously, the courts were willing to negotiate a settlement and even to protect

the local community from the financial claims of foreigners who could not always resort to the Islamic courts.

COUNTERFEITING

Counterfeiting coins, imperial orders, and certificates of janissary pay became a widespread problem in the eighteenth century. In the absence of a central mint, the silver value of *akçe* fluctuated with the circulation of debased coins and counterfeits. The silver content of *akçe* fell from 0.21 grams in 1689 to 0.13 grams in 1721 and dropped further to 0.12 grams in 1740.²⁹ Partly as a result of debasement, the price index for foodstuff rose from 6.69 to 10.6 in 1740.³⁰ The state engaged in the debasement of silver *akçe* in the eighteenth century, a practice that caused an additional surge in index prices of foodstuff to 20 in 1781. Moreover, debased coins were also circulated by counterfeiters, a situation that exacerbated the problem (see chapter 3).

In 1716 Sultan Ahmed III ordered the minting of new *para* (small coin worth 3 *akçe*) in Istanbul and collected all the debased coins minted in Cairo. However, this policy was ineffective, and debased coins continued to circulate until 1725, driving up prices and causing a great deal of distress to artisans and those who lived on fixed salaries.

From time to time, Ottoman reformers issued orders to punish those who circulated debased coins in the market. Bankers and merchants were in a vulnerable position since all kinds of money (Ottoman and foreign) circulated among them frequently, and some had no way of distinguishing debased and fake coins. For example, in September 1720, Ali son of Ibrahim set up a workshop in his house in a village in Balıkesir minting counterfeit coins. He was caught when someone named Osman complained to the kadi about having received fifteen counterfeit *para* from him. As a result, Ali was sentenced to row in the galleys for two years.³¹

Some of these counterfeiters may have been part of organized rings that minted and distributed fake coins. For example, in May 1721, Dımo, a non-Muslim, was arrested for circulating counterfeit *para* in Istanbul.³² In another case, a certain Taryo was arrested by the superintendent of the mint in October 1725 for possessing clipped *akçe* in Istanbul. After an investigation, Taryo was convicted as a repeat offender and sentenced to row in the galleys; however, he was released a month later.³³

False pay-certificates also circulated along with debased and counterfeit coins in the markets of Istanbul and affected the government payroll and budget. Artisans who had connections to the janissaries used these certificates to falsely claim salaries and provisions. In one case, when a certain Ahmed issued fake salary certificates for janissaries, he was arrested and sentenced in December 1720 to row in the galleys.³⁴ However, a few months after his release, Ahmed delivered a fake certificate to Mustafa Agha (possibly a commander of janissaries) and asked him for

250 *kuruş*, a musket, and prayer rug. Ahmed was subsequently arrested and again sentenced to row in the galleys in August 1720.³⁵

VIOLATION OF GUILD RULES

During times of shortages and inflation, violations of state-controlled maximum prices and weights led to arrest and punishment of many bakers. The state considered provisioning cities with raw materials and cheap foodstuff (grains and meat) an important responsibility. Guilds played a significant role in distributing raw materials and in supervising the quality and prices of foodstuff. For example, anyone who was caught selling low-quality and light (weight) bread above the official prices was punished severely and expelled from the guild.³⁶ Sometimes the market inspector nailed the ear of the guilty baker to his door. Often those who violated guild rules and cheated customers were publicly humiliated and paraded through the streets. Although normally the market inspector and guild elders punished this type of crime on the spot with *bastinado*, lashing, and public humiliation, the high number of arrests recorded in the galleys register demonstrates the state's growing crack-down on bakers during the 1720s. This policy continued throughout the century as the state tightened its control by closing down bakeries for violation of guild rules. With growing inflation and shortages, the situation became worse for the bakers at the end of the century, and they were punished severely. The shortages of wheat during times of drought and the subsequent rise in the price of bread were often the most important factors leading to urban riots.

The main staple for the population of Istanbul was *nan-i 'aziz*, or regular white bread, which normally weighed 110 *dirhem* (374 grams).³⁷ Better-quality bread was known as *francela*, or fine white bread, which was consumed by the rich and by the Europeans. Other varieties of bread included various types of breads and bagels.³⁸ All the bakers received their supply of wheat in Un Kapanı (at a flour scale) on the Golden Horn and paid a fixed price that was negotiated by the kadi and the head of guilds. The wheat was then taken to mills in different locations and distributed as flour to bakers all over the city.³⁹

At times of shortages and inflation, bakers often lowered the weight of the bread and changed the grain mix—contrary to guild rules—to save money. The guild of bakers had to follow strict guidelines in baking bread, so it had to punish those bakers who violated the rules. In addition, the market inspector controlled the weight and quality of the ordinary white bread through regular inspections. The inspector also controlled the price of one loaf of the regular white bread, which was between one *para* and two *akçe* in the eighteenth century. The police carried out the arrest of bakers who sold light or lower-quality bread from time to time. For example, in July 1720 the police arrested Arakil, the owner of a bakery, for selling light bread for 2 *akçe* that was 40 *dirhem* short of the required weight.⁴⁰ After a mass arrest in De-

cember 1724, the state sentenced thirty non-Muslim bakers in different neighborhoods of Istanbul for selling light bread (20–25 *dirhem* lighter than required) but released them after one month.⁴¹ Some of those arrested were repeat offenders.

Sometimes the shortage of wheat caused competition in the distribution of high-quality flour among bakers. For example, in September 1768 the guild of bakers of regular white bread complained to the kadi about the bakers and bagel makers in Eyüp, Davud Paşa, and Kasım Paşa baking contrary to guild rules by selling each loaf of bread weighing between 100 and 110 *dirhem* for one *para*.⁴² The guild claimed that the latter had managed to purchase three times more white flour than the standard allocation given to them. Moreover, they had set up ovens at homes, baking regular white bread (weighing between 100 and 110 *dirhem*) with a bit of egg on top and selling it as special white bread in baskets and on donkeys in the streets, thus harming their guild of bakers. As a result, the kadi ordered the punishment of those bakers and their expulsion from their guild. At another time, the guild of *çörek* (round braided sweet bread) sellers petitioned the kadi in October 1768 to close down the illegal bakeries in their districts operated by bakers outside the guilds.⁴³

Albanian bakers were particularly notorious for operating against guild rules. Many were janissaries and used their privileges to avert guild rules. When there was a grain shortage and high inflation in Istanbul, Selim III released state-owned grains and ordered the expulsion of all Albanian bakers from their guild. He also ordered the hanging of two Albanian bakers after a major bread riot in Istanbul in 1790.⁴⁴ However, these policies were not very effective as another bread riot took place a decade or so later in December 1809 due to grain shortages.⁴⁵

OBJECTS OF THEFT

In Ottoman society urbanization, commercialization of the economy, and social stratification were primary factors in crimes against property. A similar trend existed in preindustrial Europe.⁴⁶ The concepts of private property and its protection were well developed in Islamic law. Istanbul did not yet have a well-developed cash economy, and many of its residents did not possess large amounts of money. The majority of robberies recorded in our sources were petty thefts of personal and luxury goods from shops, *hans*, houses, and public places like mosques. Most thieves were interested in stealing personal and commercial objects like clothing, small household goods, kitchenware, precious textiles, furs, jewelry, and cash. According to our records, a man named Ali stole broadcloth and a pot from a *han* in Galata. A second previous example showed that Mehdi son of Ahmed stole silk and woolen textiles and clothing from a coffeehouse in Galata. In another case, Amir Mehmed stole a piece of muslin and a bath towel from a *han* and at another time stole shoes from mosques. He probably sold these in the flea market.⁴⁷ A second level of organized crime involved the reselling of stolen goods in houses and flea markets that

were semilegal (i.e., the state was aware of the practice). Many Istanbul residents purchased secondhand clothing and other items from the flea market. For example, Slave Arab Abdullah stole clothing from his owner, Aziz Hatun, and tried to sell it at Bit Pazarı (the flea market). Furs were very valuable pieces of clothing and were often used in lining outer garments to provide protection against the cold weather. In some examples in the records, Al-Hac Mehmed, a convicted thief, stole a fur from a house; a man named Mehmed snatched someone's fur-lined cloak while the person was taking ablution in Sultan Bayezit mosque and then fled.⁴⁸

Artisans and workers stole tools from their masters or shops since many did not own their own tools and had to rent them or pay a fee to their master. In one case, Ahmed, an apprentice (tinsmith), stole tools from his master's shop at night. In another case, Ibrahim attempted to steal a knife and weights from a butcher's shop. Some stole more valuable items: Ibrahim ibn Hüseyin stole a boat from Ali Beşe. In another case, a man named Ömer stole an old man's mule in Istavroz, assaulted the owner and injured him, and then escaped.⁴⁹

Our sources do not record any arrests for stealing food items and perishable goods. These types of thefts may not have been referred to the courts and may have been punished on the spot by the market inspector and the market police. These crimes may have been considered outside the jurisdiction of the courts because the shari'a did not consider stealing perishable goods (milk, meat, fresh fruits) and things of trifling value like wood and hay serious theft that would incur the fixed punishment of amputation.⁵⁰

In most cases the courts applied discretionary punishment after the rules of procedure had been satisfied. Moreover, the early Ottoman *kanunnames* (sultanic edicts) laid down a punishment of flogging and one *akçe* per two strokes instead of amputation for stealing bread and yogurt.⁵¹ Similarly, stealing animals like hens, ducks, sheep, horses, and donkeys deserved flogging and fines of between 30 and 100 *akçe* (for stealing a horse or donkey). These types of crimes were widespread in the countryside. The imposition of fines rather than corporal punishment and amputation for robbery became the norm in the Ottoman Empire during the sixteenth century. By the eighteenth century, forced labor in the galleys and imprisonment for a few months had replaced fines and flogging (see chapter 9).⁵²

Most of the convictions in Istanbul in the eighteenth century were for theft. Crimes against property accounted for the highest number of convictions there during this century mainly due to residents' economic difficulties and an increase in the number of marginal men and women in the population. Likewise, in Paris, 85 percent of all prosecuted crimes from 1750 to 1789 were thefts.⁵³ City theft in Paris involved illicit entrance into private and commercial places for stealing clothing, linens, silver, jewelry, and luxury items. Michael Weisser outlines three factors that led to

crime in early modern Europe: 1) population growth due to rural migration and an increase in poverty, 2) urbanization in preindustrial Europe, and 3) warfare and economic pressure in the form of new taxes, shortages, and demobilization.⁵⁴ In Istanbul, Paris, and London, the recycling of stolen clothes and items was done by secondhand merchants at flea markets that were semilegal enterprises. In these cities, many crimes were committed by single people, but in some cases they involved a chain of individuals. Moreover, in Istanbul, rural migrants, unemployed single men, poor artisans, and professional thieves committed the vast majority of robberies. Similarly, two-thirds of all persons convicted of theft in Paris during the eighteenth century were recent immigrants from the countryside.⁵⁵

The state also cracked down on robbery and sentenced thieves to forced labor in the galleys for a few months to a year, depending on the criminal's prior convictions and the nature of the robbery. Robbery from commercial places and the houses of members of the upper class carried a higher sentence. In Istanbul, the violation of guild rules, especially the selling of light bread above the maximum price, was considered a crime and carried a heavy sentence of forced labor in the galleys. In Paris, too, the police controlled the provisioning of the city and punished bakers who overcharged.⁵⁶

Prostitution and the Vice Trade

Deli kız [crazy woman] Ayşe:

This prostitute has been involved in the death from injury of a janissary [the standard bearer from the 67th division] in the quarter of Çuhur Bostan near Macuncu. The residents of the neighborhood are fed up and disturbed by Ayşe's moral misconduct. We were able to arrest her yesterday and bring her to the Imperial Council to request an order for her punishment. We will follow the command of our most excellent and gracious Sultan.

IMPERIAL ORDER: Since the misconduct of the above mentioned is contrary to our imperial command according to the report, she will be banished to Bursa in the company of a guard.

DATE: 1714

—CZ 2037, BBA

The report from a police officer cited above is a rare example of the arrest of a prostitute in Istanbul who had also been implicated in the death of her client, a janissary officer. Her nickname, *deli kız* (crazy woman), underlines her reputation for violent conduct, her marginal status, and her moral impropriety that drove her neighbors to cooperate with the police in her arrest after she allegedly caused the death of her lover. She operated from her house, a situation that was the case for most Muslim prostitutes. The crime took place in a working-class neighborhood of Istanbul. Ayşe, who was known for her unruly conduct and prostitution, was probably a rural migrant, a divorced or widowed woman, or a former slave. Her neighbors were fed up with her sexual conduct and found the perfect excuse to get rid of her.

There was no trial for murder or prostitution in the kadi's court since the relatives of the victim did not present a lawsuit. The police usually arrested repeat offenders without a trial, relying instead on the testimony of the residents. We are left clueless as to her motive for the murder. We may guess that this may have been a case of self-defense against a violent janissary or an attempt at robbery by Ayşe, which might have resulted in a quarrel and the subsequent murder of the janissary.

He may have been her pimp since many janissaries were involved in organized crime. Janissaries and sailors were usually the most numerous clients of prostitutes.

Ayşe was banished to Bursa, the former Ottoman capital in Anatolia, a sentence usually meted out to prostitutes. Penitent prostitutes could often come back after the court received the petition of a moral guarantor, usually the local imam from their original neighborhood, and be reintegrated into their places of residence. Police records on Muslim prostitutes became more systematic and extant for Istanbul in the eighteenth century, a development that may reflect a growth in commercial sex among Muslim women as well as state control of Muslim prostitution.¹

AN AGE OF SEXUAL TRANSGRESSION

The eighteenth century was a time of changing sexual mores, growth in commercial sex, transgression of moral boundaries, and increased social and police control of prostitution, as reflected in extensive records of arrest and punishment in Istanbul. Both organized and unorganized prostitution were on the rise due to the spread of commercial sex and the economic difficulties faced by single, divorced, and widowed women as well as by slaves.

In most Muslim and Ottoman societies, prostitution and public drinking were limited to the red-light districts or non-Muslim neighborhoods. As long as non-Muslims organized the vice trade, Muslim states tolerated it, and they also regulated and taxed it. In the eighteenth century, the increase in poverty and rural migration into Istanbul led to the spread of commercial sex outside the red-light districts. Muslim streetwalkers practiced their trade openly in public parks, cemeteries, bachelors' rooms, and even religious seminaries. Some turned their houses into brothels and attracted the attention and anger of their neighbors.

Contemporary Ottoman moralists like Şem'danizade were very critical of the sexual mores of the Tulip Age and accused Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha of promoting prostitution.² They were also critical of the public visibility of women and of well-known prostitutes who dressed in sexy outfits and led Muslim men astray. An anonymous Ottoman moralist wrote a social commentary on the changing sexual mores in Istanbul and the violation of class and gender barriers by the new rural migrants during the early eighteenth century.³ The author criticized the crude social conduct of the lower-class men and women who forced their way into the company of the rich in Istanbul. The author, possibly of ulema background, was particularly critical of men's loss of control over their wives, women's public freedom, and female violation of gendered space. He blamed rural migrant workers for moral deviance and vagrancy and for promoting prostitution. More specifically, the anonymous author condemned the boatmen from Kastamonu who transported prostitutes to the Bahçe Kapı in Istanbul. He also described unemployed single, married, and elderly men who frequented the brothels of Tophane and Galata. Ad-

ditionally, he condemned the practice of concubinage by “immoral men” who impregnated their slaves and then forced them into prostitution. The author also wrote about non-Muslim middlemen who procured both male and female prostitutes.⁴ The wealthier members of the ruling class enjoyed commercial sex provided by courtesans who charged exorbitant fees and lived in elegant mansions.⁵ The poor turned to streetwalkers.

The poetry of the Tulip Age reflected the relaxation of moral codes and the gendered boundaries evident in a lifestyle of ease and luxury among the men and women of the Ottoman ruling class.⁶ A genre of poetry called *şehir aşub* and *şevk engiz* developed in the Ottoman Empire around the theme of forbidden love.⁷ This genre of poetry was devoted to pleasure in the city. It celebrated love and romance in an open and direct manner.⁸ Earthly love, sexual union, and flirtation with the opposite sex or the same sex became the subject of much of the Tulip Age divan poetry and painting.⁹ The theme of free love and sexual adventurism was central to the poetry of Nedim (d. 1730) and Sünbülzade Vehbi (d. 1809).¹⁰ Nedim enjoyed the patronage of Sultan Ahmed III and Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha.

Istanbul was the scene of many kinds of sexual encounters between members of various nations and communities, and these liaisons were described in the literature of the period. Fazıl Beg Enderuni (1759–1810) wrote treatises on illicit affairs with the male (*Hubânnâme*) and female beauties (*Zenânnâme*) from different backgrounds and nations in Istanbul at the request of his male lover.¹¹ He described the female beauties and their sexual conduct in his poetical work *Zenânnâme*. Fazıl Beg divided the women of Istanbul into several categories, ranging from the most pious, covered, and confined to the most visible, well dressed, flirtatious, and adulterous.¹² The flirtatious Istanbul woman, according to Fazıl Beg, dressed in a colorful, fashionable cloak and wandered from store to store coquettishly, looking for the place where her lover sat. When she found him, she approached her lover and took him home.¹³ Fazıl Beg described Persian women as the most beautiful, charming, sexy, and agreeable and the smartest women among the foreign female beauties in Istanbul. Furthermore, Fazıl Beg admired European women for their beauty, fine appearances, and openness as good lovers.¹⁴

Fazıl Beg was originally from an Arab family in Acre and had been taken into the palace in Istanbul as a young boy. He had been trained to become a civil servant but had had to leave the palace after a scandalous love affair with a page in 1784. After having been banished to Rhodes, he returned to Istanbul and lived there for ten years while he wrote five poetical works, including *Zenânnâme* and *Hubânnâme*. Fazıl Beg had a reputation for moral misconduct and scandalous love affairs with boys in the palace and in the red-light district of Galata.¹⁵ One could, according to Fazıl Beg, choose between male and female lovers, but in his opinion, the former were better. Sodomy did not attract as much reproach as heterosexual liaisons

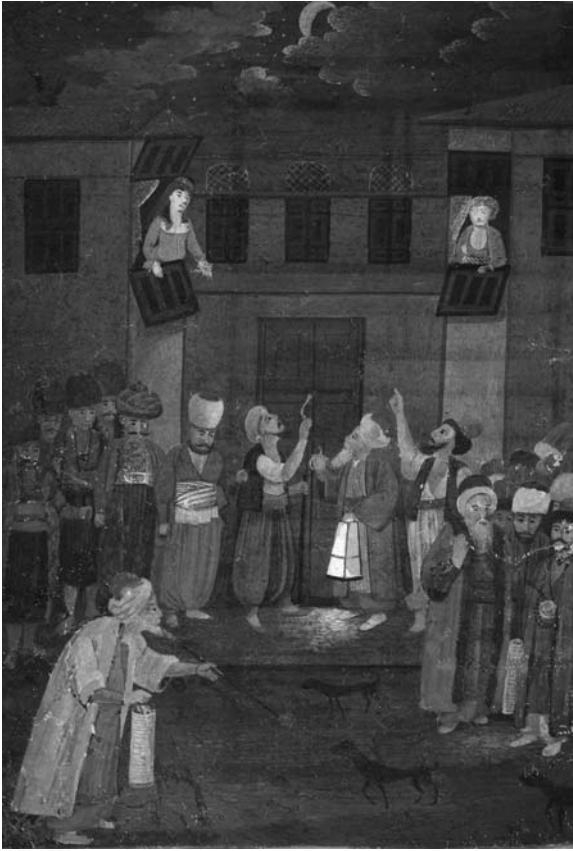


FIGURE 5. Fazil Beg Enderuni, *A Brothel*. Reprinted from *Zenânnâme*. British Library, OR 7094.

outside marital bounds did in eighteenth-century Istanbul.¹⁶ Rather, it was promoted in the poetry of Nedim and others.

Female sexuality also occupied a center stage in Ottoman visual arts during this period. The miniature paintings of Levni (1730s), Buhari (1740s), Rafael (1745), and Fazil Beg Enderuni depicted unveiled and seminude women in individual portraits, the public bath, the pleasure gardens, and the harem in eighteenth-century Istanbul. Levni painted portraits of Ottoman women in their sexy outfits and without the veil.¹⁷ Fazil Beg Enderuni depicted women in brothels in the late eighteenth century.¹⁸

Lady Mary Montagu described at length the risky conduct of Ottoman women who enjoyed more freedom and who used the veil to disguise themselves when they

met their lovers in pudding shops (similar to ice cream parlors).¹⁹ Ottoman authorities issued several bans on women's public appearance and sumptuary laws on their dress code.²⁰ In 1725 Muslim women were ordered not to dress in the "new fashion" like European women or in the manner of "prostitutes" by wearing garments with long collars, fancy headdresses, and long ribbons. Tailors were ordered not to make clothes in the new fashion, causing a loss of business for traditional dressmakers. The police were ordered to arrest women and tailors who violated these bans and blurred the distinction between "good" and "bad" women and between Muslims and non-Muslims.²¹ Needless to say, these bans were ineffective as women from all walks of life became more visible in public spaces, and some violated the sexual boundaries established by their religious authorities and the state.

PROSTITUTION BY MUSLIM WOMEN

Muslim prostitutes were not allowed to operate in public brothels and taverns in the red-light district due to rules of segregation since taverns were considered male spaces in the Ottoman Empire. In addition, and more importantly, Muslim women were not allowed to have any sexual contacts with non-Muslim men. Muslim prostitutes provided services to Muslim men in their own houses and in private brothels. The government followed a strict policy in regard to the vice trade by Muslim women in Muslim quarters and became more vigilant in the eighteenth century, a period of economic difficulties and growing social tensions. It held judges and local community leaders responsible for controlling and reporting prostitution.

One of the responsibilities of the Ottoman state was to uphold the Islamic law regarding morality. The police were authorized to carry out raids in suspicious locations at night and to arrest prostitutes. The police often knew well-known prostitutes and streetwalkers. For example, the police arrested a certain Ayşe from Sinop (on the Black Sea) and her friend, another Ayşe from Üsküp (in Bulgaria), who were well-known Muslim prostitutes, and imprisoned them in May 1722.²² In another raid in December 1731, the police arrested ten Muslim streetwalkers and imprisoned them in Baba Cafer prison.²³ Two were homeless and had been arrested on public property at night. One had been sleeping near a well and had been arrested by a night patrol. One had been arrested for stealing clothes from a public bath. Prostitutes Hadice from Edirne, Emine, and Ayşe had been arrested as they were walking out of a Sufi lodge in the company of a palace guard in December 1731. Another Ayşe had been arrested while conversing with someone near the quarter of Sultan Selim in December 1731. Hatem had been arrested for stealing a bundle of clothes from the Sultan Selim public bath. Another prostitute had been arrested in an intoxicated state on the roof of a house. Fatma had been arrested near the Bedestan inside a barber's shop at night. Hadice, a homeless woman, had been arrested near a well after midnight. Many prostitutes were homeless, operated at night, and

slept in public parks. Streetwalkers were the most destitute women in Istanbul. They may have been divorced or may have been former slaves who had been forced into prostitution by their masters and slave dealers.²⁴

Many of these prostitutes and streetwalkers were rural migrants who lived by themselves or with other women and engaged in commercial sex to earn a living. In Aleppo, too, in the eighteenth century, most prostitutes were rural migrants and came from as far away as Urfa and Diyarbakir.²⁵ Some had jobs in the service and entertainment sectors as singers, bath attendants, servants, or weavers. Their clients came from all walks of life, including seminary students and imams.

Prostitutes sometimes operated from their houses. The police conducted arrests once they had been notified by the neighbors. For example, according to an imperial order in August 1695, a certain Şehbaz Hatun, a single mother and resident of the Katib Husrev quarter in the district of Istanbul, gathered unrelated men in her house. When an investigation was carried out, her neighbors testified about Şehbaz Hatun's misconduct and reported the good conduct of her brother-in-law, Mustafa. Her daughter was taken away from her and placed in the custody of her uncle, Mustafa. Şehbaz Hatun was then banished to Sadd al-Bahr (a fortress on tip of the Gallipoli peninsula) in the end of August 1695.²⁶ In another case, Fatma and Emine, two residents of the quarter of Firuz Agha, were arrested in their house at night with two men who were not related to them. They were then confined in the imam's house and were transported to Mudaniye and then to Bursa in June 1758.²⁷

A whole family was sometimes involved in commercial sex. For example, Cemile Hatun, known as Ince Hanım (petite lady), and her father, Ahmed, had been visiting houses in Istanbul in 1791 and not avoiding strange and unrelated men. They were accused of prostitution and of misleading many people into drinking, playing music, and participating in other disorderly conduct day and night. The two were subsequently banished to Cyprus in the company of a police officer.²⁸

The kadi got involved in punishing prostitution when neighbors brought a lawsuit to the court. For example, in 1791 the kadi of Üsküdar reported to the Imperial Council about the moral misconduct and prostitution of Fatma, the daughter of Mustafa, based on the testimony of upstanding residents at the court. The neighbors testified that Fatma had brought prostitutes and unrelated men to her house and had refused to follow the advice of the neighbors and improve her conduct. She disturbed the peace of the neighborhood with her immoral conduct and abusive tongue. The neighbors demanded her expulsion from the neighborhood.²⁹ In this case, Fatma appears to have been on the community watch's list and had received friendly warnings from her neighbors to stop gathering unrelated men in her house. She seems to have been living alone since no male seems to have been involved. Women who lived by themselves attracted the scrutiny of their neighbors and were often accused of moral misconduct when they took in unrelated men.

Muslim prostitutes sometimes took non-Muslim clients although Muslim women

were banned from having sexual intercourse with non-Muslim men, according to the shari'a. For example, according to a police report, Hadice was arrested for committing "immoral acts" with the non-Muslim (Armenian) Serpe and others and was banished to the island of Istandköy in December 1793.³⁰ This was a rare case of inter-faith sex by a Muslim woman since there appears to have been a division of labor between Muslim and non-Muslim prostitutes regarding Muslim and non-Muslim clients.

PROSTITUTION BY NON-MUSLIM WOMEN

We have fewer reports of prostitution by non-Muslim women since the heads of Christian and Jewish communities usually policed and punished breaches of morality in their jurisdictions unless a repeat offender crossed religious boundaries and refused to repent. In a diverse city like Istanbul, it was difficult to police inter-faith sex and prostitution. Non-Muslim community leaders punished most cases of moral misconduct and prostitution by non-Muslim women and reported repeat offenders to the kadi and the police. The following report provides interesting clues on how the various religious communities treated moral misconduct and on how Ottoman authorities responded to these cases. On April 15, 1750, a group of angry male residents from several neighborhoods in Istanbul gathered and presented a petition against a Jewish prostitute to the chief of police, demanding her punishment. The police made the following report based on the testimony of the residents to the Imperial Council:

The leaders of the Jewish community, the chief Rabbis of Balat, Hasköy, Kuzguncuk, Ortaköy and nearby, the metropolitan of Fener, and more than twenty Greek, Armenian, and Muslim residents have come to the police and submitted a complaint against the Jewish Rifke (Rivka) who resides in the quarter of Abdi Subaşı, outside Fener. They claim that Rifke intermingles with Muslim, Armenian, and Greek men against the shari'a and is a habitual prostitute. The Jewish community has punished and expelled her from many quarters. But she continues her prostitution day and night and refuses to improve her conduct. They claim that "she seduces our innocent youth and has therefore undermined our peace." They have demanded an imperial order for her expulsion to Salonica.³¹

We do not have additional information on what happened to Rifke in Salonica, a city with a population that was 50 percent Jewish, and whether she ever returned to Istanbul to resume her life after a period of probation. Her case attracted much attention because Rifke was a habitual prostitute who operated on her own, crossed gender and communal boundaries, and formed sexual liaisons with Muslim, Greek, Armenian, and Jewish men in five quarters in Istanbul.³² Rifke caused so much public scandal that she had been expelled from her neighborhood several times before

her case reached the attention of the police and the central government. The reference to the violation of the shari'a indicates that she may even have been referred to the Islamic court of Balat, even though breaches of morality were usually punished by the community. Since she operated from her house, her neighbors demanded her expulsion for failing to improve her conduct. The response of her neighbors to her moral misconduct was very similar to neighbors' reactions toward Muslim prostitutes. Rifke continued her illicit activities in other neighborhoods, and these eventually came to the attention of the police and the Islamic court. Because she had been sleeping with men from different religious backgrounds from many neighborhoods, Jewish, Muslim, Greek, and Armenian community leaders and residents took the initiative and provided testimony in the court. Like Muslim women, Christian and Jewish women may have limited themselves to clients from their own communities, although Muslim men had the freedom to engage in sexual conduct with non-Muslim women.³³

This case also underscores the intercommunal tensions in Istanbul's diverse neighborhoods that exposed those who lived on the margins of these communities, usually women. Rifke resided on the border of the Greek community of Fener and the Jewish community of Balat. Fener was a more prosperous community of Greek and European merchants and sea captains. Balat, on the other hand, was a poorer Jewish neighborhood in the eighteenth century. At the end of the seventeenth century (1691), a poll tax register ranked the majority of Balat's Jewish population as low income (see chapter 2).³⁴ In the second half of the eighteenth century, the economic position of the Jewish community in Istanbul had deteriorated so much that 1,200 households (20 percent) failed to pay their taxes to the government and incurred a large debt of 325,000 *kuruş* (see chapter 2).³⁵

The attitudes of Jewish and Christian communities regarding prostitution as a sin and a crime against God were very similar to that of the Muslims, as the following case of a Christian prostitute demonstrates. In May 1745, an imperial order to the deputy judge of Marmara, a subdistrict of Galata, stated that twenty Muslim notables and non-Muslim residents had petitioned the court about the immoral conduct of a Christian woman named Kasandra.³⁶ They complained that she had taken unrelated and foreign men to her house and had failed to improve her conduct after several warnings had been issued by the chief of police. The order commanded the deputy judge to transport her on a boat to Egypt. It is interesting to note that Kasandra may have attracted the attention of her community because she, like Rifke, had interacted with foreign and possibly European clients outside her community. She might have been a Coptic woman originally from Egypt.

The involvement of various communities in the vice trade shows that Muslims and non-Muslims worked together in policing sexual conduct. For example, in 1751, the imam, the leader of Greek residents, other non-Muslim residents, and the police of the quarter of Tevfiki Ca'fer Çelebi presented a petition to the court against

the Greek Guheriye daughter of Simon, Mariore daughter of Kiro, and Domine daughter of Todori.³⁷ They accused the women of turning Domine's house into a tavern with the help of men and bringing unrelated men to the place, prostituting, and thus disturbing the peace of the neighborhood. The residents also complained about three Greek owners of bachelors' rooms for seducing the residents' family members in the rooms. The accusers demanded the expulsion of these women and men and the closing down of the bachelors' rooms. They also asked that the house of the prostitutes not be rented to anyone without the approval of the residents of the neighborhood. As a result of the complaints, an imperial order was issued for the expulsion of the accused. This colorful report shows that several men and women had been involved in running a private brothel near bachelors' rooms. As in previous cases, the neighbors (Muslims and non-Muslims) became fed up and demanded the expulsion of the prostitutes and the closing down of the bachelors' rooms.³⁸ They did not want single men and prostitutes in the neighborhood.

PROSTITUTION BY SLAVES

The Qur'anic allowance for four legal wives and an unlimited number of concubines led to the spread of slavery among the ruling class in Muslim societies. Female slaves were often targets of sexual exploitation by their masters although the Qur'an promoted the fair treatment, manumission, and marriage of slaves.³⁹ Many households in the seventeenth century had at least one female slave, who was often used as a servant. Muslim men were allowed to have sexual relations with their female slaves, who thus became their concubines. Concubines had limited rights and were not treated in the same way as a legal wife.

Despite the Islamic sanction of polygamy, its practice was limited to the top few percent of the ruling class in Ottoman society. The means of maintaining a polygamous household was not available to the vast majority of Muslim men in the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁰ Moreover, the Hanafi school of law promoted monogamy as the essence of Qur'anic teaching on marriage and allowed women to insert certain provisions into the marriage contract to prohibit polygamy. A woman could use the violation of this stipulation as grounds for divorce. The Hanafi school of law was adopted as the official legal system in the Ottoman Empire at its inception in 1300 A.D., a fact that may help explain the low rate of polygamy there compared with the rate in other Muslim societies. In 1655, only 6.76 percent of married men left two wives while another 0.56 percent left three wives at the time of their deaths.⁴¹

Slavery was widespread among the ruling class in the Ottoman Empire. The imperial household and the palace were the largest employers of slaves in the Ottoman Empire since the sultan could claim one-fifth of the captives of war and the booty. We can trace the institution of slavery to the ancient Near East.⁴² It developed fully during the Abbasid, Mamluk, Safavid, Mughal, and Ottoman periods due to wars

of expansion and slave trade until its suppression in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴³ During the expansionist phase of the early Islamic and Ottoman rule, the flow of war captives created a continual supply of male and female slaves. These states eventually incorporated male slaves into the military, but female slaves and children ended up in the harems of rulers and other upper-class households. The unfortunate ones found their way into the slave markets, which exploited some as prostitutes. Slavery placed Muslim men in a superior position by establishing unfair competition between Muslim women and non-Muslim concubines, who were legally their inferiors. It also allowed Muslim men to marry non-Muslim women or take such women as concubines while it discouraged Muslim women from marrying slaves or non-Muslim men.

Janissaries and other single and married men purchased slaves to serve as their concubines since they were readily available in the slave market of Istanbul, easy to procure, and cheap. Sexual pleasure was an important element, though not the only reason for upper-class men to purchase slaves. If a wealthy man had two or three wives, they helped each other out in the household. Otherwise, he bought one or two female slaves. He could keep them as long as he pleased and sell them when he got tired of them.⁴⁴ He could choose to marry a slave, but he usually did not do so since he would have to pay her a dowry and could not get rid of her or sell her if he wanted to. Ottaviano Bon, the Venetian envoy to the Sublime Porte, noted that in the early seventeenth century everyone visited the slave market of Istanbul to purchase slaves of all sorts as servants, nurses, and objects of sexual pleasure.⁴⁵ In the eighteenth century, however, records of the estates of deceased men show few slaves among the middle- and lower-class men. This situation was probably due to the rise in the prices of slaves and a drop in the flow of captives from the war front.

Lady Mary Montagu found slaves in regular households living in wretched and miserable conditions in Belgrade and Edirne in 1717.⁴⁶ According to her, only the young Circassian girls of eight or nine were brought up and educated in the mansions of great ladies like Fatma Sultan, the daughter of Ahmed III. Lady Montagu also stated that in Edirne very few men had polygamous households, dared to sleep with slaves owned by their wives, or owned concubines. She knew of only one man in Edirne, the official accountant, who kept a number of concubines in 1717.⁴⁷

Istanbul, in contrast with Edirne, had a large slave population and was the primary market for the Black Sea slave traffic. The price of a female slave in Istanbul was as high as 250 *kuruş* in 1769, depending on her age, virginity, physical traits, skills, and race, while that of a male slave was 200 *kuruş*.⁴⁸ In general, white slaves from Russia and the Caucasus claimed a higher price than black slaves from Africa.⁴⁹ In Bursa, slaves constituted 10 percent of the population in the early seventeenth century and were involved in weaving silk textiles. However, their proportion declined to 2.2 percent after a sharp rise in their price as a result of a reduction in the supply at the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁵⁰ A drop in the

supply of Balkan, Russian, and Circassian slaves due to the Russian blockade raised their price considerably and caused stiff competition among the guild and non-guild slave dealers during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Slave dealers had their own guilds, which supervised their activities and reported to the government any attempt to force slaves into prostitution to increase the slave dealer's profit.⁵¹ The state was certainly aware of the potential for abuse in the slave trade and tried to regulate it through the guild system, which also facilitated the collection of taxes.⁵² Membership in a guild proved to be very important when a lawsuit concerned a dealer and his integrity in business. For example, in February 1637 an imperial order forbade the illegal sale of free women by slave dealers outside the slave market in Istanbul in order to avoid the payment of taxes to the government. It restricted the slave trade to the slave market to prevent nonmembers from operating in the business.⁵³

Nevertheless, in the eighteenth century, despite government vigilance, some slave dealers functioned as organized prostitution rings and invented many ways to avoid the scrutiny of local police officials. They auctioned female slaves to bachelors in Istanbul despite the control of guild leaders who petitioned the government to punish them.⁵⁴ However, this action may have been simply a ploy by the guild members to end the competition from female dealers who undercut them by getting involved in prostitution. The government issued regulations banning the sale of slaves to dubious characters who employed them in begging, theft, and prostitution.⁵⁵ For example, records show that in February 1721 the chief of armorers arrested Ibrahim, Hasan, and Mustafa for selling two free Muslim women as concubines in Üsküdar.⁵⁶ Slave dealers also sometimes sold Muslim women into slavery against the law. In another case, the government ordered the police to arrest and banish the dealers Çolak İsmail and his son Hüseyin for selling free women of Anatolian origin into slavery in Üsküdar in 1805.⁵⁷

In addition, many female slaves were abandoned when they became pregnant by their master.⁵⁸ Abandoned and exploited slaves could sometimes resort to the shari'a even though the judges often sided with their masters. The shari'a regarded female slaves who bore children as *ummuveled* (mother of children) and promoted their manumission after the death of their masters. Their owners were not supposed to sell them off when they bore children, but owners broke this rule regularly. Moreover, the master still retained some property rights over the slave after manumission and could prevent her from marrying.⁵⁹ For example, Zübeyde daughter of Abdullah, a manumitted concubine and the mother of the child of al-Hac Mehmed Efendi, an official in the imperial treasury, sued al-Hac Mehmed Efendi for failing to give her the promised forty-eight gold coins, a young slave, and a carpet after her manumission in Istanbul in December 1768.⁶⁰ Her claim was dismissed on account of a religious ruling. Although the shari'a considered their children free and allowed them to inherit from their fathers, many concubines were left destitute.

Moreover, in order for a concubine to claim the *ümmuveled* status, the master had to acknowledge paternity.⁶¹ Female slaves sometimes sued their master in the court for mistreating them and refusing to take care of their children. For example, a certain Sezayi, the concubine and *ümmuveled* of Ahmed Agha, the former fortress commander of Kavala, sued the druggist al-Hac Süleyman for throwing her out of the house after giving birth to the child of Ahmed Agha in Istanbul in March 1765. She claimed that Ahmed Agha had left her in Süleyman's house since he had had to go to Kavala.⁶² Upon discovering her pregnancy, the latter had decided to get rid of her. It is not clear who had impregnated her.

Slaves were also used in the commercial sex trade by their masters or dealers. The sexual exploitation of slaves sometimes attracted the attention of authorities. Some men who purchased slaves and used them for prostitution or for their own pleasure later returned them to the slave dealer as used property and demanded their money back. For example, in May 1724 the slave dealer Ahmed brought a lawsuit against three Iranian-Armenian merchants, Erziya, Ohan, and Yali, for violating the virginity of one of his slaves in Istanbul. It is not clear why the three Iranian-Armenian merchants had purchased a female slave. They may have claimed to have purchased her to help them out with household chores but had actually used her for sexual pleasure. The Armenian merchants were sentenced to row in the galleys and were released four months later.⁶³ In another case, Musa ibn Ömer, a slave dealer who resided in the *han* of Horos Otmaz in Galata, brought a lawsuit against Fas Ahmed ibn Mehmed, a resident of the Arablar *han*, in 1766. Musa claimed that Ahmed had purchased Mahbube, one of his slaves, for 3,000 *kuruş* in the presence of Pehlivan Ali, who had been acting as a guarantor, and had taken her to his room, where he deflowered her. Ahmed then refused to make the payment. The dealer was demanding the payment of the money from the guarantor and brought two witnesses to support his claim. The court accepted his claim and ordered Ali, the guarantor, to make the payment.⁶⁴ In both cases, the dealers may have been aware of the potential use of the slaves as prostitutes but sued the buyers only when they refused to pay.

Guilds sometimes failed to supervise the illegal activities of their members or note the presence of outsiders. The government tried to regulate the slave trade by ordering the banishment of those who violated guild rules and tried to avoid the payment of taxes. It finally lifted the ban on nonguild members in 1805 but continued to regulate the institution through the office of the market inspector in the slave market.⁶⁵ Many slaves continued to be active in the commercial sex due to economic needs and some operated in brothels.

MUSLIM CLIENTS AND OPERATORS

Men from all walks of life—janissaries, sailors, seminary students, and others—visited public and private brothels or brought prostitutes into their places of res-

idence. Religious figures did not frequent public brothels but instead procured streetwalkers and brought them to their rooms and houses, even in conservative neighborhoods like those of Eyüp. For example, when Nureddin Ramazan, the imam of a mosque in Eyüp, was caught with a prostitute in December 1695, both were banished to Sadd Al-Bahr.⁶⁶ The following imperial order sums up the reasons for the arrest of Ahmed, an imam in Kasım Paşa in 1700.

On the arrest of Ahmed the imam:

The house of Ahmed, the imam of the mosque of Abdulislam in Kasım Paşa, has become the center of vice. He together with some students has attacked the *bostancıbaşı*. He and his prostitute are to be imprisoned in the Anadolu fortress until they improve their conduct.

August 1700

Order for the release of the imam was issued in December 1701.⁶⁷

It is interesting that the imam of a neighborhood in Kasım Paşa not only brought prostitutes into his house and operated a brothel but also attacked the police when he was discovered.

In another case in January 1796, Al-Seyyid Abdulşukur, the imam of a mosque in the quarter of Balat, was accused of turning the house of a woman who was on a trip into a brothel and renting its rooms to prostitutes. The owner of the house returned, found her house in disarray, and brought a suit to the court. The imam was consequently arrested by a janissary officer and was banished to Bursa.⁶⁸ The imprisonment and banishment of clients of prostitutes who were of religious background is to be noted. In another case in May 1761, the imam and residents of the quarter of Kemal Paşa in the district of Istanbul complained to the court regarding the conduct of the *müezzin* (caller to prayer), Abdullah son of Abdullah.⁶⁹ He and his wife had been settling strange women in the quarter. A fire had broken out in the house of one of these women, one Züleyha. As a result of the complaint, the *müezzin* was forced to give up his position and leave the neighborhood. From this report, it is not clear whether Züleyha had actually been involved in prostitution. Imams had the authority in a given neighborhood to issue permission for the settlement of outsiders—in this case, a single woman—usually in consultation with the neighbors.

Commercial places were also used by religious figures to prostitute women. For example, a certain Şeyh Mustafa rented a shop together with another person in the quarter of Zeyrek Başı. They gathered more than two hundred women in the shop every day, and prostituted them each for between twenty and forty *kuruş*. The men were arrested, imprisoned, and banished to Bursa in April 1825.⁷⁰

Sometimes seminary students, who were usually single men, brought prostitutes into their dormitories. For example, Al-Sayyid Hasan, a resident of Mahmud Paşa

medrese, brought a prostitute dressed in the manner of a male beggar into his room at noon in April 1721.⁷¹ After he was discovered, he was imprisoned in Ahır Kapı and was taken to the fortress prison of Sultaniye. Sometimes seminary students were also expelled from the seminary for sexual misconduct. For example, Yusuf, a seminary student, was expelled from the Katib Sinan *medrese* for improper behavior and was banished to Bozca Island (Tenedos) in May 1814.⁷² In Damascus, too, men of religious background, Seyyids and Şeyhs, comprised 19.25 percent of troublesome persons and moral offenders.⁷³

Although Ottoman observers like Evliya Çelebi only talked about non-Muslim middlemen in commercial sex, it is clear from the records that Muslim men and women also handled the vice trade and were very active as operators. Some men had a reputation for pimping and were repeat offenders. According to a police report from May 1768, three men, Sağır Osman, Kurd Ali, and Amir Ahmed, were arrested as convicted brothel owners and were exiled to Cyprus.⁷⁴ Amir Ahmed had been arrested several times before and had previously been exiled to Izmir. He had returned to Istanbul and was arrested again after an armed assault against a certain Seyyid Çelebi. Kurd Ali had also been arrested and exiled several times earlier for pimping and had returned to Istanbul and was arrested while he was fighting over a woman with some men. Sometimes foreign men used the help of middlemen to procure prostitutes. For example, a certain Şiş Ali was arrested for acting as a pimp and delivering three prostitutes to the residence of Iranian envoys in Istanbul. After he and the prostitutes had been arrested, he was sentenced to the galleys in December 1723. He was released four months later on account of his good conduct.⁷⁵

Women were also involved as pimps and procurers. A woman named Katrina (probably a non-Muslim) had been arrested several times for operating a brothel in Edirne Kapı. She was exiled to Bursa in March 1775.⁷⁶ The Edirne Kapı is located near the western walls of the city, where many gypsies and rural migrants reside to this date. Gypsies were also known to be fortune-tellers and flower sellers and did not have good reputations.

Accusations of organizing prostitution were sometimes used to expel unwanted elements and gypsies from the neighborhood. For example, Mehmed Efendi, the imam of the Neslişah Hatun quarter in Edirne Kapı, and other residents brought a lawsuit to the court against Ahmed Beşe son of Abdullah, his wife, his sons, and his sister-in-law demanding their expulsion from the neighborhood for running a brothel. The whole family was banished from the quarter after an investigation in September 1769.⁷⁷ It is not clear whether these individuals and families ever returned to their neighborhood and the city. They had to get the pledges of their neighbors or the kadi guaranteeing their good conduct in order to be able to return. The kadi was not always sympathetic to those accused of the vice trade and could bring charges against them directly. For example, the kadi of Istanbul accused Mehmed Arif; his mother, Zeyneb; and four other women of theft, prostitution, and procur-

ing in the quarter of Tophane in Istanbul. An imperial order sentenced them to banishment and imprisonment on the island of Limnos without parole in September 1791 to set a lesson for others.⁷⁸ Clearly, in this case, due to charges of theft as well as of organizing prostitution, the convicted were not allowed to be released. It was almost easier for those in the vice trade to operate in the red-light district, where the authorities tolerated their activities, than to be under the watchful gaze of the neighbors in residential areas.

TAVERNS AS CENTERS OF VICE

Since Byzantine times a part of Galata had served as the red-light district of Constantinople.⁷⁹ Evliya Çelebi counted 200 taverns by the sea in a place called Orta Hisar (Middle Wall) in Galata and 1,060 taverns all over Istanbul.⁸⁰ They were operated by 6,000 non-Muslims.⁸¹ He also counted eight hundred itinerant wine sellers who did not have shops. Evliya Çelebi described three hundred different kinds of wine sold in more than one thousand taverns in greater Istanbul. *Rakı* (a type of liquor) and the Mavuze wine were the most popular drinks and were available in more than four hundred taverns. Drinking and taverns had spread all over Istanbul, but only in the taverns of Galata did Evliya Çelebi witness pimps, dancers, and prostitutes committing thousands of “sinful acts” in these “dens of vice” that housed six hundred “lewd men.”⁸² It is clear from his account that both male and female prostitutes were available in Galata taverns.

Since the shari’a placed a ban on drinking and the sale of wine to Muslims, non-Muslims operated taverns, but Ottoman officials and tax farmers collected taxes on the import and sale of wine. Tavern operators had their own association in Istanbul in the late seventeenth century.⁸³ The Ottoman authorities left this aspect of non-Muslim activity intact in Galata as long as tavern keepers paid taxes and did not sell to Muslim clients. The tax on taverns and alcoholic drinks may have included a tax on prostitution since no separate record for taxes on prostitution during the early modern period exists.

For Istanbul, several tax farm registers for wine have survived.⁸⁴ In 1688 the tax farm of wine in Istanbul, Edirne, Bursa, and Izmir amounted to a total of 12,000,000 *akçe* and was held by Ahmed Efendi, who subcontracted it to other officials such as a janissary agha.⁸⁵ In Istanbul, the superintendent of wine (*hamr emini*) was a very rich and powerful man and had a retinue of a hundred armed men in the late seventeenth century. He held the tax farm of wine worth 70,000 *kuruş* in Istanbul. Taverns paid the wine tax to the superintendent and fines to various authorities and municipal high officials, including the *voivoda* of Galata and the police officials.⁸⁶ The superintendent of wine resided at the Iron Gate (Demir Kapı) in Galata. One of the sergeants of the janissaries watched over the taverns in Galata to prevent riots and prostitution.⁸⁷

Despite government vigilance, the prostitution of boys and girls took place in many taverns that had separate arrangements in the form of upper-story rooms for this purpose. The taverns in Christian quarters had rooms in the adjoining courtyards and houses for prostitutes to receive clients. For example, a certain Abdullah (probably a former slave) was arrested and sentenced to the galleys in January 1725 for operating a tavern in Istanbul, acting as a pimp for boys, gathering riffraff in his tavern, and beating and murdering his apprentice.⁸⁸ He was released three months later. Male prostitution took place in some taverns since they were male spaces, but female prostitutes occasionally operated in the ones in the suburbs along the Bosphorus like Besiktaş. From time to time, the complaints of residents led to the investigation and closure of taverns, as the following case demonstrates:

NAME: tavern owner Dimitri

It has been reported that the aforementioned has brought boys and women to the tavern of the non-Muslim Telçi Nafkur in Beşiktaş, prostituting them in the upper rooms while selling wine in the lower rooms. While an investigation was carried out, a slave of Deli Balta ran away and has been reported to be in this tavern. When the guard together with some men went there for an investigation, they were shut out. They broke into the tavern and sentenced the aforementioned non-Muslim to the galleys upon the issuing of an imperial order in April 1725.⁸⁹

Several incidents in this case may have led to the arrest of Dimitri. First, he was a procurer of women as well as boys. The prostitution of women may have caused a greater uproar than that of men. Second, a runaway slave who ended up in the brothel attracted the attention of the police.

There were various kinds of drinking establishments in greater Istanbul. The location of taverns in non-Muslim quarters and their operation by non-Muslims made them more acceptable to Muslim judicial authorities in Istanbul. Wine shops, another type of establishment, did not advertise openly and operated in the back corners and winding alleys of Galata.⁹⁰ The mixed quarters of Samatya, Kumkapı, Fener, Balat, Hasköy, Orta Köy, Arnavut Köy, and Yeni Köy all had taverns and *boza* (a drink made from malted millet) shops.⁹¹ Evliya Çelebi described many Muslim drunkards lying barefoot in the streets of Galata before they were taken to the prison inside the oil depot.⁹²

REGULATING THE VICE TRADE

The Ottoman tolerance of the vice trade was in keeping with the policies of European and other Muslim states that predated the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans inherited both the Muslim legacy and the Byzantine practices in regards to prostitution, particularly in Istanbul. Medieval Muslim states had regulated prostitution for many centuries. For example, in Fatimid Egypt prostitution was legally taxed in

the medieval period. In Latakia, a port in Syria, during this period the market inspector was in charge of collecting taxes on brothels.⁹³ The tax farm on wine and prostitution yielded one thousand *dinars* (silver coin) a day in Cairo in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The Mamluk rulers farmed out the revenues on taverns and prostitution.⁹⁴

In addition, there is some evidence that there was a vice tax in Il-khanid and Safavid Iran (1501–1722).⁹⁵ The Mongol Il-khanid state preceded the Ottoman Empire in Iran and eastern Anatolia and exerted an important influence on Ottoman institutions and laws (*kanun*). For example, Ghazan Khan (1295–1304), the Il-khanid ruler who converted to Islam in 1295, tried to limit prostitution and uphold the shari'a. He forbade prostitution by women and concubines in houses, taverns, and public areas near mosques and shrines in cities during the early fourteenth century. He also forbade men from forcing their concubines into prostitution. Ghazan Khan also allowed those prostitutes who were willing to quit their profession to be married off to a person of their choice.⁹⁶

The Il-khanid rulers also collected a tax on prostitution and tried to limit the activity to certain areas. However, the last Il-khanid ruler, Abu Said (1317–33), issued an imperial order to the governor, tax collectors, and judges of Ardabil—possibly due to his religious zeal—to cancel the vice tax on prostitution and wine, which amounted to 10,000 *dinars* annually. Furthermore, Abu Said ordered the arrest of prostitutes and wine sellers and the confiscation of their property.⁹⁷ Another order addressed the complaints of religious leaders against those who sold wine and employed prostitutes and streetwalkers. The religious leaders complained that streetwalkers operated on the roads, in the *hans*, and around the tomb and shrine of Shaikh Salah al-Din Musa in Ardabil. In response, Abu Said ordered the settlement of prostitutes in certain suburbs of Ardabil in order not to disturb visitors to the shrine and to provide freedom of action for the prostitutes.⁹⁸ An imperial order to the governor and judge of Ahar that same year warned that some destitute Muslim women had fallen into prostitution and were residing in brothels in the red-light district contrary to the shari'a. The governors and judges were ordered to carry out an investigation and prevent Muslim women from engaging in prostitution and to marry them off after purchasing clothing for them from government funds. Those women who refused to give up their profession were to be punished according to the shari'a in order to set an example for other Muslim women.⁹⁹ From these orders, it is clear that the Il-khanid state collected a vice tax from taverns and brothels in Iran during the fourteenth century. It is also evident that prostitution by Muslim women and concubines had spread to shrines and public areas, a development that became a major concern to religious and government authorities. Instead of eliminating it altogether, the Il-khanid state tried to limit prostitution to suburbs outside the city.

Prostitution was widespread in Safavid Iran (1501–1722) as well. An eighteenth-

century Iranian historian, Rostam al-Hukamâ (1784–1831), devoted many pages in *Rostam al-Tavârikh* to the prevalence of prostitution in Isfahan.¹⁰⁰ Like the Ottoman Fazil Beg Enderuni, he listed the names and descriptions of the best-known prostitutes and courtesans in Isfahan and Shiraz during the eighteenth century.¹⁰¹ According to European visitors to Safavid Iran, licensed and freelance prostitutes and courtesans offered their services in Tabriz, Ardabil, Isfahan, Shiraz, and Bandar Abbas in the seventeenth century. European travelers to Isfahan also noted the prevalence of prostitution. Due Mans, a Capuchin priest, and Chardin, a French merchant, counted between 12,000 and 14,000 registered prostitutes in Isfahan alone. According to these authors, prostitutes charged exorbitant fees and paid 8,000 *tumân* in annual taxes to the state treasury during the seventeenth century.¹⁰² Shah Sultan Husayn (1694–1722), who had an insatiable desire for women, built several pleasure quarters and kiosks that closely resembled the Ottoman pleasure kiosks in Istanbul during the Tulip Age.

Prostitution was also widespread in Damascus and Aleppo during the eighteenth century.¹⁰³ Out of 161 persons brought to the courts for deviant behavior in Damascus over a period of thirty-six years in the eighteenth century, 100 were Muslim female offenders.¹⁰⁴ In eighteenth-century Damascus prostitution had spread to public places. Prostitutes sometimes gathered unveiled in public places near mosques or bakeries, inside the market, and near coffeehouses where they could catch the attention of men.¹⁰⁵

As the vice trade spread from the red-light district to residential areas in Istanbul, conflicts between Muslims and non-Muslims were bound to develop over the operation of taverns and prostitution in the early modern period. Even in more mixed neighborhoods in Galata, Muslim residents caused trouble for non-Muslim tavern owners and demanded the closure of taverns from time to time. For example, the state ordered the kadi of Galata to close taverns, coffeehouses, and *boza* shops in Istanbul and Galata in 1567. It also ordered municipal officials to mix salt with wine and turn it into vinegar.¹⁰⁶ Muslim residents continued to complain, as when in 1575 they objected to the operation of taverns and wine distilleries in the houses of Christian residents near mosques and public baths. The residents also complained about the harassment by drunkards of Muslim women and men on their way to public baths and the mosque in the evening. They claimed that some drunkards had also entered a women's bath and that one had attempted to rape a woman. This incident had led to bloodshed and violence. The state consequently ordered the closure of all taverns in Muslim neighborhoods and on public streets leading to mosques and public baths in Istanbul in 1575.¹⁰⁷ The state also placed a ban on the distilling of *rakı* (a brand of liquor) and wine as both a fire hazard and immoral conduct in May 1606. It ordered the tax collectors who had farmed out the wine tax not to operate in the district of Istanbul, something they had previously pledged not to do.¹⁰⁸ In November 1689 another imperial order issued to the kadi of Istanbul

bul, Eyüp, Galata, and Üsküdar placed a ban on the sale of wine to Muslims and ordered the arrest and punishment of those who broke the law.¹⁰⁹ These imperial orders illustrate the zoning of the vice trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth century in response to complaints from Muslim residents.

Although moral boundaries had become more relaxed in the eighteenth century, and many neighborhoods had become more religiously mixed, the police officials continued to clamp down on taverns and Muslim drinking. Taverns and coffee-houses were viewed as public spaces for political agitation and disorder (see chapter 7). Even though non-Muslims could drink, the presence of a Muslim among these men with their loud and rowdy behavior brought complaints from shop owners and the attention of authorities. For example, in July 1721 the *agha* of janissaries arrested nine non-Muslim men and one Muslim man for drinking wine and for moral misconduct in their room in a *han* upon the complaint of the shop owners in the Istanbul market.¹¹⁰ The police also arrested itinerant non-Muslim *rakı* sellers in the Muslim quarters of Ahır Kapı, and the kadi sentenced them to the galleys in Istanbul for a few months in 1725.¹¹¹ Muslim residents often complained about their Christian neighbors who operated taverns, as had been the case in earlier centuries. For example, in July 1744 the Muslim residents, led by the imam and the *müezzin* in a quarter in Tophane, voiced concern about eight Christians (one Italian and seven Greeks) who operated taverns near the mosque. As a result, the Muslims obtained an imperial order for the Christians' expulsion from the neighborhood, the sale of their houses to Muslims, and the settlement of Muslims in their places of residence.¹¹² It is important to note that some Muslim residents used the operation of taverns near a mosque as a reason to demand the eviction of Christian and Jewish residents from a predominantly Muslim quarter. Tensions of this type increased as more non-Muslims settled in traditionally Muslim neighborhoods or vice versa. The government sometimes supported Muslim claims and forced the Christians out of the neighborhood.

However, official bans and government attempts to close down taverns were not always effective since many neighborhoods were mixed. Moreover, many Muslims made wine at home to bypass the ban.¹¹³ In addition, wine continued to be smuggled into Istanbul as the government tried to control the export of wine from the islands in the Aegean into Istanbul. For example, an imperial order issued to the deputy judges and police officials in Ergli, Tekirdağ, and Gelibolu, areas near Istanbul, placed a ban on the export of wine to Istanbul. In September 1731 an order stipulated that sellers in these places were only allowed to sell it to foreign consuls and their staffs and were forbidden to sell it to Christians, Jews, and Muslims.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, these bans were ineffective in a city where taverns abounded and many drank. In response to the violation of earlier rulings, the government of Selim III (1789–1807) issued a strict ban on the sale of alcohol to Muslims in 1791. An imperial order issued to the deputy judge and police of Tekirdağ allowed the sale of a

fixed quantity (15,000 *vukiyye* [19,200 kgs] for six months) of wine to be sold only to foreign embassies and their residents. In July 1791 it placed another ban on the sale of wine by non-Muslims to Muslim clients in taverns. In addition, according to this order, all the taverns in Galata and Istanbul were to be closed and converted into regular shops.¹¹⁵ Following this order, the police arrested Araboğlu Yanaki, a Greek tavern owner, for violating the ban and selling underground in Galata. He was banished with his family to the island of Sisam (Samoz) in May 1791.¹¹⁶ Despite these bans, the supply of wine to Muslims continued in taverns, some of which were also used as centers of prostitution.

PROSTITUTION IN ISLAMIC LAW

Many premodern societies (Muslim and non-Muslim) regarded sexual relations outside the boundaries of marriage as fornication and illicit sex and punished women who subverted the prevailing moral codes. When a Muslim woman interacted closely with unrelated men, she was often accused of fornication (*zina*) and prostitution (*fuhuş*). In the official Ottoman Islamic court and police records, it is almost impossible to distinguish between women who committed fornication and those who were involved in prostitution.¹¹⁷ The shari'a did not make a clear distinction between fornication, adultery, and prostitution, and the punishment often varied only in accordance with the religious affiliation, civil status (married versus unmarried), and the social status of the offender (freeborn versus slave).¹¹⁸ Men, however, were allowed to have sexual intercourse with their slaves although women were prevented from doing so.

The Ottoman punishment for unlawful intercourse was within the jurisdiction of both the shari'a and *kanun* (sultanic law code). Unlawful intercourse (*zina*) is considered a crime against God in the Qur'an (Sura of Light, 24) and is punishable by lashing (one hundred stripes).¹¹⁹ The shari'a, relying on Prophetic *hadith* (sayings and deeds), also prescribed stoning to death in the case of married Muslim men and women provided that at least four Muslim and respectable male eyewitnesses were present in court and testified to having witnessed the act of fornication or if one of the parties confessed four separate times.¹²⁰ However, the requirement of having four Muslim male eyewitnesses who could testify about the unlawful act made the charges and countercharges of fornication and adultery difficult to prove in the Islamic law courts.¹²¹ False accusation and slander are equally reprehensible according to the Qur'an and also deserve flogging (eighty lashes). The Prophet himself had become very sensitive to false charges against reputable women when his young wife, Ayşe, was accused of adultery by some members of his community. The Sura of Light that contained the punishment for adultery and false accusation in the Qur'an was revealed to the Prophet to clear the reputation of Ayşe and confirm her innocence. The Ottoman penal code incorporated legal doubt to avoid the fixed

punishment in the absence of four male eyewitnesses to the illicit intercourse and to prevent false accusation.

The Ottoman *kanun* dating back to the fifteenth century followed the shari'a in defining unlawful intercourse but replaced the fixed penalties (if they could not be imposed) with a scale of progressive fines (between thirty and three hundred *akçe*) to be paid in accordance with one's marital, economic, and civil status (unmarried offenders, non-Muslims, and slaves paid less) in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹²² Fines were sometimes imposed in addition to the fixed penalty of lashing. Both the shari'a and the *kanun* drew a distinction when punishing single and married as well as free and slave men and women. Muslim married men and women accused of unlawful intercourse paid heavier fines (between one hundred and three hundred *akçe*). Banishment and imprisonment had become customary penalties for prostitution in the eighteenth century. Dror Ze'evi rightly points out that although the *kanun* penalties appeared to be more lenient than shari'a penalties, the officials did not have to follow the shari'a procedure and were authorized to punish those accused of sex crimes without a trial.¹²³

The stoning to death of women accused of adultery and fornication was a fixed shari'a penalty that did not exist in the Qur'an and was rarely applied in the Ottoman Empire. A married Muslim woman accused of crossing religious boundaries in her sexual conduct suffered the worst punishment, according to the shari'a. One very rare case of stoning to death for adultery took place during a conservative backlash by the Kadizadeli preachers in the seventeenth century. The Kadizadeli ulema had risen to prominence in the second half of the seventeenth century and had gained influence in the court of Mehmed IV (1648–87). They preached against Sufi practices like playing music and dancing, drinking wine, and sexual deviance (see chapter 3). During their ascendancy, which coincided with the Jewish millenarian Sabbatai Zevi movement, many Jews had been forced to convert to Islam.¹²⁴ This conservative mood had led to the punishment of men and women accused of interfaith sex and immoral conduct. For example, in 1680, Abdullah Çelebi a boot maker in the neighborhood of Aksaray, had accused his wife of committing adultery with a Jewish clothier. According to Raşid, the official chronicler and the former kadi of Istanbul, who recorded this event, the judges had been looking for a way to dismiss the case since they could not come up with at least four respectable Muslim eyewitnesses.¹²⁵ But the chief judge of Rumelia, Beyâzizade (d. 1685), a member of the conservative Kadizadeli faction, found suspicious witnesses and issued a religious ruling based on circumstantial evidence to stone her to death in front of Sultan Ahmed mosque. Sultan Mehmed IV, who was the only one authorized to inflict the death sentence, went along with the decision and watched the violent scene from his pavilion; a large crowd also viewed the stoning. The woman's Jewish lover, who had converted to Islam a day earlier to escape the death sentence, was released from prison and was beheaded immediately. This rare case of the ston-

ing of a married Muslim woman accused of adultery created a great division among the ulema in Istanbul and caused the anger of the populace since it overstepped the norm in punishing sexual misconduct in Ottoman society.¹²⁶ Clearly, in this case most of the ulema did not agree with the verdict, so the sultan had to issue the order for the stoning to death.

The Islamic courts were more careful about the nature of the accusation of adultery and conducted an investigation of the neighbors before punishing the accused. False accusation was sometimes punished when the accused took action. For example, in August 1766 Aÿşe daughter of al-Hac Isma'il complained to the Islamic court in Istanbul about a certain al-Hac Salih because he had called her a prostitute and a brothel operator. After two Muslim men attested to her innocence, the court ordered the lashing of al-Hac Salih for false accusation.¹²⁷

The Islamic court records in Istanbul must be examined carefully because of the potential for false testimony, allowing considerable latitude for the nuances of the language used in the investigation, deposition, testimony, and registration of cases of prostitution. The judges demonstrated considerable flexibility and used the threat of application of the fixed punishment as a deterrent rather than as settled law, so they probably dismissed many cases. In light of this ambiguity in the legal language used in depositions and testimony and of the judges' sensitivity to slander and defamation, it is very hard to quantify cases of adultery, fornication, and prostitution. Very few trials of adultery and prostitution (between 3 and 5 percent) took place in the courts. Only in extremely urgent situations, such as cases in which a whole neighborhood led by the imam was willing to testify, did the courts take the charges seriously and order the punishment of the accused parties. The accused were seldom present in the court to defend themselves.

POLICING AND PUNISHING PROSTITUTION

In Istanbul a division of labor existed in policing and punishing morality in Muslim and non-Muslim communities, and the state upheld Muslim morality as the defender of the shari'a. Arbitrary arrests and convictions without trial were more typical of the conduct of police officials, who sometimes acted independently. The police carried out raids in parks, public places, private residences, and taverns and arrested streetwalkers and prostitutes.¹²⁸ The police officers did not have to rely on collective testimony in order to break into suspicious houses, shops, and *medreses*. They used informants to gather information on streetwalkers, pimps, and procurers. They also exercised direct control over the commercial areas and public places and seized suspicious men and women.

The nature of record keeping by the police demonstrates the arbitrariness of their arrests. These records in the form of sketches on single sheets or scraps of paper do not provide any information on the full name, age, place of residence, place of birth,

or background of women and men arrested as individuals or in groups. The place and date of arrest, however, were usually mentioned. We may assume that a rudimentary system of record keeping by the police for prostitution had emerged in Istanbul in the eighteenth century that was separate from the Islamic court records.

The police raided houses and arrested prostitutes in the company of their customers during regular inspections at night. According to a police report, the police arrested eight prostitutes (Um Kolsum, Tayibe, Emine, Fatma, Ayşe, Zuleyha, Hadice, and another Kolsum) and banished them to Bursa in July 1778.¹²⁹ Three of these prostitutes had been caught with four sailors in an orchard in the village of Kuzguncuk on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus. They were imprisoned in the boathouse and were probably banished the following day. In another raid, seven prostitutes were arrested for operating brothels in Kum Kapı in late January 1791.¹³⁰ One was blind, and many may have been young girls. They were then banished to Bursa. One of them ran away, was arrested, and eventually resettled in Bursa. Kum Kapı was a red-light district where many taverns and brothels were located. During another raid, the police arrested and banished ten Muslim prostitutes to Izmit in August 1772.¹³¹ Many were from places outside Istanbul such as Konya and Aksaray. In another raid two janissary officers arrested Haffaf al-Hac Ibrahim, a shoemaker, while he was making love to a prostitute in a shop in Sarracham in the quarter of Topkapı in December 1799. The residents of Topkapı, who were cooperating with the police, seized the couple from the hands of the police and beat them. Ibrahim was subsequently banished to Iznikmid. We may conclude that there were no trials for these women and men who had been arrested and punished by the police, sometimes with the help of residents.

In the eighteenth century, banishment and imprisonment for women and forced labor in the galleys for men had become popular means of punishment in the Ottoman Empire. Women were usually placed under the control of patrols and naval officers who transported them to the islands and towns in Anatolia, usually Bursa. For example, the police received travel expenses of five *kuruş* to transport six prostitutes from Istanbul to Bursa in 1773.¹³² It is not clear why Bursa was the favorite destination. It may be that the local judge there kept an eye on the prostitutes and reported back to Istanbul. Other women were imprisoned in Baba Ca'fer prison. The length of their sentences was flexible and depended on their conduct. They were allowed to return to their homes if their neighbors, the local judge, or relatives petitioned for their release on account of their good conduct and repentance.

These Ottoman policies were similar to state policies for policing and punishing prostitution in late medieval and early modern Europe.¹³³ However, there were also important differences in the treatment of prostitutes in the Ottoman, medieval Middle Eastern, and European towns and cities. In the thirteenth century, municipal, ecclesiastical, and royal ordinances in Languedoc, for example, prohibited prostitution in the cities and towns of southern France and ordered the confiscation of

the property of those who rented houses to prostitutes, especially those near churches and monasteries. As in Muslim cities (Ardabil, Aleppo, Damascus, Istanbul), prostitutes were banished from European cities and towns and ordered to ply their trade in the suburbs.¹³⁴ Official red-light districts were established in the medieval period in the suburbs of Montpellier; here prostitutes could reside in designated places but had to follow sumptuary laws. In fourteenth-century France, brothels became the property of the municipality, which exercised better supervision than the brothel operators had and limited the spread of prostitution beyond the red-light district. Brothels were farmed out to collectors of vice tax who were members of the bourgeoisie and the nobility in French towns.¹³⁵

Similarly, in the fourteenth century the city of London segregated women involved in the sex trade in the area of Southwark outside the city proper. In addition, the *Liber Albus*, a fifteenth-century compilation of London's customary law, lists imprisonment for forty days, the cutting of hair, and banishment as punishments of convicted prostitutes.¹³⁶ They were also fined repeatedly by the municipality. Subsequent legislation in London in the fifteenth century also targeted the brothel keepers and landlords who rented to prostitutes. London prostitutes were required to wear striped hoods. In some towns, such as Oxford and Cambridge, single women under the age of forty were ordered to reside with someone who could answer for them. Women with no relatives were required to live in convents. In the late fifteenth century, citizens were required to control the behavior of all unmarried women in London, as was also the case in Istanbul and other Muslim cities.¹³⁷ Unofficial prostitution was more widespread in England than it was in continental Europe. Few English towns, with the exception of ports like the London suburb of Southwark, Sandwich, and Southampton, had official brothels.¹³⁸ In London prostitution spread from the western suburbs of Covent Garden and the parish of St. James and Westminster, next to the entertainment district, to the city proper, where 110 bawdy houses existed in twenty-six wards from 1710 to 1829.¹³⁹ Certain wards, such as Farrington Without (Fleet Street, Fleet Market, Holborn), Aldgate, and Aldersgate, became more notorious than others.¹⁴⁰

In eighteenth-century London, the number of weekly hearings on cases of prostitution at the Guildhall Justice Room was about half a dozen, which was slightly higher than the number of cases of prostitution registered in Islamic courts of Istanbul (between 3 and 5 percent). More specifically, between 34 and 173 cases regarding prostitution were tried in the Guildhall Justice Room every year from 1752 to 1796.¹⁴¹ On the other hand, in Paris prostitutes were exempt from regular judicial procedures and were sent to prison without trial, as was the case with most prostitutes in Istanbul.¹⁴² Only when prostitutes had been involved in petty crimes against property in France in the nineteenth century were they likely to be brought before the *Cours d'Assis*.¹⁴³

The policing and punishment of prostitution in Istanbul, London, and Paris had

a great deal in common but displayed major differences as well. The differences in the jurisdiction of religious communities and the state over breaches of morality appear to have been very specific to the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, this division of jurisdictions placed the red-light district within predominantly Christian neighborhoods in districts like Galata and led to the spread of Muslim prostitution in residential Muslim neighborhoods.

Moreover, as in France, the Ottoman state carried out the arrest of an increasing number of (Muslim) streetwalkers in Istanbul without prosecuting them in the courts. The number of court cases in Istanbul underrepresented the actual number of arrests by the police. Elyse Semerdjian has found only sixty cases of illicit sex trials recorded in the courts registers of Aleppo for the entire eighteenth century.¹⁴⁴ In Istanbul, the police and court records did not reflect the actual rate of organized prostitution in the red-light districts, which was tolerated. Likewise, most cases of prostitution by non-Muslim women were not reflected in the Islamic court records and police reports.

In addition, in the Ottoman Empire there were no dispensaries, penitentiaries, or Magdalen hospitals to care for penitent prostitutes, as was the case in Paris and London.¹⁴⁵ Ottoman princesses and well-to-do women occasionally set up private foundations for poor and penitent prostitutes, but no records exist for the facilities. Many prostitutes were kept in the Baba Ca'fer prison, which had a special ward for women. In August 1813 the state provided food amounting to 1562.5 *kuruş* for thirty-six prostitutes and their children who were kept in the Baba Ca'fer prison.¹⁴⁶ On another occasion, sixty prostitutes in prison received clothing valued at 4,147.5 *kuruş* from the state.¹⁴⁷

In the late eighteenth century, the Ottoman state increasingly viewed prostitutes as agents of public disorder and transmitters of disease and sought to confine them. For example, in 1778 an imperial order commanded the kadi of Istanbul to arrest streetwalkers and prostitutes for causing the plague and committing immoral acts. It also ordered the authorities to arrest any local official or imam who attempted to collect taxes on prostitutes.¹⁴⁸ This order may provide evidence that by the late eighteenth century, the prostitutes were paying some sort of taxes to the officials. Also, in 1841 the state ordered the rehabilitation of between thirty and thirty-five streetwalkers and homeless women who had been raped and had fallen into poverty; they were settled in the house of the imam in Tophane, and a pension of 1,856 *kuruş* was established for them. The imam was required not to let them leave his house during the month of Ramadan (fasting) and to provide guidance for them.¹⁴⁹ After Ramadan, they could stay in the Haseki hospice together with the poor and homeless women.

The Tulip Age witnessed the easing of sexual boundaries, the public expression of sexual pleasure, and the visible presence of women in public places. Popular atti-

tudes towards sexuality also began changing during the eighteenth century, inviting religious scrutiny and a conservative backlash. Conservative religious figures and moralists demanded the imposition of sumptuary laws on women and the restriction of their movement in public places to promote good and to prevent evil, according to the shari'a. These bans, however, were ineffective as a growing number of Muslim women got involved in commercial sex.

The state tried to gain control of the vice trade as it spread from the red-light district of Galata, where the state regulated and taxed it, to private houses in Muslim and non-Muslim neighborhoods, where the community was responsible for controlling it. However, policing morality was only one aspect of the state's increasing ability to discipline and punish, a trend that became more pronounced in the Ottoman Empire as well as in Europe in the eighteenth century.

Violence and Homicide

NAME: Osman son of Şaban from Özü

The aforementioned bandit assaulted and murdered with a knife a Jewish woman, Maria[,] without any reason in Galata. Three Muslims testified to his assault in the court of Galata. The court did not issue the retaliation sentence, since the Jewish woman was not mature (had not reached puberty). The shari'a instead required long-term imprisonment[,] and an imperial order was issued to sentence him to forced labor in the galleys carrying stones.

—JANUARY 1703, D.BŞM 15747, BBA

Armed assault and street violence took place frequently in working-class neighborhoods in eighteenth-century Istanbul. The increase in the number of single men, soldiers and sailors, and underemployed workers led to street violence and gang activities. As the case noted above demonstrates, random violence was used against women and minorities to protect religious and sexual boundaries in mixed neighborhoods. The harassment of women who appeared in public by themselves was part of the masculine culture's effort to safeguard male space and target vulnerable women. In the above case, the assailant was a migrant from the town of Özü in the Balkans, and the victim was a young Jewish female resident of Galata; she died as a result of the attack.

There was a speedy trial in the court based on the testimony of three Muslim witnesses. The court did not carry out further investigation, nor did it interrogate the defendant about his possible motives. There were no Jewish witnesses although her Jewish family must have demanded the Islamic punishment of retaliation, a situation that itself is interesting.¹ The use of Muslim witnesses made the lawsuit more credible. But the court may have sided with the Muslim defendant by using the victim's young age and Jewish background as a pretext to reject retaliation (see chapter 9). In short, the report omits some facts, but it is clear that the presence of three Muslim witnesses decided the case against the defendant even though he was only sentenced to hard labor in the galleys.

Violence was a characteristic feature of most Mediterranean societies in the early

modern period.² Crime and violence were rampant in both the Ottoman countryside and the major cities at this time.³ The Ottoman capital was no exception, despite the commonly held view of the relative security and peacefulness of Ottoman cities.⁴

The rate of violent assault, which usually increased after economic downturns, was high during the early modern period.⁵ Violent assault and injury made up more than 10 percent of the convictions in Istanbul in 1720s.⁶ Moreover, from 1744 to 1764, 10.4 percent of imperial orders to local officials in Istanbul and its dependencies concerned homicide.⁷ Sexual attacks (abduction and rape) made up 1.84 percent of cases in the collection of imperial orders in Istanbul and its dependencies in this same period. However, this figure probably underrepresents the actual number of rapes due to underreporting by the victims. In Istanbul the Imperial Council handled most serious cases of violent assault and homicide, but the judges and the police were involved in conducting investigations and preparing reports. This division of labor in part explains the paucity of criminal cases in Islamic court records of Istanbul during the eighteenth century.⁸ Many criminal cases were settled outside the courts.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Violence against women made up an important part of convictions. The patriarchal culture of Middle Eastern and Mediterranean societies tolerated some degree of violence against women as a way of disciplining “unruly” women and restoring family honor while the law often closed its eyes to it. The punishment of women (beating) who crossed sexual boundaries was the norm among some households. Because the Islamic courts required four male eyewitnesses to illicit sex, male relatives sometimes took the law into their own hands and severely punished women who were suspected of immoral conduct.

In addition, domestic abuse sometimes victimized women who did not have an extended family to protect them. Consequently, women who had been victimized turned to the courts or to the police for help. For example, a certain Ahmed, a resident of Kadirğa Limanı in Istanbul, was arrested for injuring his wife in three places with a spit in March 1722.⁹ The police report did not state any motives for the assault since a trial had not been held and since her wounds had provided ample evidence of the attack. Sometimes neighbors and the relatives of the victim intervened when the situation got out of control and when some men who were involved had a reputation for violent conduct. For example, a certain Çohadar Mehmed, a footman, had escaped from prison and forced himself into the house of his wife, Hadice, in the quarter of Katib Muslihüddin, a working-class neighborhood in Istanbul. He had assaulted her with a knife, so she brought a lawsuit against him. Mehmed denied the attack, but the testimony of witnesses led to his conviction in February

1725.¹⁰ It appears that Mehmed was a violent man with a record of prior conviction and may have been imprisoned for having attacked his wife before. Embittered husbands often sought to take revenge on their wives when they had the opportunity. For example, Hasan, a convicted thief, entered the house of his former wife, Ayşe, at night, dressed as a shepherd, planning to set fire to it with combustibles. He was arrested by the night watchman who, together with the neighbors, testified about his attempted arson. Arson was a serious crime since the fires of Istanbul could potentially burn down whole neighborhoods and parts of the city. Hasan confessed to the crime and was sentenced in August 1723.¹¹ Women received some measure of protection against their violent husbands from their family, the police, and the courts once they were able to prove the abusive behavior of their husbands or to bring their husbands' prior records of conviction to the courts' attention.

Sometimes economic motives led to the murder of women by their relatives or husbands. For example, Şeyh Ma'nevi Efendi in Kadirğa Limanı was a suspect in the murder of his wife, Meryem Hatun. Meryem had been the rich widow of the commander of the fortress of Yedikule when the Şeyh married her. She then died mysteriously three or four months after their marriage. Shortly after her death, a neighbor and friend of Meryem reported the suspicious circumstances of her death to the police. The neighbor stated that when she had visited with Meryem the morning before her death, Meryem had begged the woman not to leave her alone. When the police subsequently ordered Meryem's coffin to be opened, they found that she had been strangled with a rope and stabbed on head, nose, and hands. Her husband, the Şeyh, was then arrested, but he died before any heirs of the victim appeared in court to demand blood money or his prosecution.¹² Blood money was a monetary settlement reached between the victim (or the heir) and the defendant for injury and murder (see chapter 9). Clearly, in this case Meryem's wealth may have been the motive for her murder by her husband, who may have wanted to take possession of her money and goods. Meryem might have sensed her husband's plan to kill her since she had tried to notify her neighbor about the possible danger she faced.

In addition, women who lived by themselves were targets of robbery and sexual attacks by criminals and gangs. For example, in February 1722 Kara Ali, a convicted runaway thief, broke into the house of a woman near Sultan Ahmed, attempting to kidnap her. The neighbors came to her aid when she screamed for help; they then freed her and called the police.¹³ Attacks like this one usually took place at night when no one was around. Sometimes an assailant would be aware of a woman's situation and attack her when the opportunity presented itself. These attacks sometimes also involved robbery. In another case, three men broke into the house of Fatma Hatun near the mosque of Sultan Mehmed in Istanbul at night in June 1725 and tried to strangle her and her mother. When the two screamed, the police came to their aid and arrested the men. The men then confessed that they had been planning to rape these women and that they had been aided by a neigh-

bor, Kahveci Osman, who was familiar with the women's circumstances.¹⁴ It is clear that Fatma Hatun lived alone with her mother and that they did not have any live-in male relatives to protect them. Without male members in their households, honorable women who lived by themselves had to rely upon neighborhood and community protection.

Women's public baths were also good targets for sexual assault since no one protected the patrons. Men were occasionally caught gazing at naked women through glass on the roof tops. Some men behaved more aggressively and broke into women's baths to attack the naked women. For example, in December 1724 Avaz ibn Abdullah, an attendant and water carrier in a public bath in Galata, entered the women's bath and assaulted a woman with his knife. When she screamed and tried to free herself, he hit her on the head with a rock. A woman whose pearl girdle had been damaged in the commotion brought a lawsuit against Avaz. He then confessed that he had broken into the bathhouse to watch naked women.¹⁵

When a woman appeared in public by herself, she was a potential target for robbery, armed assault, and even rape. Women were usually expected to travel in the company of relatives or servants (who could be other women) or men; when they failed to do so, they attracted undue attention. The public presence of women alone in a male space sometimes invited sexual harassment and even violent attacks. For example, a certain Mustafa was arrested, together with his two friends, by a police officer for harassing two women on their way to the public bath in October 1720.¹⁶ At times assault was followed by robbery. In a December 1720 case, a man named Ali attacked a woman on the street and grabbed her clothing bundle.¹⁷ She, too, was probably on her way to the public bath. Stalking and harassing women became a serious social problem with the spread of rural migration and the rise in the number of single men, forcing police and the authorities to pay closer attention to the residential status of male migrants. Women intending to travel for business, family needs, or medical treatment had to obtain official permission and be accompanied by male relatives.¹⁸

Women's bodies were sometimes found on the street by police or neighbors who reported such discoveries to the police.¹⁹ For example, the judge of Balat reported a police officer's discovery of the body of a murdered woman in a bag on a street near a mosque in Balat in October 1769. Two suspects, Mehmed Re'is (sea captain) and his wife, Fatma Hatun, were questioned regarding the murder and denied the charges. Despite their denials, the judge and the police officer sentenced them and banished them to Bursa.²⁰ It is possible that the victim, who had been beaten to death, had worked as a servant for Mehmed Re'is or had been his slave. The residents of a neighborhood were often held liable for blood money if the body of a dead person was discovered near their homes. Since the heirs in this case did not appear to demand blood money, the two suspects were banished.

Women were also accused of homicide from time to time. For example, a non-

Muslim Greek woman named Preşkova, a resident of Fener, brought suit against a certain Elena for having murdered her husband, Kocabası Manol, in 1742. Preşkova claimed that her husband had married her because he had not had any children with his first wife, Elena. Preşkova had given birth to a son, causing Elena's jealousy and anger. Preşkova claimed that when Manol went on a business trip with goods worth 1,500 *kuruş*, Elena had him arrested by the *subaşı*, Salih, and the deputy judge without having made a legal accusation against him. Preşkova claimed that they had beaten Manol, tortured him for few days, and finally poisoned him. She claimed that they had taken his cash, goods (a valuable watch and knife), and other property and had divided it among themselves. Preşkova petitioned the Imperial Council in June 1745 to provide redress for her and her minor son's suffering.²¹ It is not clear whether Preşkova was able to provide any proof that these events had occurred or witnesses to the murder. An order was issued for the arrest of the accused, but the *subaşı* was able to deny his role in the murder plot. Preşkova nevertheless tried to prove motives of jealousy and greed on the part of Elena and her accomplices for murdering her husband.

SEXUAL ATTACKS

Sexual assaults against women and minors (mostly boys) made up fewer than 1 percent of the convictions in Istanbul and its dependencies in the eighteenth century.²² Child molestation, pederasty, and rape made up about 0.6 percent of sexual offenses between 1721 and 1725.²³ However, these figures do not represent the actual rate due to the shari'a requirement of four eyewitnesses to a crime for accusation of fornication and rape. Most cases of this type of crime were also underreported to protect family honor.

The shari'a and the *kanun* condemned rape, which incurred severe chastisement and public scorn. Ottoman jurists prescribed chastisement, imprisonment, or the death sentence for pederasty and the rape of minors. However, the *kanun* penalties of progressive fines levied against married, single, adult and minor, and free and slave sex offenders were far more lenient than those punishments. Single men, minors, and slaves received lower fines than free, adult, and married men received. For example, in the sixteenth century, the Ottoman *kanun* prescribed lashing for pederasty and fines of between forty and three hundred *akçe* for sodomy, depending on the financial, civil, and marital status of the offender. The fine levied on unmarried men accused of sodomy was lower (between thirty and one hundred *akçe*).²⁴ Although the punishment for homosexual conduct decreed in the shari'a was severe, such punishments were rarely carried out.²⁵ In the early eighteenth century, banishment and hard labor in the galleys replaced fines and flogging for sodomy. If the victim of sexual assault had murdered the offender, he could escape punishment, as the following example demonstrates:

On the arrest of Hüseyin the barber:

The aforementioned Hüseyin the barber was arrested and questioned about a murder in the Tahtalı guesthouse near Mahmud Paşa. He confessed that Fazlı, the standard bearer of Pirizrin, had invited him to his room in the guesthouse, had made him drunk, and had raped him with the help of his servants after having put out the candle. He claimed that they had also stolen his clothes before throwing him out. He later returned to the *han*, hid behind the fountain, and stabbed one of the servants with his knife as the latter approached the fountain

April 1724²⁶

From this police report it is clear that Fazlı was a janissary who had served in the Balkans and was staying in a guestroom in Mahmud Paşa in the business district of Istanbul. He may also have been involved in some kind of business with the barber Hüseyin in that district. Hüseyin claimed that Fazlı had lured him to his room and had raped him with the help of his servants. In an attempt to take revenge, the barber assaulted and killed one of the servants who had been an accomplice in the alleged rape. The murderer (the barber Hüseyin) did not receive any sentence, possibly due to his customary right to defend his honor after having been raped. The rapist, however, did not receive any punishment either, possibly because of his janissary status and the absence of witnesses. No investigation into the accusation of rape was carried out since the victim was an adult male, but there was an investigation of the murder, and a police report based on the convict's confession was prepared. The barber's testimony does not explain why he had agreed to go to Fazlı's room late at night. He may simply have expected to party, get drunk, and perhaps procure the services of a prostitute.

Sometimes the victim was able to find witnesses to a rape and have the court punish the offender. For example, Hasan, a butcher, presented a petition against Kanu to the court of Üsküdar, claiming that the latter had committed sodomy with Musa. The court provided witnesses after Kanu denied the charge and sentenced him to severe chastisement (flogging), long imprisonment, and forced labor in the galleys in the imperial arsenal in July 1721.²⁷

While consensual sodomy did not attract the attention of the authorities, child molestation was a serious crime, and neighbors and parents were on the lookout for this type of sex offender. As the following cases demonstrate, neighbors and parents reported the molestation and rape of boys more frequently than those of girls since the former attacks may have caused greater shame to the family. Boys ran around in the streets more freely than girls did and were more frequently the targets of child molesters who were not relatives. Girls were more likely to be molested by relatives at home and also less likely to report such as attack. For example, Umhani Hatun, a resident of Üsküdar, brought a lawsuit to the court in April 1722. She claimed that Hüseyin the bandit had assaulted her minor son, Mehmed, in an at-

tempt to rape him. As a result, Mehmed refused to leave the house for fear of being attacked again by Hüseyin. The latter was then arrested by the police, and the court sentenced him to the galleys for six months after receiving a petition from the deputy judge.²⁸

Some of these sex offenders were lone residents who did not have steady jobs. For example, the residents of Kadıköy and other districts presented a petition against bachelor Mehmed son of Ibrahim, a resident of Üsküdar, claiming that he had no moral guarantor and was in the habit of molesting the sons of Muslim residents in attempts to rape them. The residents requested Mehmed's severe punishment and imprisonment. An investigation was carried out, and he was sentenced to the galleys, but he was released in August 1722 for good conduct after six months.²⁹

Sometimes collective violence by street gangs led to the rape of children and women. For example, in September 1720 four gang members—Mehmed, another Mehmed, Osman, and Ali—were arrested for the attempted rape of a young boy in Galata. However, they were released from the imperial arsenal three months later in December 1720 upon the court's receipt of petitions from the deputy judge of Galata and from Mustafa, the head of the guild of shield makers.³⁰ The four accused men must have been members of the guild of shield makers. In another case from the galleys register, Asador son of Safad and Çolak Sakole, non-Muslim residents of Mirahur Çarşı, were arrested for attempting to kidnap, rape, and rob the son of a non-Muslim, Ormir, in Istanbul in March 1725. When the deputy judge of Davud Paşa carried out an investigation among the residents of the quarter, they reported that the two were bandits and had also committed armed robbery at night. The men were then sentenced to the galleys and were released two years later in April 1727.³¹

Neighbors sometimes used accusations of rape to evict unwanted elements from the neighborhood; in such cases the authorities seldom carried out an investigation or conducted a trial. For example, the Jewish residents and community leaders of a neighborhood in Istanbul complained about four Jewish street gang members—Mirkaru, Avram, Adanalı Arar, and Yaku. The residents claimed that the four had refused to follow the leadership of the community and were in the habit of taking the minor sons of the residents into their house to rape them. The gang members were subsequently arrested by the *agha* of janissaries in June 1725.³²

The abduction and rape of women and minor girls were also considered serious crimes in the city. For example, the records show that a certain Mehmed broke into the house of another Mehmed in Istanbul, abducted his sister Kerime at gunpoint, and took her to the countryside in March 1723. Mehmed was later sentenced to the galleys upon the testimony of the residents.³³ However, abduction as part of the tradition of elopement took place in the countryside. Elopement sometimes appeared to be abduction when young couples resorted to it to overcome their families' opposition to their marriage. It is possible that rural migrants continued to practice this tradition in the city, where there was no tolerance for this type of conduct.

JANISSARY AND GANG VIOLENCE

Urban gangs in Istanbul committed acts of violence to protect their turf, commit robbery and sexual assault, and take revenge. The religious and ethnic backgrounds of these criminals reflected the diversity of the city. Many acted as a group and were members of street gangs who formed underground crime rings. Some played a leading role in urban rebellions. Members of the same profession, such as janissaries and mariners as well as some artisans, had a group identity and engaged in disorderly conduct as a group. Surprisingly, groups of *medrese* students were no less violent than professional gangs.

Soldiers often felt comfortable using violence to assert their power and force compliance and extortion. They were also armed, a situation that made them more prone to violence. For example, Mustafa, Ahmed, and Eyüb were gang members who belonged to the Seventeenth Unit of Armorers and received a daily salary of ten *akçe*. According to the complaints of residents, the men sexually harassed the wives and children of many residents in Balat, possibly to rob them. The police summoned the men to the police station, but they refused to obey the order and instead attacked the police, who then arrested them and confined them in the prison of Agha Kapı, where janissaries were imprisoned. In addition, the state cut off their pensions upon receiving the petition of Abdullah Agha, the chief of armorers, in February 1726. However, the men were released four months later in June 1726 upon receipt of a petition from the same chief of armorers.³⁴

Sailors also got involved in random violence, particularly in Kasım Paşa, where the shipyard was located. Sometimes they were under the influence of alcohol and got into brawls. For example, the father and heir of Panayod brought a lawsuit against two sailors, Hiristo and Tanaş, for killing his son, Panayod, with a knife during a fight a week earlier in Galata. After proving the murder in the presence of witnesses in the court, the father demanded retaliation against Hiristo and imprisonment for Tanaş, who had been the accomplice in the murder. Hiristo was executed in Dört Yol, the scene of crime, and Tanaş was sentenced to the galleys in March 1720. Tanaş was later released for good conduct by an imperial order in June 1720.³⁵ In this case the victim and the assailants were all Christians (Greek) who had been involved in street violence. The Christian father of the victim was able to demand the shari'a punishment of retaliation, which was carried out by the state at the scene of the crime.

Muslim men and women were also victims of random violence by janissaries and sailors, who were often armed. A simple brawl could lead to violent attack and injury. For example, in May 1723, Kalyoncu (sailor) Mustafa shot and injured a certain Mehmed in his right side in Tophane. Mehmed then brought a lawsuit to the court and proved his injury in the presence of witnesses. As a result, Mustafa confessed to the crime.³⁶ In another case, Hadice Hatun presented a petition to the court regarding the murder of her son, Süleyman, the captain of a ship on the Black Sea,

by Laz Hüseyin. She was able to prove the murder in court and obtain a ruling for retaliation, but she instead reached a settlement with the defendant for the payment of blood money in the amount of 200 *kuruş* (see chapter 9). When Laz Hüseyin was unable to pay the agreed-upon sum, he was sentenced to the galleys until he paid the blood money in full in September 1723.³⁷

Many Albanian janissaries were bath attendants and worked as washers in public baths. They formed their own gang, got involved in violence, got arrested, and were expelled from Istanbul as a group. The police were on the watch for them after the Patrona Halil rebellion (see chapter 3). For example, the Albanian Hoca Mehmed, a member of the Twenty-Seventh Battalion in the janissary corps and a bath attendant, was arrested as a suspect in the murder of another Albanian, Ke-babcı Arnavud Odabaşı, in Istanbul in November 1767. His neighbors testified that he had seduced several young women and girls by pretending to be a Şeyh and a letter writer. After his manumitted black slave Belal testified about Mehmed's role in the murder, he was banished to the island of Limnos.³⁸ His concubine, a certain Kerime, presented a petition for his release, claiming that he was ill and that she had no one to care for her. However, her petition did not secure Mehmed's release since he had been charged with murder. Gangs often targeted women who lacked male protection and lived by themselves. For example, Ali, Mehmed, another Mehmed, and Hüseyin, members of a gang, were arrested for breaking into the house of two women, Emine and Hadice, in Çengelköy, a dependency of Üsküdar. The two women then brought a lawsuit to the court of Mahmud Paşa and settled on the payment of one hundred *kuruş* by the four convicts. Despite the settlement for a monetary compensation, the kadi still sentenced the four men to forced labor in the galleys until the money was paid and several Muslims pledged for their good conduct in June 1720. The men were released from the arsenal one month later in July 1720.³⁹

Gang violence had become an acute problem in certain parts of Istanbul. Bands of gang members often roamed the streets and assaulted and harassed young men and women until they attracted the attention of the authorities. Many neighborhoods had their own street gangs and violent elements, and the residents often knew their identities and reported them to the police. According to police records, two porters, Avaz and Manok, residents of a guesthouse near Mahmud Paşa, together with two other porters, were in the habit of roaming the streets with assault weapons and harassing the residents day and night. The shop owners made a complaint, and the police summoned the men to the court of Mahmud Paşa. The court then carried out an investigation and an examination of their weapons, including a long European lance and a pair of guns. Upon the testimony of the patrol, the night watchman, and other residents, the deputy judge of Mahmud Paşa issued an order in May 1720 for the men's imprisonment in the arsenal to serve in the galleys.⁴⁰ Sometimes violent men threatened the neighbors and got involved in ex-

tortion. This was the case in May 1720 when the Jewish residents of Piri Paşa quarter in Balat presented a petition to the court against Sahak [Ishak?], a Jewish man, claiming that he had threatened them with arson and murder. He was eventually arrested and sentenced to the galleys for ten days.⁴¹

Many neighborhoods like Kasım Paşa and Galata had several gang groups who often got involved in robbery and violence or fought with each other to guard their turf. According to galley records, the *voyvoda* of Galata reported the appearance of a group of gangs in Galata who broke into houses and shops. The police set up patrols everywhere and arrested many of the gang members, but they failed to arrest one of them, a man named Kara (Black) Abdullah, who had escaped at night. The police eventually arrested him although he resisted with the help of a big knife; he was sentenced to the galleys in August 1723. He was later released from the prison of the arsenal in October 1723.⁴²

From the records examined, it appears that the level of violence had increased in the decade before the Patrona Halil rebellion in August 1730. While the Islamic court and police records rarely revealed motives and causes of violence, random and intentional violence broke out daily over property disputes, robbery, personal and family honor, marital disputes, and attempted rape. Due to their growing public presence and the practice of some to live alone, women attracted the attention of urban gangs and criminals. Street gangs threatened the security of neighborhoods, and some were involved in urban rebellions. Criminal intent, evidence, and the presence of witnesses were important factors that a judge took into consideration before issuing a warrant for arrest and punishment. The police, however, acted more swiftly when a habitual criminal committed violent acts. The courts normally encouraged monetary settlement between the victim and the assailant. The judges and the police also increasingly imposed forced labor in the galleys as a punishment since the level of violence on the streets of Istanbul had become intolerable.

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PART THREE

Law and Order

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Policing, Surveillance, and Social Control

The humble one [Naima] may state that the fact that the late Sultan [Murad IV] was so severe, and that he threatened to patrol the streets and to put men to death as part of his abolition of coffeehouses and of smoking, was not merely a wanton prohibition or simply arbitrariness. Rather, it is plain that this was a pretext for the purpose of controlling the riffraff and for fighting the common people in the interests of the state. . . . At that time coffee and tobacco were neither more nor less than a pretext for assembling; a crowd of good-for-nothings were forever meeting in coffeehouses or barber shops or in the houses of certain men—houses which were places on the order of clubhouses where they would spend their time criticizing and disparaging the great and the authorities, waste their breath discussing imperial interests connected with affairs of state, dismissals, and appointments, fallings out and reconciliations, and so they would gossip and lie.

—MUSTAFA NAIMA, *TARİH-I NAİMA*¹

In his second preface to the history of the Ottoman Empire and the events of the Edirne rebellion in 1703, Mustafa Naima (1665–1716), the official chronicler to Sultan Mustafa II (1695–1703), wrote about the need for strong leadership, direct rule of the sultan or the grand vizier, and a strong military. Offering an early-eighteenth-century perspective on the events of the previous century, Naima tried to underline the importance of clandestine state control in creating political stability out of chaos in the aftermath of the 1703 rebellion. He praised Murad IV for disguising himself at night, spying and patrolling the streets of Istanbul, and arresting and putting to death those who violated his prohibitions. After Murad IV closed the coffeehouses, urban gangs had fewer places to gather as long as the ban lasted. Naima was, nevertheless, critical of the influence of the conservative Kadizadeli preachers, who played an important role in issuing religious rulings against drinking, the consumption of coffee, and the smoking of tobacco in the second half of the seventeenth century. Perhaps as a result of their influence, the control of public gather-

ing places like coffeehouses assumed a central role in the policing of Istanbul in the eighteenth century.

POLICING PUBLIC GATHERING PLACES

In the aftermath of the 1703 and the 1730 rebellions, the government cracked down on public places like coffeehouses and taverns where janissaries and artisans as well as unemployed men and street gangs gathered. But other than general religious rulings made by some members of the ulema against the health hazards of coffee, there were no specific penalties against drinking coffee. The Qur'an banned the drinking of alcohol, and taverns were always targets of closure, so these two situations may explain the proliferation of coffeehouses in Istanbul during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see chapter 5).² The janissaries owned and operated many coffeehouses in Kasım Paşa and Galata (see chapter 2). Some were elaborate establishments for the elite of Istanbul with rococo and baroque interior design; others were simple places in the neighborhoods, near locations of work, or on the waterfront. Unlike the restrictive atmosphere of taverns, where drinking by Muslim men took place clandestinely, Muslims and non-Muslims could intermingle freely and openly in coffeehouses. Social class, religious distinction, and other barriers disappeared in coffeehouses, where everyone could afford a cup or two to socialize. Coffeehouses were also places of entertainment where music was performed by Jewish musicians, stories from the *Shahname* (Book of Kings) were read, and the Karagöz shadow puppet theatre performed (see figure 6). The puppet characters of Karagöz and Hacivat represented the cunning working-class men of Istanbul who poked fun at members of the ruling class and their notions of morality. During the month of Ramadan, coffeehouses became popular places for gathering until late at night, rivaling mosques. As in Paris, coffeehouses in Istanbul were ideal places for rumors to start, plots against the government or individuals to be hatched, and criminal activities to be organized.³

The state from time to time cracked down on coffeehouses since they were viewed as places of disorder in working-class neighborhoods. In an age of political repression and conservative religious backlash, the closing down of coffeehouses and taverns was as much a moral issue for the religious elite as it was a political safeguard against social dissent. After the 1703 rebellion, Sultan Ahmed III followed the advice of Naima and ordered the closing of coffeehouses where the riffraff of Istanbul gathered (see chapter 3). In 1711 Ahmed III issued an imperial order to the chief of police and the deputy judge of Istanbul to tear down the coffeehouse of a certain Re'is and to deport him to Bozca Ada for gathering undesirables and condoning unruly conduct.⁴ A few years later, in 1723, the müfti of Istanbul issued a ruling against the smoking of a kind of hallucinogenic opium called *gunçe*, an activity that took place in some coffeehouses, and called for the flogging and banish-



FIGURE 6. Thomas Allom, *A Story-Teller in a Coffeehouse*, 1838. From *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated*, 2 vols. London: Fisher, Son and Co., 1838.

ment of those who violated the ban.⁵ After the repression of the Patrona Halil rebellion, Mahmud I ordered the closing of coffeehouses and public baths and placed guards in different parts of the city. Fearful of another rebellion, the sultan frequented in disguise the squares where coffeehouses abounded near the arsenal in Kasım Paşa for several months, from June to August 1731 (see chapter 3).⁶ Although these were extreme measures taken in times of political crisis, they no doubt affected the growing authority of the police to control gathering in public places.

Moreover, many residents complained about coffeehouses as centers of vice and criminality since they had become hangouts for single and unemployed men. For

example, the residents of the Serencebey quarter in Beşiktaş complained to the court that Amir İsmail Kabir had been habitually gathering riffraff in his coffeehouse, disrupting residents' peace, and undermining their security. They demanded an imperial order for his expulsion in August 1756.⁷

It appears that in the late eighteenth century, the state took strong measures to monitor and control places where those elements who opposed the government would gather.⁸ For example, the state planted spies in coffeehouses, in other public places, and on boats to eavesdrop and report random conversations among the people. In 1797 the state was concerned about "criminal elements and troublemakers" who were spreading false rumors against the state in coffeehouses and barbershops, "stepping beyond their boundaries." It commanded the police officers to secretly inspect all the shops and coffeehouses as well as government offices and to arrest those who spoke against government policies.⁹ The order also commanded police officials to close down barber shops and coffeehouses, exile the owners, and arrest and punish the rumor mongers. Clearly, the government of Selim III was concerned about the rising opposition to the sultan's new army, later known as "The New Order," that replaced the janissaries, especially among the unruly janissaries who frequented the coffeehouses and taverns. These concerns proved to be justified when a major janissary rebellion in 1807 led by Kabakçı Mustafa ended his reign. His brother Mahmud II (1808–39), who replaced him as sultan, was determined to continue Selim III's reforms and ordered more surveillance, the closing of bachelors' rooms, and the arrest of janissaries. Mahmud II used spy reports to assess the social mood and political climate before the violent abolition of the janissaries in 1826.¹⁰ Disguised police spies eavesdropped on conversations in coffeehouses, boats, *hans*, and shops in Galata, Tophane, Kasım Paşa, Mustafa Paşa, and Eminönü to monitor the social atmosphere and suppress any sign of an uprising.¹¹ The police were ready when the janissaries left their barracks in defiance of the government orders and rebelled, so they hunted the janissaries down everywhere. The government of Mahmud II eventually succeeded in eliminating the janissaries in a bloody massacre in May 1826.

SURVEILLANCE

Like other early modern cities in the Mediterranean, Istanbul suffered from problems of migration and urban violence. Different states sought similar solutions for these urban problems. In his book *Discipline and Punish*, Michel Foucault states, "Behind the disciplinary mechanism can be read the haunting memory of 'contagions,' of the plague, of rebellions, crimes, vagabondage, desertions, people who appear and disappear, live and die together." Foucault's observation on the growing surveillance and police presence in *ancien-régime* France can also be applied, with some variation, to eighteenth-century Istanbul.¹² As in France, state-organized sur-

veillance became more thorough and penetrated many facets of everyday life in Istanbul in the eighteenth century. However, Ottoman surveillance was less a reaction to the fear of plague than to rebellion and crime.

The first detailed survey of households, Muslim and non-Muslim neighborhoods, guilds, public buildings, mosques, *medreses*, hospitals, shops, covered markets, *hans*, caravanserais, taverns, coffeehouses, and workshops had been carried out under Sultan Murad IV in 1638 for the purpose of taxation to finance an upcoming campaign in Iraq and Iran. At the request of Murad IV, Evliya Çelebi used this information when compiling his first volume, which offers the most detailed description of the neighborhoods and guilds of Istanbul.¹³ But unfortunately, no official copy of this survey has survived. Murad IV also tried to record all the places of ill repute and to survey thieves, prostitutes, beggars, tavern operators, and pimps. This effort was presumably for the purpose of surveillance (as well as for taxation), something for which he was well known.

Whereas in the earlier periods population surveys had been conducted for the purpose of taxation, they became a more systematic means of surveillance in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹⁴ In the past tax registers had recorded only heads of households for each neighborhood and the kinds and amounts of taxes. However, these later surveys contained additional information about individuals and ordered the expulsion of unwanted elements with the help of local community and guild leaders. Some aspects of this surveillance included the inspection of public places and the recording of individuals' names and their origin, civil and religious status, employment, places of residence, and guarantors.

Policing and social control primarily targeted social groups rather than individuals. Moreover, the state perceived marginality as a threat to the security of the capital and regarded the rise in the rate of crime as a direct outcome of the increase in the rate of migration and joblessness.¹⁵ For example, Sultan Mustafa III ordered a survey of all workshops, coffeehouses, bachelors' rooms, and *hans* in Kasım Paşa and Galata in 1763 (see chapter 2). Its purpose was the expulsion of rural migrants, particularly Albanians, who lacked employment, membership in guilds, and places of residence. Albanians and Kurds (presumably because of their participation in the 1730 rebellion), as well as certain working-class people such as porters, were the primary targets of this surveillance. The state used surveillance methods to evict unwanted marginal elements from a city or to concentrate them in certain neighborhoods and housing units.¹⁶ For example, an undated survey (probably from the late eighteenth century) carried out with the assistance of the heads of craft associations, imams, and policemen registered the names, father's names, marital status, and guarantors of the non-Muslim (Armenian, Jewish, and Greek) residents and workers in Beşiktaş and Ortaköy.¹⁷ Moreover, an imperial order to the kadis of Silivri and Çekmece, towns near Istanbul, in 1774 forbade the entrance into the city of migrants other than merchants who had some business in Istanbul.¹⁸ Similarly,

in 1797 an imperial order commanded the *bostancıbaşı* (chief of palace guards) to deport all the unemployed and single migrants to their places of origin based on a register of all the boatmen prepared by the market inspector.¹⁹

In addition, police registers became more systematic in the eighteenth century and contained information about the names, places of origin, employment, residence, prior convictions, nature of arrests and crimes, and sentences meted out to the convicts.²⁰ These records were crucial in arresting repeat offenders with the help of community leaders, who also gathered information and reported any criminal activities to the state.

COMMUNITY WATCH AND SOCIAL CONTROL

In Ottoman-Islamic and Mediterranean societies, the protection of the community and the family was the responsibility of local leaders and heads of households. In the absence of a professional police force, the Ottoman state relied primarily on the community to protect itself and to report criminal activity. Moreover, the physical layout of residential quarters—winding streets, dead ends, and the walls and gates closing off quarters at night—kept out strangers and criminals or at least allowed the residents to keep an eye on newcomers. Street lighting was not available until the second half of the nineteenth century, and darkness created ample opportunities for certain crimes, like theft and prostitution (see chapter 5), to take place at night. The state maintained a curfew during the eighteenth century, and the night watch stopped anyone who was out and about after the evening prayer. From time to time, the residents of upper-class quarters hired night guards to keep away thieves. In addition, many neighborhoods had their own semiprivate militias to safeguard the area against urban gangs and other violent elements.

Local community leaders played an important role in the community watch. The community was held responsible for payment of fines when a crime took place and the criminal escaped. For this reason, local community leaders and religious officials made it their business to know every household and report suspicious activities to police officials and to the kadi or his deputy. For example, in October 1704 the residents of Topkapı, led by the imam, reported violent conduct and armed assault by Ahmed son of Halil in the streets during the night as well as the murder of an Armenian boy by Hüseyin son of Süleyman and Mehmed son of Mustafa and demanded their arrest.²¹ When the bodies of murdered and abandoned men and women were discovered from time to time by neighbors and relatives, they were required to report them to the police (see chapter 6).²²

The cohesive family networks that protected female honor in the countryside became fragmented once women migrated to the city by themselves.²³ Rural and single women were targets of suspicion and hostility by their neighbors, who kept an eye on them.²⁴ There was little privacy in the overcrowded quarters of Istanbul

and Galata. Moreover, many single women had a hard time protecting their reputations in the more crime-ridden quarters of Galata and Kasım Paşa. For example, the residents of the quarter of Katib Muslihüddin in Istanbul presented a lawsuit against Seyyid Ibrahim and a certain Ayşe to the court in December 1719. They claimed that Edirneli Ayşe (Ayşe from Edirne), who lived alone, had brought two strange men, Seyyid Ibrahim and his friend, Bursalı Aşçı Hasan (the cook from Bursa), into her house. The neighbors had gone to her door demanding an explanation, but one of the men had escaped. The residents demanded that the court expel Ayşe and Seyyid Ibrahim from the neighborhood. Seyyid Ibrahim was also arrested and sentenced to the galleys for disguising his real identity, that of a bandit, and adopting one of a Seyyid.²⁵

In addition, residents did not welcome brawls in their neighborhoods since they disrupted the peace and could lead to violent crime. In another neighborhood a few years later, neighbors helped arrest a certain Süleyman and Ayşe who were in the midst of a brawl near the Sultan Mehmed Friday Mosque in December 1722. Süleyman was subsequently sentenced to the galleys on charges of procuring boys, and Ayşe was imprisoned for pimping for prostitutes. They were later pardoned and released for good conduct after their neighbors presented a petition to the court. Ayşe was then settled in Kasım Paşa, where there was more tolerance for prostitution than there was in a neighborhood near a Friday mosque.²⁶

In more conservative neighborhoods, the conduct of single, divorced, or abandoned women attracted the attention of religious figures, who kept an eye on them. For example, in another case the residents of the quarter of Dülbendci Hussam complained to the court about the moral misconduct of Ayşe daughter of Ömer, whose husband was away. They claimed that she had interacted with strange men and ruffraff like Ali son of Osman. The neighbors of Ayşe reported that Ali visited her in her house and drew his knife on the elders of the quarter when they questioned the nature of his business and his relationship with Ayşe. Since her husband was away, the neighbors took the liberty of breaking into her house with the help of the police officers of Galata and found Ali there. The police then arrested Ali, and thirty residents brought a lawsuit against Ali and Ayşe. The kadi of Istanbul sentenced both to severe chastisement (beating and flogging); in addition, Ali was sentenced in October 1723 to row in the imperial arsenal.²⁷ This type of neighborhood surveillance often became a means for harassing unprotected single men and women. Marginal men and women suffered from the scrutiny of the community, who used any sign of moral misconduct to expel them from the neighborhood.²⁸

Moreover, the testimony of residents in the court played an important role in the trial, conviction, and sentencing of delinquents in Istanbul neighborhoods. The imam, usually a low-ranking member of the ulema and sometimes a simple prayer leader with no official role, led the residents and functioned as the local representative of the kadi. He held a meeting in the mosque after the Friday prayer and dis-

cussed the affairs of the neighborhood. Local imams as well as Jewish and Christian community leaders reported immoral conduct and asked the state to expel prostitutes and drunkards and to close down taverns and coffeehouses that were considered dens of criminals (see chapter 5).

MORAL GUARANTOR: THE *KEFIL*
AS A SOCIO-LEGAL INSTITUTION

In Ottoman and Muslim societies, an individual was primarily identified through his or her membership in an extended family, community (religious, neighborhood), or craft guild. Individuals without these links—primarily single unemployed men, divorced or abandoned women, and rural migrants—were regarded as outcasts by their communities and became targets of abuse. When dealing with such individuals, the state required some sort of moral guarantor (*kefil*), sponsor, or character witness. The system of sponsorship and bail was widely used among artisans and in the courts in the trial and release of convicts. Moral guarantors were usually respectable members of the community, guilds, and families. They acted voluntarily, but some had important family and business ties to the person on bail. The state required guarantors for unemployed rural migrants, artisans, and delinquents. Sometimes when a debtor defaulted or when a convict fled, the moral guarantor had to pay the person's debt or find the convict. In criminal trials defendants were sometimes required to present character witnesses from the community if their morality was in question. Moreover, when fines were imposed, a guarantor had to guarantee timely payment. If the convict failed to pay, the guarantor had to come up with the money or be arrested. Guarantors were also used as surety for loans.²⁹ When convicts were released from prison upon the petition of relatives or moral guarantors, the latter had to guarantee their rehabilitation and integration into the community.³⁰ Entire neighborhoods sometimes had to pledge for the good conduct of convicts and delinquents before they could be pardoned.

Community and guild leaders stood as guarantors for the artisans who were members of guilds. For example, in the survey of guilds in Galata and Kasım Paşa in 1763, many artisans were listed with the name of their guarantors; those who lacked one were expelled from the city (see chapter 2). At times of social upheaval, controlling the conduct of artisans and rural migrants assumed more urgency. For example, an imperial order to the chief of police of Istanbul in 1797 commanded him to arrest and expel unemployed rural migrants who had no guarantors and to register all the boatmen with their places of birth and employment and the names of their guarantors and to forward the information to the market inspector. Moreover, the order required the heads of guilds not to employ these people without moral guarantors and the knowledge of the market inspector.³¹ In another case, the Islamic court in Hasköy, with the help of the police and the Greek Orthodox pa-

triarchs, registered all the Greek residents of Hasköy with their guarantors; searched their houses, rooms, and shops for guns; and reported the results to the Imperial Council in 1820.³² The state was probably concerned about the spillover effect of the Greek rebellion in Peloponnese. This action might also have been an extra security measure to control violence in a society in which many gangs and former janissaries carried guns and assault weapons (knives).

Additionally, moral guarantors functioned as a bridge between different religious communities. Sometimes Muslims stood as character witnesses for non-Muslims accused of crimes.³³ For example, in November 1767 a group of Muslim and Jewish residents and artisans from Galata agreed to stand as character witnesses for the convict Nesim, a Jewish resident of Ortaköy, and demanded his release from the galleys.³⁴ In another case, when Yoda son of Eliz, a Jewish man from Hasköy and a convicted thief, was sentenced to row in the galleys, twelve Muslims and thirteen Jews from Balat and Hasköy reported on his improved conduct. In addition, seven Jewish residents, including the warden of Hasköy and Balat, agreed to function as Yoda's moral guarantors and demanded his release in January 1798.³⁵ This development might have meant that his community had maintained contact with him during his sentence and may have mobilized Muslim neighbors to support his release. It is interesting to note that both Muslim and Jewish residents guaranteed the good conduct of Jewish convicts, even though they also had helped in arresting them as the neighborhood watch.

POLICING ISTANBUL

Lord Charlemont (d. 1799), the young Irish aristocrat and dilettante from Dublin, traveled in Ottoman Greece, Egypt, and Constantinople from 1748 to 1749 and left us remarkable impressions and observations of daily life and Ottoman institutions during the reign of Mahmud I. He did not witness the social upheaval of 1730 that continued for a decade (1730–40), but he did comment on its aftermath:

There is not, I believe, in Europe any city where the police [are] so well regulated as at Constantinople. House-breaking and street robbery, crime so unfortunately common in our great towns as to render the dwelling in them unpleasant and unsafe, never happen in the Turkish metropolis, and a man may walk in the streets at all hours of the night, or even sleep in them with his pocket full of money, without the smallest fear or danger of molestation. No murders, no assaults, no riots ever happen here, nor are those acts of violence by which our impetuous and ill-educated young men are so fond of signaling themselves ever so much as heard of. Formerly indeed the Turkish sailors, especially those who belong to the ships of war, and whom they term *levantis*, used sometimes to infest the streets, raising riots and insulting passengers, but these enormities have been long since put an end to by the salutary rigour of frequent executions. That sobriety which the law against the use of wine has introduced among the Turks

is undoubtedly one principal cause of this civil tranquility. But the source from whence the security of the streets[,] as well from insults as from robbery, chiefly derives is the sensible, active and vigorous management of the night patrol or city watch.³⁶

Lord Charlemont compared the policing of Istanbul with that of London, casting the former in a positive light. He was correct in observing that the policing of Istanbul was more regulated than that of London. But a professional municipal police force was not established in Istanbul until the nineteenth century. In London, too, a regular police force was established in 1829 when Peel introduced a bill to that effect in the House of Commons. Similarly, in Paris a citywide police force under the *Perfect of Paris* began operating in 1840 and 1850.³⁷

In addition, the peace and quiet that Lord Charlemont observed were in a large part due to the crackdown on the post-Patrona Halil rebellion, as he noted. Lord Charlemont's view of the low crime rate in Istanbul may not have been accurate for the whole eighteenth century, but his impression of the effectiveness of the night watch in Istanbul was closer to the truth. However, not every part of Istanbul was well protected and safe all the time. Crime peaked at night in certain neighborhoods like Kasım Paşa and Galata and in quarters closer to the city walls.³⁸ In addition, some neighborhoods were better policed than others.

In the Ottoman Empire, policing was formally the function of certain divisions of the janissary corps in Istanbul and other cities and of the cavalry in the countryside. Ideally, there was a division of labor between the kadi, who conducted the trial and issued the sentence, and the police division of the janissary corps, which carried out the arrest and punishment. The police officers were expected to execute the sentences of the judiciary (*shari'a* courts) and the Imperial Council.³⁹ However, it is clear from the records that sometimes the various police officers arrested and punished repeat offenders without any trial or authorization from the kadi.⁴⁰ For example, out of eighty arrests recorded in the galleys register for the years 1704 to 1706, fifteen arrests (20 percent) were made by the police officers without the authorization of the kadi or local leaders. These arrests were of habitual thieves, highway robbers, counterfeiters, tavern operators, and prostitutes.⁴¹ However, the state constantly attempted to involve the kadi and ensure some degree of equity and justice in punishing suspected criminals and bandits.

In the absence of an independent and professional police department, police officials were placed under the authority of the grand vizier, who represented the executive authority of the sultan. The *kaimmakam* was the deputy of the grand vizier, but in practice he functioned as the mayor of Istanbul. This position was often held by viziers before they were promoted to the position of grand vizier. For example, Vizier Mehmed Pasha and Vizier Mustafa Pasha were the *kaimmakam* of Istanbul in 1716 and 1717, respectively.⁴² The deputy grand vizier presided over the meetings of the Imperial Council with the participation of the viziers, the chief kadis of

Istanbul, and the commander of the janissaries.⁴³ The deputy grand vizier accompanied the grand vizier on his tour of inspection of shops to control the maximum prices and enforce sanctions on violators. His importance grew in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries since the court was often absent from Istanbul, and the sultan and the grand vizier spent a long time on pleasure tours in Edirne and in villages on the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus. Imperial orders regarding repair work on churches, the settlement of non-Muslims, the affairs of foreign consuls and communities, the ban on alcoholic drinks, official prices, and guild affairs were issued to both the deputy grand vizier and the kadi of Istanbul.⁴⁴ The *kaimmakam* also commanded the policing of Istanbul.

In Istanbul a division of labor existed in policing different parts of the city. The chief commander of janissaries was in charge of policing all of Istanbul. The mayor (*voivoda*) of Galata, the chief commander of navy, the chief of armorers, the chief of canoners, and the head of the palace guards (*bostancıbaşı*) enjoyed policing authority in Galata, Kasım Paşa, the Hippodrome, the Aya Sofia, Tophane, the Topkapı Palace, imperial residences, and villages along the Bosphorus and Golden Horn, respectively. These officers relied on the kadi and his deputies as well as the community watch to maintain law and order.

Police officers had their own association in Istanbul. Evliya Çelebi described with a great sense of humor and irony the procession of the guilds of policemen and criminals, the latter parading behind the former, in front of Murad IV in 1638.⁴⁵ The chief of day police (*subaşı*) marched with pimps and male prostitutes, joking and laughing with them. The non-Muslim tavern owners had to use red sherbet to demonstrate their craft but pretended that it was wine and sprinkled it on the spectators as a joke.⁴⁶ The procession of criminals marching with the chief of day police, who knew them intimately, throws a very interesting light on the tolerance of criminality in the Ottoman Empire.

Every division of the military police had special jurisdictions, tasks, and authority. The *çavuşbaşı* (formally the head of the imperial messengers) was the most important law enforcement officer in the Ottoman Empire and supervised the chiefs of day and night police. He summoned suspects to the court and was in charge of enforcing the decisions of the Islamic courts and the Imperial Council. He was also in charge of punishing members of the government and putting them to death. The imperial chief messenger sat next to the grand vizier in meetings of the Imperial Council, read out the petitions, and enforced the decisions of the Imperial Council pertaining to the collection of fines and corporal punishment.⁴⁷ In the eighteenth century, the *çavuş* officers were in charge of transporting prostitutes and convicts to towns and fortress prisons in the islands. For example, records show that Çavuş Süleyman transported Ahmed Nazif, a convicted thief and rapist, to Bursa, where the latter was exiled in July 1706.⁴⁸

The *subaşı* (chief of day police) had considerable authority in the eighteenth cen-

tury. He maintained law and order in the provinces, villages, and urban centers. The *subaşı* and *asesbaşı* (chief of night police) performed similar policing functions during the day and night. In Istanbul each district and its dependencies had one *subaşı*, but the chief was the *subaşı* of the district of Istanbul. In the seventeenth century, the chief *subaşı* had two hundred officers, who carried clubs. An officer of the janissary corps, the *subaşı* was placed under the authority of the kadi and the *çavuşbaşı* but had more responsibilities than other police officers. He worked with the market inspector and the night watch in guarding the city and its markets.⁴⁹ His men administered the *bastinado* (beating on the soles of the foot) and flogging of those artisans and merchants who violated guild rules and maximum prices.

The *subaşı* also functioned as a public prosecutor.⁵⁰ He summoned suspects to the court, participated in their trials, and pursued with little mercy convicted criminals and those involved in the vice trade and prostitution.⁵¹ In the seventeenth century the *subaşı* had his own register, in which he listed the names of male prostitutes and pimps and collected fines from them.⁵² The *subaşı* also functioned as a morality police officer and often carried out the arrests of tavern operators and prostitutes. For example, in December 1617, Mehmed Bey son of Hasan, the *subaşı* of Üsküdar, came to the court and reported drinking and prostitution in the house of Yüsun son of Abdullah and asked the kadi to send his men to investigate. A team of Muslims led by the kadi then went to the aforesaid house at midnight and discovered Yorgi, an unrelated non-Muslim man, with Yusuf's wife, Marziye, sitting with jugs of wine next to them. The kadi prepared a report and submitted it to the court at the request of the *subaşı*.⁵³ The *subaşı* also arrested thieves and sometimes punished them without a trial. For example, in an arrest in October 1704, the *subaşı* convicted two thieves on Divan Yolu in Istanbul and sentenced them to row in the galleys.⁵⁴ It is clear they had not been tried in the court. They may have been habitual thieves, as was the case in the following example. In January 1709 the *subaşı* and *asesbaşı* helped arrest Ibrahim, a convicted thief who had been sentenced to row in the galleys two or three times previously.⁵⁵ In Istanbul during the eighteenth century, the market inspector played a very minor role in the arrest and conviction of criminals compared with those of the chief of day police and the night watch.⁵⁶

Mehmed II created the office of the night watch from a janissary unit that had five hundred men and its own association in the seventeenth century. The officers of the night watch had the authority to arrest, tie up, beat, or hang criminals.⁵⁷ The chief of night watch had many patrolmen under his authority to guard residential quarters and the *bedestan* in the Grand Bazaar. They also worked with the *subaşı* and carried clubs, knives, and lanterns.⁵⁸ The night watch officers arrested those who walked around at night without a lantern or broke the curfew (except during the month of Ramadan). The night watch punished these men by forcing them to carry wood to public baths at night. Lord Charlemont described the "sudden and silent" appearance of the chief of the night watch and his officers late at night in

the back streets of Pera. He stated, "The surprise of sudden appearance, which (as we had not heard the smallest previous noise), was utterly unaccountable to us, the blaze of light, which shone in our eyes and dazzled us like a flash of lightning, the number, noise, arms, and threatening action of those whom we deemed our assailants—all these alarming circumstances aggravated by our ideas of Turkish barbarity, are fully sufficient to account for that terror with which we strangers were for a moment seized. But a moment put an end to our fears." This occurred when Lord Charlemont found out that these men were police officers who were armed with clubs and patrolled the streets in silence at night, stopping anyone who violated the curfew. Lord Charlemont described them as very dexterous in throwing their clubs and stopping anyone who tried to escape.⁵⁹ The chief of night watch guarded the Baba Cafer prison and enforced the decisions of the Imperial Council and the janissary *agha*.

The *agha* (chief) of the janissaries was the next most important police and military officer in Galata and Istanbul. The sultan appointed and dismissed the *agha* of janissaries. Every Tuesday the *agha* attended the sultan's meeting in the Imperial Council, and on Wednesdays he attended the grand vizier's meeting in his residence. In addition, the chief of janissaries accompanied the sultan every week to the Friday mosque and helped him get off his horse.⁶⁰ The *agha's* power was unlimited since he could impose the death sentence on many people.⁶¹ For example, Hasan Agha, who was the head of janissaries from 1725 to 1726, gave public audience in his headquarters in Agha Kapı every day. In addition, Hasan Agha threw many parties for Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha in Eyüp and at his headquarters during the month of Ramadan and Nevruz and enjoyed the latter's support.⁶²

The chief of janissaries was also in charge of arresting non-Muslim tavern owners and sellers of wine and alcoholic drinks. For example, in April 1704 the janissary *agha* arrested a certain Avanes for setting up a tavern inside a house in Balat.⁶³ The following autumn the *agha* arrested a Jewish man for selling alcoholic drinks and for operating a tavern in Kuzguncuk.⁶⁴ Furthermore, the chief of janissaries had the authority to break into suspicious locations when misconduct had been reported. For example, in January 1709 the janissary *agha* broke into Vezir Han, arrested eleven non-Muslims for running taverns, and made a report to the central government urging that they be sentenced to row in the galleys. He also confiscated and poured out all the wine.⁶⁵ Taverns outside Galata frequently attracted the attention of the police.

The *voivoda* of Galata had some policing authority in Galata and its vicinity. He functioned like the mayor of Galata, a position that Mehmed II set up in 1453 and controlled. The *voivoda* reported directly to the grand vizier and worked closely with the kadi, the chief of janissaries, the *subaşı*, and other police officials. The *voivoda* could arrest criminals and sentence them without a trial. For example, in June 1707 he arrested Abdalbaki son of Salih from the Black Sea after a dead body

had been discovered at the Kul Kapı gate near his house outside Galata and sentenced him to row in the galleys.⁶⁶

The rise of the palace gardeners as a separate police force that patrolled the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus was an important development in the policing of Istanbul. The *bostancı* corps was similar to the Marine Police Force in London that was founded in 1798 to patrol the River Thames. The Marine Police Force was made up of a group of salaried officers who were paid by London merchants.⁶⁷ The office of the *bostancıbaşı*, literally the “chief gardener,” was originally in charge of policing the Topkapı Palace and its vicinity. The jurisdiction of the *bostancı* corps grew in importance during the eighteenth century due to the spread of imperial residences along the shores of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus. In addition, the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn provided access to the Topkapı Palace. Their protection was, therefore, of utmost importance.

The *bostancı* corps undertook to patrol the entire body of water and the villages along the shores in greater Istanbul in the eighteenth century. The chief of the *bostancı* corps was also in charge of the sultan’s barge when he went on a sea tour. The *bostancıbaşı* carried out surveys of neighborhoods and shops along the shores of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus while on his boat and prepared a register for the sultan.⁶⁸ For example, his survey of 1815 listed the summer mansions, houses, shops, coffeehouses, mosques, and wharfs along both shores of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, with the names of their owners. The *bostancıbaşı*’s survey was similar to the earlier surveys of neighborhoods and guilds and focused on the houses and their owners, shops and their owners, and public places along the shores.⁶⁹

Ahmed III expanded the numbers and authority of the *bostancı* unit in Edirne and Istanbul, where the palace maintained an active presence. Lady Montagu described the members of the *bostancı* corps in Edirne as a considerable body of men who dressed in different costumes in lively colors and appeared as a “parterre of tulips” with their elaborate headgear.⁷⁰ The size of the corps was 2,678 men in Istanbul and 658 men in Edirne; their register was separated from that of the janisaries in 1698.⁷¹ They were mostly of Bosnian background.⁷² The chief palace guard was very close to the sultan and made a great fortune from the collection of wine tax and the tax farm on fisheries.⁷³ The *botancıbaşı* was the superintendent of all the fisheries that he farmed out. In addition, he controlled the importation of wine into Istanbul.

Moreover, the *bostancıbaşı* and his officers arrested and punished all the criminals and delinquents caught in public parks on the waterfront. For example, in June 1706 the *bostancıbaşı* arrested Alexsandri son of Yorke for operating a tavern near the waterfront in Ortaköy.⁷⁴ In another case, the residents of a village on the Bosphorus complained to the police about the rowdy and scandalous behavior of Nu’man Pashazade Abdurrahman Bey and his guests in his summer house. In a raid organized by the *bostancıbaşı* into the Bey’s summer house, the force arrested four

prostitutes in the company of three men in October 1789.⁷⁵ Two of the prostitutes were well known; one was a musician; all four were imprisoned. Since the Bey was a state official, he did not want to testify and was released.

As the power of the palace guards increased, the state supervised more of their activities and did not allow them to engage in work outside their duties.⁷⁶ The government of Ahmed III attempted to create more discipline among the *bostancı*s. In 1713 Sultan Ahmed III ordered the expulsion of members of the *bostancı* corps who left their barracks at night without permission, behaved improperly, violated the dress code, or got married.⁷⁷ For example, in 1720 Seyyid Mehmed Agha, the *bostancıbaşı* of Istanbul, was discharged from office on account of his venality, incompetence, and rivalry with Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha.⁷⁸ Similarly, when *bostancıbaşı* Siroslı Ibrahim Agha ignored the accusations of abuse committed by his officers, he was discharged from office in 1724 and was replaced by another man.⁷⁹

Law enforcement gave the janissaries extra military privileges that they tended to abuse more and more during the eighteenth century.⁸⁰ Policing was a lucrative business in Istanbul as a result of the fines and bribes that police officers collected.⁸¹ Sometimes the *subaşı* took bribes and tribute from criminals. Moreover, the offices of the chief of police were farmed out to the highest bidders, a practice that introduced an element of corruption. The state was at times keen on punishing members of the police or the judiciary who had been accused of corruption and crime by removing them from office.⁸² For example, three police officers, were imprisoned in Limnos in 1710 for undue interference in the affairs of the guild of butchers in Istanbul.⁸³ In 1767 the *voivoda* of Galata sent a petition to the Imperial Council asking for the removal of the night watch from office on account of its corruption and interference in the affair of butchers.⁸⁴ It is possible that police officers like the janissaries had been using their authority to undersell the butchers and make some money on the side.

In the late eighteenth century, the state initiated a series of changes that led to the creation of a modern police force in the nineteenth century. The state placed the police officers on salaries and created police stations (*kulluk*) in crime-ridden neighborhoods.⁸⁵ In 1814 the state built a police station in Tepebaşı near the British embassy between Kasım Paşa and Beyoğlu and paid a monthly salary of thirty *kuruş* to the chief of police and ten *kuruş* to each of his four staff members from the treasury of the *kapudan pasha* (the naval commander) as well as a bread ration from the bakery of the imperial arsenal.⁸⁶ The modern and professional police force was established after the elimination of the janissary corps in 1826.⁸⁷

With the increase of urban violence and the crime rate, the task of policing Istanbul occupied an important place in the Ottoman central administration in the eighteenth century. The state relied on the local community leaders, local judges, a net-

work of moral guarantors, and various divisions of the janissary corps to police Istanbul during the day and at night. In addition, a system of surveillance was initiated in public places to gather information and report seditious activities. Public gathering places like coffeehouses and taverns were also targets of government crackdown and closure. The janissaries were placed in charge of maintaining public order, but their participation in urban rebellions led to the expansion of the *bostancı* corps as a marine patrol in the eighteenth century.

Ottoman Justice in Multiple Legal Systems

In Islam, there was, at least in theory, not a single sphere of life in which secular law could have developed independently of the claims of sacred norms. In fact, there appeared to be a far-reaching reception of Hellenic and Roman law. Officially, however, the entire corpus of private law was claimed to be an interpretation of the Koran or its elaboration through customary law.

—MAX WEBER, *ECONOMY AND SOCIETY*

At Constantinople, justice is administered with the greatest regularity and decorum.

—LORD CHARLEMONT, 1747¹

Max Weber must have been well informed of Western accounts of Ottoman justice when he wrote his brief but important analysis of Islamic law. His views have influenced the debate on Islamic law among scholars who have written on this topic. Weber argued that in the patrimonial Muslim empires, Islamic law, in contrast to Western law, lacked formal rationality and uniformity. Since the Qur'an and the Prophet's tradition (acts and sayings), two important sources of sacred law, offered few positive and fixed laws, Islamic law developed through the interpretation and consensus of jurists. Furthermore, Weber added, the kadi (Islamic judge) did not judge authoritatively due to the limited and impractical fixed penalties and had to rely on the legal opinion of the *şeyhülislam*.² This is the point at which secular and customary influences crept in. Furthermore, Weber argued that the shari'a (Islamic law) was a status law that applied only to Muslims. Weber attributed this "legal particularism" and a dual legal system and administration (sacred and secular law) to all Islamic empires.³ Weber never elaborated on sultanic secular law and its origins.

In addition, Western travelers to the Ottoman Empire, such as Adolphus Slade, commented on the corruption of the kadi, despite his central role in the administrative and judiciary apparatus of Ottoman cities and provinces. Both Weber and

Slade were writing in the nineteenth century, a period that witnessed a decline of the power of the kadi and the role of the shari'a, particularly after the Tanzimat reforms of 1850s.⁴ While Weber's points concerning the dual system of sacred and secular law and the absence of a systematic and unified legal code in the Islamic empires may have been true at some point, he failed to highlight variation across time and space and the actual operation of the courts, the integration of the customary and sacred law under the Ottomans, and the evolution of the legal system in the Ottoman Empire prior to the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the Ottoman system of multiple courts allowed for the flexibility of the legal system and the ability of defendants to script their own justice through multiple courts and even to settle their disputes outside the courts. This system was not too different from the French legal regime before the French revolution. In addition, non-Muslims enjoyed great legal autonomy in the Ottoman Empire.

PROSECUTING CRIME IN MULTIPLE LEGAL SYSTEMS

Muslim and non-Muslim courts usually prosecuted moral misconduct in their respective communities and reported serious crime and habitual offenders to the Imperial Council in Istanbul.⁵ The case of Rifke, a Jewish prostitute, illustrates this process very well (see chapter 5). When Rifke crossed the religious boundaries of her community and slept with Muslim, Jewish, and Christian men, her community expelled her from the neighborhood and then reported her to the police when she later returned and continued her prostitution.⁶ The report of the police to the Imperial Council regarding the prostitution of Rifke sheds light on the various legal stages that a lawsuit against a habitual Jewish prostitute went through before reaching the Imperial Council. The petition shows that the Jewish community leaders used all legal and communal means available before approaching the Imperial Council in Istanbul. Rifke's allegedly immoral conduct and violation of the shari'a brought Jews, Muslims, Armenians, and Greeks together; the Imperial Council accepted their testimony without conducting a separate investigation and ordered her expulsion to Salonica. We also learn that the Jewish community punished moral misconduct much as the Muslims did, by banishing accused women from the neighborhood. This case also illustrates the access of the non-Muslim community leaders to the Imperial Council as a higher court of appeals. This case involving a Jewish prostitute was not presented to the Islamic court in Balat, although the kadi may have been consulted. Rarely were non-Muslim prostitutes prosecuted in Islamic courts. However, this practice was not true of other cases of crime among non-Muslims.

The existence of multiple law courts in Istanbul sometimes led to overlapping jurisdictions and porous boundaries, as was also the case in France. Michel Foucault argues that one of the great legal reforms of the eighteenth century in France

was the elimination of the irregular and multiple legal systems that were in force during the *ancien régime*.⁷ Furthermore, in France the sale of the office of the magistrate as a tax farm by the king and the presence of innumerable judicial authorities canceled each other out and undermined the operation of justice and the penal system. The reforms of the late eighteenth century in France aimed at distributing the judicial authority more evenly and inserting the power to “punish better and more deeply” into the social body.⁸

However, in contrast with the situation in feudal France, where there was more diffusion of judicial power and less hierarchy in the legal system, in the Ottoman Empire the Imperial Council stood at the top of the legal pyramid in the eighteenth century. The kadi courts, which stood below the Imperial Council, had greater jurisdiction over the non-Muslim courts. The local courts had considerable independence from each other, and one judge could not cancel or overrule the decision of another judge in the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, in the Ottoman Empire, the kadi was a government appointee who served for one to two years and was regularly rotated from one judgeship to another to prevent corruption.⁹ The king in France also appointed and dismissed the magistrate during the second half of the eighteenth century.

The Ottoman judiciary appears to have been far more centralized and hierarchical than the one in France.¹⁰ The Islamic courts and the Imperial Council achieved a better integration of their functions in the eighteenth century. Close cooperation among the kadi courts, the police, and the governors in the provinces and the Imperial Council in Istanbul is evident in hundreds of volumes of imperial orders to provincial and urban officials and to the kadi during this century.

KADI JUSTICE AND ISLAMIC COURTS

The Ottoman system of justice, with the kadi at the center, functioned in the formal legal arenas of the courts and the Imperial Council as well as in informal communal, guild, and family settings. The kadi was the most important administrative and judicial official in the Ottoman Empire during the early modern period. He was not only a judge who administered the law and tried offenders but also, and foremost, a government official who had legal, administrative, municipal, and social responsibilities. The Ottoman kadi represented the central government in the provinces and mediated between it and the local communities. He also reported instances of abuse and violence to the central government.

The kadi administered the law through a court in each district in Istanbul while his deputies sat in subdistrict courts. Istanbul had four major kadi courts and several subdistrict courts in all four districts.¹¹ The kadi court was usually situated near a mosque or in a commercial location. The kadi of Galata sat in the court near the Arab Cami’i and presided over subdistrict courts in the seventeenth century.¹² Each

district also had a chief of police and market inspector, who worked under the supervision of the kadi. A night judge served during the night and held court in his house, and a wandering deputy judge toured around and heard cases dealing with fraud and the drinking of wine.¹³ Every court also relied on expert witnesses who were drawn from court officials, local imams, and community leaders. The kadi also had under him a number of scribes and court attendants.

In the seventeenth century, the kadi was a state employee who served for one year and received a salary in addition to court fees that varied from twenty to fifty *akçe* for notary services and for registration of marriage, inheritance, and manumission of slaves.¹⁴ The revenue from all the courts in the district of Galata produced seventy thousand *akçe* annually during this century.¹⁵ Overcharging with high court fees was a widespread and serious breach that the Imperial Council attempted to correct.

The chief kadi of Istanbul enjoyed the highest prestige; he sometimes was promoted to the position of *şeyhülislam*. He served in Mecca and Medina before or after he served in Istanbul.¹⁶ The chief kadi of Istanbul attended the meetings of the Imperial Council and reviewed imperial orders issued by the grand vizier. The state appointed this judge from among well-educated and respected religious figures for approximately one year. However, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it occasionally had to remove him from office on charges of corruption.¹⁷ Koçu Bey had advised Sultan Murad IV not to appoint a kadi who did not have proper *medrese* training and a full knowledge of the law (regardless of his age or previous appointment) and not to remove the *şeyhülislam* and kadi of Istanbul from office too frequently without giving them pensions or teaching positions in the *medrese*.¹⁸ The kadi farmed out the office of deputy judge in the eighteenth century, a practice that was illegal in the *kanunname* of Süleyman the Magnificent. It became another source of corruption and venality in the judiciary.¹⁹ The insecurity resulting from their brief tenure, according to Koçu Bey, forced judges into corruption, sale of office, and collusion with other authorities, thus harming the affairs of both religion and the state. The state had to supervise the activities of the judge and deputy judge closely due to the sensitivity of their positions in the economic well-being of the city in the eighteenth century.

Despite government vigilance, as previously noted, the judge and his deputy were sometimes accused of corruption and removed from office. During times of economic crisis, the judge of Istanbul was in charge of enforcing maximum prices for bread and other necessities to prevent riots. When he failed to enforce maximum prices and to punish bakers, the judge was accused of taking bribes from bakers (see chapter 4) and was often discharged from office. For example, in 1720 during food shortages, Durri Efendi, the kadi of Istanbul, failed to enforce the maximum price on grain and was removed from office.²⁰ Mehmed Salim Efendi, his successor, was also discharged after seven months in office on account of his corruption

and was replaced by the former kadi of Izmir, Ishak Efendi, in 1722.²¹ Raşid, the official chronicler, praised Ishak Efendi for his honesty and integrity in office.²² The situation changed during the tenure of Zülali Hasan Efendi as the chief judge of Istanbul in 1728. When a cold winter and drought had caused food shortages (of grain and meat) and a great deal of other trouble, rumors spread about the corruption of Zülali Hasan Efendi, who had set the maximum prices. The grand vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, removed the kadi from his position to calm the populace.²³ Raşid became the kadi of Istanbul after Zülali's dismissal, but he was removed from his position and exiled during the Patrona Halil rebellion. It must be noted that Zülali Efendi played an active role in the Patrona Halil rebellion in September 1730, no doubt due to his alienation from the government of Ibrahim Pasha (see chapter 3).

The Imperial Council sometimes looked into cases when litigants were dissatisfied with the operation of the courts. The Imperial Council then might issue orders to the kadi and provincial officials to reexamine a case.²⁴ The parties also used the *müfti* to obtain a second opinion and present it to the court. The latter did not have an official role in the judiciary but was a member of the ulema, who had expertise in law (*shari'a* and *kanun*) and provided legal counsel. The *müfti* sometimes acted much like a premodern lawyer, but he did not represent clients in the courts. His legal opinion, however, was used in the court and the Imperial Council to prosecute crimes.

In some Ottoman cities like Bursa, the kadi was closely involved in the arrest, investigation, and trial of criminals.²⁵ In Istanbul, however, the kadi was less involved in the prosecution of criminal cases in the eighteenth century, although he sometimes recommended a sentence to the Imperial Council. A preliminary study of kadi court registers for the districts of Istanbul and Galata during the eighteenth century shows that the courts did not prosecute most of the criminal cases.²⁶ The *shari'a* courts in Istanbul increasingly specialized in family and property disputes (civil affairs) and played a less important role in criminal cases during this century.²⁷ But the Imperial Council usually consulted the kadi on the sentences to be issued to convicts. Similarly, the non-Muslim courts dealt with personal and civil matters and referred cases of serious crime to the Imperial Council in Istanbul.²⁸ For example, out of twenty-seven lawsuits presented to the district court of Istanbul in November 1767, only two dealt with violent conduct among Muslims and non-Muslims, and only one dealt with an accusation of moral misconduct by Muslim women and men.²⁹ In Çankırı, a town in Anatolia, for every criminal case, there were 1.7 civil disputes in the court records.³⁰ The residents of Çankırı also used the kadi as an intermediary to draft their petitions, which they preferred to take to higher authorities in the province and the capital.³¹ Similarly, the kadi courts in Salonica received 13 criminal lawsuits out of 184 total cases between 1740 and 1741.³² The kadi did not issue a sentence in most criminal cases and instead relied on the authority of the *müfti* and the governor in Salonica. Eyal Ginio argues that

criminal justice remained outside the authority of the kadi in Salonica during the eighteenth century due to shari'a rules of procedure and few fixed penalties.³³ The role of kadi courts in prosecuting criminal cases in Salonica was similar to their role in Istanbul.

When a court received a lawsuit, the scribes in the court prepared a quick report based on the claim of the litigant, the confession of the defendant, and the testimony of police officers and witnesses and then forwarded it to the Imperial Council with a recommendation for a decision. A kadi could not reverse the decision of another kadi, but he could revise the decision of the previous kadi in the same court or of the governor if false witnesses had been used or if sufficient evidence had not been available.³⁴ Ottoman subjects had the freedom to use any courts and to resort to the Imperial Council.³⁵ In Istanbul in the eighteenth century, the chief of police and other officers could arrest criminals, bring them to the court, carry out an investigation with the help of the judge or deputy-judge, hold a trial, present a report, and obtain a sentence from the Imperial Council. Sometimes the police sentenced the accused without a trial.

In the provinces, the governor and the *subaşı* arrested repeat offenders and bandits, brought them to the court, presented at least two witnesses, and asked the kadi to sentence them. Sometimes the court was held in the mansion of the governor, who issued the sentence as the executive officer.³⁶ However, the governor usually did not follow the legal procedure required by the shari'a.

The kadi courts and the Imperial Council were not the only venues for the settlement of disputes and conflict resolution in Ottoman towns in the early modern period.³⁷ For example, many litigants preferred to use informal networks and settle criminal lawsuits outside the courts through arbitration in Salonica in the eighteenth century.³⁸ Likewise, sometimes the kadi in Istanbul encouraged settlement outside the court for cases concerning blood feuds and family disputes during this century. The most important role of the kadi was to mediate and reconcile. The active participation of the different parties in the settlement of a dispute was crucial to the functioning of the Ottoman judicial system.³⁹ Western travelers considered this practice to be judicial corruption and arbitrary justice because of their unfamiliarity with the whole process and the system of multiple courts.

NON-MUSLIM COURTS

The Ottoman legal system allowed for the legal autonomy of non-Muslims, who had their own courts and judges who applied their customary laws.⁴⁰ The non-Muslim courts tried and punished members of Greek Orthodox, Armenian, and Jewish communities for violating religious and community codes of conduct, but they turned repeat offenders over to the Islamic courts, the Imperial Council, and the police.⁴¹ The Jewish rabbis operated two courts in Balat and Hasköy, each next to an Islamic

court in the same neighborhood. The Greek Orthodox and Armenian communities used ecclesiastical courts administered by the church.⁴² The sentences handed down by non-Muslim courts ranged from excommunication to jail and refusal of Christian or Jewish burial.⁴³ Residents of European communities enjoyed legal immunity and could try their members in their own courts, but they also had access to the kadi court and the Imperial Council in disputes with Ottoman subjects.

In the eighteenth century, the kadi's role became more important since he was an urban official mediating between the government and Muslim and non-Muslim communities. This role in part explains the growing participation in the Islamic courts of non-Muslim residents. For example, in 1749 the kadi of Hasköy approved the Jewish community's renewal of the terms of the *cema'at başı* (lay leaders) David son of Avram, Avram son of Nesim, and Avram son of Ishak for a year. Two years later, in December 1751, the kadi approved and registered the appointment of three other Jewish lay community leaders.⁴⁴

In addition, non-Muslims had access to Muslim courts to settle disputes with Muslims as well as with community members. In the eighteenth century, many non-Muslims brought civil and criminal cases against other non-Muslims to the Imperial Council and the Islamic courts in Istanbul; these cases ranged from payment of debt and guild affairs to inheritance disputes, divorce, and crime.⁴⁵ Non-Muslim men could also act as witnesses against other non-Muslims in Islamic courts. For example, in 1731 Nisa daughter of Lazari, and her husband, Musa son of Salom, who resided outside the gate of Balata, came to the Islamic court with Jewish witnesses to register her *khul'* divorce from her husband. She agreed to give up her bride price of 3,000 *kuruş* and all her rights of maintenance for herself and their daughter until the latter's puberty. The expert witnesses included six Muslims and three Jewish residents.⁴⁶

The *khul'* divorce was an Islamic form of divorce initiated by women who gave up their bride price and alimony in return for their freedom. The bride price, a debt paid by the husband to his wife, was usually paid by the groom to the bride in two portions, one at the time of marriage and the other after a divorce. (If the couple remained married, the second portion could be paid at any time.) In addition, according to the shari'a, the husband was obligated to pay child support and living expenses to the divorced wife until she remarried. If the husband died before paying the second payment or all of the child support, the wife could take it from his estate as a debt.

The flexibility of the shari'a regarding divorce and the recognition of inheritance shares for women sometimes attracted Greek Orthodox and Jewish women to Muslim courts to register marriage or seek divorce.⁴⁷ The Jewish rabbis, however, prevented their members from using Islamic courts, so the number of cases brought by Jewish men and women remained small in proportion to their numbers within the population.⁴⁸

Christian women brought the majority of cases regarding inheritance claims since Islamic law granted larger shares to women than their own courts did. For example, a number of Greek and Armenian residents used the court of Galata from 1729 to 1769 to register property transactions and the property of the deceased.⁴⁹ The Islamic law of inheritance that recognized the transfer of property to female relatives may have provided women with better guarantees and protection against future claims than their own courts would have done. Najwa Al-Qattam argues that this trend reflected the emergence of the Muslim courts as a public legal arena for all subjects regardless of their religions.⁵⁰ We cannot, however, underestimate the importance of non-Muslim courts, especially in cities like Istanbul that had a large non-Muslim population.⁵¹ There certainly was active traffic between various courts in mixed neighborhoods, and Ottoman subjects could shop around for justice and resort to the Imperial Council as the final court of appeals. However, this active traffic may have undermined the control of communal leaders over their members. The Ottoman authorities tried to make sure that this open system did not lead to the abuse of the legal system by maintaining the flow of information and putting the kadi in charge of supervising the process. The state also provided access to the Imperial Council when all else failed.

SULTANIC JUSTICE AND THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL

A PETITION: Praise and prayers to the fortunate and compassionate sultan.

This crippled slave is a respectable person. But by God's decision, I have become crippled and very poor, unable to survive on my own. I have remained virtuous by living off the charity of people. But some people will not let me beg anymore. I am appealing to you before throwing myself into the sea. The condition of your slave is getting worse[,] and I am in urgent need of evening meals. I am appealing to my compassionate sultan to set up a small pension for me somewhere. You will make this slave very happy by doing so. The final order is yours.

Rahime Hatun, the crippled

IMPERIAL ORDER: She should receive two *akçe* a day from the customs of Istanbul.

DATE: August 1732⁵²

The above petition is an unusual appeal to the sultan (Mahmud I) by a crippled woman who had fallen into poverty and could no longer beg. It was written in a bad hand, possibly by Rahime herself or by a petition writer at her request. It shows that some poverty-stricken women sought access to the Imperial Council to get help when all else failed. The tone of the text is very desperate and personal, reflecting the popular understanding of sultanic justice even among marginal women like Rahime. Begging was a last resort for women who had become destitute (see chapter 2). This case also illuminates the danger and temptation of a helpless woman's

other alternatives, such as prostitution and suicide, which Rahime shrewdly pointed out to the sultan.⁵³

The notion of justice in the Ottoman Empire was based on two traditions. The first was the ancient Near Eastern and Iranian (Sassanid) theory of the Circle of Justice that passed from the Seljuks and the Il-khanids to the Ottomans and formed the legal philosophy of the imperial law codes issued by Ottoman sultans, most notably Mehmed II (1444–46, 1451–81), Bayezid II (1481–1512), and Süleyman Kanuni (1520–66). The second involved the Islamic ethical principles of morality, equity, and social justice contained in the Qur'an and the Prophet's sayings and deeds that evolved into the shari'a. The Ottomans followed the Hanafi school of law, which was more flexible to local customs and sultanic edicts than other schools of law were.

Upon his ascension to the throne, the sultan issued new edicts or renewed the old ones. He also adopted from the conquered territories some of the existing laws and customs that dealt with taxation and administrative matters as long as they did not violate the spirit of the shari'a.⁵⁴ The sultan upheld both the shari'a and the *kanun* by appointing just officials and judges and by dispensing justice in the Imperial Council, which was located at the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul. The origins of the Imperial Council can be traced back to the fifteenth century if not earlier.⁵⁵ The sultan presided over the meetings of the Imperial Council four days a week to hear petitions from members of the ruling class, his male and female subjects, both Muslims and non-Muslims.⁵⁶ Toward the end of his reign, Mehmed II withdrew from the public eye, and his grand vizier, Mahmud Pasha, attended the meetings of the Imperial Council with the chief religious judges of Rumelia and Anatolia as well as the chief kadi of Istanbul and the *seyhülislam*.⁵⁷ The sultan also received petitions while on military campaigns, while touring the provinces, and after the Friday prayer.⁵⁸ Those subjects who lived in Istanbul had an obvious advantage over men and women from the provinces when approaching the sultan or the Imperial Council. The petitions were submitted in writing, by the judge, or by the petitioner in person. Petition writers provided legal counsel and made a living by writing petitions for illiterate men and women.

The regulations of justice issued by the sultans were crucial in spreading justice and improving the conduct of local officials in enforcing the shari'a and the *kanun* during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵⁹ Since many complaints concerned high court dues and illegal taxes, these decrees also established official taxes and court dues.⁶⁰ The decrees also made it clear that before any sentences like fines, imprisonment, torture, corporal punishment, and confiscation of property of the *reaya* (subjects) could be applied, officials had to follow proper procedures for investigations and court trials. Only then could the governor and the police enforce the decision of the kadi.⁶¹ These decrees were issued in response to the petitions of the taxpayers during the Celali rebellions that led to massive rural migration into towns during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The central state was concerned



FIGURE 7. Thomas Allom, *The Turkish Letter-Writer*, 1838. From *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated*, 2 vols. London: Fisher, Son and Co., 1838.

about the restoration of the rule of law in the provinces to prevent peasant flight and loss of revenue in the seventeenth century and to expand the jurisdiction of the Imperial Council.

The Imperial Council's jurisdiction extended to the shari'a, *kanun*, and customary law.⁶² The chief of imperial herald played an important role in collecting and submitting petitions to the grand vizier. The grand vizier referred those petitions dealing with the shari'a to the chief judge of Rumelia and took care of other cases himself.⁶³ The chief judge usually referred the cases back to the kadi or other courts for judicial review and retrial according to the shari'a and *kanun*. Sometimes an in-

vestigation was carried out by the Imperial Council, and a decision was made afterwards. But in criminal cases the shari'a procedure was important, and decisions ideally were made with the recommendation of the kadi after an investigation was carried out by the judge or local officials.⁶⁴ If none of these measures worked, the Imperial Council summoned parties and the witnesses for a new trial.⁶⁵ Imperial orders on these cases were copied into separate registers that also summarized the content of the petitions. Hundreds of these registers exist in the Prime Minister's (Başbakanlık) archives in Istanbul; they demonstrate the high volume of traffic in the Imperial Council in the eighteenth century.⁶⁶

In an earlier study, I have shown that the Imperial Council received a variety of petitions from the *reaya* that were similar to those presented to the Islamic courts.⁶⁷ In addition, the kadi had to refer to the Imperial Council all cases concerning the military, foreigners, state interests, and public security as well as cases involving certain amounts of money.⁶⁸ Cases of public security also included violent crime. The jurisdictions of the shari'a and *kanun* regarding crime and civil law merged in the Imperial Council, and the fixed Qur'anic penalties were supplemented with *kanun* and customary penalties like fines, imprisonment, banishment, and forced labor in the galleys.

Nevertheless, from time to time corruption undermined the function of the courts and the application of law. For example, the petitions of the women of Istanbul against corrupt judges and superintendents of pious foundations made up 24.5 percent of all petitions in 1675.⁶⁹ Following the principles of the Circle of Justice, the Ottoman bureaucratic elite believed that corruption and oppression by state officials, including the ulema, harmed the welfare of the state and could lead to rebellion. To prevent these situations, it was important to place checks and balances on the authority of state officials and the judiciary. Ottoman bureaucrats like Mustafa Âl-i (b. 1541), Koçu Bey (seventeenth century), and Mustafa Naima (1665–1716) commented on the proper administration of the bureaucracy, the military, and the judiciary and called for state supervision of all three branches of government and for reforms.⁷⁰ According to Naima, the Circle of Justice has the following elements: (1) There is no state without the military and manpower; (2) the military can only be supported by taxes collected from the subjects; (3) the peasantry can produce wealth; (4) only the justice of the sultan can support and maintain the prosperity of the peasants; (5) without a strong state, there can be no justice.

Naima dedicated the second preface of his history to Sultan Ahmed III and his grand vizier, Moralı Hasan Pasha. Naima was very critical of the increasing pomp and wealth of some ulema dynasties, such as the Kadizadeli ulema and Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi and his family, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. He blamed Kadizadeli Vani Efendi for preaching hatred against the Sufis, stirring up riots, and planning to close down all the Sufi lodges and kill all the dervishes when Mehmed Köprülü became grand vizier in 1656. Naima supported

Köprülü Mehmed's action in exiling three of the principal conservative Kadizadeli ulema to Cyprus in 1665 and in exiling Feyzullah Efendi.⁷¹ His writing on the Edirne rebellion of 1703 put the blame squarely on Feyzullah Efendi's vanity and nepotism; he was clearly against the interference of the ulema in state affairs (see chapter 3).⁷² Naima believed that the ulema should act only as moral checks and balances on the temporal power of the sultan.⁷³

In addition, Naima praised Sultan Ahmed III for acting resolutely against greedy officials and grand viziers. Although he was critical of their executions, Naima found them necessary for the preservation of the state when state officials had been guilty of disloyalty.⁷⁴ Naima also praised Grand Vizier Morali Hasan Pasha for his frugality and uprightness. Additionally, Naima advised the sultan to control the pay certificates of all state officials, including those of some ulema, in order to put the finances of the state in order.⁷⁵ More importantly, Naima legitimized the use of state coercion to punish rebels, corrupt officials, and criminal offenders to restore the Circle of Justice and maintain law and order (see chapter 7).

THE OTTOMAN PENAL LAW

Following Max Weber's assertions on the arbitrary and irrational nature of Islamic law, a debate among scholars of Islamic law has developed on the nature of Ottoman penal law and the role of the kadi versus that of the secular authorities in enforcing it. According to Uriel Heyd, Islamic law never developed a full penal code, so a degree of arbitrariness existed in arrests, convictions, and punishments. Furthermore, Heyd believes that the Ottoman penal law was not a systematic and comprehensive set of laws that included specific penalties for specific crimes.⁷⁶ The Ottoman penal code was instead a combination of shari'a and *kanun* penalties, the latter mostly in the form of imperial edicts that reflected specific crimes and circumstances. *Kanun* supplemented the shari'a, although it was theoretically inferior, but in practice overrode it when crime became widespread.⁷⁷ Barkan and Heyd have emphasized the importance of *kanun* over the shari'a in Ottoman penal law.⁷⁸ Heyd also has argued that in the Ottoman Empire secular and military officials had a higher authority than members of the judiciary did in arresting and punishing criminals, sometimes without a trial.⁷⁹ Haim Gerber, on the other hand, believes that Ottoman penal law was a codified, positive law and that *kanun* penalties were mostly based on shari'a penalties.⁸⁰

There is also disagreement among scholars about the role of shari'a courts in trying and prosecuting crime in the Ottoman Empire.⁸¹ Gerber has emphasized the central role of the kadi court in Bursa in trying and sentencing criminal cases during the seventeenth century.⁸² Gerber agrees in principle with Heyd's position in his earlier (1981) article, but later in his book (1994) Gerber argues that a balance and symbiosis existed between the *kanun* and shari'a and between the roles of the

kadi and the bureaucrats.⁸³ Gerber also argues that the chief of day police became the most important court official in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and functioned like a prosecutor by bringing criminal cases to the court.⁸⁴ Ronald Jennings has made similar observations concerning the central role of the kadi in prosecuting crime in seventeenth-century Kayseri, a town in Anatolia.⁸⁵ In addition, Joseph Schacht has maintained that the shari'a and the office of the kadi gained the highest importance in the Ottoman Empire.⁸⁶ Halil Inalcik, on the other hand, believes that the shari'a became more prominent after the sixteenth century, a trend that lasted until the late eighteenth century, when the sultan's power (Selim III) to enact *kanun* increased again.⁸⁷ The governors who represented the executive authority of the sultan in the provinces had to consult with the kadi in punishing criminals.⁸⁸ For example, many imperial orders were issued both to the kadi and the governors in the provinces during the eighteenth century.

Ideally, the courts maintained a central role in the investigation of crime, followed legal procedures, held trials, and recommended punishments to secular authorities.⁸⁹ However, sometimes in the absence of required shari'a evidence, the judges handed the accused to executive officials. Moreover, many ulema, such as Kinalizade Ali Efendi, objected to *kanun* penalties that replaced or supplemented the fixed punishment with fines and lighter punishment in the sixteenth century. The shari'a reasserted itself in the late sixteenth century when many statutes contrary to the shari'a were dropped from the Süleymanic code.⁹⁰ Jurists enjoyed some degree of independence from the state and exercised flexibility in rendering legal decisions. For example, in Bursa public opinion and custom held greater sway in punishing delinquents and bandits than the shari'a did.⁹¹ Rosen also emphasizes the role of custom in the development of the shari'a and the intermediate role of the kadi in creating order out of chaos by placing people back on the track of negotiating their own relationships within limits set by God.⁹²

The shari'a and the Ottoman *kanun* often complemented each other. The shari'a mainly covered crimes against religion (God) like unlawful intercourse (*zina*), false accusation of unlawful intercourse, drinking wine, theft and highway robbery, and crimes against private persons such as damage to property, personal injury, and homicide.⁹³ The fixed shari'a punishments for crimes against God were flogging and stoning for unlawful intercourse, beheading for highway robbery, cutting off a hand for armed robbery, and retaliation and the payment of blood money to the victim or his/her heirs for personal injury and murder.⁹⁴ While the shari'a did not allow any forgiveness for crimes against God, the fixed punishment for theft could be avoided through active repentance and the return of stolen objects to the victim. Moreover, unlawful intercourse had to be proven with the testimony of at least four Muslim male eyewitnesses. If they had not been present, the punishment was not carried out, and the defendant was able to take an oath four separate times to deny the accusation.

It is important to keep in mind that while the fixed shari'a penalty was extremely severe, it also introduced safeguards against false accusation. The kadi encouraged repentance, reconciliation, return of stolen goods, and settlement through the payment of blood money for injury and homicide. In Salonica, for example, many disputes and criminal offenses were settled through reconciliation during the eighteenth century. In many cases it was difficult to produce at least two eyewitnesses since most crimes took place at night, so the parties often settled out of court. Christians used Jews and Muslims and vice versa to mediate a settlement.⁹⁵ Moreover, the Hanafi school of law dominant in the Ottoman Empire was more lenient about penalties for crimes against property than was the Maliki school, which favored corporal punishment and the chopping off of hands.

The Ottoman penal code was developed fully in the sixteenth century during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent. Şeyhulislam Ebu Su'ud Efendi (1490–1574), who brought the *kanun* in line with the shari'a, prescribed compensation and flogging for minor and unintentional theft while he recommended hanging, amputation, and imprisonment for highway robbery.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, he was willing to forgo the fixed punishment if the thief returned the goods. For example, according to Ebu Su'ud Efendi, if Zeyd stole cash from 'Amr's bag, confessed to stealing some of it, and returned that amount afterwards, he could not be punished. The theft of the rest of the money had to be proven first. If Zeyd had taken 'Amr's donkey and sold it without 'Amr's knowledge, he would not receive the punishment of amputation; he would instead have to compensate 'Amr for the stolen donkey.⁹⁷ Moreover, the use of force and intentionality determined the type of punishment.

Repeat offenders and professional thieves received harsher punishments such as execution or (rarely) the amputation of hands (the shari'a penalty) in Mehmed II's *kanunname*.⁹⁸ We must keep in mind that banditry and highway robbery were usually viewed as acts of defiance against the central state. Highway robbery and banditry, which warranted the harshest punishments of execution or amputation, fell under the authority of the sultan and the grand vizier.⁹⁹ Local and provincial officials enjoyed extrajudicial authority to punish bandits by hanging and or beheading, sometimes following an imperial order but paying attention to the shari'a requirements. Most imperial orders contained warnings against the violation of the shari'a and commanded local officials not to overstep their authority.

In their attempts to punish and deter, the Hanafi jurists avoided the fixed penalties and instead upheld the restorative spirit of the penal system. For example, an individual who had stolen from family members and the household was not punished in the same manner as someone who had stolen from the public. From the court records, it is clear that the fixed punishments for crimes against God (fornication, drinking) and persons (theft and highway robbery) were rarely used in the Ottoman Empire (see chapter 9).¹⁰⁰ Moreover, in the absence of capitalist development, private property did not acquire a rigid legal definition prior to the Tanzimat

reforms (1839–1876), and communal rights overrode individual notions of property. The community, therefore, was held responsible for many crimes.

EXPERT WITNESSES

The courts relied on the community to carry out background checks, select moral guarantors and sponsors, and rehabilitate and the convict and oversee his or her integration back into the community after his or her sentence had been completed. Expert witnesses played an important role by providing background checks on convicts and defendants and by notarizing official documents. The expert witnesses and their testimonies served as the main evidence in most trials. Expert witnesses were drawn from among the leading members of the community and guilds and had some familiarity with the background of the defendant. The backgrounds, character, knowledge, and reputations of expert witnesses were an important consideration in the weight given to their views and testimonies.

The judge was usually an outsider in the district he served; he therefore relied on expert witnesses to learn about the customs of a given locality. Expert witnesses sometimes played a direct role in the determination of the sentence meted out to convicts. Sometimes the expert witnesses were asked by the defendant or the court to testify about the guilt or innocence of the defendant. If the character of a witness was questioned, his testimony was thrown out.

Expert witnesses may or may not have been present at the court all the time. Some scholars have argued that a group of professional expert witnesses was present at the court at all times and that they received fees for their services.¹⁰¹ This situation may have been the case in the registration of property transactions and inventory of estates, although no conclusive evidence supports these assertions. For example, the list of expert witnesses in the court of Galata changed from neighborhood to neighborhood. Records show that the following expert witnesses were listed in the court of Galata in two different cases of registration of the estates of the deceased Halil Beşe son of Mustafa in April 1720 and that of the deceased Rukiye in February 1721 in the neighborhood of Fındıklı, a dependency of Galata. In the first case, the witnesses were Al-Seyyid Mehmed Çelebi son of Mehmed, Ibrahim Efendi son of Abdullah, Al-Hac Mustafa son of Mehmed, Ali Halife son of Mehmed, Molla Ahmed son of Mehmed Efendi, Ali Beşe son of Halil, Hasan son of Ibrahim, Ali Beşe son of Mehmed, and others. In the second case they were Ibrahim Efendi son of Abdullah, Al-Hac Mustafa son of Mehmed, Ali Halife son of Mehmed, Müezzinz Molla Ahmed son of Mehmed Efendi, Ali Beg son of Halil, Hasan son of Ibrahim, Ali Beşe son of Mehmed, Mehmed Çelebi son of Ahmed, and others.¹⁰² As we can see, the two lists of expert witnesses for two cases from the same neighborhood heard ten months apart overlapped a great deal. They show that the court recognized the same people as morally upright in the community and relied on them

as expert witnesses. But the list changed completely in cases drawn from another quarter of Galata, demonstrating that the court of Galata was not using the same expert witnesses for cases drawn from different quarters.¹⁰³ In other words, the expert witnesses were not the employees of the Galata court.

Most expert witnesses were Muslim and male and were drawn from military and religious personnel or were heads of guilds or merchants. From time to time, non-Muslims also acted as expert witnesses when disputes involved them. Women and slaves, on the other hand, rarely acted as expert witnesses although their testimony was given some weight (half that of male witnesses) in the court, and they certainly were actively involved as litigants and defendants. We may safely assume that the courts discriminated against women since they could not testify regularly or act as expert witnesses in a gender-segregated society.

The use of expert witnesses in civil and criminal cases brought the community into the legal arena. The expert witnesses together with moral guarantors provided a network of community watch to control crime and to police morality. Conversely, they could also function as advocates for the defendant and secure his or her release.

Two of the important demands of the rebels in 1703 and 1730 were the restoration of the shari'a and justice by the sultan and the elimination of corrupt officials. The sultan had absolute authority over the lives and property of his subjects. The justice of the sultan and his officials, including the kadi, was perceived in the eyes of his subjects as primarily legal. The existence of multiple legal systems in the Ottoman Empire allowed for the flexibility of the legal process. The penal law itself was a combination of the shari'a, custom, and sultanic edicts. The Ottoman judge, an employee of the state, was in charge of applying both the shari'a and kanun while ensuring legal procedure and just trials. With growing urban violence and crime, the prosecution of serious crime in Istanbul fell increasingly under the jurisdiction of the central government (the Imperial Council) and its executive officers while the Islamic courts carried out investigations, collected information and testimony, and reported crimes to the Imperial Council. The judge ideally checked the arbitrary exercise of power by police officials and governors and paid more attention to legal procedure, testimony, and upright witnesses. The Imperial Council functioned as a higher court of appeals and was open to all subjects—Muslims and non-Muslims, men and women. It supervised the function of the courts and removed from power corrupt judges and officials who were employees of the state. Nevertheless, the existence of multiple courts (Muslim and non-Muslim) created loopholes, sometimes even corruption. The multiple legal systems also allowed Ottoman subjects to negotiate for justice and appeal directly to a higher authority, sometimes even to the sultan.

Ottoman Punishment

From Oars to Prison

I do not find that torture, or cruel punishments of any kind[,] are common among the Turks. Impalement, that shocking cruelty which we are taught to believe is daily practiced, I never much of heard of, and though perhaps in the more barbarous ages of the Empire, this horrible punishment may have been sometimes employed, it is now totally disused. . . . The usual punishment for capital offenses is beheading, as hanging is with us, and this is performed in the easiest and least cruel manner.

—LORD CHARLEMONT, 1749¹

Western travelers to the Ottoman Empire usually commented on the cruelty and arbitrariness of the Ottoman penal system during the early modern period. They viewed corporal punishment as a primitive expression of the absolutist power of the sultan against the opponents of his authority.² Corporal punishment in the form of beheading was usually carried out against rebels and political opponents (see chapter 3). However, Lord Charlemont noted the disappearance of most forms of corporal punishment except for capital punishment two decades after the Patrona Halil rebellion. In France, too, corporal punishment and torture had disappeared by the nineteenth century.³

CORPORAL AND CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Corporal, or physical, punishment included execution, mutilation, and flogging as well as bastinado, methods that were commonly practiced in early modern Europe as well as in the Ottoman Empire.⁴ In the Ottoman Empire, the use of corporal punishment for various crimes can be traced back to the reign of Mehmed II if not earlier. Jacopo dei Campi, an Italian merchant who resided in Istanbul during the second half of the fifteenth century, made the following observation about this medieval form of punishment:

Diverse and horrible are the punishments, injustices, and cruelties of the Grand Turk. The most usual death he metes out to anyone he pleases, whether guilty of any crime or not, is to make the man he wishes to punish lie down on the ground; a sharp long pole is placed in the rectum; with a big mallet held in both hands the executioner strikes it with all his might, so that the pole, known as *palo*, enters the human body and, according to its path, the unfortunate lingers on or dies at once; then he raises the pole and plants it in the ground; thus the unfortunate is left in extremis; he does not live long.⁵

The use of maximum physical pain to the body, torture, decapitation, and the spectacle of slow death were not unique to the Ottoman Empire. Such punishment was meant to strike fear in spectators. The Italian author goes on to describe other punishments like flaying, putting out eyes, chopping off hands and feet, beheading and stuffing cut-off heads with straw, burying offenders alive, throwing them to wild animals, and spitting offenders on forks. It is not clear how long the above forms of punishment continued in the Ottoman Empire since they were not part of the shari'a or *kanun* penalties (except for execution and flogging or beating). I have not come across these types of corporal punishment except for flogging, bastinado, and execution in the records for the eighteenth century.

The sultan was the shadow of God on earth, and one of his tasks was to uphold the shari'a. In addition, sultanic law gave the ruler absolute authority over the life and property of his subjects (see chapter 8). The Hanafi jurists accorded to the sultan (and caliph) four areas of exclusive royal authority: Friday prayer, taxation, spoils of war, and fixed penalties for fornication, false accusation of fornication, wine drinking, theft, and highway robbery.⁶ In practice, however, these crimes, with the exception of highway robbery, were difficult to prosecute due to rules of procedure introduced by the shari'a and were thus symbolically an expression of sovereign power.

Capital punishment was the most arbitrary part of the Ottoman penal system; in its application the orders of the sultan and the governors sometimes overrode any concern for shari'a justice.⁷ In some cases the sultan used the legal opinion of the *seyhülislam*, and in other cases he used his absolute authority to sentence to death rebels and state officials accused of corruption.⁸ Nevertheless, the imperial orders to local officials usually contained a cautionary statement about considering the violation of the shari'a and the rights of innocent people before punishing rebels.

Moreover, the sultan could delegate his authority to his executive officials, such as the grand vizier and governors, to carry out the death penalty.⁹ Governors were sometimes required to deliver the heads of rebel leaders to Istanbul, and some even got paid per head. In Istanbul five or six executioners carried out the death sentence in a fixed location at the Topkapı Palace (see chapter 1). The style of execution ranged from beheading to strangling (for members of Ottoman dynasty), hanging, impaling, and drowning.¹⁰ To set a lesson for others, the executioners displayed

the severed heads on spears in front of the palace or at the Hippodrome (see chapter 3). The state was not tolerant of repeat offenders, highway robbers, and bandits and showed little mercy by executing them in public to set a lesson for others.¹¹ During times of famine and food shortages, bakers, grocers, and even coal sellers were sometimes hanged in front of their shops.¹²

Furthermore, in the absence of the principle of seniority, dynastic succession to the throne became a bloody affair that often led to the elimination of the sons and brothers of the sultan from the mid-fifteenth to the early seventeenth century, when the rule of seniority in succession was established.¹³ In addition, capital punishment decreed for members of the Ottoman dynasty who had been accused of treason was usually carried out through strangulation with a greased noose.¹⁴ For example, after a major rebellion in Istanbul in August 1651, the grand queen mother, Kösem Sultan, the mother of Osman II, Murad IV, and Ibrahim, was strangled to death by the chief black eunuch, Div Süleyman Agha, who twisted her braids around her neck.¹⁵ She was murdered at the order of Grand Vizier Siyavush Pasha and with the consent of Queen Mother Turhan Sultan (mother of Mehmed IV). Kösem Sultan had been accused of supporting the rebels and planning to poison Sultan Mehmed IV to help put his brother Süleyman on the throne. The grand queen mother's strangulation followed the execution of rebel leaders and the *agha* of janissaries. The regicide of the powerful queen mother received some criticism from Naima and Evliya Çelebi, who praised her generosity to the poor but also blamed her for interfering excessively in state affairs.

Janissaries who violated the rules and participated in rebellions were usually beheaded or were strangled after the evening prayer in the Agha Kapı, where a prison was located, and their bodies were thrown into the Bosphorus.¹⁶ For example, the beheading of Patrona Halil and his followers and the public display of their corpses at the Sultan Ahmed fountain in November 1730 clearly aimed at setting a lesson for other potential rebels (see chapter 3).

The public display of severed heads or mutilated bodies functioned as a deterrent, but sometimes it offended the public when it happened too frequently.¹⁷ For example, in 1779, the imam and shop owners complained about a drop in attendance and business due to frequent public executions in front of the Mihrimah Sultan mosque in Üsküdar. The state then issued an order to the kadi in Üsküdar not to carry out the public execution of convicts in front of mosques and churches anymore.¹⁸ The executioner usually took possession of the convict's personal belongings and sold them at a special place called the graveyard of the executioner.¹⁹ Capital punishment also became the usual penalty in the eighteenth century for habitual criminals who had committed robbery and murder in Aleppo.²⁰

The state issued imperial orders to the kadıs, police officials, and governors to cooperate in the arrest and punishment of convicts, rebels, and bandits within legal limits and in accordance with the shari'a and to report back (see chapter 8). In

Aleppo, too, the governors ideally had to have the kadi's sanction before imposing the death penalty.²¹ But this requirement was not always the case in the Ottoman Empire, and it usually depended on the power relations between the kadi and the governors and the threat that the convict posed to public order. The kadi could not always save a convict or rebel from the death sentence, nor was he always informed when the governor was on the lookout for bandits (see chapter 3).

The most popular form of corporal punishment in the eighteenth century was flogging. Corporal punishment in the form of flogging and bastinado was placed in the general category of *ta'zir* (discretionary punishment).²² In 1749 Lord Charlemont described the practice of bastinado, the punishment for most minor crimes in Istanbul at the time, in which the criminal's feet were beaten on the soles while his arms and legs were tied up.²³ The kadi determined the specific number of strokes.²⁴ The number of lashes for fornication was laid down by the shari'a as one hundred and for false accusation of fornication as eighty, but the sentence for drinking alcohol varied. Flogging was sometimes administered on the spot in the presence of the kadi or at the governor's residence. In Aleppo, too, in the eighteenth century judges punished minor offenses by strokes and flogging while the governor and police imposed fines at the same time.²⁵ Women were beaten on their buttocks when they had been accused of immoral conduct and were then banished. In France, too, flogging Protestant converts and rebellious oarsmen was considered a cheap and effective punishment.²⁶

FALSE WITNESSES, TORTURE, AND FALSE CONFESSION

Sometimes beating was used to illicit information and to force confession, but this procedure, like the employment of witnesses, could be misused. For example, in 1812 the kadi of Istanbul, Seyyid Mehmed Emin Efendi, submitted a petition to the Imperial Council about the failure of state officials to follow rules of procedure, their use of false witnesses and forced confession in the trials held at the Imperial Council, and the intimidation of upright witnesses by the police officers.²⁷ He asked for the observance of the rule of law and an end to the taking of bribes by state officials. The Islamic courts usually followed the rules of procedure more regularly than police officers and governors did when sentencing civilians to capital punishment, as is evident in hundreds of petitions against the injustice of local authorities in the eighteenth century.²⁸ Rudolph Peters claims that executive officials routinely used torture to illicit information, a practice that was also sanctioned in the Ottoman *kanunname*. He states that Ottoman jurists were ambivalent about its use since the Hanafi jurists had disagreed on the validity of information extracted under torture.²⁹

The just operation of the legal system depended to a large extent on the fairness of the kadi as well as the ability of the defendant and plaintiff to use all legal means

available to seek justice and redress wrongs.³⁰ Certainly, social status, religion, and gender were important factors in gaining better access to judicial authorities. Moreover, not every crime led to a fair trial, and sometimes the governors, janisaries, and police officials acted arbitrarily and applied torture to elicit confessions from suspects, especially during times of social unrest and rebellion.³¹ The Islamic courts sometimes rejected the use of torture and any confession made under duress.³² The kadi had some authority to intervene in such cases and demand a fair trial and to report incidents of oppression to the central government. In fact, at times of social upheaval, local officials took the law into their own hands and acted outside the legal system. For example, in Salonica in the eighteenth century, the kadi refused to accept a verdict of the governor because it had been based on false accusation and use of torture.³³

Torture was also used by police officials in the eighteenth century to illicit information about the whereabouts of stolen objects and accomplices. They used various instruments of torture similar to those that Evliya Çelebi described in detail as employed by the executioners in Istanbul during the late seventeenth century.³⁴ These included ropes with sharp cutting devices, sharp torture devices to apply pressure to various parts of the body, poisoned needles to puncture the eye, sharp blades to apply torture to the skin, and heavy axes to hit and injure arms and legs.

The use or threat of some form of torture as coercion continued into the eighteenth century. Moreover, many confessions were made voluntarily out of fear of torture or harsh punishment, although the court records do not mention physical pressure or use of torture.³⁵ For example, in November 1725, during the investigation of a fire that had originated in a silver workshop near the Sultan Bayezid Mosque in Istanbul and had spread to the surrounding area, the police discovered the murdered bodies of two guards. They also found out the looting had taken place in the nearby mint. The authorities suspected foul play and arson. They arrested and questioned some Kurdish and Turkish porters who had prior convictions, later releasing them. Finally, the police arrested a certain Yusuf, a secondhand cloth dealer in a coffeehouse and forced him to confess to the crime. Yusuf accepted the charges and named several workers in the shop as his accomplices. The accomplices were subsequently arrested and imprisoned. However, Yusuf and the accomplices later denied the charges in the kadi's court and claimed that they had confessed under duress. As a result, the kadi rejected their confessions and dismissed the current charges but sentenced them to imprisonment for violations of parole for prior convictions. The judge thus saved them from execution on grounds of false confession made under duress.³⁶ This interesting case demonstrates that the police used torture to get confessions but then consulted with the kadi, who set up his own trial, used acceptable evidence, and rejected confessions made under duress. This case also sheds light on the role of the kadi in sentencing repeat offenders who had been accused of arson, robbery, and murder.

BLOOD MONEY AND FINES

In the Ottoman Empire punishment for injury and homicide moved from the private and personal domain of the victim to the public jurisdiction of the state in the eighteenth century. It is important to draw a distinction between the payment of blood money to the victim and his or her heirs, which was a private form of punishment, and the payment of pecuniary fines to state officials, which was a public form of punishment. The payment of blood money in lieu of retaliation to the victim or his or her relatives, which aimed at compensating the victim, continued into the eighteenth century (see chapter 6).³⁷ The courts aided in the investigation of crime, and the kadi sometimes recommended a sentence in line with the shari'a and *kanun* but often encouraged settlement outside the court. However, in serious cases, the state punished repeat offenders regardless of the wishes of the victim to settle for blood money.³⁸

Traditionally, Islamic law regarded homicide primarily as a tort to be punished privately by the victim or his or her heirs (see chapter 6). Therefore, most cases of assault and murder did not end up in the kadi's court unless a lawsuit was brought by the victim or his or her heirs.³⁹ Criminal intent, evidence, and the presence of two Muslim male witnesses were important considerations before a judge would issue a warrant for arrest and punishment.⁴⁰ After the court had carried out an investigation, the victim and his or her relatives would first have the opportunity to retaliate, demand blood money, or forgive.⁴¹ In Istanbul the parties involved in a criminal case were encouraged by the kadi to demand blood money rather than retaliate.⁴² Some litigants may have tried to avoid going to court if a sufficient number of witnesses (at least two Muslim male witnesses) were not available. The defendants may have tried to avoid going to court to escape severe punishment and may have instead settled for payment of blood money.

In England, too, the overwhelming majority of criminal prosecutions (80 percent) were initiated by the victim of the crimes. Settlement outside the courts for assault and theft through payment of money to the victim was practiced regularly, and the magistrates could be involved in such settlements in England during the eighteenth century. In cases of theft, the return of stolen property could settle a case, and judges often first encouraged reconciliation. Otherwise, a magistrate could impose fines, flogging, or short-term imprisonment. However, the police overwhelmingly prosecuted cases against the public order and public decency in police courts or in petty sessions (the lowest magistrate courts), also known as police courts, which dealt with minor offenses.⁴³

In the Ottoman Empire, the amount of blood money for the murder of a free man was set at 10,000 silver *dirhem*, according to the shari'a, and varied between 40,000 *akçe* and 2,500 *kuruş* from the mid-sixteenth century to the seventeenth.⁴⁴ According to the shari'a, the amount of blood money paid for slaves, women, and

non-Muslims was half that for free Muslim men. In many instances, the parties could negotiate the amount of the blood money and register the settlement in the court to ensure payment and prevent future lawsuits. Nevertheless, disputes over the payment of blood money broke out constantly and brought the parties to the courts, which registered the lawsuits and provided details of the suits.⁴⁵ Sometimes the payment of blood money was followed by a sentence of hard labor in the galleys or imprisonment. This dual system of applying the shari'a and *kanun*, the use of both private and public punishment for homicide and injury, continued in the eighteenth century.⁴⁶

In the Ottoman penal system, the most radical departure from the shari'a was the imposition of fines by the state as a substitute for fixed penalties that had been set up in the Qur'an. Monetary fines were collected by executive officials rather than by the victim. Some jurists as well as Ottoman bureaucrats like Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi considered the substitution of customary fines for fixed punishment as a violation of the shari'a and a potential source of abuse and bribery.⁴⁷ The *kanunnames* of Bayezid II, Mehmed II, and Süleyman II dating from the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries contained specific fines for sex crimes and assault, depending on civil and economic status.⁴⁸ For example, in the sixteenth century, the punishment for stealing combined fixed shari'a penalties of flogging with fines in accordance with one's wealth (one *akçe* per stroke). Sometimes fines replaced flogging, and sometimes they were imposed in addition to flogging.⁴⁹ Non-Muslims paid half of the fines collected from Muslims. In addition, the Ottoman *kanunname* imposed fines of thirty to one hundred *akçe* for wounds, depending on the financial status of the guilty party, to be collected by the state. The fine for knocking out someone's tooth ranged from forty to two hundred *akçe*, depending on the financial circumstances of the guilty party.⁵⁰ The fine for murder, when retaliation had not been carried out, was fifty to four hundred *akçe*, depending on the type of murder and the economic condition of the accused in the sixteenth century.⁵¹ The fine for intentional homicide could be as high as three thousand *akçe*.⁵² Lord Charlemont described a case involving the murder of a Greek man by another Greek man in Pera that was settled through the payment of four thousand *akçe* to the kadi after a trial that led to the murderer's conviction in 1749.⁵³ A community paid the blood money collectively to the state when a person had been murdered in a quarter or between villages. If the murderer was not found, the payment of blood money and fines fell to the community, which held collective responsibility.⁵⁴

Clearly, the state preferred to collect fines, which became an important source of income for the officials, instead of imposing corporal punishment for minor offenses like drinking. The chief of police and members of the cavalry collected fines for minor offenses in the countryside. The governors and police also imposed fines as penalties in Ottoman towns like Aleppo during the eighteenth century.⁵⁵ The fines in Istanbul, Aleppo, and elsewhere were not always fixed and were the

result of negotiation among the plaintiff, the defendant, the kadi, and other officials in the shari'a courts.

Moreover, the introduction of fines supplied an element of corruption into the judiciary as judges and the police used them to supplement their incomes. The police abused their authority from time to time in collecting fines. For example, the villagers of the district of Marmara submitted a petition to the Imperial Council about the abusive conduct of the chief of police, who had collected illegal fines from them. An order was issued in January 1729 to the kadi of Galata, who held jurisdiction over this region, to deport him and to arrest him if he ever returned.⁵⁶

The early Ottoman fines spelled out in the Ottoman *kanunnames* did not mean much in the inflationary economy of the eighteenth century as the amount of fine did not rise to match the rate of inflation, which was sometimes as high as 100 percent. Fines for criminal offenses had already been abolished in certain provinces (Crete, Midilli) in the seventeenth century.⁵⁷ Fines became less prevalent as a form of punishment in the eighteenth century although the payment of blood money to the victim or his or her relatives for injury or murder continued into the nineteenth century.

PENAL SERVITUDE IN THE GALLEYS

The origins of this form of punishment can be traced to the Mediterranean world, especially France and Venice, which had large navies manned by galley slaves.⁵⁸ In France during the Counter-Reformation and the reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715), the king's minister of finance, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1665–1683), put one thousand men to the oars between 1661 and 1683.⁵⁹ Conditions were very harsh and led to the death of 475 oarsmen in 1675. From 1685 to 1686, 1,771 men arrived in chains in Marseilles, of whom 900 had come from Paris, to serve in the galleys.⁶⁰ In France four thousand convicts were sentenced to the galleys as oarsmen between 1700 and 1748. Many were sentenced to long-term servitude in the galleys for desertion from the army and the navy, theft, forgery, and considerable range of lesser offenses.

The closest contemporary model for the Ottoman Empire must have been Venice since the two warring states often took captives from each other and sent them to row in the galleys. In 1703 the two states exchanged 110 war captives who had served in the galleys.⁶¹ The Ottoman Empire used war captives, convicts, and hired oarsmen to staff the galleys. The Ottoman navy became well established in the Mediterranean under Mehmed II and expanded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶² The number of oarsmen rose to 48,000 in 1574 during the battle of Lepanto. Equipped with artillery, the Ottoman fleet acquired a powerful presence in the Mediterranean, and the demand for galley slaves rose again during the Cretan wars against Venice.⁶³ The number of oarsmen serving in five medium-sized war

galleys of the imperial arsenal dropped from 1,044 in 1670 to 977 in 1700 after the war with Venice was over. The number of warships remained small in the eighteenth century, ranging from twenty to thirty-three from 1715 to 1733. The number of Ottoman galleys dropped further to seventeen later in the eighteenth century as galleys lost their importance in naval warfare.

Each galley used about 196 oarsmen, most of whom were either convicts or war captives.⁶⁴ The Ottoman navy also filled the demand for oarsmen by imposing extraordinary taxes (see chapter 3) to pay hired oarsmen.⁶⁵ The galley of the commander of the navy had the largest number (450 to 500) of oarsmen.⁶⁶ Oarsmen were also employed in the arsenal, depending on their skills. Some were freed after they had served their term if they were convicts. War captives were sometimes ransomed by coreligionists and charitable individuals.⁶⁷

Penal servitude in the galleys was a sentence for all kinds of crimes in the early eighteenth century. In Istanbul convicts sentenced to row in the galleys in 1720s had been convicted of petty theft, armed robbery, assault, homicide, sex crimes, sexual assault, conversion to Catholicism (mostly Armenians), running taverns, forgery, counterfeiting, and selling light bread. The majority of the convicts who were sentenced in Istanbul to row in the galleys from 1719 to 1721 had been convicted of theft and served short terms (see chapter 4).⁶⁸

In the sixteenth century in the Ottoman Empire, the length of penal servitude in the galleys (*kürek* sentence) was from one to eight years for petty theft, counterfeiting, and sexual crimes.⁶⁹ However, this penal servitude was much shorter in the eighteenth century than it had been in the sixteenth. This change may have been due to the smaller number of galleys and lower demand for rowers in the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth century. In comparison, in France the length of stay in the galleys varied between sentences for life and "limited term." However, few convicts in France survived their term; there was a rapid turnover of men between 1700 and 1748 due to the death of many oarsmen.⁷⁰ As in France, repeat offenders were sentenced to longer terms in Istanbul, but most convicts were released within a few months. However, a few convicts in Istanbul with prior records were sentenced to life with no parole. The length of penal servitude was not fixed and could be negotiated. For example, the punishment for theft from a shop, *han*, or house ranged from five months to several years of penal servitude in the galleys, depending on the type of theft (public or private, armed or unarmed) and prior conviction. The punishment for sexual assault was usually one to two months. Those convicted of homicide were sentenced to the galleys from a few months to a year, depending on prior conviction. Selling light bread could lead to forced labor in the galleys for a few months. In the early eighteenth century, an increasing number of Armenians in Istanbul who had converted to Catholicism were sentenced to row in the galleys at the request of their patriarch.

The earliest *kürek* registers date from the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent.⁷¹

I have located five registers dating from the first three decades of the eighteenth century.⁷² The most extensive and detailed register (MM 729) used in this study dates from the reign of Ahmed III, from March 1719 to August 1727.⁷³ This register lists more than fifteen hundred convicts, with their names, religious background (Muslim, non-Muslim), places of origin and residence, profession if they had one, reason for arrest, place and date of the crime, sentence, and date of release. The following case illustrates the typical details contained in the registry:

NAME: Ayvaz, non-Muslim

Sentenced to row in the galleys of the imperial arsenal according to the report of Mevlana Mehmed Efendi, the deputy judge of the court of Mahmud Paşa[,] and an imperial order in June 1720:

The above mentioned non-Muslim man entered the house of Mehmed Agha, a resident in Istanbul[,] and stole his Turkmen rug, his dagger, and a prayer rug. His theft has been proven in the presence of upright witnesses. He is a repeat offender according to the testimony of eight honest Muslims and the report of Mevlana Mehmed Efendi, the deputy-judge of Mahmud Paşa court. This report was registered in the central finance bureau[,] and an official decree for an imperial order has been issued to sentence him to row in the galleys. June 1720

NOTE: Released from the imperial arsenal following an imperial order in April 1721.⁷⁴

This case underscores the role of the deputy judge in the investigation and trial of the convict. The deputy judge's report to the Imperial Council resulted in the sentencing of the convict. It appears that the victim of the theft had submitted a lawsuit to the court that had led to the arrest of the thief. The oral testimony of eight Muslim witnesses was the only evidence used in the court. The convict was released after ten months after an imperial order had been issued.

Many imperial orders were issued to the judges and officials in the arsenal to prosecute the convicts in the courts and send a report to the Imperial Council.⁷⁵ The kadi usually sent the Imperial Council a bag containing a copy of the court documents with a list of the convicts in his district. Their names were entered in the register of convicts in the central finance bureau, and a copy was sent to the imperial arsenal.⁷⁶ Some orders specified that a convict should not be released without an imperial order. Many convicts were released after several months with a note saying that they had been released in accordance with the petition of the prison warden, a relative, the kadi, or the convict himself. After their terms had been completed, the steward of the arsenal or the judge sent the list of convicts who were to be released to the central finance bureau and obtained an imperial order. The scribe of the arsenal helped in putting the list together.

The convicts served in the imperial arsenal in Lepanto, Nauplia, Kavala, and other ports, but most served in the arsenal in Istanbul. Sometimes the convicts were kept in the prison of the arsenal when the need for oarsmen was low. All the convicts

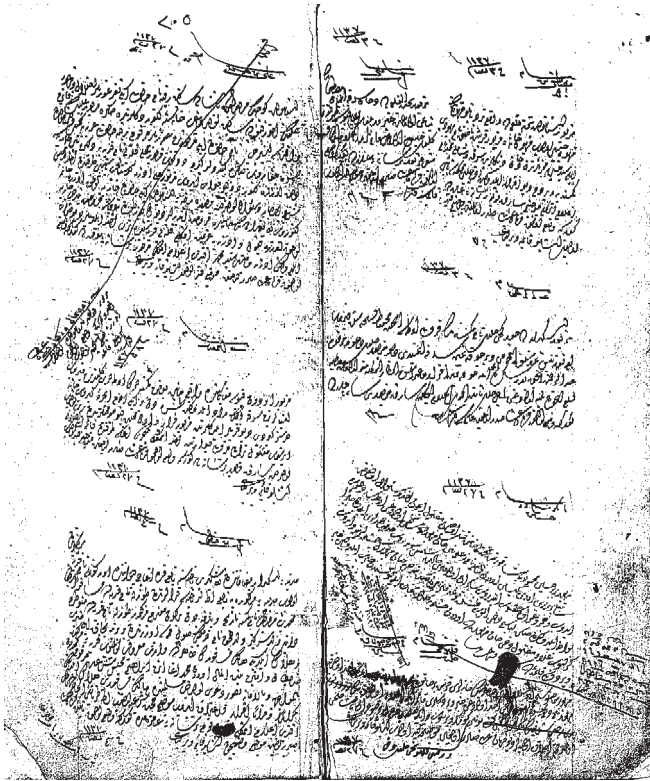


FIGURE 8. A page from the galley register (MM 729). Courtesy of the Başbakanlık Archives, Istanbul.

were men and included Muslims (60 percent) and non-Muslims. Most had been arrested as individuals, but group arrests also took place regularly, an occurrence that must have been due to a need for oarsmen.⁷⁷ It is not clear how many oarsmen were released after the conclusion of naval wars and how many remained in the arsenal and performed hard labor.

It was hard for prisoners to survive the harsh conditions in the galleys and the arsenal. The food ration for oarsmen consisted of two pieces of bread and water.⁷⁸ Prisoners in the hospital received a ration of soup in addition to bread. In France most oarsmen ate beans with oil that provided very little energy; the addition of rice and wine improved their diet.⁷⁹ Oarsmen in the Ottoman Empire did not fare any better; many fell sick and died in the galleys and under the harsh conditions of the prison in the arsenal as they waited their term to serve on ships. Those who died from disease or malnutrition were buried by other prisoners or were thrown into the sea. A document from 1738 listed the goods of an oarsman named Manol

who had been murdered, possibly by other oarsmen. The state confiscated his stolen property, amounting to 750 *kuruş*, which had been kept in a room in the carpet sellers' *han*.⁸⁰

Since galley slaves always displayed a potential to rebel or flee when the opportunity arose or when their galley was captured by Christian pirates or states, the Venetian and Ottoman navies relied less on galley slaves and instead employed paid oarsmen more regularly in the eighteenth century. Due to a drop in demand for galley slaves in the second half of the seventeenth century, the state collected a tax or a cash substitute (between three thousand and six thousand *akçes*) from the residents of Istanbul and elsewhere to pay for hired oarsmen, ship building, the salaries of sea captains, and the expenses of the arsenal.⁸¹ Some households in Istanbul and Anatolian towns paid this tax instead of extraordinary war taxes during the Cretan wars.⁸²

BANISHMENT

Like penal servitude, banishment, or internal exile, was a public form of punishment in the eighteenth century. It was used primarily as a form of correction for moral misconduct.⁸³ It was also a resettlement policy or form of transportation used by Ottoman authorities to populate some islands like Cyprus or towns.⁸⁴ But it was a short-term solution as many convicts escaped and returned to their places of origin.

Banishment was the most important form of punishment used for women accused of moral misconduct (see chapter 5) in eighteenth-century Istanbul. Women who had been accused of sexual offenses like prostitution and theft were usually banished from their communities at the request of their neighbors and authorities and were transported to Bursa and other towns or islands, usually for an unspecified duration of time. Sometimes prostitutes and pimps were banished from one neighborhood to another in the same city or town.⁸⁵ In Salonica, too, the most popular forms of punishment were banishment and imprisonment in the local citadel, both inflicted by the sultan.⁸⁶ The attitude toward sexual deviance and the type of punishment for it were more or less similar in Christian, Jewish, and Muslim communities in Istanbul. The petitions of residents brought against undesirable neighbors played an important role in their banishment to other neighborhoods, towns, or the islands.⁸⁷

Some islands like Cyprus were popular places for banishing convicts due to their isolation and harsh climates. Many convicts either refused to go to or escaped after they had reached Cyprus.⁸⁸ The kadis supervised the transportation of convicts from the provinces to Cyprus, registered their names and places of origin, and then sent copies to the Porte.⁸⁹ Most convicts were settled in the villages of Cyprus and were

not confined to walled fortresses. But the presence of criminals was not welcome by most Cypriots since most convicts continued their criminal activities after arriving on Cyprus.⁹⁰

From time to time, convicts fled Cyprus and returned to their previous homes. For example, a certain al-Shaykh Ibrahim had been convicted of sodomy in Kasım Paşa and was banished to Cyprus. He later fled and returned to Kasım Paşa, where he was arrested again. His escape was then added to his prior conviction, but this time he was exiled to Chios. The kadi of Chios was informed of the banishment in July 1766 and had to report back to Istanbul about the convict's confinement due to his prior conviction.⁹¹

Many high-ranking officials accused of corruption were also banished to Cyprus, Aleppo, and other places.⁹² The ulema were frequently banished to remote places after being removed from office on charges of corruption.⁹³ For example, in 1715 Kevakebizade Velüddin Efendi, the kadi of Istanbul, was dismissed after nine months of service and was banished to Aleppo, his original homeland, on account of public scorn.⁹⁴ The central government issued imperial orders to local judges and governors to report back about the conduct of those who had been banished. If they improved their conduct, banished convicts could return to their homes.

IMPRISONMENT

Imprisonment was outside the domain of penal law in the shari'a and was therefore a less frequent and less customary form of punishment during the early modern period.⁹⁵ It was usually a temporary measure to confine the accused until he had paid his debt or until a final decision on the sentence had been reached by the sultan (pretrial). It was a form of discretionary punishment, like banishment, and its duration was not specified. It became a more common form of punishment later in the eighteenth century as forced labor in the galleys was used less often as a form of punishment.⁹⁶ The kadi and secular officials sentenced those accused of theft, violation of guild rules (especially butchers), banditry, counterfeiting, official corruption, outstanding debt, and sexual offenses to imprisonment.⁹⁷

Many cities and towns did not have proper prisons, and those that existed were usually located in fortresses, towers, and the arsenal. Some fortress prisons in the islands were simply dungeons that could not hold more than a handful of prisoners at a given time. Istanbul, as the capital of the empire, had several such prisons: the infamous Yedi Kule (Seven Towers) prison rebuilt by Mehmed II after the conquest of Istanbul, where political prisoners and foreigners were kept; the prison in Galata Tower; and the Rumeli Hisar. The Galata tower was used as a prison for debtors. Some of the gates of Galata were convenient locations for janissary barracks and prisons. There was also a prison inside the Yağkapanı gate in Galata where

drunkards and those who had gone broke on account of drinking were held.⁹⁸ Some embassies had their own prisons (*bagne*). Istanbul also had larger prisons: the Baba Ca'fer prison for male and female convicts; the Agha Kapı prison, where janissaries were imprisoned; and the imperial arsenal, where war captives and convicts were kept before or after rowing in the galleys.⁹⁹

The arsenal was used as prison in Istanbul during the early modern period. The arsenal had three wards, a mosque, a kitchen, a bakery, a bath, and a fountain in the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁰ According to Ermeya Çelebi, who visited this prison in the seventeenth century, prisoners from different nations were chained to the floor in three different wards.¹⁰¹ Having practical skills like construction was considered important in prisons. The convicts with practical skills like shipbuilding were put to work in the arsenal, received better treatment since they could earn some money on the side, and expected to be released soon. Less-skilled convicts were kept in the second ward, which had seven hundred prisoners. The third building was a hospital where the sick and disabled convicts were kept.

When Ermeya Çelebi visited the prison in the arsenal, it was almost empty since the convicts were serving in the galleys. Convicts served as oarsmen in the galleys at the beginning of spring and at the start of the campaign season. After they returned to the shore in the winter, they worked as construction workers in the arsenal carrying stones.¹⁰² When the convicts returned, they stayed in the prison and were put to forced labor.¹⁰³

After a major fire in 1792, the arsenal was repaired, the wall around it was rebuilt, and it was expanded into a regular prison.¹⁰⁴ It contained two special wards for captives, a bath, a water depot, a mosque, a police station, the house of the superintendent of the prison, a square or courtyard, an office for the scribe, another prison, a bakery, a kitchen, a mill, and a storage place for bread. It appears that by the late eighteenth century, most of the prisoners in the imperial arsenal were captives of war and that the number of convicts had diminished in this prison since galleys had lost their importance.

The Baba Ca'fer prison assumed greater significance in the eighteenth century. Most prisoners were transferred from the arsenal to the Baba Ca'fer prison across the Golden Horn in the district of Istanbul. Most of the prisoners paid for their upkeep (food and clothing) by forced labor or depended on alms. The facility was under the supervision of a prison commander. The Baba Ca'fer prison had special wards for women accused of prostitution and for convicts of different religious backgrounds. An undated document lists the furnishing and clothing for all of the prostitutes in the prison as amounting to 4,147 *kuruş*.¹⁰⁵

The prison term was not fixed, and in most cases it was left to the kadi's discretion. Like the *kürek* sentence, it depended on the type of crime and the background of the convict, that is, whether he was a repeat offender and whether he was a civilian or an official. The term could be shortened if character witnesses pledged for

the moral conduct of convicts who wanted to be reintegrated back into their community after a period of correction.

REPENTANCE AND REHABILITATION

God shall turn only toward those who do evil in ignorance, then shortly repent. God is all-knowing all-wise.

—QUR'AN, SURA IV: 20, IN ARTHUR J. ARBERRY, *THE KORAN INTERPRETED*

The Qur'an spelled out fixed punishment for certain crimes like unlawful sex, highway robbery, and apostasy and encouraged repentance and forgiveness. Repentance and rehabilitation were important aspects of the Islamic and Ottoman penal system. A significant dimension of the justice of the sultan as the shadow of God on earth was his ability to forgive those who had repented.¹⁰⁶ Upon the recommendation of the kadi, the sultan could reduce the sentence of convicts when he ascended the throne and on special occasions like the holy month of Ramadan; he could also release them from prison and forced labor in the galleys. Convicts or their relatives petitioned the sultan for clemency and pleaded for convicts' release, as the following example demonstrates:

PETITION:

Praise and prayers to my most gracious and compassionate sultan:

We have suffered greatly since you have banished my husband and the father of my three children, the janissary Süleyman Agha[,] to the island of Limnos. We have become homeless during this holy month of Ramadan and are in need of care. We are petitioning for his pardon and release.

SIGNATURE: The helpless wife of your slave Süleyman Agha and his three children.

IMPERIAL ORDER: He is pardoned and should be released after he repents and pledges his good conduct in this holy month of July 1719.

Cevdet Zaptiye 1893¹⁰⁷

As the above case demonstrates, women sometimes petitioned the Imperial Council for the release of their husbands on account of their family's economic situations and hardships. The Imperial Council or the sultan often responded positively to petitions from family and community members and issued imperial orders to release the convicts after a period of probation.

In addition, if a prisoner suffered from physical or mental illness, the head of a prison could petition for the release of the convict. For example, in another petition, the commander of the fortress of Sadd al-Bahr asked for the release of Ahmed Efendi, who had been convicted of issuing false official documents, on account of Ahmed's poor mental state and leprosy suffered after three months of imprison-

ment. An imperial order was issued in January 1767 to release Ahmed on the condition that he would not go to Istanbul.¹⁰⁸

Sometimes convicts themselves petitioned the sultan and the Imperial Council for their release, as the following petition by three janissaries illustrates:

PETITION:

Upon your imperial order, these servants of yours have been imprisoned in the island of Limnos. We have improved our conduct and since our families are in dire straits, we ask for your imperial order for our release. We pledge not to interfere in the affairs of the chief butcher and laborers.

SIGNATURES: Janissary Ahmed, Bostancı al-Hac Ali, Mustafa Sipahi

IMPERIAL ORDER: These three men can be released on the condition of not interfering in the affairs of the chief butcher and workers. December 1731.

Cevdet Zapıtye 2248¹⁰⁹

The above case sheds light on the ability of three prisoners (all members of the military) in Limnos to directly petition the sultan for their release and rehabilitation because of the suffering of their families.¹¹⁰ Clearly, in this case a janissary, a cavalryman, and a palace guard had been accused of interfering in the affairs of the guilds of butchers in violation of guild rules. They were released to help their families in distress after they had pledged not to continue their interference in the affairs of butchers.

It was important for a convict to gain the support of neighbors and moral guarantors in order to petition for release. The judge usually carried out an investigation by questioning the neighbors about the conduct of the convicts after they had been released. Muslims could pledge for the good conduct of non-Muslim convicts. For example, the residents of Hasköy, both Muslims and Jews, pledged for the good conduct of two convicts, David and Salmon, and demanded their release from the galleys in November 1767.¹¹¹ In another case, the coworkers of an Armenian artisan, Kalames, who had served in the galleys for a month, pledged for his good conduct. He was then released and returned to his work in the *han* of drapers in September 1769.¹¹²

Women who had been accused of prostitution and had been banished could also return to their homes if their neighbors pledged their repentance or if they promised in the court to lead righteous lives. For example, the residents of Sancakdar Hayreddin quarter pledged for the good conduct of Şerife Hadice, who had been banished to Bursa for three years (1764–67). The court had conducted an investigation of her neighbors in Istanbul before allowing her to return. The neighbors stated that her house had been left vacant and that her furniture and goods were being wasted. They pledged that she would not go astray and should return to her house and demanded her pardon and release in February 1768.¹¹³ Hadice had prob-

ably been accused of prostitution and had been banished to Bursa like many prostitutes had and was now pleading with the court to return to her home. She was clearly in touch with her neighbors in Istanbul. In this case, her economic hardship and the abandonment of her house prompted her neighbors, who had probably also demanded her deportation, to act on her behalf.

In addition, thieves who had returned stolen property and had repented sometimes escaped punishment. For example, when in May 1817 the African Ayşe daughter of Abdullah (a slave) sued the boatman İstefan son of Hiristo in the court of Istanbul for entering her courtyard and stealing her washing basin, Hiristo confessed and pleaded forgiveness. He stated that he was very poor and needed money to pay his debt to the baker to support his family. Hiristo claimed that he had committed the robbery while drunk. He returned the basin and repented, and the court reported the case to the Imperial Council.¹¹⁴ However, it is not clear from this report whether Hiristo was forgiven. Since the kadi did not recommend a sentence, it is highly likely that he was not prosecuted. Moreover, the stolen item was not of high value and had been returned to Ayşe, who probably dropped the charges.

What is significant about this case and the other previously mentioned petitions is the ability of the convicts, their relatives, and their guarantors to petition the sultan or the kadi and secure the convicts' pardon and release without the advocacy of a lawyer or a legal representative. The petitioners used very straightforward language, stated the facts and their hardships, and pledged the convicts' good conduct and repentance. The judge usually carried out an investigation to see whether the convicts had lived up to their pledges. Sometimes guarantors reported back to the Imperial Council about the good conduct of former inmates. The release of a prisoner was usually noted in the *kürek* register, summarizing the reason for the release and the date. In England, too, the character witnesses could convince a judge or the king to pardon convicts who had been sentenced to death in the eighteenth century. They were instead transported to the colonies or were imprisoned.¹¹⁵

The Ottoman penal system was gradually moving from corporal punishment to correction and from the private domain of the victim to the public domain of the state in the eighteenth century. Capital punishment at the order of the sultan continued at times of political crisis and social upheaval but was slowly dying out. Flogging was the most popular form of corporal and public punishment in the eighteenth century. Moreover, the fixed shari'a penalties (amputation, stoning to death) gave way to other forms of punishment like penal servitude in the galleys, banishment, imprisonment, transportation to the islands, and internal exile. The aim of the penal system changed from corporal punishment to correction, isolation, and rehabilitation. Settlement outside the court in return for the payment of monetary compensation (blood money) to the victim or his or her relatives continued into the

eighteenth century but was slowly replaced by penal servitude in the galleys and imprisonment. Banishment, forced labor in the galleys, and imprisonment were regarded as corrective rather than restorative or compensatory forms of punishment for sex crimes, crimes against property, assault, and homicide. Punishment was neither specific nor fixed in duration for each crime. Rehabilitation, reform, and release upon the pledges of judges, character witnesses, relatives, and neighbors were important aspects of the penal system in the Ottoman Empire. The flexibility of punishments and the dual form of private and public punishments were also important features of the Ottoman legal culture in the transitional eighteenth century.

Epilogue

The Evolution of Crime and Punishment in a Mediterranean Metropolis

Istanbul was cast in the image of the great Turkish empire which was so rapidly created. . . . It foreshadowed the development of London and Paris in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as privileged cities whose political pre-eminence permitted every kind of economic paradox, chief among which was the ability to live well above their income and the level that their internal production permitted. And indeed, like London and Paris and for same reasons, Constantinople did not decline. The reverse occurred in fact, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

—FERNAND BRAUDEL, *THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD IN THE AGE OF PHILIP II*¹

Braudel placed Istanbul in the same category of imperial cities as Paris and London and criticized the notion of decline so often attributed to Istanbul. Moreover, the history of the eighteenth century has been the black hole of Ottoman studies for some time since historians of the modern period have by and large focused on the nineteenth century as the period of transformation in governance, law, and policing. I have made an attempt to study the modalities of political, social, and economic transformation as well as state society relations by focusing on political violence, crime, and social control in eighteenth-century Istanbul. I have shown that Istanbul had a great deal in common with other Mediterranean cities and with European cities such as Paris and London in terms of urbanization, population growth, warfare, economic pressures, and social polarization that led to social upheavals and crime as well as changes in policing.

While it is difficult to establish precise trends for crime in Istanbul and other Ottoman cities in the absence of systematic data until the twentieth century and available research, I have limited myself to outlining general trends in the eighteenth century. The most systematic statistics of crime and conviction in Istanbul are in the register of convicts sentenced to forced labor in the galleys that covers the decade of

the 1720s. My study of the *kürek* register for 1720s shows that more than one-third of the convictions involved crimes against property, petty larceny, and burglary by unemployed and underemployed men, rural migrants, and organized gangs in the commercial areas, residential areas, and public places. If we add to this list banditry and violent assault, crimes that were usually accompanied by theft, crimes against property (petty and violent) made up about half of the convictions during the Tulip Age. This trend was very similar to developments in London and Paris, where convictions for crimes against property had peaked in the eighteenth century.

In addition, the class nature of crime and conviction is reflected in the high number of petty thefts from commercial and residential places in Istanbul. Most of the convicts were marginal men and women who lacked skills and adequate employment in Istanbul, although it would be difficult to come up with any hard data on the actual number of poor residents. Organized crime committed by gangs, professional counterfeiters, and smugglers that involved fraud, disguise, preplanning, and group activity was also on the rise in Istanbul, as was also the case in London and Paris. The victims of street crimes were often members of lower classes, women and minors who lacked protection. Bachelors' rooms, like English boardinghouses and lodging houses, were targets as well as centers of crime, especially of prostitution.² Women were involved in crimes against property in smaller numbers but were very active in commercial sex.

The rise in commercial sex was another important development during the eighteenth century due to an increase in the number of single men and poor women who operated as streetwalkers or in private houses in residential districts. Commercial sex by Muslim women spread from the red-light district in Galata to residential neighborhoods all over greater Istanbul. The Ottoman state tolerated, zoned, taxed, and regulated commercial sex in the red-light districts, as was also the case in some European as well as Muslim cities, but it arrested and banished streetwalkers and Muslim prostitutes.

Moreover, prostitution in Istanbul evolved from a crime against God that incurred the fixed punishment of flogging according to the shari'a to a crime against public order that was punished by banishment and even imprisonment. Prescriptive literature and imperial orders sought to distinguish good women from bad through a series of sumptuary laws and by attempting to isolate, banish, and enclose prostitutes.

The expansion of surveillance and policing in the eighteenth century reflected the state's growing concern about political violence and crime. A multilayered policing system developed that employed officers from the janissary corps and a community watch that relied on neighborhood, communal, and religious leaders. In addition, the state relied on a system of moral guarantors drawn from the guild and community leaders to contain crime and control immigration to the city. After the destruction and elimination of the janissary corps in 1826, the state set up a professional and modern police force in the nineteenth century at the same time that

similar developments in creating modern policing were taking place in England and France.

Traditionally the kadi and his deputies played an important role in the arrest, investigation of crime, trial, and conviction of the accused in the early modern period. But in Istanbul, the role of the kadi diminished in the prosecution of crime due to the increasing jurisdiction of the Imperial Council, which functioned like the king's court in the second half of the eighteenth century. As in England, the bureaucrats and scribes in the prison (arsenal) began playing an important role in sentencing convicts.³ Similarly, in France the royal courts took over the jurisdiction of punishing all sorts of felonies and crimes from seigniorial and ecclesiastical courts in the eighteenth century. More research will demonstrate whether in other Ottoman cities the governor's council played a role similar to that of the Imperial Council in Istanbul in prosecuting serious crime.

As the state took over the jurisdiction of punishing crime in Istanbul from the Islamic courts, convict labor in the galleys, banishment, and later imprisonment became the most dominant forms of punishment for all kinds of crimes in Istanbul in the eighteenth century. With the decline of Ottoman galleys, imprisonment slowly emerged as the most important form of punishment in Istanbul in the late eighteenth century.

The penal system in the Ottoman Empire shared some features with the ones in some European countries, like France and England, in the eighteenth century. There were important differences as well. In the Ottoman Empire, capital punishment was primarily used against bandits and rebels. By contrast, in England capital punishment became more important, at least in the number of statutes, for crimes against property in the eighteenth century.⁴ In 1764, the Parliament declared that the death penalty would apply to those who had broken into buildings to steal linen and the tools to manufacture it.⁵ With the expansion of capitalism, the number of capital statutes on crimes against property in London had risen from fifty to more than two hundred between 1688 and 1820, giving rise to one of the bloodiest criminal codes in Europe.⁶ However, after Peel's reform of the criminal code in 1820s, many of the sentences were not actually carried out.⁷ Following Peel's reforms, the number of executions for burglary dropped from 58 percent of convictions in 1785 to 7.9 percent in England in the early nineteenth century.⁸ In practice, capital punishment met with great moral opposition and was substituted by other forms of punishment like transportation to the colonies (primarily Australia) and imprisonment in the early 1830s.

In contrast to the situation in England as well as that in France, the punishment for crimes against property was less severe in the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth century. Thieves in Istanbul typically served in the galleys from a few months to a year, depending on their prior convictions. They also received lighter sentences if they returned stolen property to the owner or had moral guarantors.

In contrast to developments in the Ottoman Empire, the French convicts served in the galleys longer (long-term) than Ottoman convicts did, and few survived their terms. As in the Ottoman Empire, in France forced labor in the galleys declined as a form of punishment. By the end of the eighteenth century, most convicts (60 percent) in Paris were transported to the colonies, one-fourth served in the galleys (25 percent), and a smaller number (10 percent) were imprisoned.⁹ In England and Wales, between one thousand and twenty-five hundred convicts (two-thirds of the total) every year were being transported to Australia in the eighteenth century.¹⁰ In the Ottoman Empire, in contrast, banishment was internal; it took place within the empire and was used as a form of punishment primarily for prostitution and sex crimes, which continued into the late nineteenth century. In the Ottoman Empire, the *kürek* sentence slowly disappeared with the decline of the galleys, although the term was still used in the second half of the nineteenth century to refer to a prison sentence.¹¹ Eventually, isolation, forced labor, and correction rather than compensation and corporal punishment became the aims of the Ottoman penal system in the eighteenth century, as was also the case in France and England.

TOWARD A MODERN PENAL SYSTEM

Historians have placed the modernization of the Ottoman legal system in the Tanzimat reforms (1839–1879) and the adoption of the French penal code in 1858. They have emphasized the contribution of the European legal system (Napoleonic Code) to the modernization of Ottoman law in the late nineteenth century.¹² However, the modernization of the penal system during the time period covered in this book is equally relevant. An important contribution of my study has been to highlight the importance of the eighteenth century in the transformation of the Ottoman penal regime that continued into the nineteenth century. The Ottoman Empire lagged behind England and France in adopting the prison term as the dominant form of punishment but caught up in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹³ In England in 1830s, 60 percent of the convicts were sentenced to imprisonment while 25 percent were transported to the colonies, and 10 percent received the death penalty.¹⁴

As was the case in the previous century, the nineteenth century penal reforms initially maintained both *shari'a* and *kanun* penalties but systematized the definition of each crime and fixed the penalty. Amputation and stoning to death had rarely been used as penalties in the eighteenth century and eventually were discontinued in the nineteenth century. Flogging and beating were completely abolished by decree in 1858 and were replaced by the prison sentence.¹⁵ The prison term was fixed for each type of crime in the new Ottoman penal codes of 1858 and 1876. Moreover, torture and the confiscation of the property of the offenders were also officially abolished at that time.¹⁶

In addition, despite some changes, the hierarchical system of the courts in the Ottoman Empire continued into the nineteenth century. The reforms of the nineteenth century created further division in the jurisdiction of the courts among civil, commercial, and criminal cases and created mixed secular courts (*nizami*) in 1864 that were composed of Muslim and non-Muslim judges. The secular courts took over the prosecution of most criminal cases from the shari'a courts except for homicide and injury. This trend, too, had started in the eighteenth century. In addition, the Council of Supreme Ordinances (*Meclis-i Ahkam-i Adliye*) replaced the Imperial Council as the highest court; it was composed of members of the ulema and secular officials in 1840 and oversaw the operation of central (Istanbul), provincial, and district courts. It regulated the operation of secular courts, dealt with additional crimes and offenses not covered in the shari'a and *kanun* (crimes against public order), and laid down the procedure for imprisonment.¹⁷

These reforms defined the penal law and put an end to discretionary punishment, made trials mandatory, and introduced the concept of equality before the law regardless of religion and social status, at least on paper. The rights of the victim to determine punishment (for homicide and injury) and to settle outside the court ended with these reforms, but in actuality these practices may have continued for a while. All the judges were salaried government officials. By 1917, only twelve shari'a courts that dealt with marriage, divorce, and inheritance cases were operating in Istanbul.

Another stage of modernization occurred when the penitentiary system of prison was adopted in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. Istanbul had one old (Sultan Ahmet prison) and three modern houses of correction (Tevkif-Hane) in Pera, Üsküdar, and Istanbul proper. The Baba Ca'fer prison was transferred to the Old Central or Sultan Ahmet prison after the abolition of the janissaries in 1826.¹⁸ The Old Sultan Ahmet prison contained 748 prisoners in 1921.¹⁹ The prisoners were kept in groups in rooms (100 by 25 feet and 15 feet high) with small windows or in barracks that opened into a common yard. Young prisoners were separated from older ones and from those who were hard-core criminals. Other prisoners were separated into groups that were serving lighter sentences (six to eighteen months) and that were serving life sentences. Nevertheless, the prisoners intermingled as a group and had access to a common yard.

In Istanbul proper the modern New Central prison was built near the mosque of Aya Sophia behind the Department of Justice by a Turkish architect. It was built of heavy masonry with a capacity for four hundred prisoners. The prison had three floors with iron bars at all windows looking into a common yard that was enclosed by a high wall. A watchtower was built for the guards of the yard so that they could see the whole area. The watchtower may have been inspired by the western Panopticon. The latter was a type of prison building designed by the English philosopher Jeremy Bentham in 1785; it enabled a guard to observe prisoners without their



FIGURE 9. Inscription on the New Central Prison built in 1909: "Rush and repent before you die." Photo by the author.

knowledge from a central position, a watchtower. The New Central prison in Istanbul had quarters for officials, a mosque, and a church. In addition, a separate section was built for women. Clarence Johnson, the American sociologist who taught at the Robert College in Istanbul, visited this and the other prisons in 1920 and interviewed the chief warden, who had adopted modern Western ideas. According to Johnson, the chief warden of the New Central prison was considering establishing a school and a workshop and adopting uniforms for the prisoners. Most of the prisoners were kept in large rooms with high ceilings and plenty of window space in groups of eight to twenty. The rooms were ventilated and heated from a central system.²⁰ The prisoners were not locked in single cells and had the freedom to move

in the corridors and the yard. As in the Sultan Ahmet prison, the young prisoners were separated from the older ones. Prisoners performed their own chores like cleaning and washing but were not engaged in hard labor. Solitary confinement was reserved for prisoners who broke the rules.

In Europe, the English and the French had adopted the design of the Walnut Street Prison in Philadelphia, which Tocqueville had visited in 1831 and prepared a report about upon his return to France. The most important idea adopted from his observations was solitary confinement, in which each prisoner would eat, work, and sleep in a single cell.²¹ The New Central prison in Istanbul was modeled after European (Belgian) prisons but offered more humane treatment of prisoners than the ones in England and America, where solitary confinement, isolation and segregation, anonymity, hard labor, prayer, discipline, and silence had become the rule.²²

By the end of the Ottoman Empire, imprisonment had become the form of punishment for practically every kind of crime in Istanbul, including murder, wounding, larceny, highway robbery, fornication, beating, pickpocketing, adultery, rape, embezzlement, forgery, insulting the police, carrying forbidden weapons, and arson. Of the total number of convicts (954) who were imprisoned in a holding tank in the New Central prison in 1920, more than half (556) had been charged with larceny, 10 percent (99) with murder, and fewer than 10 percent (78) with assault or other crimes.²³ Of the 954 prisoners, 276 were eventually acquitted, and 457 were condemned and imprisoned.

In addition, the Allied occupation of Istanbul after World War I (1918–23) enhanced the European and American influences in policing and punishment. The Allied (British, English, and Italian) forces built four or five temporary prisons in Istanbul and Galata. The British built a prison in Pera, where they constructed several model cells. This prison was to be a fully modern prison that would accommodate one hundred prisoners.²⁴ The Ottoman penal system had become fully modernized with the adoption of the penitentiary system used in Europe and America.

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APPENDIX

A Janissary Ballad from the 1703 Rebellion

by Mehmed Riza, translated by Fariba Zarinebaf¹

This janissary ballad highlights the grievances of janissaries and artisans against Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi and Grand Vizier Rami Pasha during the 1703 rebellion. In it, the janissaries and artisans demand the return of Sultan Mustafa II from Edirne to Istanbul and the dismissal of Feyzullah Efendi, whom they accuse of Kizilbash heresy and corruption. The soldiers and artisans also express their grievances against the peace Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699 and want to resume the war against the Hapsburgs (see chapter 3).

The whole army of Islam was in war [against Vienna]²
Your soldiers now want you; come back, my king
The whole of Istanbul has risen up

Your soldiers were fighting for Vienna, my king
We came together and took a pause
We gathered under a banner and marched to the Hippodrome
We brought down the son of Haşim and put an agha in his place³
Your soldiers are under God's command, my king
The infidels and Jews were in an uproar⁴
The son of Köprülü⁵ has issued this order
“Attack,” he commanded the soldiers
All the janissaries of Istanbul
Are struggling for Vienna, my king

The infidels and Jews are alarmed
The heretics [Kizilbash]⁶ have taken possession of the world
Would your soldiers demand peace?
“Allah is one,” pledged your slaves, my king
The pigs have taken over the world

Rami Efendi, you made vizier⁷
 Is there anyone in the world like that pig?
 The soldiers want him, know my king
 He issued orders to infidel kings

With the ascendancy of queen mother and the Kizilbash⁸
 Infidels took over Istanbul. Beware, my king
 All the artisans and the army
 Are saying “We want our sultan” as they set out
 The vizier and müfti have appointed their soldiers
 But your soldiers want you now, my king

The ulema asked me about this state of affairs
 The people of Istanbul are at a loss from this
 The army is under your command
 From among so many ulema . . .
 You appointed a Kizilbash infidel as teacher⁹
 You sent him alone to the Kizilbash
 Don't you have any justice, my king?
 The Kizilbash müfti has issued many *fetvas* [religious rulings]
 He wants to ruin the sovereign for the sake of the infidel kings
 His aim is to destroy Istanbul
 Your soldiers will not accept this
 The müfti and vizier are in the middle mosque
 The chief attendant brought the imperial order
 The müfti read it to inform us
 The soldiers in Istanbul believed it, my king
 The people of Istanbul were fed up and rose up
 The soldiers were in a war for Vienna, my king
 What has this great city done to you?
 We were all fighting a holy war for Vienna, my king
 We will not break our commitment
 We will never pay tax¹⁰ to the infidels
 We will never say “yes” to you on this
 We are fighting for Vienna, my king
 We may become martyrs, we are holy warriors
 We are happy with God's command
 Your slaves do not want that dubious Kizilbash müfti
 Your vizier Rami has ascended
 He engages in festivities and drinks wine

Erase his name from the register, my king
 The Caliph must sit on your throne
 Set up the council
 Mint the coin and issue the Friday prayer in his name
 The soldiers want this, be aware, my king

My name is Mehmed and my title is Riza
 I was enslaved and endured much pain
 I am happy with my fate

Your soldiers are fighting for Vienna
 In the day of the dismissal of Müfti 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

Your armorers marched
 And took over Istanbul at once
 Was this the decision of God on the Day of Creation?
 Every day Vienna gained in strength
 When they marched to Demir Kapı
 The rebel was the *bostancıbaşı*
 The one called Haşimoğlu
 You made him agha, my sultan, but he died later
 The four janissary divisions were united
 They struggled hard for Vienna
 You did not care for your soldiers or your throne
 Your soldiers found you, my sovereign
 You sent a messenger to invite us to the shari'a

We did not follow your order
 You brought yourself down
 You caused the blame of the world
 We raised the banner with
 seventy-two guilds
 and the cavalry
 Filling the *Yenibahçe* [New Garden]
 The man from Istanbul is not a *zorba* [rebel]
 Abdullah Pasha issued an order for our murder
 What did you do to this Kizilbash?
 He issued a *fetva* to kill us, my sovereign
 Didn't you read about this madness?
 You caused this rebellion
 The tricks of the oppressor are in vain
 The sovereign came asking for time
 We took away from you the crown and throne

You brought down your high fortune
 Did you see what your favorite müfti did?
 Whatever happened harmed you, my king
 You undermined the Ottoman dynasty
 There never was such a turn of times
 You gave up your throne for the sake of that devious man
 This moment lasted until the end of the world, my sultan
 The year 1703 in history
 In the month of July happened this uprising
 Islam became victorious in August
 The whole world smiled, my sovereign

 One of the names of God is *Ahad* [the One]
 When to the throne ascended Sultan Ahmed
 Your eyes were filled with blood
 Rami was tamed like an angel

 Now the wheels of fortune are turning back
 How fast it ended, how fast it happened
 How fast your fortune ended
 We have completed many appointments
 With the beauties of Edirne¹¹ on our side, oh Rami

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

BBA	Başbakanlık Archives, Istanbul
CB	Cevdet Belediye
CM	Cevdet Maliye
CZ	Cevdet Zaptiye
CV	Cevdet Maliye
D.BŞM	Baş Muhasebe Kalemi
<i>EI</i>	The Encyclopedia of Islam
<i>IJMES</i>	<i>International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</i>
ISAM	Islamic Research Center in Istanbul
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of Social and Economic History of the Orient</i>
KK	Kamil Kepeci Collection
MD	Mühimme Defterleri
MM	Maliyeden Müdevver
ŞD	Şikayet Defterleri
Sicill	Islamic Court Registers
TT	Tapu Tahrir
TTK	Türk Tarih Kurumu

INTRODUCTION

1. Quoted in Jacques Rossiaud, “The City Dweller and Life in Cities and Towns,” in *The Medieval World*, ed. Jacques LeGoff (London: Collins and Brown, 1990), 153.
2. See chapter 1 notes for a list of these sources.
3. Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Row, 1966); André Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants*

au Caire au XVIIIe siècle, 2 vols. (Damas: Institut Français de Damas, 1973); Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Palmira Brummett, "Visions of the Mediterranean: A Classification," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 37 (Winter 2007): 9–54.

4. Halil Inalcik, "Istanbul," in *Encyclopedia of Islam* (hereafter cited as *EI*), 2nd ed., vol. 4 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973); Halil Inalcik, "Istanbul: An Islamic City" and "Ottoman Galata," in *Essays in Ottoman History* (Istanbul: Eren, 1998); Robert Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1962); Robert Mantran, *Histoire d'Istanbul* (Paris: Fayard, 1996). See also Ahmet Refik (Altınay), *Istanbul Hayatı*, 4 vols. (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988); Münir Aktepe, *Patrona Isyanı (1730)* (Istanbul, 1958); Tülay Artan, ed., 18. *Yüzyıl Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Eyüp'te Sosyal Yaşam* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1998).

5. Gülrü Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991); Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul, Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986); Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "The Ottoman Capital in the Making: The Reconstruction of Constantinople in the Fifteenth Century" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1996).

6. Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008).

7. Eujong Yi, *Guild Dynamics in Seventeenth Century Istanbul: Fluidity and Leverage* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2004); Edhem Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999).

8. Münir Aktepe, *Patrona Isyanı, 1730* (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1958); Robert Olson, *The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations, 1718–1743* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975); Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch, 1984).

9. See also Braudel, *Mediterranean*, 2:734–56.

10. Yvonne J. Seng, "The Üsküdar Estates (*Tereke*) as Records of Everyday Life in an Ottoman Town: 1521–1524" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1991); Cem Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle* (New York: SUNY Press, 2003).

11. See Boğaç Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society, and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Çankırı and Kastamonu (1652–1744)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2003), 40–46; Iris Agmon, *Family and Court: Legal Culture and Modernity in Late Ottoman Palestine* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2006), 199; Dror Ze'evi, "The Use of Ottoman Shari'a Court Records as a Source for Middle Eastern Social History: A Reappraisal," *Islamic Law and Society* 5 (1998): 35–36; Brinkley Messick, *The Calligraphic State: Textual Domination and History in a Muslim Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

12. Peirce, *Morality Tales*, 3.

13. I have closely examined Islamic court records from Galata and Istanbul for 1720–35, comparing them with prison registers and police reports.
14. Ahmet Kal'a, *Istanbul'da Sosyal Hayat*, vol. 2 of *Istanbul Ahkam Defterleri* (Istanbul: Istanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1997).
15. See Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Women, Law, and Imperial Justice in Ottoman Istanbul in the Late Seventeenth Century," in *Women, the Family, and Divorce Laws in Islamic History*, ed. Amira El-Azhary Sonbol (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 81–96.
16. Idris Bostan, *Osmanlı Bahriye Teşkilatı: XVII. Yüzyılda Tersane-i Amire* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu (hereafter cited as TTK), 1992); see André Zysberg, "Galley Rowers in the Mid-Eighteenth Century," in *Deviants and the Abandoned in French Society*, ed. Robert Forster and Orest Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 83–110.
17. Başbakanlık Archives, Istanbul (hereafter cited as BBA), Maliyeden Müdevver (hereafter cited as MM) 729. Heyd and İpşirli have found several fragmentary *kürek* registers for the sixteenth century (Kamil Kepeci Collection [hereafter cited as KK] 677). See Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 303–5, and Mehmet İpşirli, "XVI. Asrın İkinci Yarısında Kürek Cezası ile İlgili Hükümler," *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 12 (1981): 203–48. See also Başbakanlık Archives (BBA), Divan-ı Humayun Kalabend Kalemi 21/3 (1690–1823); BBA, İbnülemin Adliye, 3 and 4, KK 677, Cevdet Adliye 5576.
18. Neşe Erim, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Kalebendlik Cezası ve Suçların Sınıflandırılması Üzerine Bir Deneme," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 4 (1984): 79–88. Erim's study covers prison registers for the whole empire for the years 1721–34.

CHAPTER 1

1. For other travel accounts on eighteenth- and nineteenth century Istanbul, see Antoine-Ignace Melling, *Voyage pittoresque a Constantinople et sur les rives du Bosphore*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1819); M. D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de L'Empire Ottoman*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1787–1820); Charles White, *Three Years in Constantinople, or Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1844*, 3 vols. (London, 1845); Julia Pardoe, *The City of the Sultans and the Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1836* (London, 1838); Théophile Gautier, *Constantinople, Istanbul, en 1852* (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 1990); Edmondo De Amicis, *Constantinople*, trans. Caroline Tilton (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896).
2. According to Rudé, by 1800, London had between 900,000 and 1,000,000 residents and Paris had between 550,000 and 600,000 residents. He estimates the population of Istanbul to have been more than 300,000. George Rudé, *Europe in the Eighteenth Century: Aristocracy and the Bourgeois Challenge* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 54. See chapter 2 for more on the population of Istanbul.
3. Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, 68–78, 126–42.
4. Ian R. Manners, *European Cartographers and the Ottoman World, 1500–1750: Maps from the Collection of O. J. Sopranos* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago, 2007), 81–93. See the first scientific map of Istanbul by M. Kauffer in 1776, 80.
5. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié Du XVIIe siècle*; Eldem, Goffman, and Mas-

ters, *The Ottoman City between East and West*; Hamadeh, *City's Pleasures*; Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City*; Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households, Marriage, Family, and Fertility, 1880–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul*.

6. Braudel, *Mediterranean*, 1:348–51. Braudel defines Istanbul as a composite monster and a divided city, conditions that were a source of its greatness.

7. See chapter 3 for their accounts of the 1730 rebellion. John Montagu, fourth Earl of Sandwich, *A Voyage Performed by the Late Earl of Sandwich Round the Mediterranean in the Years 1738 and 1739* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1799); Albert Vandal, *Une ambassade Française en Orient sous Louis XV: La mission de Marquis de Villeneuve (1728–1741)* (Paris: E Pion, 1887). The Venetian *bailo* was also a keen observer of Ottoman politics. See Mary L. Shay, *The Ottoman Empire from 1720 to 1734, as Revealed in Dispatches of the Venetian Baili* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944).

8. James Dallaway, *Constantinople, Ancient and Modern, with Excursions to the Shores of the Archipelago and to the Troad* (London, 1797).

9. Hamadeh, *City's Pleasures*; Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality, The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2003).

10. E. S. Nicolaas, D. Bull, and G. Renda, *The Ambassador, the Sultan and the Artist: An Audience in Istanbul* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2003); Thomas Allom, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated*, 2 vols. (London: Fisher and Son, 1838); Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000), 232–33.

11. Esin Atil, *Levni and the Surname: The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 1999); Tülay Artan, “Arts and Architecture,” in *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1838*, vol. 3 of the *Cambridge History of Turkey*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), 438–46. According to Artan, the French collectors and ambassadors (Nointel) in the seventeenth century commissioned miniature paintings of courtly life and scenes of Istanbul life and purchased illustrated Ottoman and Persian manuscripts in the covered market of Istanbul for Louis XIV, his minister Colbert, and Cardinal Richelieu.

12. Thomas Smith, *Remarks on the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks, Together with a Survey of Seven Churches of Asia* (London, 1678), 1. Smith states that the Turks are justly branded with the character of barbarians. Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism, Women, Travel and the Ottoman Empire* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004); Aileen Ribeiro, “Turquerie: Turkish Dress and English Fashion in the Eighteenth Century,” *Connoisseur* 201, no. 807 (1979): 16–23.

13. Charles de Secondat Baron de Montesquieu, *Lettres persans* (Amsterdam, 1730); Baron de Tott, *Mémoires de Baron de Tott*, 2 vols. (New York: Arno Press, 1973).

14. Anne Mary Stevens, ed., *The Orientalists: Delacroix to Matisse* (New York: National Gallery of Art, 1984).

15. Dallaway, *Constantinople, Ancient and Modern*, 26–29.

16. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

17. Edhem Eldem, “Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital,” in *The Ottoman City Between East and West*, ed. Edhem Eldem, D. Goffman, and B. Masters (Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 1999), 188–94; Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

18. De Amicis, *Constantinople*, 127–28.

19. Eric Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

20. Abdullah Uzman, ed., *Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi'nin Fransa Sefaretnâmesi* (Istanbul: Garanti Matbaacılık, 1975). He brought back the engravings of Versailles, which played an important role in the development of French style in the construction of Sa'dabad in 1722. See also Fatma Müge Göcek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 76.

21. Melling, *Voyage pittoresque*, vol. 1. Melling was commissioned to build a European palace for Sultan Selim III in Saray Burnu, where Topkapı Palace is located, but the French invasion of Egypt in 1798 disrupted these plans. Melling became very close to Hadice Sultan and met with her almost every day. He gave a tour of her palace to European ambassadors and visitors.

22. Melling, *Voyage pittoresque*, vol. 2.

23. Doğan Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History* (Istanbul: Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, 1996), 336–62; Tülay Artan, “The Palaces of the Sultanas,” *Istanbul Dergisi* (January 1993): 87–97; Artan, “The Kadirğa Palace: An Architectural Reconstruction,” *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 201–11; Artan, “The Kadirğa Palace Shrouded by the Mists of Time,” *Turcica* 26 (1994): 55–124.

24. Fariba Zarinebaf, “Women, Patronage and Charity in Ottoman Istanbul,” in *Beyond the Exotic: Women's Histories in Islamic Societies*, ed. Amira El-Azhary Sonbol (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 89–102.

25. Hamadeh also believes that for the Ottoman ruling class, Persianate culture, particularly poetry and architecture, continued to be a source of inspiration. Nevşehirli İbrahim Pasha reinstated the instruction of Persian language that had been abandoned, and Nedim, the court poet, drew from a common Persianate idiom of *ghazal* poetry. Hamadeh, *City's Pleasures*, 220–36.

26. Ahmed Refik, *Onikinci Asr-i Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı* (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988), 94–97. The most favored variety was the medium-sized tulip with a long stem and long and sharply pointed red pedals. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4 (Ankara: TTK, 1995), 1, 169.

27. Anne Goldgare, *Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

28. Barnette Miller, *Beyond the Sublime Porte: The Grand Seraglio of Stambul* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1931), 122–26.

29. Ibid.

30. Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, “The Wealth of Ottoman Princesses During the Tulip Age,” in *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilization*, vol. 4, *Culture and Arts*, ed. Kemal Çiçek et al., 696–702 (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2000).

31. The marriage of Ottoman princesses to grand viziers can be dated back to the sixteenth century and the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent.

32. Zarinebaf-Shahr, “Ottoman Princesses”; Hamadeh, *City's Pleasures*.

33. Refik, *Onikinci*, 64, 66, 72, 97, 101.

34. Fariba Zarinebaf, "Women, Patronage and Charity in Ottoman Istanbul," in *Beyond the Exotic: Women's Histories in Islamic Societies*, ed. Amira El-Azhary Sonbol, 89–102. (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2005).

35. See Kafesçioğlu, "The Reconstruction of Constantinople."

36. According to Inalcik, the number of synagogues rose to between forty and forty-four in the sixteenth century and that of churches to forty in the eighteenth century. Many were burned down in numerous fires. Inalcik, "Istanbul," *EI*, 241. In the 1910 survey, there were fifty-nine Greek Orthodox, thirty-seven Armenian Orthodox, twelve Armenian Catholic, thirty-one Latin Catholic, and forty-four foreign churches and thirty-seven synagogues in greater Istanbul. BBA, Cevdet Muallim 3:113.

37. For more on Dominican affairs in Galata, see Arturo Bernal Palacios, "Fr. Benedetto (Giovanni) Palazzo, OP, (1892–1955) and His Catalogue of the Conventual Archives of Saint Peter in Galata (Istanbul), Part II," *Dominican History Newsletter* 6 (2002): 215–50, and 7 (2003): 159–86.

38. Hamadeh, *City's Pleasures*, 39–40.

39. Sarkis Sarraf Hovhannesian, *Payitaht Istanbul'un Tarihiçesi*, trans. Elmon Hançer (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1997), 33–35.

40. Inalcik, "Istanbul," *EI*, 234–35.

41. Inalcik, "Istanbul," *EI*, 234–35. There was no street lighting until gas lighting was introduced in Pera in 1856 and in the rest of the city in the late nineteenth century.

42. For a recent collective study of Eyüp in the eighteenth century based in *sicill* records, see Artan, ed., 18. *Yüzyıl Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Eyüp'te Sosyal Yaşam*.

43. Hovhannesian, *Payitaht*, 33.

44. Suraiya Faroqhi, "Migration into Eighteenth-Century Greater Istanbul as Reflected in the Kadi Registers of Eyüp," *Turcica* 30 (1998): 168.

45. Hovhannesian, *Payitaht*, 32–33.

46. See also Faroqhi, "Migration into Eighteenth-Century Greater Istanbul," 163–83. According to Evliya Çelebi, it was a prosperous town of 12,000 people with no walls, 700 villages, 9,800 mansions, 1,080 mosques and 1,085 shops. Şinasi Tekin and Gönül Alpay Tekin, eds., *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, bk. 1, *Istanbul* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 119a–120a. However, one has to be very careful with the numbers provided by Evliya Çelebi.

47. Tekin and Tekin, *Evliya Çelebi*, 120a; Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 360–62.

48. Halil Nihad, *Nedim Divanı* (Istanbul: İkdâm Matbaası, 1920–21), 154; Hamadeh, *City's Pleasures*, 133.

49. Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 30; P.G. Inciciyan, *XVIII Asırda İstanbul*, ed. and trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan (Istanbul: İstanbul Fethi Derneği, 1956), 10–12.

50. Mantran, *Istanbul*, 37–42.

51. According to Evliya Çelebi, the district had 9,973 Muslim, 304 Greek, 257 Jewish, 27 Armenian, and 17 Frankish quarters; 672 bachelors' rooms; and 4 jails in the seventeenth century. Tekin and Tekin, *Evliya Çelebi*, 152b.

52. For a physical description of Istanbul and its Byzantine as well as Ottoman landmarks, see John Freely, *Istanbul, The Imperial City* (London: Viking, 1967), 5–7; Freely, *Strolling through Istanbul: A Guide to the City* (Istanbul: SEV Yayıncılık, 2000).
53. Minna Rozen, *A History of the Jewish Community in Istanbul: The Formative Years, 1453–1566* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002), 333.
54. See Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*.
55. Dallaway, *Constantinople, Ancient and Modern*, 26.
56. For the function of different courts (outer and inner service), see Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300–1600* (London: Phoenix, 1973), 76–103.
57. Leslie Peirce, *The Imperial Harem, Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). See also Hilary Sumner-Boyd and John Freely, *Strolling Through Istanbul: A Guide to the City* (Istanbul: Sev Yayıncılık, 2000), 69–92.
58. Sarah Guberti Bassett, “The Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45(1991): 87–96.
59. Inalcik, “Istanbul,” *EI*; Inalcik, “Istanbul: An Islamic City,” 252–54.
60. Louis Miller, “The Genoese in Galata: 1453–1682,” *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 10 (1979): 71–91 (hereafter cited as *IJMES*).
61. Inalcik, “Ottoman Galata,” 276, 336–41. According to Inalcik, this was a typical agreement granting protection to a conquered people.
62. *Ibid.*, 285.
63. Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evlîya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 389.
64. Tekin and Tekin, *Evlîya Çelebi*, 129a; Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evlîya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 391–92.
65. Tekin and Tekin, *Evlîya Çelebi*, 124a–124b. Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evlîya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 374–75. Hasköy had 11,000 Jewish residents, one Muslim quarter, two Greek quarters, and one Armenian quarter in the seventeenth century as well as twelve synagogues, seven churches, and one hundred taverns. However, these figures must be taken with caution. Rozen, *A History of Jewish Community*, 333.
66. Eldem, “Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital,” 151–52.
67. Inalcik, “Ottoman Galata,” 241. Tekin and Tekin, *Evlîya Çelebi*, 129a–129b. The survey that Evliya Çelebi was using was conducted during the reign of Murad IV (1623–40).
68. Eldem, “Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital.”
69. Mantran, *Istanbul*, 74.
70. Philip Mansel, *Constantinople, City of the World Desire, 1453–1924* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995), 194–95. In 1750, the French embassy had a staff of 78; the British embassy, 55; and the Venetian, 118. Under the Capitulations, the European embassies lived under their own laws, but they were also subject to Ottoman laws. See Maurits H. Van den Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System: Qadis, Consuls and Beratlis in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2005), 33–47. See also Eldem, *French Trade*.
71. Eldem, “Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital,” 164–79. Edhem Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999). The Valide Hani next to the Grand Bazaar in Istanbul was another important center for bankers.
72. Tekin and Tekin, *Evlîya Çelebi*, 128a–130b; Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evlîya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 400.

73. Tekin and Tekin, *Evliya Çelebi*, 130a; Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol.1, pt. 2, 394–95.
74. Inalcik, “Ottoman Galata,” 285.
75. Tekin and Tekin, *Evliya Çelebi*, 129b; Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol.1, pt. 2, 392–93.
76. Tekin and Tekin, *Evliya Çelebi*, 135b; Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 408.
77. Tekin and Tekin, *Evliya Çelebi*, 136a; Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 413.
78. See Tülay Artan, “The Palaces of the Sultan,” *Istanbul Dergisi 2* (January 1993); see also Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, “The Wealth of Ottoman Princesses during the Tulip Period,” 696–701.
79. For an excellent social history of Üsküdar in the sixteenth century, see Yvonne J. Seng, “The Üsküdar Estates (Tereke) as Records of Everyday Life in an Ottoman Town: 1521–1524” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1991).
80. Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 429–38; Tekin and Tekin, *Evliya Çelebi*, 141b; Mantran, *Istanbul*, 82.
81. For a list of these villages in the sixteenth century, see Seng, “Üsküdar Estates,” 37.
82. Dallaway, *Constantinople, Ancient and Modern*, 151.
83. Daniel Panzac, *La peste dans l’empire Ottoman, 1700–1850* (Leuven: Editions Peeters, 1985), 359–61; Panzac, “Politique sanitaire et fixation des frontières: l’empire Ottoman (XVIII–XX siècles),” *Turcica* 31 (1999), 87–108. For a recent study of the plague in the earlier period and the policies of the Ottoman state, see the excellent study by Nühket Varlık, “Disease and Empire: A History of Plague Epidemics in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire (1453–1600)” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2008). Varlık argues that Istanbul was located at the intersection of an East-West and North-South network and was hit the hardest almost every year during the sixteenth century. This period witnessed the development of Ottoman medical notions of contagion, followed by state policies to contain the spread of plague epidemics. Varlık, 172–253.
84. Panzac, *La peste*, table 8, 198.
85. *Ibid.*, 359. These figures are based on European diplomatic reports. They do not provide any information on the plagues of 1746, 1751, 1765, 1770, 1780, 1784, or 1786.
86. *Ibid.*, 59–60.
87. *Ibid.*, table 12, 216.
88. *Ibid.*, 363. The mortality rate in European cities like Lyon, Milan, Venice, and Marseilles was much higher (50 percent) during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See Panzac, *La peste*, table 39.
89. Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, 81.
90. Mantran, *Istanbul*, 168–69.
91. Panzac, “Politique sanitaire,” 91–92.
92. In the Ottoman Empire, the government of Mahmud II (1803–39) established the first quarantine system in Çanakkale, Alexandria, Cairo, and Syria. The state built a line of sanitary settlements along the Iranian frontier in Kars, Ardahan, Kotur, Khanaqin, and Basra

in the nineteenth century. See Gülден Sarıyıldız, “Karantina Meclisi’nin Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri,” *Bellekten* 58 (1994), 333–34.

93. On the history of these earthquakes and those in Anatolia, see N. N. Ambraseys and Caroline Finkel, *The Seismicity of Turkey and Adjacent Area: A Historical Review, 1500–1800* (Istanbul: Eren, 1995).

94. *Ibid.*, 125–32.

95. *Ibid.*

96. *Ibid.*, 136–43. See the list and the map on pages 140–41 for the names and locations of monuments that were affected in Istanbul.

97. *Ibid.*, 145–48.

98. Mantran, *Histoire d’Istanbul*, 261.

99. Mantran, *Istanbul*, 36.

100. Eldem, *French Trade*, 232–33. The French nation returned to the quarter of Bereketzade after an imperial order in 1710.

101. B. J. Slot, “The Fires in Istanbul of 1782 and 1784 according to Maps and Reports by the Dutch Diplomatic Representatives,” *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4–5 (1975–76), 48–49.

102. Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, 42.

103. Slot, “Fires in Istanbul,” 50–60.

104. Orhan Erinc, “250 Yıl Önce İstanbul’da Gecekondu Kacak İnşaat Sahil Yağması Sorunları ve Çareleri.” *Belgelerde Türk Tarih Dergisi* 10 (1968), 57. See the imperial orders of July 1719 and June 1733.

105. Necdet Sakaoğlu, Ahmed III,” in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı, 1993), 1: 114.

106. Islamic Court Registers, 1:32, 8a (hereafter cited as Sicill). The court registers are divided into series that indicate the location of the court (e.g., Galata) and into volumes that usually cover a year or two.

107. Ahmet Kal’a, *Istanbul Ahkam Defterleri*, vol. 1, *Istanbul Esnaf Tarihi* (Istanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi 1997), 1: 137.

108. Derviş Mustafa Efendi, *1782 Yılı Yangınları (Harik Risalesi)*, ed. Husamettin Aksu (Istanbul, 1994).

109. Sicill, 1:32, 98b.

110. Ahmet Refik (Altınay), *Lale Devri (1130–1143)* (Istanbul, 1912).

111. Edhem Eldem, “18. Yüzyıl ve Değişim,” *Cogito: Osmanlılar Özel Sayısı* 19 (1999); Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul*; Shirine Hamadeh, “Public Spaces and the Garden Culture of Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century,” in *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, ed. Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 277–313.

112. Fernand Braudel, *The Structure of Everyday Life, Civilization and Capitalism, Fifteenth Century to Eighteenth Century*, vol. 1 (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), 509–27. Braudel made a distinction between European cities that enjoyed civic rights and freedom and Islamic cities like Istanbul that were under the control of their princes and rulers.

113. For a comparative study of Paris and Edo, see James L. McClain, John M. Merri-

man, and Ugawa Kaoru, *Edo and Paris, Urban Life and State in the Early Modern Era* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994).

CHAPTER 2

1. Fariba Zarinebaf, "From *Mahalle* (Neighborhood) to the Market and the Courts: Women, Credit and Property in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul," in *Across the Religious Divide: Women, Property, and Law in the Wider Mediterranean (ca. 1300–1800)*, eds. Jutta G. Sperling and Shona K. Wray (New York: Routledge, 2010), 225–37.

2. See Suraiya Faroqhi's discussion of the attraction of Istanbul for migrants from the Black Sea region, the Balkans, and Anatolia in "Migration into Eighteenth-Century 'greater Istanbul' as Reflected in the Kadi Registers of Eyüp," *Turcica* 30 (1998): 163–83.

3. Inalcik, *Economic and Social History*, 25–43; Hüseyin Arslan, *16. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Toplumunda Yönetim, Nüfus, Göç ve Sürgün* (Istanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2001), 202. See also Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts, and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 267–87; see map 20 on 277, which shows the directions of migration out of Anatolia and popular destinations like Bursa, Kayseri, Ankara, Edirne, Varna, and Salonika (for the Jews) and Manastir and Istanbul (for everyone).

4. The city had never fully recovered from the Latin conquest of 1204. According to some sources, the population of Istanbul had dropped to 50,000 prior to the Ottoman conquest of 1453. See Ayla Ödekan, "Constantinople, The Queen City," in *Dünya Kenti İstanbul [Istanbul, World City]*, ed. Afife Batur (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1996), 128.

5. Inalcik, "Ottoman Galata," 363–64.

6. Münir Aktepe, "XVII. Asıra Ait İstanbul Avarız Defteri," *İstanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi* 3 (1957): 109–39; Aktepe, "İstanbul Nüfus Mes'alesine dair Bazı Vesikalar," *Tarih Dergisi* 13 (1958): 1–30; Stanford J. Shaw, "The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831–1914," *IJMES* 9 (1978), 325–338; Kemal H. Karpat, "Ottoman Population Records and the Census of 1881/2–1893," *IJMES* 9 (1978): 234–74; Karpat, "Population Movements in the Ottoman State in the Nineteenth Century: An Outline," in *Contributions à l'histoire économique et sociale de l'empire Ottoman*, ed. Bacqué-Grammont and Dumont, 385–428 (Leuven: Peeters, 1983); Cem Behar, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun ve Türkiyenin Nüfusu, 1500–1927* [The Population of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey] (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1996); Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman İstanbul*.

7. Mantran, *Histoire d'Istanbul*, 227.

8. Inalcik, "Ottoman Galata," 302–12.

9. *Ibid.*, 363.

10. *Ibid.*, 356–57; Inalcik, "İstanbul," in *EI*, 4:238–39.

11. Inalcik, "Ottoman Galata," 305–6.

12. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'Empire Ottoman aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles," *JESHO* 1 (1957): 20–28.

13. Barkan's figures must be used with great caution since no complete surveys were available for that period. Barkan, "Research," 168; Inalcik, "İstanbul," in *EI*, 4:243.

14. Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam, Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, vol. 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 560.
15. Stefanos Yerasimos, "La communauté juive d'Istanbul à la fin du XVI siècle," *Turcica* 27 (1995): 101–30; Mark Alan Epstein, *The Ottoman Jewish Communities and Their Role in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Freiburg: K. Schwarz, 1980), 178–88.
16. On chain migration, see Behar, *Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul*.
17. Inalcik, "Ottoman Galata," 302–12.
18. Inalcik, "Istanbul," *EI*, 4:240. On the settlement of the Jewish community in Istanbul, see Uriel Heyd, "The Jewish Community of Istanbul in the Seventeenth Century," *Oriens* 6, no. 2 (1935): 299–314; Minna Rozen, *History of the Jewish Community of Istanbul: The Formative Years, 1453–1566* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002). Heyd consulted five poll tax registers for the Jewish community in 1603, 1623, 1638–40, 1688–89, and 1691–92.
19. Rozen, *History of the Jewish Community*, 336–37. At the end of the seventeenth century, 31 percent of the Jews who resided in "greater Istanbul" lived in Balat, 21 percent in Galata, 12.2 percent in Ortaköy, 11 percent in Hasköy, 6.9 percent in Cibali, 3 percent in Tekfur Sarayı, 2.7 percent in Beşiktaş, 2.5 percent in Kuruçesme, and fewer than 2 percent in Kuzguncuk.
20. *Ibid.*, 339.
21. MM 14932, BBA.
22. *Ibid.*
23. MM 3661, BBA.
24. Dallaway, *Constantinople, Ancient and Modern*, 16.
25. Inciciyan, *XVIII Asırda İstanbul* (Istanbul: İstanbul Fethi Derneği, 1956), 13–14; Avram Galante, *Histoire des juifs de Turquie* (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 1944), 1:189–90.
26. Cevdet Muallim 1, BBA. See also Rhoads Murphey, "Communal Living in Ottoman Istanbul," *Journal of Urban History* 16 (1990): 115–31; Faroqhi, "Migration."
27. Murphey, "Communal Living." According to the census of 1883, the population of greater Istanbul was 872,482 and comprised 384,910 Muslims, 152,741 Greek Orthodox, 149,590 Armenians, 44,361 Jews, 6,442 Catholics, 819 Protestants, and 1,082 Latins as well as 129,243 foreigners. The Muslim population of Galata was only between one-fifth and one-fourth of the total. Cevdet Muallim 3:113, 121. See Stanford Shaw, "The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century," *IJMES* 10 (1979): 267–77.
28. Mantran, *Histoire d'Istanbul*, 254; Faroqhi, "Migration;" Nina Ergin, "Onyedinci ve Onsekizinci Yüzyıllarda İstanbul Hamamlarında Çalışanlar Kimlerdi? Hamam İşletmeciliği, Zincirleme Göçmenlik ve Kimlik" (unpublished paper presented at First Economic History of Turkey Conference, Marmara University, Istanbul, September 2007). See Aktepe, "XVIII. Asrın," 180. On Armenian migrants, see Inciciyan, *XVIII Asırda İstanbul*, 14–15.
29. For Davud Paşa, see Behar, *Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul*, 31–32. He argues that very little migration to Davud Paşa took place in the sixteenth century, in contrast with migration to Samatya, where many Armenians from Anatolia settled.
30. CZ 3385, BBA. This survey was carried out to identify the number of married, single, and migrant residents and their guarantors.
31. For Cyprus, see C. Ronald Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and*

the Mediterranean World, 1571–1640 (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 108–12; for Aleppo, see Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 86–101.

32. David Nicolle and Christa Hook, *The Janissaries* (London: Osprey, 1995), 10–11. According to Nicolle, the first recorded recruitment took place in 1512.

33. Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300–1600* (London: Phoenix, 2000), 83.

34. Nicolle and Hook, *Janissaries*, 16–19.

35. Thomas Smith, *Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks, Together with a Survey of Seven Churches of Asia* (London, 1678), 131.

36. Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 3: 51. The salary of a carpenter was 40 to 50 *akçe* a day in 1718. Refik, *Onikinci*, 70.

37. On the janissary-artisan connection in Cairo, see Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants*, 1:8–12.

38. Cevdet Muallim 1:7–8, BBA.

39. Cevdet Muallim 1:7, BBA.

40. Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 514; Freely, *Istanbul: The Imperial City*, 232.

41. Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 509–11.

42. Cevdet Muallim, 1: 7–8.

43. Cevdet Muallim 1:16. See also Behar, *Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul*, 95–103.

44. Cevdet Muallim, 1:21–24.

45. Cevdet Muallim, 1:2–5, 21–24.

46. Necdet Sakaoğlu, “Bekar Odaları,” in Dünden Bugüne, *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı: 1993), 2:124.

47. According to Behar, in 1885, 52 percent of the Muslim population of Istanbul had been born in the provinces. See Behar, *Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul*, 95–103.

48. Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 2, pt.1, 477.

49. On guilds in Florence during the early modern period, see Richard A. Goldwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 242–43.

50. Minna Rozen, “A Pound of Flesh: The Meat Trade and Social Struggle in Jewish Istanbul, 1700–1923,” in Faroqhi and Deguilhem, *Crafts and Craftsmen of the Middle East: Fashioning the Individual in the Muslim Mediterranean* (London: Tauris, 2005), 195–232.

51. See Suraiya Faroqhi, “Guildsmen and Handicraft Producers,” in Faroqhi, *Later Ottoman Empire*, 346–47. See also Suraiya Faroqhi, “Ottoman Guilds in the Eighteenth Century: The Bursa Case,” in *Making a Living in the Ottoman Lands, 1480 to 1820*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi, 93–112 (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1995).

52. Said Öztürk, *Askeri Kassama ait Onyedinci Asır Istanbul Tereke Defterleri* (Istanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1995), 335–45.

53. Suraiya Faroqhi, *Artisans of Empire: Crafts and Craftspeople under the Ottomans* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009), 74–75; 108–16. Yi, *Guild Dynamics*, 112–13.

54. Abdul-Karim Rafeq, “Craft Organization, Work Ethics, and the Strains of Change in Ottoman Syria,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111 (1991): 495–511; Cohen, *Guilds*

of Jerusalem, 22–23; Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, “The Role of Ottoman Women in the Urban Economy of Istanbul, 1700–1845,” *International Labor and Working Class History* 60 (Fall 2001): 141–52. Rafeq points out that while some guilds were closed to outsiders in Damascus, others in the service sector, such as the guild of messengers, were exclusively reserved for aliens.

55. Faroqhi disagrees with Gabriel Baer’s thesis on guilds being the instruments of state control. See Gabriel Baer, “Guilds in Middle Eastern History,” in Cook, *Studies*, 11–30; See Faroqhi, *Artisans of Empire*; Engin Akarlı, “Gedik: Implements, Mastership, Shop Usufruct and Monopoly among Istanbul Artisans, 1750–1850,” *Wissenschaftskolleg-Jahrbuch* (1986): 223–31; Yi, *Guild Dynamics*; Amnon Cohen, *The Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2004); Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants*. On the *gedik* system making property inalienable within the guild, see Faroqhi, “Guildsmen and Handicraft Producers,” 354; Faroqhi and Deguilhem, *Crafts and Craftsmen*.

56. For similar policies in Paris, see Steven L. Kaplan, “Provisioning Paris: The Crisis of 1738–1741,” in *Edo and Paris: Urban Life and the State in the Early Modern Era*, ed. James L. McClain, John M. Merriman, and Ugawa Kaoru (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 175–211. The provisioning of grain and the distribution of flour to bakeries and the regulating of foodstuff commerce were the most important tasks for the police in Paris. Because of a major famine, beginning in 1739, the state imposed a limit on the price of bread. A pound of white bread sold for two to four *sous* while in Istanbul it sold for one *akçe* per loaf.

57. Refik, *Onikinci*, 40–41. In Jerusalem butchers were similarly confined to certain areas, and the kadi enforced the price ceiling for meat, especially during the month of Ramadan. See Cohen, *Guilds of Jerusalem*, 18–19.

58. Ahmet Kal’a, *Istanbul Ahkam Defterleri*, vol. 1, *Istanbul Esnaf Tarihi* (Istanbul: Istanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1997), 140–41.

59. Kal’a, *Istanbul Esnaf Tarihi*, 1:146.

60. On guilds’ resistance to nonguild producers and vendors, see Zarinebaf-Shahr, “Role of Ottoman Women”; Faroqhi and Deguilhem, *Crafts and Craftsmen*, 14.

61. Kal’a, *Istanbul Esnaf Tarihi*, 1:335–36.

62. *Ibid.*, 149–50.

63. Yi, *Guild Dynamics*, 113–65; Salih Aynural, “The Millers and Bakers of Istanbul (1750–1840),” in Faroqhi and Deguilhem, *Crafts and Craftsmen*, 153–57; Behar, *Neighborhoods in Ottoman Istanbul*, 113–29.

64. Refik, *Onikinci*, 34.

65. Kal’a, *Istanbul Esnaf Tarihi*, 1:143. We also learn from this petition that in Istanbul bakers received 6 *akçe* for every 100 *akçe* of bread that they baked.

66. See Zarinebaf-Shahr, “Role of Ottoman Women”; Faroqhi, “Guildsmen and Handicraft Producers,” 344.

67. BBA, *Istanbul Ahkam Defterleri*, 8:47–48.

68. CB 7597, BBA. Among these, twenty-eight were blind, ten were disabled, and twenty-five were elderly. There were children and women among them. Some begged as a family. See also Zeki Tekin, “Beggars the Ottoman Empire,” in *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilization*, vol. 2, *Economy and Society*, ed. Kemal Çiçek et al. (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2000), 754.

69. We need to be cautious in dealing with Evliya's numbers. Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 484.

70. *Ibid.*

71. Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 215. Amnon Cohen has found a guild of beggars in Jerusalem; see Amnon Cohen, *The Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001), 186.

72. See Jacques Le Goff, ed., *The Medieval World* (London: Collins and Brown, 1990), 25; Braudel, *Mediterranean*, 1:334–38 and 2:734–43. Many rural migrants and outcasts joined organized bands of vagabonds, thieves, marauders, and murderers in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Europe. In Venice in March 1545, six thousand vagabonds, most of them from nearby Piedmont, descended on the city with their families and children. Many were expelled to their native villages. In Spain and Italy, vagrants presented a big problem to the authorities since many were part of the urban underworld.

73. Braudel, *Mediterranean*, 2:734–39; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working-Class* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1980); Robert M. Schwartz, *Policing the Poor in Eighteenth-Century France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Rudé, *Europe*, 54–68; Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe, 1500–1800* (New York: Vintage Books, 1998); Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1973–74), 1:81–106. In France and England, the majority of poor artisans did not belong to guilds and thus did not enjoy the protection of their employers, the municipality, or the state. Most women who were admitted to hospitals and could identify a job were domestic servants, spinners, seamstresses, and prostitutes. See Schwartz, *Policing the Poor*, 113.

74. Marcus, *Middle East*, 66. They included many rural migrants as well as urban residents and ranged from poor artisans to peddlers, laborers, prostitutes, thieves, and beggars.

75. For state policies against vagabonds in Europe, see Braudel, *Mediterranean*, 2:739–43. Vagrancy acts in England confined beggars to houses of correction for a minimum of six days to a maximum of seven years, but the majority were sent to their home parishes. For France, see Schwartz, *Policing the Poor*, 168. On Ottoman poor relief, see Nina Ergin, Christoph K. Neumann, and Amy Singer, eds., *Feeding People, Feeding Power: Imarets in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul: Eren, 2007).

76. Baş Muhasebe Kalemi (hereafter cited as D.BŞM-IGE) 14/3, BBA. They were sent to Iznikmit, Izmir, Varna, Sinop, Rodoscuk, and Trabzon.

77. Refik, *Onikinci*, 194–95.

78. D.BŞM-IGE 20/70, BBA.

79. CZ 245, BBA.

80. CZ 682, BBA.

81. CZ 245, BBA.

82. D.BŞM-IGE 24/63, BBA.

83. D.BŞM-IGE 24, BBA. In another petition in 1758, Derviş Yusuf asked for assistance to return to Varna with his son, and the state provided ten *kuruş* from customs for his travel expenses. D.BŞM-IGE 14/29.

84. Şikayet Defteri (hereafter cited as ŞD) 85:99, BBA.

85. Cevdet Maliye (hereafter cited as CM) 6147, BBA.
86. See Refik, *Onikinci*; and Ka'fa, *Istanbul Ahkam Defterleri: İstanbul'da Sosyal Hayat*, vols. 1–2.
87. Cevdet Muallim 1; CZ 3385; CZ 245; CZ 682; KK 6290, BBA. Aktepe, “XVIII. Asrın,” 1–30; Orhan Erinc, “250 Yıl Önce İstanbul'da Gecekondu Kacak İnşaat Sahil Yağması Sorunları ve Çareleri,” *Belgelerde Türk Tarih Dergisi* 10 (1968): 54–58.
88. Refik, *Onuncu*, 139–40.
89. Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 2:120–21, 5:175–75. See also Aktepe, “XVIII. Asrın.”
90. Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 5:315–16.
91. Aktepe, “XVIII Asrın,” 4–7. The text of the September 1721 imperial order is at 4–5.
92. *Ibid.*, 10.
93. Cevdet Muallim 1, BBA. For a similar survey conducted in the nineteenth century, see Cengiz Kırılı, “A Profile the Labor Force in Early Nineteenth-Century Istanbul,” *International Labor and Working-Class History* 60 (Fall 2001): 125–40.
94. Cevdet Muallim 1:25, BBA. For similar surveys during the reign of Selim III, see Betül Başaran, “Remaking the Gate of Felicity: Policing, Social Control, and Migration in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century, 1789–1793” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2006).

CHAPTER 3

1. This must be Haşimzade al-Seyyid Murtiza Agha, the head of *sekbans* (irregulars) who helped the government put down the rebellion. He was killed by the rebels.
2. This was probably the grand vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha (1676–83), a Köprülü son-in-law who had led the second siege of Vienna and had failed to conquer the city.
3. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borgo Turco, vol. 39, fols. 96–100. See my translation of the full text of this ballad in the appendix. I would like to express my thanks to Ariel Salzmann for making this very valuable document available to me.
4. For an account of the 1703 rebellion, see Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion*; Mehmet Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid* (Istanbul, 1865), 3:16–55.
5. Mustafa Naima, *Tarih-i Naima* (Istanbul, 1863–66), 6:2–54; Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 3: 18.
6. Naima, *Tarih*, 6:18.
7. Tension between janissaries and irregular forces had been growing since the seventeenth century because the latter had not undergone the same training and promotion that the janissaries had. The irregulars were used by the government as a check and alternative force to the increasingly mutinous janissaries.
8. A. Özcan, ed. *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi (1099–1116/1688–1704)* (Ankara: TTK, 2000), 228–20. The anonymous history puts the number of rebels at between 5,000 and 10,000 and praises the level of honesty, uprightness, and justice among them initially. There were no drunkards on the streets of Istanbul, and crime had come to a standstill. But the author states that soon the rebels committed much violence and many atrocities. Raşid makes a reference to the participation of the artisans at the end of his account as if they had joined the rebels to conduct business in At Meydani. Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 3:35. Naima emphasizes the role of the janissaries and marginal elements. Naima, *Tarih*, 6:18.

9. Özcan, ed. *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*, 229.
10. Naima, *Tarih*, 6:19. Madeline C. Zilfi, "The Ottoman Ulema," in *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1838*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi, vol. 3 of *The Cambridge History of Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 221–25.
11. Naima, *Tarih*, 6:19.
12. In his autobiography Feyzullah Efendi claims descent from Şems-i Tabrizi, Mevlana Celal ad-Din Rumi's Sufi master. He belonged to the *halveti* order of dervishes, which were prominent among the ruling class. Suraiya Faroqhi, "An Ulema Grandee and His Household," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 9 (1989): 202.
13. Naima, *Tarih*, 6:3–17. See his order to the kadi and müfti of Hudavandigar regarding the curriculum in *medrese* in Özcan, *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*, 165–66.
14. Halil Inalcik, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 96–97.
15. Naima, *Tarih*, 6:3–17; Faroqhi, "An Ulema Grandee," 201–08. For a biography of Feyzullah Efendi, see Turek and Derin, "Feyzullah Efendi'nin Kendi Kaleminden Hal Tercümesi" *Tarih Dergisi* 23 (1969): 205–18, 24 (1970): 69–93. See Michael Rizvi, "The Kapı in Ottoman Society: The Household of Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi, 1695–1703" (PhD diss., Tel Aviv University, 2007). See also Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire* (London: John Murray, 2005), 330–33.
16. Naima, *Tarih*, 6:15–17.
17. Madeline Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Period (1600–1800)* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988).
18. Lewis V. Thomas, *A Study of Naima*, ed. Norman Itzkowitz (New York: New York University Press, 1972); Yilmaz Kurt, *Koçibey Risalesi* (Ankara: Alçağ, 1998); Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, "The Ottoman Vezir and Paşa Households, 1683–1703: A Preliminary Report," *Journal of Asian and Oriental Studies* 94 (1974): 438–47.
19. Naima, *Tarih*, 6:2–54; Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 3:11–13; Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion*; Faroqhi, "An Ulema Grandee," 202.
20. Naima, *Tarih*, 6: 21–22.
21. According to *Anonim Tarihi*, the grand vizier, Rami Mehmed Pasha, was unable to convince the sultan to dismiss Feyzullah Efendi, but the queen mother, Rabi'a Gülnüş Sultan, was far more successful in convincing him not to destroy the dynasty for the sake of a müfti. See the text of the imperial order in Özcan, *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*, 232–34.
22. According to Raşid, in Istanbul and Edirne, the rebels were drawn from 10,000 janissaries, 4400 sipahis, 1,100 low-ranking janissaries, 4,000 armorers, 900 gunners, and 900 *seyyids* (descendants of the Prophet) who received 10 *akçe* per day from the customs of Istanbul. There were also more than one thousand seminary students, artisans, and traders. Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 3:51.
23. Abou-El-Haj, *1703 Rebellion*, 93.
24. Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 331–32.
25. Naima, *Tarih*, 6:25–30.
26. Naima, *Tarih*, 6:25–26.
27. Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Tabriz under Ottoman Rule, 1725–1730" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1991).

28. Robert W. Olson, *The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations, 1718–1743* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975), 67–69; Madeline C. Zilfi, *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 4–6.

29. For archival records, see BBA, Mühimme Defteri (hereafter cited as MD) 136: 311–12, and MD 138:21, 45, 68. See also Şem‘dânizâde Süleyman (Fındıklılı), *Mür‘î’t-Tevârih*, ed. Münir Aktepe, 3 vols. (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1976–81), 1:1–7; Aktepe, *Patrona Isyanı*, 129–40; Robert W. Olson, “The Esnaf and Patrona Halil Rebellion of 1730: A Realignment in Ottoman Politics,” *Journal of Social and Economic History of the Orient* (hereafter cited as *JESHO*) 17 (1974): 329–44; Olson, *The Siege of Mosul*.

30. Olson, *Siege of Mosul*, 77. According to Olson, important segments of the ulema favored rebellion out of personal animosity toward the grand vizier and in hope of achieving personal gains once he was removed. Olson states that initially Şeyhülislam Abdullah Efendi had joined the rebels. But he must have changed his mind since the rebels looted his house and executed him.

31. Şem‘dânizâde, *Mür‘î’t-Tevârih*, 1:9–10. The author was the son of a merchant from Tokat who had been an eyewitness to the rebellion and had tried to prevent the looting of shops and the customhouse.

32. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4, pt. 1 (Ankara: TTK, 2003), 204–5.

33. John Montagu, fourth Earl of Sandwich, *A Voyage Performed by the Late Earl of Sandwich Round the Mediterranean in the Years 1738 and 1739* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1799), 244. The Earl of Sandwich (1718–92) provided a detailed account of the rebellion that he must have obtained during his stay in Istanbul less than a decade later. He was the British delegate to the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), later secretary of state, and still later first Lord of the Admiralty and was the first cousin twice removed of Edward Wortley Montagu (d. 1761), who was married to Lady Mary Pierrepont (Montagu), daughter of the first Duke of Kingston. For his biography, see N. A. M. Rodger, *The Insatiable Earl: A Life of John Montagu, Fourth Earl of Sandwich, 1718–92* (New York: Norton, 1994). For a French account of the rebellion, see Albert Vandal, *Une ambassade Française en Orient sous Louis XV: La mission de Marquis de Villeneuve (1728–1741)* (Paris: E Plon, 1887), 147–81.

34. Olson, *Siege of Mosul*, 74–75; Aktepe, *Patrona Isyanı*, 126–29.

35. Aktepe, *Patrona Isyanı*, 128; Sandwich, *Voyage Performed*, 235.

36. Ahmet Refik, *Onikinci*, 110–12.

37. A. H. De Groot, “Patrona Khalil,” in *EI*, 187–88; Sandwich, *Voyage Performed*, 232–34; Aktepe, *Patrona Isyanı*, 129–40; Olson, *Siege of Mosul*, 75–79.

38. Aktepe, *Patrona Isyanı*, 134. Aktepe has a list of other rebels based on Muhimme registers. Most of them were petty traders, artisans, peddlers, former janissaries, and unemployed men. They were all Muslim. See also Münir Aktepe, “1721–1728 İzmir İsyanına Dair Bazı Vesikalat,” *Tarih Dergisi* 11–12 (1955): 71–98.

39. MD 138: 28, BBA.

40. Cevdet Dahiliye 102/5071, BBA.

41. Vandal, *Une ambassade Française*, 54.

42. Şem‘dânizâde, *Mür‘î’t-Tevârih*, 1:9; Sandwich, *Voyage Performed*, 225–84; Aktepe, *Patrona Isyanı*, 129–40. The Earl of Sandwich has the longest and most detailed account of this uprising; it must have followed in part that of Villeneuve, the French envoy who had

been an eyewitness to these events and an active player. The contemporary accounts by Abdi and Şem'dânizâde lack detail and are more partisan. Faik R. Unat, *1730 Patrona İhtilali Hakkında Bir Eser: Abdi Tarihi* (Ankara: TTK, 1943)

43. Sandwich, *Voyage Performed*, 9. Istanbul mobs had attacked the mansion of the grand vizier, Abaza Siyavuş Pasha, and had seized his harem of ninety-two women in 1688. Madeline Zilfi, "Muslim Women in the Early Modern Era," in *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi, vol. 3 of *The Cambridge History of Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 253–54.

44. Edhem Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999), 233, 241.

45. Sandwich, *Voyage Performed*, 259; Vandal, *Une ambassade Française*, 153–59. According to Villeneuve, the rebels ordered the Christians to stay home and did not touch the bodies and properties of Christians and subjects of France.

46. Sandwich, *Voyage Performed*, 270–71. According to the Earl of Sandwich, Patrona Halil imposed taxes on the people and attacked and looted the houses of those who did not pay. Vandal, *Une ambassade Française*, 152–53. On the looting of houses and shops, see also the imperial order in Refik, *Onikinci*, 110–12.

47. For a list of his personal goods that were auctioned off, see MM 4973, BBA. For the expenditure of his household in 1726, see MM 14470 and Cevdet Dahiliye 133, 186, BBA. Authorities confiscated several chests of gold coins and twelve thousand purses (*kese*) of silver *aķçe* from Ibrahim Pasha's household.

48. Şem'dânizâde, *Mür'it-Tevârih*, 1:10–11; Vandal, *Une ambassade française*, 154–55.

49. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 4:210.

50. Şem'dânizâde, *Mür'it-Tevârih*, 1:11.

51. However, Yanaki never became the *voyvoda* of Moldavia, even after he had paid Patrona Halil a sum of money. Mary L. Shay, *The Ottoman Empire from 1720 to 1734, as Revealed in Dispatches of the Venetian Baili* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), 157.

52. Olson, *Siege of Mosul*, 79.

53. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 214. Some of these palaces were rebuilt by Mahmud I. Villeneuve puts the number of destroyed and burned mansions at two hundred. Vandal, *Une ambassade française*, 158.

54. Villeneuve emphasized the role of Canım Hoca, the former powerful *kapudan* pasha who had returned to Istanbul from Tunisia during the events and had helped the palace defeat the rebels. The French ambassador approached him after the rebellion for the renewal of the commercial treaty with France. Vandal, *Une ambassade française*, 160–65, 158–59.

55. Sandwich, *Voyage Performed*, 281–83. According to the Earl of Sandwich, Zülali Efendi was banished to the island of Limnos and put to death there. İspirizade and his family died of the plague.

56. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 4:217.

57. Aktepe, *Patrona İsyanı*, 162. Vandal, *Une ambassade française*, 163–64.

58. The Earl of Sandwich puts the number of those executed throughout the empire at twenty thousand. However, we must take this figure with great caution.

59. R. P. Guillaume Jehannot, *Voyage de Constantinople pour le rachat des captifs de 1732* (Paris, n.d.), 104–7. He counted 30,000 rebels who had been killed and thrown into the

Bosphorus. The author's mission was to gain the freedom of one hundred French captives taken by Moroccan corsairs. The grievances of the rebels in March 1731 were the failure of the government to pay the janissaries and the high prices of foodstuffs.

60. *Ibid.*, 208.

61. *Ibid.*, 211.

62. Olson, *Siege of Mosul*, 79–83.

63. *Ibid.*, 214. Shay, *Ottoman Empire*, 32.

64. MD 138:68, BBA; Shay, *Ottoman Empire*, 32–33. According to the Venetian *bailo*, Emo, the government of Mahmud I ordered the killing of as many as ten thousand people in Istanbul and its vicinity from March to August 1731. Also, Topal Osman Pasha placed a curfew on European embassies. There was another rebellion in 1740 that was very similar to the 1730 and 1731 rebellions. See Robert W. Olson, "Jews, Janissaries, Esnaf and the Revolt of 1740 in Istanbul," *JESHO* 20 (1978): 185–207.

65. Cevdet Maliye 21775, BBA.

66. MD 136:311–12, BBA.

67. See the imperial order in Refik, *Onikinci*, 110–12. The order also makes reference to a *fetva* to punish the rebels according to the shari'a and *kanun*. MD 138:21, BBA.

68. MD 138:45, BBA.

69. MD 138:68, BBA.

70. CZ 404, BBA.

71. Refik, *Onikinci*, 121–22.

72. Olson, *Siege of Mosul*, 70–71.

73. For an example of an eighteenth-century tax register for the Morea, see Fariba Zarinebaf, John Bennet, and Jack L. Davis, *A Historical and Economic Geography of Ottoman Greece: The Southwestern Morea in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2005), 49–110.

74. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "The Price Revolution of the Sixteenth Century: A Turning Point in the Economic History of the Near East," *IJMES* 6 (1975), tables 1–3, 14–19.

75. Halil Inalcik, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 179–87; Şevket Pamuk, *500 Years of Prices and Wages in Istanbul and Other Cities* (Ankara: State Institute of Statistics, 2000).

76. See Ahmet Tabakoğlu, *Gerileme Dönemine Girerken Osmanlı Maliyesi* (Istanbul: Derghay Yayınları, 1985); Yavuz Cezar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi: XVIII Yüzyıldan Tanzimat'a Mali Tarih* (Istanbul: Alan, 1986).

77. Aktepe, *Patrona Isyanı*, 9–40.

78. Halil Sahillioğlu, "Siviş Year Crises in the Ottoman Empire," in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East, from the Rise of Islam to the Present*, ed. M. A. Cook (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 230–31.

79. Ariel Salzmann, *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire: Rival Paths to the Modern State*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2004), 86. Pamuk also believes that the government was able to balance the budget during this period and that the situation became worse during the wars against Russia in 1784. Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 161–64.

80. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "1070–1071 (1660–61) Tarihli Osmanlı Butçesi ve Bir Mukayese,"

Istanbul Üniversitesi Fakültesi Mecmuası 17 (1955–56): 304–47; Pamuk, *Monetary History*, 133. See Mehmet Genç and Erol Özvar, *Osmanlı Maliyesi Kurumlar ve Bütçeler*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2006).

81. Tabakoğlu, *Gerileme Dönemine*, 112, 185–88. These figures exclude local recruits, part-time soldiers, and *timar*-holding infantry. The total size of the Ottoman army reached 293,000 in 1702–3; Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 5:276. The daily salary of janissaries remained much the same (8 to 12 *akçe* per day) and with inflation and debasement of currency lost its purchasing power. A loaf of bread cost two *akçe* in Istanbul in the eighteenth century.

82. Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 3: 51. Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300–1600* (London: Phoenix, 2000), 83.

83. Tabakoğlu, *Gerileme Dönemine*, 75–77. Tabakoğlu's figures are based on state income and expenditures in cash. They do not represent the value of *timar* assignments allotted to the infantry troops. According to Tabakoğlu, there were years between those when the budget was balanced; these even showed an increase (1706–10, 1712–15, 1720–23). But these increases were due to temporary measures like the confiscation of property of high officials.

84. Mantran, *Histoire d'Istanbul*, 249. For the financial troubles of the second half of the seventeenth century and the Celali uprising in Anatolia and janissary rebellions in Istanbul in 1650–51, see Robert Dankoff, *The Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman: Melek Ahmed Pasha (1588–1662)* (New York: SUNY Press, 1991), 77–92.

85. Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 5:276, 310–21, 330–37.

86. Olson, *Siege of Mosul*, 65–67.

87. Pamuk, *Monetary History*, 151–60.

88. Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 6:374.

89. Linda Darling, "Public Finances: The Role of the Ottoman Center," in Faroqhi, *Later Ottoman Empire*, 124–25.

90. *Ibid.*, 125.

91. Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi* (Istanbul: Ötüken, 2005), 172–85.

92. For the text of the imperial order for the *malikane* tax farms in Damascus, Aleppo, Diyarbakir, Mardin, Adana, Malatya, Aintab, and Tokat, see Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 2:288–89. For the imperial order to retract the lifetime tax farms in 1715, see Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 4:176–77. The reasons stated by Raşid are the loss of state revenue and the oppression of the *reaya*. See Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet*, 99–152; Ariel Salzmann, "An *Ancien Régime* Revisited: Privatization and Political Economy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," *Politics and Society* 21(1993): 393–423.

93. Salzmann, *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire*, 98–100.

94. Zarinebaf et al., *Historical and Economic Geography*, 45–46.

95. For a list of official prices and wages for 1640, see Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri* (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1983). According to the author, there was a considerable difference between official and real prices listed in the estates of the deceased and between the prices in Istanbul and those in other cities.

96. Barkan used the price index of foodstuffs from the endowment records of soup kitchens in Istanbul, Edirne, and Bursa to examine the inflationary trend from 1490 to 1655.

See Barkan, "Price Revolution," graph 1 (p.15). According to Kütükoğlu, from 1600 to 1640 the official prices varied between a 33.3 percent increase for bread and a 22.2 percent decrease for chicken. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi*, 48–51.

97. Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Paranın Tarihi* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1999), 259.

98. Süleyman Özmucur and Şevket Pamuk, "Real Wages and Standards of Living in the Ottoman Empire, 1489–1914," *Journal of Economic History* 62 (June 2000), 300. Pamuk also believes that the impact of the price revolution was the same everywhere.

99. *Ibid.*, graphs 1 and 2, 260. The authors believe that there was a direct relationship between the silver content of Ottoman coins and the inflation.

100. Pamuk, *Monetary History*, 112–30; Pamuk, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Paranın Tarihi*, 244; Özmucur and Pamuk, "Real Wages," 300.

101. Pamuk, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Paranın Tarihi*, 235–37.

102. Özmucur and Pamuk, "Real Wages," 313. This trend followed the one in Seville and Madrid. The gap between real wages in Istanbul and those in northwestern European cities (London, Paris, Antwerp) widened after 1800.

103. Özmucur and Pamuk, "Real Wages," 305–7. The authors base their data on the daily wages of skilled and unskilled construction workers in Istanbul. They contend that construction workers maintained a standard of living well above the average for residents of urban areas from 1490 to 1914.

104. Yavuz Cezar, "18. Yüzyılda Eyüp'te Para ve Kredi Konuları Üzerine Gözlemler," in *18. Yüzyıl Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Eyüp'te Sosyal Yaşam*, ed. Artan Tülay (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), 15–32.

105. Many women were defaulting on the payment of their debts and losing their surety. Fariba Zarinebaf, "From *Mahalle* (Neighborhood) to the Market and the Courts: Women, Credit and Property in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul," in *Across the Religious Divide: Women, Property, and Law in the Wider Mediterranean (ca. 1300–1800)*, eds. Jutta G. Sperl and Shona K. Wray (New York: Routledge, 2009), 225–28.

106. Dallaway, *Constantinople, Ancient and Modern*, 91.

107. See Thomas Smith, *Religion and Government of the Turks, together with a Survey of Seven Churches of Asia* (London, 1678), 125–36.

108. Cemal Kafadar, "On the Purity and Corruption of the Janissaries," *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 15 (1991), 274. European travelers as well as Ottoman bureaucrats and reformers like Naima created this ideal prototype as part of the Ottoman classical institutions of the Golden Age.

109. Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, "The Ottoman Vizier and Paşa Households, 1683–1703: A Preliminary Report," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94 (1974): 438–47; Jane Hathaway, *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt: The Rise of the Qazdağlıs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Jane Hathaway, *A Tale of Two Factions: Myth, Memory, and Identity in Ottoman Egypt and Yemen* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2003); Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

110. Abou-El-Haj, "Ottoman Vizier," 412–14. The military held 21.3 percent and those in the central bureaucracy held 12.5 percent of these positions in the administration.

111. Naima, *Tarih-i Naima*, 5:54–60; Marc David Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

112. Gabriel Piterberg, *An Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 9–29; Baki Tezcan “Searching for Osman: A Re-assessment of the Deposition of the Ottoman Sultan Osman II (1618–1622)” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2001); Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, 99–152.

113. Zarinebaf et al., *Historical and Economic Geography*, 34–35.

114. Kafadar, “On the Purity and Corruption”; James Grehan, “The Mysterious Power of Words: Language, Law and Culture in Ottoman Damascus (Seventeenth–Eighteenth Centuries),” *Journal of Social History* 34, no. 5 (2004): 996–99.

115. Piterberg, *Ottoman Tragedy*, 71–90.

116. *Ibid.*, 164–65.

117. Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 201.

118. E. J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), 109. See the account of the “Great Revolt” in London by Barbara A. Hanawalt, “Rebel Leader Confronts King at Smithfield in 1381,” in *I Wish I’d Been There*, bk. 2, eds. Byron Hollinshead and Theodore K. Rabb (New York: Anchor Books, 2008), 80–92. This revolt was organized by peasants, artisans, laborers, and returning soldiers against wartime taxes (the Hundred Years’ War) and wage and price controls imposed by the government of Richard II. The rebels from Kent, Essex, and London selected a priest and a leader named Wat Tyler, broke into jails and freed prisoners, and burned the houses of members of the ruling class. They beheaded Archbishop Sudbury and others who had commissioned the special taxes and paraded their heads through the streets of London. They also took an oath of loyalty to the king and requested a meeting with him to express their grievances. Finally, Tyler was summoned to the king’s presence outside London; he demanded the distribution of land belonging to the nobility and church among commoners, an end to serfdom, and an end to special taxes. In response, the king had his guards attack and behead Tyler in front of his followers. The rebellion was suppressed immediately.

119. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels*, 116.

CHAPTER 4

1. Maliyeden Müdevver Defterleri (hereafter cited as MM with volume and page number following) 729:208, BBA. This report was prepared by the scribe of the Istanbul court.

2. These figures are based on a random sampling (30 percent) of MM volume 729 from September 1719 to December 1721.

3. Mehmed Arif, ed., *Kânünnâme-i Âl-i Osman*, Pt. 1 (Istanbul: Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası, 1908), 211; see also Colin Imber, *Ebu’-S-Su’ud: The Islamic Legal Tradition* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997).

4. Arif, *Kânünnâme-i Âl-i Osman*, 213.

5. D.BŞM-IGE folder 26, no. 46; D.BŞM-IGE folder 13, no. 102, BBA.

6. MM 729:113.

7. MM 729:17.

8. MM 729:32.
9. MM 729:21.
10. MM 729:153.
11. MM 729:252.
12. MM 729:16.
13. Necdet Sakaoğlu, "Ahmed III," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı, 1993), 1:111.
14. Eldem, *French Trade*, 233.
15. MM 729:242.
16. MM 729:247.
17. Sicill series 1, vol. 30:71b, İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi (hereafter cited as ISAM).
18. Cevdet Zaptiye (hereafter cited as CZ) folder 607, BBA.
19. MM 729:9.
20. MM 729:1.
21. MM 729:147.
22. Câbî, *Câbî Tarihi*, 1:650.
23. MM 729:23.
24. MM 729:20. The transfer of stolen goods was similarly part of the criminal subculture in England. In London the most notorious gang of thieves and pickpockets was led by Jonathan Wild, who supervised theft and the disposal of stolen goods from 1708 to 1725, when he was executed.
25. D.BŞM-IGE folder 14, no. 27, BBA.
26. MM 729:28.
27. Daniel Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman Empire, 1642–1660* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), 125–31.
28. G. R. Bosscha Erdbrink, *At the Treshold of Felicity: Ottoman-Dutch Relations During the Embassy of Cornelis Calkoen at the Sublime Porte, 1726–1744* (Ankara: TTK, 1975), 184–91. See also Boogert, *Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System*.
29. Şevket Pamuk, *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar ve Ucretler* (İstanbul: Ankara: State Institute of Statistics, 2000), 14–15.
30. *Ibid.*, 48–49.
31. MM 729:32. He was released from the galleys two years later in February 1722.
32. MM 729:9.
33. MM 729:242.
34. MM 729:20. He was released two months later.
35. MM 729:17.
36. Lynne M. Sasmazer, "Policing Bread Price and Production in Ottoman İstanbul, 1793–1807," *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 24, no. 1 (2000): 21–40. For policing bakers in Damascus, see James Grehan, *Everyday Life of Consumer Culture in Eighteenth-Century Damascus* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 72. On bread riots in Damascus in 1734, 1743, 1745, 1749, and 1757–58, see *ibid.*, 86–92.
37. One *dirhem* was 3.4 grams.
38. Sasmazer, "Policing Bread Price," 23.
39. See Ahmet Kal'a, *İstanbul Esnaf Tarihi*, 1:44–45.

40. MM 729:14.
41. MM 729:337.
42. Sicill series 1, vol. 30:70b. See also Ahmed Kal'a, *Istanbul Ahkam Defterleri: Istanbul Esnaf Tarihi*, 1:20, 31.
43. Sicill series 1, vol. 30:72a.
44. Sasmazer, "Policing Bread Price," 37–38. See also Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire Under Selim III, 1789–1807* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 176–77.
45. Câbi, *Câbi Târihi*, 1:599.
46. Michael Weisser, *Crime and Punishment in Early Modern Europe* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1979), 120–22. According to Weisser, 85 percent of prosecuted crimes in Paris from 1750 to 1789 had to do with theft, and one-third of all thefts were from retail shops. City theft involved the stealing of goods of great value like clothing, linen, silver, and other luxury items.
47. MM 729:252.
48. MM 729:20.
49. MM 729:21.
50. Imber, *Ebu'S-Su'ud*, 213–28.
51. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 73, 77.
52. *Ibid.*, 304.
53. Weisser, *Crime and Punishment*, 107–15, 121.
54. *Ibid.*, 122.
55. *Ibid.*, 122–24.
56. Steven L. Kaplan, "Provisioning Paris: The Crisis of 1738–1741," in *Edo and Paris: Urban Life and the State in the Early Modern Era*, ed. James L. McClain, John M. Merriman, and Ugawa Kaoru, 175–211 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994).

CHAPTER 5

1. We lack similar records for other cities in the eighteenth century. Police records for cities like Cairo become available in the nineteenth century; these are discussed in Khaled Fahmy, "Prostitution in Egypt in the Nineteenth Century," in *Outside In: On the Margins of the Modern Middle East*, ed. Eugene Rogan (London: I. B. Tauris, 2002), 77–104. For the rest of the empire, historians usually rely on Islamic court records. For Aintab, see Leslie Peirce, "Fatma's Dilemma: Sexual Crime and Legal Culture in an Early Modern Ottoman Court," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 53, no. 2 (1998): 291–346; Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). For Damascus, see Abdulkерim Rafeq, "Public Morality in Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Damascus," *Revue du Monde Musulman et Méditerranée* 55–56 (1990), 180–96. For a recent study of prostitution in Aleppo, see Elyse Semerdjian, *Off the Straight Path: Illicit Sex, Law and Community in Ottoman Aleppo (Gender, Culture and Politics in the Ottoman World)* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008).
2. Şem'dânizâde, *Mür'i't-Tevârih*, 1:36.

3. Anonymous, *XVIII. YY İstanbul'a dair Risale-i Garibe*, ed. Hayat Develi (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 1998).
4. *Ibid.*, 22–28.
5. Rafeq, “Public Morality,” 190.
6. Kemal Silay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 82–85.
7. Jan Schmidt, “Sünbülzâde Vehbî’s Şevk-engîz: An Ottoman Pornographic Poem,” *Turcica* 25 (1993), 9–37.
8. Halil Nihad, *Nedim Divanı* (Istanbul, 1338–40/1920–21); Victoria Rowe Holbrook, *The Unreadable Shores of Love: Turkish Modernity and Mystic Romance* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994); Silay, *Nedim and Poetics*, 1994.
9. Hamadeh, *City’s Pleasures*, 139–65. Hamadeh argues that the garden became the metaphor for pleasure seeking and sexual union.
10. Ahmet Refik, *Lale Devri*, 71–73; Schmidt, “Sünbülzâde Vehbî’s Şevk-engîz,” 9–37; Schmidt, “Fazil Beg Enderuni, Social Historian or Poet?” in *Decision Making and Change in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Caesar E. Farah, 183–92 (Lanham, MD: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1993); Walter G. Andrews, Nejat Black, and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *Ottoman Lyric Poetry: An Anthology* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997), 134–41, 253–54; Talat S. Halman, *Nightingales and Pleasure Gardens: Turkish Love Poems* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 37–41.
11. Filiz Biçingölçe, *Zenânnâme: Kadınlar Kitabı* [The Book on Women] (Ankara: Altüst, 2006), 9–10.
12. Bingölçe, *Zenânnâme*, 52–55; 112–25.
13. *Ibid.*, 118–19.
14. *Ibid.*, 131.
15. See Schmidt, “Sünbülzâde Vehbî’s Şevk-engîz.”
16. See Z’èvi, *Producing Desire, Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).
17. For the paintings of Abdullah Buhârî, see Istanbul University Library, T. 9364, T. 5964, Topkapı Sarayı Library (TKS) H. 2143; Fazil Beg Enderuni, *Zenânnâme ve Hubânnâme*, British Library, OR 7094; Günsel Renda, “An Illustrated Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Hamse in the Walters Art Gallery,” *Journal of Walters Art Gallery* 39: 15–32; Renda, *Batlaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı, 1700–1850* (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1977); Nancy Micklewright, “Musicians and Dancing Girls: Images of Women in Ottoman Miniature Painting,” in *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Madeline Zilfi (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997).
18. See miniatures from *Zenânnâme*.
19. Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, 70.
20. Ahmet Refik, *Onikinci Asr-i Hicrî’de İstanbul Hayatı, 1689–1785* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 1988), 86–87, 174–75; Zarinebaf-Shahr, “Women and the Public Eye in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul,” in *Women in the Medieval Islamic World*, ed. Gavin R. Hambly, 301–25 (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998).
21. Zarinebaf-Shahr, “Women and the Public Eye.”

22. CZ 200.

23. CZ 1355.

24. Ehud Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent: Bonds of Enslavement in the Islamic Middle East* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 166–77.

25. Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 30. See Elyse Semerdjian, “Sinful Professions: Illegal Occupations of Women in Ottoman Aleppo, Syria,” *Hawwa* 1 (2003):60–85; Semerdjian, *Off the Straight Path: Illicit Sex, Law, and Community in Ottoman Aleppo* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008).

26. MD 108, BBA.

27. D.BŞM-IGE folder 14, no. 18, BBA.

28. CZ 592.

29. CZ 29.

30. CZ 295.

31. CZ 3597.

32. In the Ottoman Empire, communal identity was based primarily on religious affiliation (Muslim, Christian, and Jewish) and only secondarily on ethnicity. For more on intercommunal relations in Muslim societies, see S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Avigdor Levy, *The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire* (New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1992); Minna Rozen, *A History of the Jewish Community of Istanbul*.

33. This attitude prevailed in medieval Spain and Egypt. For sexual interactions among Muslims, Christians, and Jews in medieval Spain, see David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

34. MM 3661, BBA.

35. Levy, *Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire*, 92.

36. Kal'a, *Istanbul'da Sosyal Hayat*, 1:191.

37. CZ 1546.

38. For the banishment of prostitutes in Crete, see Eugenia Kermeli, “Sin and the Sinner: Folles Femmes in Ottoman Crete,” *Eurasian Studies* 1 (2002), 94–96.

39. A. J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*, vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 51.

40. According to Duben and Behar, only 2.51 percent of men had polygamous marriages in Istanbul in 1885, and the average number of women per polygamous household was 2.08. Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 148–49.

41. Said Öztürk, *Askeri Kassama Ait Onyedinci Asır Istanbul Tereke Defterleri* (Istanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1995), 110–11.

42. J. A. Scurlock, “Rape, Adultery, Prostitution: The Regulation of Female Sexuality in the Ancient Near Eastern (Cuneiform) Laws” (unpublished paper delivered at American Historical Association meeting, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1988), 4.

43. Ehud Toledano, *The Ottoman Slave Trade and Its Suppression, 1840–1890* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982).

44. Hans Dernschwam, *Tagebuch Einer Reise Nach Konstantinopel Und Kleinasien (1553–1555)*, ed. Franz Babinger (München, 1923), 133–34.

45. Ottaviano Bon, *The Sultan's Seraglio: An Intimate Portrait of Life at the Ottoman Court*, ed. Godfrey Goodwin (London: Saqi Books, 1996), 120–21.
46. Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, 104.
47. *Ibid.*, 72.
48. Sicill series 1, vol. 32:48a. The average price of a slave increased from several hundred *kuruş* to 1,500 and 2,500 *kuruş* due to a drop in supply and to inflation in Istanbul in the 1840s. The price of a small house in Istanbul was about 200 *kuruş* in 1720. One could rent a house in Kum Kapı for two *kuruş* per month in 1769. Sicill series 1, vol. 32:40b.
49. Charles White, *Three Years in Constantinople*, (London, 1845), 2:286.
50. Haim Gerber, *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City: Bursa, 1600–1700* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press, 1988), 11.
51. Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi*, 257–58.
52. According to Erdem, after constant complaints from guild members in 1640, the government ordered a major reorganization of the guild and the expulsion of pimps. It limited the guild to thirty-three male dealers, eight female dealers, and nineteen auctioneers. Hakan Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and Its Demise, 1800–1909* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 37. For a nineteenth-century description of the slave market, see White, *Three Years in Constantinople*, 2: 279–314.
53. Ahmed Refik, *Onbirinci Asr-i Hicrîde İstanbul Hayatı (1592–1688)* (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988), 54–55
54. Erdem assumes that guilds had enormous control over the activities of their members and were strict about preventing prostitution.
55. Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire*, 33–39.
56. MM 729:26. They were imprisoned in the arsenal for three months.
57. CZ 768.
58. On the case of Şemsigül, a Circassian slave who was raped by the slave dealer Deli Mehmet in 1854, see Ehud Toledano, *The Ottoman Slave Trade*, 50–73.
59. *Ibid.*
60. Sicill series 1, vol. 32:48b–49a.
61. Judith Tucker, *In the House of the Law: Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) 170–73.
62. Sicill series 1, vol. 25:220.
63. MM 729:217.
64. Sicill series 1, vol. 25:102.
65. Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire*, 38–39. According to Erdem, the new regulations required the registration of all shop owners and all dealers, including women. In line with the old rules, they had to stand as guarantors for each other. The restriction on locality had been lifted, but some information regarding the name and status of the buyer was recorded. It was forbidden to sell female slaves to non-Muslims and persons of unknown origin without a guarantor.
66. MD 108, BBA.
67. MD 113, BBA. Seyyid Muhammad, a resident of Üsküdar, was also arrested and imprisoned for gathering prostitutes in his house in March 1702.
68. CZ 2110.

69. Sicill series1, vol. 25:25.

70. CZ 1790.

71. CZ 118.

72. CZ 1499.

73. Rafeq, "Public Morality," 188–89.

74. This was a report of the police. They were exiled to Cyprus by an imperial order that commanded those in charge of their transportation to report back. D.BŞM-IGE folder 20, vol. 62.

75. MM 729:61.

76. D.BŞM-IGE folder 23, vol.1.

77. Sicill series 1, vol. 32:3ob.

78. CZ 1891.

79. For modern red-light districts in Istanbul, see Rifat N. Bali, "1900'lü Yıllarda İstanbul'da Yahudi Fuhuş Tacirleri," *Tarih ve Toplum* 40, no. 235 (2003): 9–19; Zafer Toprak, "İstanbul'da Fuhuş ve Zuhrevi Hastalıklar, 1914–1933," *Tarih ve Toplum* 7, no. 39 (1987): 31–40; Clearance Richard Johnson, *Constantinople To-Day, or The Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople* (New York, 1922), 356–67. According to Johnson, while Muslim prostitutes made up at least 50 percent of those entering the hospitals, their number was very small in public and licensed houses since they were "jealously" guarded from non-Muslim view in Istanbul during the allied occupation of Istanbul. For prostitution in nineteenth-century Cairo and Beirut, see Khaled Fahmy, "Prostitution in Egypt in the Nineteenth Century," in *Outside In: On the Margins of the Modern Middle East*, ed. Eugene Rogan (London: I. B. Tauris, 2002), 77–104; Jens Hanssen, "Public Morality and Marginality in Fin-de-siècle Beirut," in *Outside In*, 183–212.

80. Tekin and Tekin, *Evliya Çelebi*, vol. 1, 213a–215b; Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2:393, 660–61. They were mostly located in non-Muslim quarters in Galata, Yeni Balık Pazarı, Hasköy, Ortaköy, Kuruçesme, Arnavütköy, Tarabya, Büyükdere, Un Kapanı, Cibali, Balat, Fener, Kum Kapı, Samatya, Kuzkuncuk, Çengelköy, and Kadıköy. We must take his numbers with great caution.

81. Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 661.

82. Tekin and Tekin, *Evliya Çelebi*, vol. 1, 213b–215b. Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 1 pt. 2, 393; 660–63.

83. Ibid.

84. For tax farming of wine in Istanbul and Galata, see Kamil Kepeçi Collection (hereafter cited as KK) 5482 (d. 1572), KK 5483 (d. 1688), and KK 5487 (d. 1813).

85. KK 5483.

86. Tekin and Tekin, *Evliya Çelebi*, 129b, 214b–215a; Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 392, 663.

87. Ibid. The taxes from wine shops were farmed out in Ottoman cities.

88. MM 729:250.

89. CZ 211:3.

90. Unfortunately, due to the sensitive and clandestine nature of the consumption of alcohol by the residents of Ottoman cities, these records have not survived in the Ottoman archives. It is not clear whether official registers were maintained. This situation is also true

of prostitution. It is possible that the non-Muslim religious and communal authorities maintained some of these records on the vice tax. They may have farmed the taxes out.

91. Tekin and Tekin, *Evliya Çelebi*, 136a-136b. Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 660.

92. Kahraman & Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 395.

93. Abdelwahab Bouhdiba, *Sexuality in Islam* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985), 190.

94. Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 172.

95. Ibid., 189; For Safavid Iran, see Rudi Matthée, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Drugs and Stimulants in Iranian History, 1500–1900* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 37–68; Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 172–73.

96. Rashid al-Din Fazlallāh, *Jami' al Tavârikh*, vol. 2, ed. B. Karimî (Tehran: Iqbal, 1959), 1113.

97. Muhammad ibn Hindushah Nakhjvanî, *Dastür al-kâtib fî Tayîn al-marâtib*, ed. Abdul-Karim Alizade (Moscow, 1976), 290–92.

98. Ibid., 291–92.

99. Ibid., 292–93.

100. Muhammad Hashim Asif [Rustam al-Hukamâ], *Rustam al-Tavârikh* (Tehran: 1973), 341.

101. Ibid., 341–50.

102. Le P. Raphael Du Mans, *État De La Perse En 1660* (Paris, 1890); Rudi Matthée, “Prostitutes, Courtesans, and Dancing Girls: Women Entertainers in Safavid Iran,” in *Iran and Beyond: Essays in Honor of Nikki R. Keddie*, ed. Rudi Matthée and B. Baron (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Press, 2000), 124–29; see also R. Ferrier, “Women in Safavid Iran: The Evidence of European Travelers,” in *Women in the Medieval Islamic World*, ed. Gavin R. G. Hambly (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 385–99; Rudi Matthée, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*.

103. Rafeq, “Public Morality,” 180–96.

104. Ibid., 186–87. This number excludes many moral offenses that were punished by family members and were not reported to police officials and registered in the court records. Rafeq also refers to widespread homosexual conduct among notables reported at length in biographical dictionaries and chronicles.

105. Rafeq, “Public Morality,” 189. In the towns of southeastern France, prostitutes looked for clients in the market square, at the gates of churches, and in taverns. Some even attended mass on Sundays and gave alms. They were protected by their pimps and the municipal authorities in high positions. Jacques Rossiaud, “Prostitution, Youth, and Society in the Towns of Southeastern France in the Fifteenth Century,” in *Deviants and the Abandoned in French Society*, ed. Robert Forster and Orest Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 20.

106. Refik, *Onuncu Asr-i Hicri'de Istanbul Hayatı*, 141–42.

107. Ibid.

108. Refik, *Onbirinci Asr-i Hicri'de Istanbul Hayatı*, 1592–1688, 32–34.

109. Refik, *Onikinci Asr-i Hicri'de Istanbul Hayatı*, 6.

110. MM 729:38. They were released from the prison in the arsenal after one month.

111. MM 729:118, 234.
112. Ka'fa, *Istanbul'da Sosyal Hayat*, 1:154–55.
113. Ömer Câbî, *Câbî Târihi*, vol. 1 (Ankara: TTK, 2003), 22–25.
114. Refik, *Onikinci Asr-i Hicrî'de*, 119. The police arrested tavern owners more regularly than they arrested Muslims who drank. Occasionally, the police arrested Muslim drunkards like Osman ibn Mustafa, who had also stolen clothes from the room of a shield-maker in Galata in October 1720. MM 729, 33. See also Zarinebaf-Shahr, *Women and the Public Eye*.
115. Refik, *Onikinci Asr-i Hicrî'de*, 7–9.
116. CZ 642.
117. For the sexual *mentalités* in France and Renaissance Italy, see Rossiaud, “Prostitution, Youth, and Society”; Thervor Dean and K. J. P. Lowe, eds., *Crime, Society and the Law in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
118. For an excellent discussion of the position of the shari'a and kanun on sexual crimes, see Dror Zé'evi, “Changes in Legal Discourses: Sex Crimes in the Ottoman Empire,” *Continuity and Change* 16, no. 2 (2001): 219–42.
119. Arberry, *Kuran Interpreted*, 2: 46–55.
120. Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973); Colin Imber “Zinâ in Ottoman Law,” in *Contributions à l'histoire économique et sociale de L'Empire Ottoman*, ed. J. L. Bacqué-Grammont and Paul Dumont (Louvain: Edition Peeters, 1983), 59–92.
121. Muslim jurists paid special attention to rules of procedure and used legal doubt (*şubhe*) to avoid the *Hadd* punishments. See Tucker, *House of the Law*, 164.
122. For *kanun* penalties, see Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 180–92; Zé'evi, “Changes in Legal Discourse,” 228. The fixed fine was the same for homosexual intercourse between adult married and unmarried men. There is a debate in the shari'a on the penalty for homosexual intercourse; it ranges from lashing to imprisonment. See also Rudolph Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 94; Yunus Koç, “Early Ottoman Customary Law: The Genesis and Development of Ottoman Codification,” in *Shattering Tradition: Custom, Law, and the Individual in the Muslim Mediterranean*, ed. Walter Dosta and Wolfgang Kraus, 232–33 (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005).
123. Zé'evi, “Changes in Legal Discourses.”
124. See Marc D. Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
125. Raşid was very critical of this decision on shari'a grounds since he was the former kadi of Istanbul. Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 1:362–63.
126. Ibid.
127. BBA, IKS 25, 137.
128. In Paris, too, the Gendarmerie Royale (which was a military force composed of former soldiers numbering 1,528 men in 1820) carried out policing and patrolling of the city.
129. CZ 502.
130. CZ 376.
131. CZ 2912.

132. CZ 2888.

133. Leah Lydia Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Jacques Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995); Ruth Mazo Karras, *Common Women, Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Guido Ruggiero, *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crimes and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe, 1500–1800* (New York: Vintage Books, 1998); Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero, eds., *Sex and Gender in Historical Perspective* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990); Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).

134. Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 18–24.

135. *Ibid.*, 112.

136. Karras, *Common Women*, 15.

137. *Ibid.*, 19–20.

138. *Ibid.*, 34–35.

139. Tony Henderson, *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London* (London: Longman, 1999), 65. Rural migrants comprised 60.25 percent of prostitutes in London between 1814 and 1829. The majority of streetwalkers in London were from Ireland (12.82 percent) and the western counties (11.53 percent). The highest number of arrests in Southwark was of streetwalkers between the ages of eighteen and twenty during this period. *Ibid.*, 19–21.

140. *Ibid.*, 64–66.

141. Most streetwalkers who were arrested in London were brought before the magistrate either at the Mansion House or the Guildhall Justice Room. The data for the Mansion House are not available.

142. Jill Harsen, *Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 134. The number of arrests of independent prostitutes in Paris, which had a centralized and well-organized police department, rose from between approximately 200 to 400 in 1800 to between 2,000 to 3,000 by 1900. From 1816 to 1831, only one-third (4,469) of prostitutes who were registered (12,707 women) in the city were from Paris. *Ibid.*, 209, 267–68.

143. *Ibid.*, 135.

144. Semerdjian, *Off the Straight Path*, 105. Most prostitutes were banished from their neighborhoods within the city in Aleppo. Semerdjian believes that there were no red-light districts in Aleppo.

145. Henderson, *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London*.

146. Cevdet Maliye 17, BBA. This distribution included bread, rice, olive oil, salt, meat, coal, and soap. These women each had two children.

147. This document is undated but is probably from the nineteenth century as well. CZ 3534.

148. Osman Nuri, *Mecelle-i Umur-i Belediye* (Istanbul, 1922), 913–14.

149. CZ 2557. According to this document, some of these women had been raped and forced into prostitution.

CHAPTER 6

1. For a case involving the murder of a Greek woman, Irini, and her parents' demand to receive blood money from the defendant (her husband) in Üsküdar in 1529 see, Yvonne J. Seng, "Invisible Women: Residents of Early Sixteenth-Century Istanbul," in *Women in the Medieval Islamic World*, ed. R. G. Hambly (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 250.

2. Edward Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring: Vendetta and Factions in Friuli During the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1993).

3. M. Çagatay Uluçay, 18 ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Saruhan'da Eşkiyalık ve Halk Hareketleri (Istanbul: Berksoy, 1955); William Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion, 1000-1020/1591-1611* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1983); Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994); Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Qizilbash Heresy and Rebellion in Ottoman Anatolia During the Sixteenth Century," *Anatolia Moderna* 7 (Fall 1997): 1-15.

4. This perception of the city's safety is also due to the paucity of material on homicide in Islamic court records since many cases were settled outside the courts through reconciliation and the payment of blood money.

5. İpşirli, "XVI Asırın," 203-48; KK 677, BBA. For example, of the 326 convicts who were sentenced to the galleys in Istanbul from 1563 to 1567, 7.3 percent (24) had committed violent crimes, and 7 percent (23) had been involved in sexual crimes. Most of these convicts were Muslims from Istanbul, but many others, including non-Muslims, were from the Black Sea region, Morea, Selanik, Izmir, Midillu, Amasya, and Karaman.

6. This figure is based on a 30 percent random sampling of MM 729. Violence was also widespread in Anatolian towns during this period. From 1652 to 1744, 11 percent of disputes in the court of Çankırı and 8 percent in the court of Kastamonu concerned assault and murder. In the court of Kastamonu, the number of civil disputes was 5.5 times greater than that of criminal disputes. Moreover, 8 percent of disputes in Çankırı and 1 percent of those in Kastamonu dealt with rape during the same period. In addition, many criminal cases were settled outside the courts. Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society*, tables 4.1 and 4.2.

7. Ahmet Ka'ıa, *Istanbul'da Sosyal Hayat*, vols. 1 and 2, *Istanbul Ahkam Defterleri* (Istanbul: Istanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1997). According to Seng, murder was not uncommon in Üsküdar and its dependencies in the sixteenth century. She located nine cases of murder in the court records for Üsküdar from 1521 to 1524 (twenty-five months). Yvonne J. Seng, "The Üsküdar Estates (*Tereke*) as Records of Everyday Life in an Ottoman Town, 1521-1524" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1991), 79-83.

8. On violence in Cairo, see Carl Petry, "Quis Custodiet Custodes? Revisited: The Prosecution of Crime in the Late Mamluk Sultanate," *Mamluk Studies* 3 (1999): 13-30; Rudolph Peters, "Murder on the Nile: Homicide Trials in Nineteenth-Century Egyptian Shari'a Courts," *Die Welt des Islam* 30 (1990), 98-116; Marcus, *Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 110-20.

9. MM 729:76.

10. MM 729:205.

11. MM 729:143.

12. Özcan, ed., *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*, 181–82. The date is not mentioned, but this case probably dates from the eighteenth century.
13. MM 729:73.
14. MM 729:217. They were released after the petition and guarantee of Ahmed, the deputy of the court of Mahmud Paşa, in October 1725.
15. MM 729:228. The deputy judge of Galata sentenced him to the galleys in December 1724.
16. MM 729:36. They used a weapon. His friends escaped. Mustafa was sentenced to the galleys.
17. MM 729:25. Ali committed another theft (sixty *kuruş*) from a bakery after he had been released from the galleys.
18. For numerous imperial orders to the kadıs of Istanbul on travel permission for the residents of Istanbul, see Kal'a, *Istanbul'da Sosyal Hayat*, vol. 1.
19. On the mysterious murder of a woman in Kadirğa Limanı in Istanbul in 1768 and the discovery of her body buried in her house, see Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Women and the Public Eye," 319–20.
20. BBA, CZ 3549.
21. Kal'a, *Istanbul'da Sosyal Hayat*, vol. 1, 197.
22. In England rape and child sexual abuse were mostly male offenses committed against women. Members of the working class were more likely to be convicted for such crimes than members of the upper class. The rapes of women were underreported in Europe as well as in Istanbul because women were often blamed for provoking the attacks. Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in England, 1750–1900* (London: Longman, 2005), 106–7.
23. This figure is based on a random sampling (30 percent) of the galleys' register (MM 729). Few of these lawsuits were registered in the courts.
24. On the Ottoman criminal code for sexual offenses, see Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 100–3. On the shari'a and the rulings of Ebu Su'ud Efendi, see Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebusuüd Efendi*, 159. For a recent and excellent discussion of sexual offenses and their treatment in the shari'a and *kanun*, see Zêevi, *Producing Desire*, 48–76. See tables 3 and 5, pp. 56–63.
25. Zêevi, *Producing Desire*, 54–60.
26. MM 729:208.
27. MM 729:44.
28. MM 729:83.
29. MM 729:82.
30. MM 729:19.
31. MM 729:254.
32. MM 729:223.
33. MM 729:122.
34. MM 729:251.
35. MM 729:40.
36. MM 729:129. He was sentenced to the galleys.
37. MM 729:119.
38. CZ 2001.

39. MM 729:14.
40. MM 729:8. They were released in December 1720.
41. MM 729:8.
42. MM 729:146.

CHAPTER 7

1. Quoted in Thomas, *Study of Naima*, 94–96.
2. Ralph Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985), 112–22. See also Said Amir Arjomand, “Coffeehouses, Guilds, and Oriental Despotism: Government and Civil Society in Late Seventeenth to Early Eighteenth Century Istanbul and Isfahan, and as seen from Paris and London,” *Archives of European Sociology* 45 (2004): 31; James Gerhan, “Street Violence and Social Imagination in Late-Mamluk and Ottoman Damascus (ca. 1500–1800),” *IJMES* 35 (2003):215–36; Gerhan, *Everyday Life of Consumer Culture in Eighteenth-Century Damascus*, 135–46.
3. Robert Darton, “An Early Information Society: News and the Media in Eighteenth-Century Paris,” *American Historical Review* 105, no. 1 (February 2000): 10–11.
4. CZ 3665.
5. Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 6:137.
6. Shay, *Ottoman Empire from 1720 to 1734*, 33–34. According to the Venetian *bailo*, Emo, Grand Vizier Topal Osman Pasha reopened the coffeehouses and shops and was more clement. But the rumors of another rebellion and the discovery of arson in several parts of the city again resulted in the closing down of coffeehouses and in new arrests in 1732.
7. *Şer’iyye Sicilleri: Seçme Hükümler*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1989), 182.
8. For Paris, see Darton, “Early Information Society.”
9. CZ 302.
10. See Câbi, *Câbi Tarihi*, 2:749–62. See Çengiz Kırılı, “Profile of the Labor Force in Early Nineteenth-Century Istanbul.”
11. CZ 556, CZ 1833, CZ 1747. On the banishment of janissaries and the Bektaşî dervishes in 1826, see imperial orders in CZ 2190, CZ 2282, and CZ 2283.
12. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 198.
13. Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 465–71. See also Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality*.
14. See also CZ 2030 regarding an order for the registration of all unemployed and single men in Istanbul in 1797. There is another undated survey (CZ 3385), possibly from the late eighteenth century, of all the Muslim and non-Muslim residents, including gardeners, porters, and boatmen, and their guarantors in Beşiktaş and Ortaköy.
15. Migration to Salonica from the Balkans caused similar concerns in the eighteenth century. See Eyal Ginio, “Living in the Margins of Charity: Coping with Poverty in an Ottoman Provincial City,” in *Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Contexts*, ed. M. Bonner, M. Ener, and A. Singer (New York: SUNY Press, 2003), 165–67.

16. For similar developments in eighteenth-century France, see Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 75–78.
17. CZ 3385.
18. CZ 4326.
19. CZ 2030.
20. Unfortunately, the records do not provide any information on the age or marital status of the convicts, MM 729, BBA.
21. D.BŞM 15747,13.
22. For similar situations in Paris, see David Garrioch, *Neighborhood and Community in Paris, 1740–1790* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 16–55, 30.
23. See Behar, *Neighborhood in Istanbul*.
24. On female honor in Italy, see Sandra Cavallo and Simona Cerutti, “Female Honor and the Social Control of Reproduction in Piedmont between 1600 and 1800,” in *Sex and Gender in Historical Perspective*, ed. Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 100–103.
25. MM 729:32–33; D.BŞM 25748, 9.
26. MM 729:86.
27. MM 729:158.
28. Ergene, *Local Court*, 152.
29. Marcus, *Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 185.
30. MM 729. Most of the releases from the galleys were carried out upon the petition of *kefils*.
31. CZ 2030.
32. CZ 1694.
33. In another example, Avaz son of Abdullah broke into the house of Emine and assaulted and injured her on the head during the night in Kum Kapı. He was arrested in February 1704 and was not to be released until a *kefil* stood as a moral guarantor for him.. D.BŞM 15747, 5.
34. Sicill series 1, vol. 30:1b.
35. Sicill series 1, vol. 30:13b.
36. W.B. Stanford and E. J. Finopoulos, eds., *The Travels of Lord Charlemont in Greece and Turkey, 1749* (London: A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1984), 209–10.
37. Weisser, *Crime and Punishment*, 161–62. For more on violence in London, see Robert Shoemaker, *The London Mob: Violence and Disorder in Eighteenth-Century London* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2004).
38. According to Marcus, the rate of crime against life and property was also very low in eighteenth-century Aleppo. Marcus, *Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 102.
39. Mantran, *Istanbul*, 148–49.
40. See Gerber on the punishment of bandits in seventeenth-century Bursa. Gerber, *State, Society, and Law in Islam*, 139–42. He maintains that in Bursa most of the criminal cases were decided without a shari’a trial and that public opinion and custom had greater sway in punishing delinquents and bandits. Rosen also emphasizes the role of custom in the development of the shari’a and the intermediary role of the kadi in creating order out of chaos by placing people back on the track of negotiating their own relationships within limits set

by God. Lawrence Rosen, *The Anthropology of Justice: Law as Culture in Islamic Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 37–38.

41. BBA, D.BŞM 25748. From 1708 to 1709, the largest number of arrests by the police without the kadi's authorization was carried out against Armenian converts to Catholicism (five) and tavern operators (five).

42. Refik, *Onikinci Asr-i Hicrîde*, 60.

43. Mantran, *Istanbul*, 127.

44. Refik, *Onikinci Asr-i Hicrîde*, 59–60.

45. No official documents mention guilds of thieves and prostitutes although slave dealers and beggars had their own associations. They must have been informal associations who guarded turfs for criminal operation, as was the case in London.

46. Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 475–70.

47. İsmail Hakki Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinde Saray Teşkilatı* (Ankara: TTK, 1948), 413–19.

48. CZ 1490.

49. Robert Mantran, *Istanbul*, 157.

50. Gerber argues that lawyers (*vekils*) were usually relatives, but there was never a professional group of lawyers in the Ottoman legal system. Gerber, “Shari’a, Kanun, and Custom,” 143.

51. Gerber, “Shari’a, Kanun, and Custom,” 142–43.

52. Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 477–78.

53. *Şer’iyye Sicilleri*, II, 94.

54. D.BŞM 15747:13.

55. BBA, Bab-i Asafi, Kalebend Kalemî 926, 11.

56. This was also the case in Bursa. See Gerber, *State, Society, and Law in Islam*, 71.

57. Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 475–76.

58. Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, 478; Robert Mantran, *La vie quotidienne a Constantinople au temps de Soliman Le Magnifique et des successeurs* (Paris: 1965), 100–101.

59. Stanford and Finopoulos, *Travels of Lord Charlemont*, 211.

60. Ibid.; Fariba Zarinabaf, “Maintien de l’ordre et contrôle social à Istaubal au XVIIIe siècle,” in *Métiers de police: Être policier en Europe, XVIIIe–XXe siècle*, ed. J-M Berlière, Catherine Denys, D. Kalifa, and V. Milliot, 87–96 (Rennes: Presse Universitaires de Rennes, 2009).

61. Sandwich, *Voyage Performed*, 192.

62. Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 6:363, 547.

63. D.BŞM 15747, 5.

64. Ibid., 14.

65. D.BŞM 15747: 5, 11.

66. BBA, Kalem-i Bahriye, 5660:3.

67. Weisser, *Crime and Punishment*, 160–61.

68. Cahit Kayra and Erol Uyepazarcı, eds., *İkinci Mahmut’un İstanbul’u, Bostancıbaşı Sicilleri* (Istanbul: Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1992).

69. For a survey of Beşiktaş and Ortaköy, see CZ 3385. The date could possibly be late

eighteenth or early nineteenth century. For a later survey during the turn of the eighteenth century, see Cingiz Kırılı, "A Profile of the Labor Force in Early Nineteenth-Century Istanbul," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 60 (Fall 2001): 125–40.

70. Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, 66–67.

71. MD 110; Refik, *Onikinci Asr-i Hicri'de*, 59. The imperial *bostancı* corps numbered eighty men in 1716. The daily salary of the chief of this corps, al-Hac Ibrahim Agha, was 350 *akçe* in 1798.

72. Abdulkadir Özcan, "Bostancı," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı, 1992), 6:308–9; Mantran, *Istanbul*, 159–60.

73. Sandwich, *Voyage Performed*, 177.

74. D.BŞM 25748:7.

75. CZ 3709.

76. Ahmet Refik, *Onikinci Asr-i Hicri'de*, 59.

77. *Ibid.*, 45–46.

78. Raşid was very critical of the *bostancıbaşı* who tried to curry favor with Ahmed III. He appointed his brother to be the *beylerbeyi* (governor) of Sivas and his fourteen-year-old son the governor of Amasya and also appointed another brother to the office of poll-tax collection. According to Raşid, these two governors were responsible for the oppression of the *reaya*. One even tried to marry one of the daughters of Ahmed III. Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 6:284–85.

79. Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 6:268. Vidinli Mustafa Agha was dismissed a year later because he did not take good care of the imperial gardens in Sađabad Palace. *Ibid.*, 371.

80. See Marcus, *Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 58–59; Cemal Kafadar, "On the Purity and Corruption of the Janissaries," 273–79.

81. Kahraman and Dađlı, *Evlıya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 663.

82. Kalem-i Bahriye 5660, 1, BBA. For example, a janissary officer who murdered one of his colleagues from the Forty-Seventh Unit in the neighborhood of Balat in Istanbul and then escaped to Bursa was arrested and removed from his position. When the body of a woman was discovered in his shop, he was sentenced to row in the galleys in June 1703.

83. CZ 2248.

84. CZ 1954. The kadi accused the night watch and other officers of selling lamb to taverns and shops during Greek festivals, causing much distress to the butchers. He demanded the men's punishment and exile to their hometowns, and an imperial order was issued to this effect.

85. CZ 3522; CZ 1755. The state paid the salaries of fifty police officers (1,300 *kuruş* per month) who worked for the chief of police of Galata from the vice tax in 1835.

86. CZ 3199.

87. In 1921 Istanbul had thirty-two central police stations in three sections of Istanbul, Pera, and Üsküdar and in two subdivisions of Bab-i Ali (Sublime Porte) and Haydar Paşa. The regular police had 3,170 men, and the civil or secret police had 300 men, totaling 3,470 trained police officers. Johnson, *Constantinople To-Day*, 381–85. Johnson was professor of sociology in Robert College in Istanbul.

CHAPTER 8

1. Quoted in W. B. Stanford and E. J. Finopoulos, eds., *The Travels of Lord Charlemont in Greece and Turkey, 1749* (London: A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1984), 218.

2. For a more recent critique of Weber, see Lauren Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 102–4. She argues that the kadi had both administrative and judicial authority and made consistent and rational judgments. The shari'a subsumed secular and customary law and was always in the process of reinterpretation. She underlines the similarity between early modern Western and Islamic legal systems.

3. Weber, *Economy and Society*, 2:818–22.

4. Rudolph Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Law: Theory and Practice from the Sixteenth to the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Ruth A. Miller, *Legislating Authority: Sin and Crime in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey* (London: Routledge, 2005). For the earlier period, see Wael B. Hallaq, *The Origins and Evolution of Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 21–22. Hallaq stresses the impact of Judaism and Christianity on the development of Qur'anic legal principles.

5. Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, vol. 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 109–10.

6. CZ 3597.

7. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 78.

8. *Ibid.*, 82.

9. Hodgson rightly believes that the scope of the shari'a courts was limited and that subjects had access to a variety of courts and informal networks. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 3:110. See also Lauren Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 102–14. Benton also believes that the existence of multiple lower courts gave Ottoman subjects (Muslims and non-Muslims) an opportunity to shop around for justice.

10. On the need to reform the system, see Yılmaz Kurt, *Koçibey Risalesi* (Ankara: Akçağ, 1998), 79–82.

11. Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 467.

12. *Ibid.*, 392.

13. Mehmet Akman, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Ceza Yargılaması* (Istanbul: Eren, 2004), 35

14. Halil Inalcik, "Mahkama," *EI*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), 6:4. According to Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi (b. 1600), the court fees during the third quarter of the seventeenth century were seven *akçe* for registration, thirty-two *akçe* for title deeds, twelve *akçe* for copies of sicills and for endorsing their seals, twenty *akçe* per one thousand *akçe* of estates of the deceased (inventory), thirty-two *akçe* for the marriage of virgins, and fifteen *akçe* for that of nonvirgins. Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhisü'l-Beyân fi Kavânin-i Âl-i Osman*, ed. Sevim Ilgürel (Ankara: TTK, 1998), 264.

15. Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 392.

16. Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 6:16–17. For example, an imperial order issued by Ahmed III in 1722 required that they serve in Mecca prior to their appointment to Istanbul.

17. They served from three to five years during the earlier centuries. Inalcik attributes

the corruption of the kadi to their tenure of one year during the eighteenth century. Inalcik, "Mahkema," 3.

18. Kurt, *Koçibey Risalesi*, 128–31.

19. Inalcik, "Mahkama," 4.

20. Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 5:275–76.

21. Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 6:34–35.

22. *Ibid.*, 6:131. He lasted in office for thirteen months and resigned due to his weak state of health.

23. *Ibid.*, 6:615–16.

24. Haim Gerber, *State, Society, and Law in Islam: Ottoman Law in Comparative Perspective* (New York: SUNY, 1994), 58–74. On the corruption of judicial authorities in Aleppo, see Marcus, *Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 110–11.

25. See also Gerber, *State, Society, and Law*, 68. Gerber found that in Bursa, the kadi delivered the verdict and penalty in the overwhelming number of cases (80 percent) during the seventeenth century. This was not the case in Istanbul.

26. See sicills series 1, vols. 30 and 32, as well as Galata sicills series 2, vols. 267 and 273. The majority of cases deal with the registration of the estates of the deceased, inheritance disputes, claims of debt, divorce, and property disputes.

27. This conclusion is based on a study of sicill records for Istanbul, Galata, Beşiktaş, Hasköy, and Balat during the eighteenth century. According to Gerber, this was not the case in seventeenth-century Bursa, where the kadi courts handled most of the criminal cases. Haim Gerber, "Shari'a, Kanun and Custom in Ottoman Law: The Court Records of Seventeenth-Century Bursa," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 2 (1981): 131–46.

28. According to Rozen, Jews were treated as inferior to Muslims in Muslim courts. Their testimony held less value than that of Muslim men. Rabbis discouraged their community members from approaching Muslim courts, although in practice intercommunal disputes were handled by Muslim courts. Rozen, *History of the Jewish Community in Istanbul*, 25–26; Fatma Muge Göçek, "The Legal Recourse of Minorities in History: Eighteenth-Century Appeals to the Court of Galata," in *Minorities in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Molly Greene (Princeton, NJ: Wiener Markus, 2005), 47–71.

29. Sicill series 1, vol. 30:1a-6b.

30. Ergene, *Local Court*, 58.

31. *Ibid.*, 43–50.

32. Eyal Ginio, "The Administration of Criminal Justice in Ottoman Selanik (Salonica) during the Eighteenth Century," *Turcica* 30 (1998), 186–90. Ginio studied eighty-five volumes of court records covering the period between 1697 and 1760.

33. *Ibid.*, 192–95.

34. For such instances in Salonica, see Ginio, "Administration of Criminal Justice," 198–99.

35. In many cities both Hanafi and Shafi'i judges held their own courts. In north-African cities, Maliki judges were allowed to operate their own courts. Inalcik, "Mahkama," 3.

36. Ginio, "Administration of Criminal Justice," 202–4. Ginio claims that governors and police officials tried thieves independently of the kadi and used torture to elicit confessions. Sometimes they also used false accusation to collect fines.

37. Peirce, *Morality Tales*, 123.

38. Ginio, "Administration of Criminal Justice," 188–89. Jews refrained from using the Islamic courts against Jewish criminals.

39. Engin Deniz Akarlı, "Law in the Market Place: Istanbul, 1730–1840," in *Dispensing Justice in Islam: Qadis and their Judgments*, ed. Muhammad Khalid Masud, Rudolph Peters, and David S. Powers (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

40. See also Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures*, 108–14.

41. M. Macit Kenanoğlu, *Osmanlı Millet Sistemi: Mit ve Gerçek* (Istanbul: Klasik, 2004), 203–38.

42. Eugenia Kermeli, "The Right to Choice: Ottoman Justice vis-à-vis Ecclesiastical and Communal Justice in the Balkans, Seventeenth–Nineteenth Centuries," in *Studies in Islamic Law: A Festschrift to Colin Imber*, ed. A. Christmann and R. Gleave, *Journal of Semitic Studies*, suppl. 23 (September 2007): 165–210.

43. Marc D. Baer, "Islamic Conversion Narratives of Women: Social Change and Gendered Religious Hierarchy in Early Modern Ottoman Istanbul," *Gender and History* 16, no. 2 (August 2004), 433; Göçek, "Legal Recourse of Minorities in History," 47–71; Heyd, "Jewish Communities of Istanbul," 299–314; Matt Goldish, *Jewish Questions: Responsa on Sephardic Life in the Early Modern Period*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008).

44. Sicill 19/20, 91, 124.

45. See Sicill series 1, vol. 30:1a, 4b, 14b, 18b, and 25b. See Amnon Cohen, "A Tale of Two Women, Facets of Life in Nineteenth-Century Jerusalem as Seen through the Muslim Court Records" in *Jews, Turks, Ottomans*, ed. Avigdor Levy (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2002), 119–26; Najwa Al-Qattam, "Across the Courtyard: Residential Space and Sectarian Boundaries in Ottoman Damascus," in *Minorities in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Molly Greene (Princeton, NJ: Wiener Markus, 2005), 13–47.

46. Sicill series 1, vol. 25:15.

47. Ronald C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571–1640* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 16–17; Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 143–50.

48. Göçek, "Legal Recourse of Minorities," 58–63. Göçek also argues that the rabbis had had a stronger hold over the community since the Sabbatai Zevi movement in the late seventeenth century while there was a crisis of authority in the Greek and Armenian patriarchate.

49. Göçek, "Legal Recourse of Minorities," 58. Most of the cases were brought by men.

50. Najwa Al-Qattam, "Dhimmis in the Muslim Court: Legal Autonomy and Religious Discrimination" *IJMES* 31 (1999):429–44; See also the sicill records of Galata, Hasköy, and Balat. Jewish and Christian witnesses were used by the Islamic courts in cases dealing with non-Muslims.

51. Al-Qattam also claims that there was no evidence of actual non-Muslim courts in Syrian cities. However, this situation was not necessarily true for Istanbul. Istanbul had two Jewish courts in Balat and Hasköy.

52. This amount was recommended by Süleyman Efendi, probably the local imam. Two *aķçe* would get her two loaves of bread. She would receive one daily meal at a soup kitchen. CB 582, BBA.

53. This is the first reference to suicide in the sources that I have examined.

54. See Ö. L. Barkan, *XV ve XVIinci Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirai, Ekonomi,*

Hukuki ve Mali Esasları (Istanbul: Burhaneddin Matbaası, 1943); Cornell Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541–1600)* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 191–200.

55. Halil Inalcik, “Şikayet Hakkı: Arz-i Hal ve Arz-i Mahzarlar,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 7–8 (1988): 33–54; Akman, *Osmanlı Devleti’nde*, 118.

56. Zarinebaf-Shahr, “Women, Law, and Imperial Justice.”

57. Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, ed. William C. Hickman (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), 440.

58. Akman, *Osmanlı Devleti’nde*, 125–26.

59. Halil Inalcik, “Adaletnameler,” *Belgeler* 2 (1965), 50. See edicts (nos. 14–15) on overcharging court fees and collecting illegal fines from the *reaya* in villages and going to the houses of the *reaya* and imposing fines on them instead of having them sit at the court. These decrees also made it illegal for the kadi to farm out the collection of fines to the *voynoda* and governor or to sell the office of deputy judge. Petitions against corrupt judges and deputy judges increased in the eighteenth century.

60. These court dues ranged from six to fifty *akçe* in the seventeenth century. Inalcik, “Adaletnameler,” 78.

61. *Ibid.*, 79.

62. Peirce, *Morality Tales*, 124–25. Peirce argues that only the elite of Aintab were able to petition the Imperial Council. The situation changed in the eighteenth century when peasants and women of all classes came from all over the empire to petition the Imperial Council about abusive tax-collectors, bandits, corrupt judges, and others. Zarinebaf-Shahr, “Women, Law, and Imperial Justice,” 88–89.

63. Akman, *Osmanlı Devleti’nde*, 126–27.

64. *Ibid.*, 128–29. Akman argues that the courts never accepted confession under torture. The kadi disagreed with secular officials over the use of torture. *Ibid.*, 84–85.

65. Inalcik, “Mahkama,” 3.

66. Inalcik, “Mahkama,” 3.

67. Zarinebaf-Shahr, “Women, Law and Imperial Justice”; Peirce, *Morality Tales*, 122.

68. Inalcik, “Mahkama,” 2.

69. Zarinebaf-Shahr, “Women, Law, and Imperial Justice,” 89.

70. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*; Yilmaz Kurt, *Koçibey Risalesi*, 124–32; Thomas, *Study of Naima*. Naima was a bureaucrat and the official historian from the late seventeenth century until the reign of Ahmed III in 1703, when Raşid assumed this position until 1730. On Naima’s definition of the *Circle of Justice* (equity) that he attributes to Kinalizade Ali Efendi, see Thomas, 78. Naima thought that reform was necessary to restore the strength of the Ottoman state after the losses of fourteen years of war against Austria, Poland, Venice, and Russia and the Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699.

71. Thomas, *Study of Naima*, 108–10.

72. Thomas, *Study of Naima*, 84–86; 106–10; See also Abou-El-Haj, *1703 Rebellion*; Suraiya Faroqhi, “An Ulema Grandee and His Household.”

73. Thomas, *Study of Naima*, 86.

74. *Ibid.*, 92–94.

75. *Ibid.*, 104–6.

76. Heyd, *Studies in Ottoman Criminal Law*, 192.
77. *Ibid.*, 201.
78. Ö. L. Barkan, "Caractère Religieux et Caractère Séculier des Institutions Ottomanes," in *Contributions l'histoire économique et sociale de L'empire Ottoman*, ed. J. L. Bacqué Grammont and Paul Dumont (Leuven: Peeters, 1983), 24–27; Heyd, *Studies in Ottoman Criminal Law*, 241–43.
79. Heyd, *Studies in Ottoman Criminal Law*, 241–43.
80. Haim Gerber, *State, Society, and Law*, 62–66. He states, "It must be emphasized, however, that the *kanun* is more than just a reenactment of the shari'a by the state fiat. Besides the fact that in many articles there is an option of non shari'a punishments such as fines, there were some new legal concepts and modes of perception. Yet one does not get the impression that these additions may have been the reason for the enactment of the entire penal *kanun*."
81. See Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964); Heyd, *Studies in Ottoman Criminal Law*.
82. Gerber, *State, Society and Law*, 67–76.
83. *Ibid.*, 72–78. Haim Gerber, "Shari'a, Kanun and Custom in Ottoman Law: The Court Records of Seventeenth-Century Bursa," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 2 (1981): 131–46.
84. Gerber, *State, Society and Law*, 71.
85. Ronald C. Jennings, "Kadi, Court, and Legal Procedure in Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Kayseri," *Studio Islamic* 49 (1978): 133–72; Gerber, "Shari'a, Kanun and Custom." Gerber maintains a middle position among Schacht, Jennings, and Heyd. He agrees on the central role of the kadi and the shari'a in the Ottoman legal system but stresses the role of Ottoman bureaucrats in punishing crime.
86. Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, 84.
87. Inalcik, "Mahkama," 6.
88. Marcus, *Middle East*; Peirce, *Morality Tales*, 327.
89. Peters believes that sometimes in the absence of shari'a-required evidence, the kadi would hand the case to the executive officials without making a decision. Peters, *Crime and Punishment*, 87–89.
90. Heyd, *Studies in Ottoman Criminal Law*, 150, 203. Kinalizade, a leading member of the ulema under Süleyman and Selim II, believed that the only valid law was the shari'a, which included capital punishment and regarded any deviation from the shari'a, particularly in penal law, as dangerous. He condemned capital punishment not sanctioned by the shari'a and was against the pardoning of criminals liable to capital punishment by the shari'a.
91. Gerber, "Shari'a, Kanun and Custom in Ottoman Law," 139–42.
92. Lawrence Rosen, *The Anthropology of Justice: Law as Culture in Islamic Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 37–38.
93. Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, 175.
94. *Ibid.*
95. Ginio, "Administration of Criminal Justice," 205–7. The parties resorted to mediation when evidence was not conclusive in the kadi court. The kadi sometimes helped the parties to reach a compromise in return for monetary compensation. Economic considerations also encouraged the plaintiff (sometimes widowed women) to choose compensation (blood

money) instead of retaliation in cases of murder and injury. Reconciliation was usually registered in the court in the presence of witnesses.

96. Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebussuûd Efendi*, 151–52.

97. *Ibid.*, 150.

98. 'Arif, *Kânünnâme-i Âl-i Osman*, 8.

99. Ahmet Mumcu, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Siyaseten Katl* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Hükuk Fakültesi), 137–40.

100. Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud*, 91.

101. Ergene argues that they affected the decision of the kadi and were among the employees of the court like the scribes. Ergene, *Local Court*, 25–31. It is possible that in smaller towns and communities like Çankırı and Kastamonu, the court relied upon the same group of witnesses in a given time, but it is highly unlikely that they were serving the court like other employees. Inalcik claims there was no permanent body of expert witnesses in the courts. Inalcik, "Mahkama," 4.

102. Sicill series 14, vol. 249:5b, 6b.

103. For example, see Sicill series 14, vol. 249:7a–7b.

CHAPTER 9

1. Quoted in W.B. Stanford and E. J. Finopoulos, eds., *The Travels of Lord Charlemont in Greece and Turkey, 1749*, 213–14. Lord Charlemont goes on to describes the manner of beheading in which the criminal was forced to kneel down blindfolded and the executioner severed the head from the body in one stroke and hung the head upon a gibbet. He stated that during the one month that he was in Istanbul, he only heard of one execution, that of a Greek man who had been convicted of murder.

2. Gerber, *State, Law and Society*, 25–42.

3. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 16.

4. *Ibid.*, 13–14, 73–77.

5. Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, 429–31.

6. Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud*, 79–95.

7. On the execution of high members of the ulema and *şeyhülislams* for corruption and meddling in politics in 1634, 1656, and 1703, see Madeline Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Period (1600–1800)* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988), 113–21.

8. Mumcu, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Siyaseten Katl*, 105–13, 120. Mumcu argues that the rate of capital punishment increased greatly at the end of the eighteenth (reign of Selim III) and early nineteenth centuries.

9. *Ibid.*, 83–84.

10. The Mongol influence and the idea of not shedding the blood of members of the royalty by strangling them are very clear. See also Edhem Eldem, *Death in Istanbul: Death and Its Rituals in Ottoman-Islamic Culture* (Istanbul: Ottoman Bank, 2005), 182–94.

11. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman*, 265.

12. Câbî, *Câbî Tarihi*, 2:919, 922, 947, and 1005. These executions took place between 1811 and 1813.

13. On the regicide of Osman II, see Piterberg, *Ottoman Tragedy*.
14. Eldem, *Death in Istanbul*, 184. They were usually taken by surprise and were murdered in their sleep or were invited to a meeting and were then suddenly attacked by executioners and palace mutes. Their corpses were taken out at night, drowned in the Golden Horn, or buried at an unknown place.
15. Naima, *Tarih*, 5:107–19; Dankoff, *Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman*, 89.
16. Akman, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde*, 134.
17. Câbî, *Câbî Tarihi*, vol. 2.
18. Akman, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde*, 133–34. *Câbî Tarihi*, 2: 919.
19. Akman, 135. Akman believes that public execution continued well into the Tanzimat period until Sultan Abdülmecid (1839–61) put an end to it.
20. Marcus, *Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 119–20. The hangings and executions were performed in public and in front of crowds. The governors carried out summary executions without trials at times of social unrest.
21. *Ibid.*, 119.
22. Peters, *Crime and Punishment*, 74.
23. Stanford and Finopoulos, *Travels of Lord Charlemont*, 216.
24. According to Abu Yusuf, the number of strokes should not exceed one hundred, and the kadi should take into account the status and physical condition of the offender. But in practice the number often far exceeded one hundred, and some offenders lost their lives in the process. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 275; Peters, *Crime and Punishment*, 67.
25. Marcus, *Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 118. They sometimes punished thieves by the amputation of one hand.
26. Paul W. Bamford, *Fighting Ships and Prisons: The Mediterranean Galleys of France in the Age of Louis XIV* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1973), 121, 211.
27. Câbî, *Câbî Tarihi*, 2:875–76.
28. See Şikayet Defterleri in BBA.
29. Peters, *Crime and Punishment*, 82–83.
30. Jennings, “Kadi, Court, and Legal Procedure,” 142. Jennings states that kadi had greater freedom of action than bureaucrats did and that they were not dependent on imperial authority; see also Haim Gerber, “Shari’a, Kanun and Custom in Ottoman Law,” 133–35.
31. This was particularly the case in the provinces. Ergene has shown that the governor and subgovernor heard criminal and civil cases in their courts in Cankırı and Kastamonu, although their exact role was not clear. Ergene, *Local Court*, 172–77; Peirce, *Morality Tales*, 119–25.
32. Akman, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde*, 83–87. Akman presents a case from the kadi court of Beşiktaş in 1561 in which a defendant named Husam Reis was forced to confess to the murder of two Jews in Kuruçesme. But when he claimed that he had confessed under duress, the court rejected his confession of murder.
33. Ginio, “Administration of Criminal Justice,” 198–99.
34. Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evlîya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 477.
35. Heyd argues that although the use of torture had been rejected by the courts, it was

widespread in the Ottoman Empire, especially when strong evidence pointed to the suspect's guilt. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 252.

36. Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 6:334–37.

37. Miller traces this change in punishment from the private to the public domain to the nineteenth century (1858). Ruth A. Miller, *Legislating Authority: Sin and Crime in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey* (London: Routledge, 2005), 23–32. It actually started in the eighteenth century, if not earlier.

38. Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Law*, 131–32.

39. Eyal Ginio, "Administration of Criminal Justice," 187–88. Between June 1740 and July 1741 (fourteen months) 184 cases were brought to the kadi's court in Salonica, of which only thirteen were crime related. This low rate does not reflect the actual rate of crime in Salonica.

40. Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebusuûd Efendi*, 152–56.

41. J. N. D. Anderson, "Homicide in Islamic law," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13 (1951), 812–19. The Hanafi school of law defined various degrees of homicide as 1) deliberate, 2) quasi-deliberate, 3) accidental, 4) equivalent to accidental, and 5) indirect. Only the first deserved retaliation while the rest deserved payment of blood money. Both retaliation and payment of blood money were considered private punishments.

42. Anderson, "Homicide in Islamic law," 811–28; Joseph Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*; Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*; Rudolph Peters, "Murder on the Nile: Homicide Trials in Nineteenth-Century Egyptian Shari'a Courts," *Die Welt des Islam* 30 (1990), 98–116; Ginio, "Administration of Criminal Justice," 185–209.

43. Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in England, 1750–1900* (London: Longman, 1996), 186–95.

44. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 308–9. On the Ottoman *kanun* on injury and murder, see Selami Pulaha and Yaşar Yücel, *I. Selim Kânünnâmesi (1512–1520) ve XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısının Kimi Kanunları* (Ankara: TTK, 1988), 52–53. The sixteenth-century Ottoman *kanun* prescribed the collection of fines (twenty to four hundred *akçe*) for injury, depending on the kind of injury and the financial status of the offender. This fine was collected by the state, probably in addition to the payment of blood money collected by the victim or his or her relatives.

45. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, 95–97.

46. Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Law*, 131–32.

47. Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhisü'l-beyân Fi Kavânin-i Âl-i Osman*, 263. Hezârfen and Ebu Su'ud Efendi accepted the collection of fines. Some Ottoman jurists, however, were opposed to the collection of fines in lieu of flogging. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 280–83.

48. 'Arif, *Kanunname-i Al-i Osman*, 1–72, for the criminal code, see 1–10; Robert Anhegger and Halil Inalcik, *Kanunname-i Sultani ber Muceb-i Orf-i Osmani* (Ankara, TTK, 1956); Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 19–32, 171–80.

49. 'Arif, *Kanunname-i Al-i Osman*, 5. See also Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebussuûd Efendi*, 149–52.

50. Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhisü'l-beyân Fi Kavânin-i Âl-i Osman*, 262–63.

51. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 105–7. Hezârfen specified the fine for

injury as three thousand *akçe*, injury to the eye as fifteen hundred *akçe*, to the arm one thousand *akçe*, and to the head fifty *akçe*. For sodomy he recommended strokes and a forty *akçe* fine, and for gazing into another man's harem he recommended twenty *akçe*. Hezârîfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhisü'l-beyân Fi Kavânin-i Âl-i Osman*, 262–63.

52. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 284.

53. Stanford and Finopoulos, *Travels of Lord Charlemont*, 215–16. He added that afterwards the murderer was ordered to remain quiet. He emphasized the widespread practice of bribery among the judges in Istanbul, which he attributed to the sale of office among the deputy judges who had purchased their offices as tax farms. He also underscored the bribery among the judiciary in France and England.

54. Kal'a, *Istanbul'da Sosyal Hayat*, 1:197, 207, 224. For Aleppo, see Marcus, *Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 118.

55. Marcus, *Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 18.

56. Kalebend Defteri, vol. 2, BBA.

57. Düzdağ, *Şeyhulislam Ebussuûd Efendi*, 153–56.

58. All categories of offenders were represented, but most were petty thieves, smugglers, and deserters. André Zysberg, "Galley Rowers in the Mid-Eighteenth Century," in *Deviants and Abandoned in French Society*, Selections from *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilizations*, vol. IV, ed. Robert Forster and Orest Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 83–110; on the treatment of galley slaves, see Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 127–32.

59. Paul W. Bamford, *Fighting Ships and Prisons: The Mediterranean Galleys of France in the Age of Louis XIV* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1973), 175.

60. *Ibid.*, 11, 192. After the Bastille prison, the galleys were the most notorious places for the convicts in France.

61. Bostan, *Osmanlı Bahriye Teşkilatı*, 212.

62. İpşirli, "XVI Asırın İkinci Yarısında Kürek Cezası İle İlgili Hükümler," 203–48; Daniel Panzac, "La flotte de guerre Ottomane au milieu du XVIIIe siècle," *Belleten* 60 (1991): 389–406.

63. Panzac, "La flotte de guerre," 390. Venice had thirteen and France had fifteen vessels during this period.

64. *Ibid.*, 402–3.

65. Bostan, *Osmanlı Bahriye Teşkilatı*, 213.

66. *Ibid.*, 227.

67. Faroqhi, *Ottoman Empire and the World*, 131–36. Faroqhi rightly points out the importance of studying the fate of many Muslim captives, some of whom were forcefully baptized or were ransomed in Habsburg territories and in southern Italy.

68. MM 729.

69. İpşirli, "XVI Asırın İkinci Yarısında Kürek Cezası İle İlgili Hükümler," 213. For the transcription of KK 677 (326 convicts) dating from 1563–66, see İpşirli, 214–48.

70. Zysberg, "Galley Rowers in the Mid-Eighteenth Century," 84–85.

71. BBA, *İbnülemin Adliye* 3 (8 folios) and 4; Kamil Kepeci 677 (87 folios); Cevdet Adliye 5576 (6 folios); and Maliyeden Müdevver 729 (347 pages). For a content analysis of Kamil Kepeci 677, see İpşirli, "XVI Asırın İkinci Yarısında Kürek Cezası İle İlgili Hükümler," 205–

14; and Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 304. For a list of these registers that were consulted, see the bibliography.

72. They are called the *register of convicts* in the prison of the imperial arsenal, D.BŞM 15747 (1699–1704); D.BŞM 25748 (1703–1706); Kalem-1 Bahriye 5660 (1706–1707); Bab-i Asafî, 926 (1706–1708); Cevdet Adliye 5176 (1706–1707).

73. I have made extensive use of this register in my analysis of crime. Most of the convicts listed in this register were from Istanbul. I have not located any other *kürek* register for the late eighteenth century.

74. MM 729:14.

75. Bostan, *Osmanlı Bahriye Teşkilatı*, 217.

76. D.BŞM 25748, 10.

77. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 307.

78. *Ibid.*

79. Bamford, *Fighting Ships and Prisons*, 204.

80. Cevdet Adliye 5575, BBA.

81. Bostan, *Osmanlı Bahriye Teşkilatı*, 224.

82. *Ibid.*, 221–22.

83. In other Sunni schools, it is a complementary punishment. The Malikis and Shi'is apply it only to men. Peters, *Crime and Punishment*, 34.

84. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, 212–13.

85. Peirce, *Morality Tales*, 335. On the banishment of prostitutes in Aleppo, see Seмерджян, *Off the Straight Path*, 128–32; Rafeq, “Public Morality in Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Damascus,” 181–84. In Aleppo and Damascus prostitutes were removed from one quarter of the city and settled in another. In Istanbul, banishment was often external.

86. Ginio, “Administration of Criminal Justice,” 195.

87. In eighteenth-century Damascus, the petitions of residents also led to the banishment from their quarter of “evil-doer” men and women accused of drinking, selling wine to Muslims, pimping, and prostitution. Abdul-Karim Rafeq, “Public Morality in Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Damascus,” 181–84.

88. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, 232–34.

89. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims*, 217.

90. *Ibid.*, 228–29.

91. CZ 1491.

92. Mark Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims, and Jews, 1430–1950*. (New York: Knopf, 2005), 106–8.

93. On banishment, see Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 303–4.

94. Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 4:34. The Kevakebizade household supplied another kadi, namely Mustafa Efendi, to that position in Istanbul. He was also eventually removed from office and banished to Kuş Adası. He was pardoned in 1724. See Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 6:198. The removal of kadis in Istanbul before the end of their service (usually one year) occurred frequently in the eighteenth century. On the removal of Mehmed Salih Efendi, the kadi of Istanbul, in 1722, see Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, 6:34.

95. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 301; Peters, *Crime and Punishment*, 34–35, 98–99.

96. See forty-four volumes of Kalebend registers in the Başbakanlık Archives. The earliest register dates from 1721–22. These registers also contain cases of banishment. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 303.

97. See Erim, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Kalebendlik.”

98. Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evlîya Çelebi Seyâhatnamesi*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 395.

99. Abdulkadir Özcan, “Baba Câfer Zindanı,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 4 (Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı, 1991), 366–67.

100. Bostan, *Osmanlı Bahriye Teşkilatı*, 12–13.

101. Ermeya Çelebi Kömürçüyan, *XVII. Asırda İstanbul Tarihi*, ed. Hrand D. Andreasyan and Kevork Pamukçüyan (Istanbul: Eren, 1988), 210–11.

102. *Ibid.*

103. Kömürçüyan, *XVII. Asırda İstanbul Tarihi*, 211; this was also the case with French oarsmen. According to Bamford, in France in the eighteenth century, the galley was used exclusively as a prison, and most oarsmen were in the port working most of the time. Many North African captives in France were put to forced labor. Bamford, *Fighting Ships and Prisons*, 226, 276.

104. CB 5171, BBA. The size of the large ward for captives was 151 x 1,137 meters. The wall was 849 meters long.

105. CZ 3534.

106. Halil Inalcik, “Adaletnameler,” 49–145. Inalcik traces *kanun* and its principles of justice to the fourteenth century. Tolerance towards non-Muslims was part of this principle.

107. CZ 1893. He was arrested and banished in April 1719 and was released in July 1719.

108. CZ 360.

109. The imperial order is written on the top left corner of the petition. The date of the petition is not indicated.

110. The butchers' guild was controlled by the janissaries in the seventeenth century. See Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1994), 593.

111. Sicill series 1, vol. 30:6a.

112. Sicill series 1, vol. 32:27b.

113. Sicill series 1, vol. 30:16b.

114. Şevki Nezihi Aykut, ed. *İstanbul Mahkemesi 121 Numaralı Şer'iyye Sicili, 1231–1232/1816–1817* (Istanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 2006), 12.

115. Hay et al., *Albion's Fatal Tree*, 43. For France, see Natalie Z. Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987).

EPILOGUE

1. Braudel goes on to state that Istanbul consumed more than it exported and would bear no comparison to the great trading cities of Alexandria, Tripoli, and Smyrna (Izmir). It was an urban monster, a composite metropolis, according to Braudel.

2. Weisser, *Crime and Punishment*, 151.

3. Emsley, *Crime and Society in England*, 248.

4. Douglas Hay, Peter Linebaugh, John G. Rule, E. P. Thompson, and Cal Winslow, *Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), 17–26; Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 73–77.
5. Hay et al., *Albion's Fatal Tree*, 21.
6. Hay et al., *Albion's Fatal Tree*, 17–26; Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 73–77; Weisser, *Crime and Punishment*, 138.
7. Emsley, *Crime and Society in England*, 270. In London capital punishment was primarily applied for burglary, highway robbery, murder, and fraud. Only half of the convictions for burglary led to execution while most of the convictions for murder led to execution.
8. Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in England*, 248–62. See table 10.2.
9. Weisser, *Crime and Punishment*, 163–64.
10. Emsley, *Crime and Society in England*, 271.
11. İpşirli, “XVI Asırın İkinci Yarısında Kürek Cezası İle İlgili Hükümler,” 207. See BBA, Ayniyat Defteri 624 (d. 1850) and 625 (1855).
12. Miller, *Legislating Authority*; Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law*, 103–27.
13. See Kalebend and Ayniyat registers in BBA.
14. Weisser, *Crime and Punishment*, 163. Corporal punishment and fines made up 3 percent of sentences.
15. Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Law*, 108–9.
16. Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Law*, 127.
17. Gabriel Baer, “The Transition from Traditional to Western Criminal Law in Turkey and Egypt,” *Studia Islamica* 45 (1974): 142–43. See also C. V. Findley, “Mahkama, 1789–1922,” *EI*, 2nd ed., vol. 6 (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 5–9.
18. Özcan, “Baba Câfer Zindani,” 366.
19. Johnson, *Constantinople To-Day*, 336–37.
20. Johnson, *Constantinople To-Day*, 343–47. This prison was later converted and is now the Four Seasons Hotel.
21. Weisser, *Crime and Punishment*, 166–69; Emsley, *Crime and Society in England*, 272–86.
22. Emsley, *Crime and Society in England*, 272–86. The Pentonville prison in London built in 1840 embodied these ideas.
23. Johnson, *Constantinople To-Day*, 347, 354. According to the police reports, of the total number of 12,558 arrests in Istanbul in 1920, 36.3 percent (4,568) involved larceny, and 40 percent (3,539) involved assault. Women made up 10 percent (1,538) of those who had been arrested.
24. Johnson, *Constantinople To-Day*, 354.

APPENDIX

1. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borgo Turco, Box 39: 96–100. I would like to express my thanks to Ariel Salzman for making this very valuable document available to me.
2. This was the second siege of Vienna. See chapter 3 for a discussion of the 1703 rebellion.
3. This must be Haşımzade al-Seyyid Murtiza Agha, the head of irregulars who helped the government put down the rebellion. He was killed by the rebels and replaced by Çalıkl Ahmed Agha, a rival of Haşımzade.

4. This line is crossed out.

5. This was probably Grand Vizier Köprülüzade Kara Mustafa Pasha (1676–83), who had led the second siege of Vienna but had failed to conquer the city.

6. The Kizilbash were the Shi'i "heretics" and sympathizers of Safavid Iran. This is probably a reference to Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi, who had been wrongly accused of Kizilbash heresy by the rebels.

7. He was one of the negotiators of the peace Treaty of Carlowitz with the Hapsburgs in 1698–99.

8. This is Valide Gülnuş Sultan, the mother of Mustafa II and Ahmed III, a powerful personality in the palace. *The Kizilbash* is a reference to Feyzullah Efendi, who had been accused of Kizilbash heresy.

9. This is Feyzullah Efendi.

10. *Haraj*, a tax paid by conquered people to the Muslim state

11. *Beauties of Edirne* could be a reference to prostitutes.

GLOSSARY

<i>Agha</i>	title of official; head of janissaries
<i>Ahkam</i>	Imperial orders
<i>Akçe</i>	Ottoman silver coin
<i>Amir</i>	<i>ruler</i>
<i>Arak</i>	brand of liquor; also known as <i>raki</i>
<i>Arz</i>	petition
<i>Asesbaşı</i>	chief of night watch
<i>Askeri</i>	military
<i>Avariz</i>	extraordinary taxes and services to meet emergency needs
<i>Azeb</i>	an unmarried young man; a fighting man in the navy; an auxiliary footman
<i>Bab-i Ali</i>	Sublime Porte, the residence or office of the grand vizier
<i>Bagne</i>	French arsenal used as a prison when the need for rowers declined
<i>Bailo</i>	Venetian envoy
<i>Bastinado</i>	beating on the soles of feet while hands and legs are tied up
<i>Bedestan</i>	covered market
<i>Bekar odaları</i>	bachelors' rooms
<i>Belad-i selase</i>	three towns; a reference to three districts of greater Istanbul (in addition to the district of Istanbul)
<i>Beşe</i>	military title used by artisans who were of janissary background
<i>Beylerbey</i>	governor-general

<i>Bin</i>	son of
<i>Bint</i>	daughter of
<i>Bit Pazarı</i>	flea market
<i>Bostancı</i>	originally term for a palace gardener; palace guard in charge of policing of royal mansions and public buildings along the shores
<i>Bostancıbaşı</i>	chief of palace guards
<i>Boza</i>	a drink made from malted millet
<i>Cariye</i>	concubine
<i>Çavuş</i>	police officer; sergeant; guard
<i>Çavuşbaşı</i>	Imperial chief messenger
<i>Cebeci</i>	armorers; a division of the janissary corps
<i>Cellat</i>	executioner
<i>Cema'atbaşı</i>	lay community leader
<i>Çırağ</i>	apprentice
<i>Cizye</i>	Islamic poll tax imposed on a non-Muslim household
<i>Çöplük subaşı</i>	chief of garbage collectors
<i>Çorbacı</i>	title of a colonel of janissaries
<i>Çörek</i>	Sweet braided bread
<i>Damad</i>	son-in-law
<i>Defter</i>	register
<i>Defterdar</i>	accountant
<i>Deli kız</i>	crazy woman
<i>Dinar</i>	silver or gold coin
<i>Dirham</i>	silver coin
<i>Dirhem</i>	unit of measurement: 3.4 grams
<i>Divan</i>	council
<i>Diye</i>	blood money
<i>Emin</i>	comptroller; superintendent
<i>Esnaf</i>	artisanal and trade associations
<i>Fahişe</i>	prostitute
<i>Fetva</i>	legal opinion on Muslim law, issued by the müfti
<i>Firman</i>	Imperial order
<i>Francela ekmeek</i>	fine white bread
<i>Fuhuş</i>	prostitution
<i>Gazi</i>	holy warrior

<i>Gedik</i>	the right to open a shop and exercise a craft only through inheritance or purchase from a master; established in the late eighteenth century
<i>Ghasb</i>	usurpation
<i>Hadd penalty</i>	fixed Qur'anic penalty for adultery, false accusation of adultery, drinking, and highway robbery
<i>Hadith</i>	tradition related to the Prophet Muhammad's sayings and deeds
<i>Haham</i>	religious leader of the Jewish community
<i>Hammam</i>	public bath
<i>Hamr</i>	alcoholic drink; wine
<i>Hamr emini</i>	superintendent of wine tax
<i>Han</i>	a guesthouse, inn, or caravansarai
<i>Haseki</i>	favorite concubine of the sultan
<i>Helva</i>	sweet paste
<i>Hisar</i>	fortress
<i>Ilmiye</i>	religious establishment
<i>Iltizam</i>	revenue contract
<i>Imam</i>	prayer leader in local mosque
<i>Imaret</i>	soup kitchen
<i>Itlak</i>	release from prison and the galleys
<i>Janissary agha</i>	chief of janissaries
<i>Kadi</i>	Islamic judge; four in each district of greater Istanbul (Istanbul, Galata, Eyüp, and Üsküdar)
<i>Kadiasker</i>	title of the chief religious officers of Rumelia and Anatolia
<i>Kaimmakam</i>	deputy grand vizier
<i>Kalebend</i>	imprisonment in a fortress
<i>Kalfa</i>	journeyman
<i>Kalyoncu</i>	sailor
<i>Kanun</i>	Imperial statute; state-enacted law
<i>Kanunname</i>	Imperial law code
<i>Kapı</i>	gate; household; the Ottoman government
<i>Kapı kulu</i>	soldiers at the Porte
<i>Kapudan Pasha</i>	the grand admiral of the fleet
<i>Katib</i>	scribe, clerk
<i>Kefil</i>	moral guarantor; character witness; sponsor
<i>Kerhane</i>	brothel, workshop, or a factory
<i>Kese</i>	purse of money equivalent to 60,000 <i>akçe</i> in 1722

<i>Kethüda</i>	steward; superintendent
<i>Khan</i>	ruler
<i>Khul' divorce</i>	divorce initiated by women
<i>Kisas</i>	retaliation for manslaughter
<i>Kizilbash</i>	Shi'i Muslims; followers of the Safavids of Iran; considered heretics by the Ottoman Sunni ulema
<i>Kızlar aghası</i>	chief black eunuch
<i>Kul</i>	slave of the sultan, educated in the palace and in the service of the state
<i>Kulluk</i>	police station
<i>Kürek</i>	literally "oar"; a sentence of forced labor in the galleys for convicts in Istanbul
<i>Kürek Defteri</i>	galleys register
<i>Kürekçi</i>	Oarsman or rower
<i>Kuruş</i>	Ottoman currency of accounting equivalent to 120 <i>akçe</i>
<i>Lale</i>	tulip
<i>Lale Devri</i>	Tulip Age/era/period, 1718–30
<i>Liman</i>	harbor
<i>Lion dollar</i> (<i>löwentalers</i>)	Dutch silver coin
<i>Liwat</i>	sodomy
<i>Mahalle</i>	residential quarter
<i>Mahkeme</i>	Islamic court
<i>Malikane</i> <i>mukata'a</i>	lifetime tax farm
<i>Maliye</i>	finance bureau
<i>Marrano Jews</i>	Jews from the Iberian Peninsula who converted to Catholicism but remained Jews privately
<i>Mecnun</i>	mentally ill; crazy
<i>Medrese</i>	Islamic college; seminary
<i>Meyhane</i>	tavern
<i>Mimarbaşı</i>	chief architect
<i>Molla</i>	chief Islamic judge; title given to senior member of the ulema
<i>Mucrim</i>	convict
<i>Müezzin</i>	caller to prayer
<i>Müfti</i>	juriconsult who issued <i>fetva</i> (legal opinions on Islamic law)

<i>Muhtar</i>	headman of a neighborhood
<i>Muhtesib</i>	an inspector of the market and public morals
<i>Mukataa</i>	tax farm
<i>Mumcu</i>	bodyguard
<i>Musadere</i>	confiscation of the property of grantees by the treasury
<i>Naib</i>	deputy judge appointed by the kadi
<i>Nan-i 'aziz</i>	regular white bread
<i>Narh</i>	official fixed price; maximum price
<i>Nefy</i>	banishment; exile
<i>Nizami courts</i>	mixed secular courts in which Muslim and non-Muslim judges sat together
<i>Oda</i>	janissary barrack
<i>Okka</i>	measurement of weight equal to 1.28 kg; same as <i>vukiyye</i>
<i>Örf</i>	customary law
<i>Padishah</i>	king
<i>Papaz</i>	priest
<i>Para</i>	small coin worth 3 <i>akçe</i>
<i>Parmak</i>	unit of measurement: 3.13 centimeters
<i>Pasha</i>	title given to Ottoman officials with civil, military, and naval rank
<i>Patrik</i>	Greek and Armenian Orthodox patriarch
<i>Piaster</i>	silver coin; unit of currency in the Ottoman Empire
<i>Rakı</i>	brand of liquor also known as <i>arak</i>
<i>Reaya</i>	productive groups (peasants, merchants, artisans) subject to taxes; in contrast to the <i>askeri</i> (military), who were tax exempt
<i>Recm</i>	<i>Hadd</i> penalty of stoning to death of those convicted of illicit intercourse (<i>zina</i>)
<i>Resm</i>	tax
<i>Sarik</i>	thief
<i>Sarika</i>	theft
<i>Sarik-i atik</i>	habitual thief
<i>Sarrař</i>	moneylender; banker
<i>Şehr aşub,</i> <i>şevk engiz</i>	a genre of poetry devoted to pleasure and sex in the city
<i>Şehr-emini</i>	the perfect of Istanbul
<i>Sekban</i>	mercenary unit, armed with muskets and under the command of a janissary officer

<i>Serseri</i>	vagabond
<i>Şeyhülislam</i>	title of the chief müfti of Istanbul; the senior officer in the Ottoman religious hierarchy
<i>Seyyid</i>	people claiming descent from the Prophet's family
<i>Şari'a</i>	Islamic law
<i>Sicill</i>	register; judicial register of Islamic courts
<i>Şikayet</i>	petition; lawsuit submitted by the <i>reaya</i> and officials to the members of the Imperial Council in Istanbul
<i>Simit</i>	bagel
<i>Sipahi</i>	cavalryman
<i>Subaşı</i>	chief of day police
<i>Şubhe</i>	legal doubt
<i>Sürgün</i>	forceful settlement
<i>Tanzimat</i>	reform programs of 1839–76 initiated by Sultan Mahmud II
<i>Te'zir</i>	discretionary corrective punishment, usually flogging but also including rebuke, exposure to scorn, caning, banishment, and imprisonment
<i>Tereke defters</i>	estate records of the deceased
<i>Tersane</i>	Imperial shipyard and arsenal that contained a prison
<i>Tevkif-Hane</i>	House of Correction
<i>Tezkire</i>	any kind of certificate (including pay certificate)
<i>Timar</i>	fiscal administrative unit from which a cavalryman was allowed to collect revenue in return for military service, the basic level of which was the amount considered necessary to maintain him and his horse for a year
<i>Topçu</i>	cannoneer; gunner
<i>Topçubaşı</i>	head of cannoneers
<i>Tulumbacı</i>	fire brigade
<i>Tumân</i>	unit of currency in Iran
<i>Ulema</i>	Muslim religious scholars
<i>Ummuveled</i>	mother of child of servile background
<i>Usta</i>	master
<i>Vakf</i>	charitable religious foundation and an endowed property normally exempt from taxation and confiscation by the state
<i>Valide-sultan</i>	queen mother
<i>Voyvoda</i>	a kind of mayor or governor; Slavic title used for prince; financial agent
<i>Vukiyye</i>	unit of measurement equaling 1.28 kg (standard)
<i>Yalı</i>	waterside residence

<i>Zabit</i>	police officer, commissioner
<i>Zaptiye</i>	police department
<i>Zecriye</i>	tax on wine
<i>Zimmi</i>	non-Muslim people of the book (Christians and Jews) and subjects who paid the poll tax
<i>Zina</i>	unlawful intercourse
<i>Zindan</i>	prison
<i>Zorba</i>	rebel; gang leader

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