

Two urban districts in early modern Istanbul: Edirnekapi and Yedikule

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ABSTRACT: This paper explores how the system of meat supply influenced the topographical development of two marginal districts of sixteenth-century Istanbul. Through the combination of information contained in various historical sources, the paper reconstructs the economic links between some of their 'dependent' establishments such as slaughterhouses, tanning workshops, candle- and soapmakers. Throughout, it is argued that decisions about the location of these establishments were closely related to social, economic and probably technological factors of the era.

In the last twenty-five years, studies that have concentrated on urban development have displayed a growing dissatisfaction with the restrictions of periodicity, particularly those that have focused on the changes incurred in the evolution from pre-modern to modern societies. Christopher Friedrichs adopts a narrative approach in his description of the urban character shared by European cities over three centuries. By focusing on the enduring commonalities, Friedrichs directs attention away from the regional and functional diversity of specific periods to the norm of urban life that belonged to the era of the 'early modern'.¹ This shift in the paradigms of earlier literature has also influenced how we research the urban development of cities outside Europe, enriching our discussion with new questions or issues within the parameters of the existing sources. Jeremy Boulton, for example, has attempted to reconstruct a particular urban neighbourhood in seventeenth-century London. It is now almost possible to relive the urban experience of early modern London, of walking along the High Street of the Borough district of Southwark in 1622.² It is, of course, a very different experience, as Edhem Eldem has described,

¹ C.R. Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City, 1450–1750* (London, 1995). For an earlier consideration of the *longue durée*, see also P. Clark (ed.), *The Early Modern Town* (New York, 1976).

² J. Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987), 166–205.

to accompany Dominique Fornetty, a second dragoman of the French embassy in Istanbul, on a walk through the district of Galata in 1693.³

However, some distinctive characteristics of urban life are exhibited by most cities in early modern Europe. The city inhabitants normally lived near the market places at the centre of the town while urban industries frequently were located outside the city walls, remote from the built-up areas. The tanning industry, for example, was usually confined to a quarter outside the city walls to avoid the pollution caused by the tanning process. Most industrial activities were confined to the periphery of non-European cities for similar reasons in this period. It was, as Braudel has suggested, 'a kind of modern zoning'.⁴ Thus Grunebaum's model for the Muslim town of the early modern period is not radically different from that of Sjoberg for the European town as in both cases urban industries were located in areas outside the town.⁵ It is justifiable, only in this broader context, to assume some overlap, for example, in the experience of Istanbul's tanners and those of London, just as between those in Venice and Cairo and Jerusalem. My intention, here, is not to challenge the temporal boundaries of early modern Europe but to attempt to situate Istanbul in the 'early modern' urban context.

How the system of provisioning, if it existed, influenced the urban development of sixteenth-century Istanbul is an important topic in the urban history of the early modern era. Istanbul was certainly comparable with the other great cities of Europe; it was larger than Paris, London and Madrid, and perhaps even larger than Naples by the end of the sixteenth century.⁶ Such a city required a well-established network providing interactions both within and without the city. A number of studies have

³ E. Eldem, D. Goffman and B. Masters, *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir and Istanbul* (Cambridge, 1999), 142–9.

⁴ F. Braudel, 'Pre-modern towns', in idem, *The Early Modern Town*, ed. P. Clark (New York, 1976), 53–90.

⁵ See G.E. von Grunebaum, 'The structure of the Muslim town', in idem, *Islam, Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition* (Madison, 1955), 141–58. Compare G. Sjoberg, *The PreIndustrial City, Past and Present* (New York, 1960), 182–219. Even though both models have been criticized because their features were not applicable to all non-modern societies to which they belonged, it may be striking to note the parallels between these two. In this context, Max Weber's exclusion of the Islamic city from his typology of the city should be redefined: M. Weber, *The City*, trans. and ed., D. Martindale and G. Neuwirth (London, 1963). See A.H. Hourani, 'The Islamic city in the light of recent research', in A.H. Hourani and S.M. Stern (eds), *The Islamic City* (Oxford, 1970), 9–24. For the recent discussion, see also the introduction of Eldem et al., *The Ottoman City*, 1–16.

⁶ Even though the figure of 700,000 inhabitants estimated by Barkan and used by Braudel has been reduced by later studies, there are still no definite figures for the population of sixteenth-century Istanbul: Ö.L. Barkan, 'Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'Empire Ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècle', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of Orient*, 1 (1958), 9–36; F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. S. Reynolds (London, 1972), vol. 1, 408. For an attempt to estimate the urban population of Istanbul quarter by quarter, see S. Özkoçak, 'The urban development of Ottoman Istanbul in the sixteenth century' (unpublished SOAS University of London Ph.D. thesis, 1997), 57–62.

already considered the provisioning of Istanbul, but these have mainly focused on the actual pattern of supply with relatively little attention given to how this affected the topographical development of the city at the neighbourhood level.⁷ For instance, it is important to know what particular urban establishments were involved in the processing of foodstuffs: where they were located, by and for whom they were built and what buildings were located next to them and why?⁸

This paper explores how the system of meat supply influenced the topographical development of two marginal districts of sixteenth-century Istanbul, just outside the wall (Figure 1). The first, Edirnekapı, and the second, Yedikule, had become the centre for some 'dependent' establishments such as slaughterhouses, tanning workshops, candle- and soap-makers. Both districts had also experienced commercial and residential development, at some distance from these unpleasant occupations related to the slaughter of animals. The paper focuses on the question of whether the dependency between these establishments enforced some industrial or occupational zoning in early modern Istanbul; and if so, how this affected the urban form of Edirnekapı and Yedikule. It also considers the role of private capital, accumulated by pious institutions (*vakıf*), in the creation of the districts and, significantly, whether the Ottoman government was able to enforce controls to implement and shape a pattern of development.

To establish the distribution of 'occupation-related' buildings and produce a picture of the topography of these districts, this study has mainly relied on three types of Ottoman archival sources. The first are the Istanbul *vakıf*-registers (*tahrir defterleri*); these are the official surveys that contain summaries of the deeds of pious foundations registered quarter by quarter in the walled city.⁹ The entries in the registers give the date of the deeds and description of the property made pious endowment (*vakıf*) followed by the total annual income, and some accounts of the purpose of the *vakıf*. Where buildings are specified the entries may also include

⁷ The central argument in the following dissertations has focused on the capacity of the state in regulating and controlling the pattern of supply. See A. Greenwood, 'Istanbul's meat provisioning: a study of the *celepkeşan* system' (unpublished University of Chicago Ph.D. thesis, 1988). See also, concerning the later period, G. Bayerle, 'Provisioning Istanbul: bread production, power, and political ideology in the Ottoman Empire, 1789–1807' (unpublished Indiana University Ph.D. thesis, 2000). The work of Mantran, though outdated, remains the only study so far that has touched upon the topic: see R. Mantran, *Istanbul, dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1962). See also S. Faroqi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520–1650* (Cambridge, 1984), 157–70, who has focused on the towns of Anatolia.

⁸ On this topic, see Özkoçak, 'Ottoman Istanbul'.

⁹ There are three registers to my knowledge: the first, dated 953/1546, has been published by Ö.L. Barkan and E.H. Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri, 953 (1546)* (Istanbul, 1970); the second, dated 986/1578, is in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (the Prime Ministry Archive) Istanbul (hereafter BA), TD 670; and the third, dated 1005/1596, is in the Tapu ve Kadastro Arşivi (the Archive of Title Deed and Land Register's Office) Ankara (hereafter TA), TD 541 and TD 542.

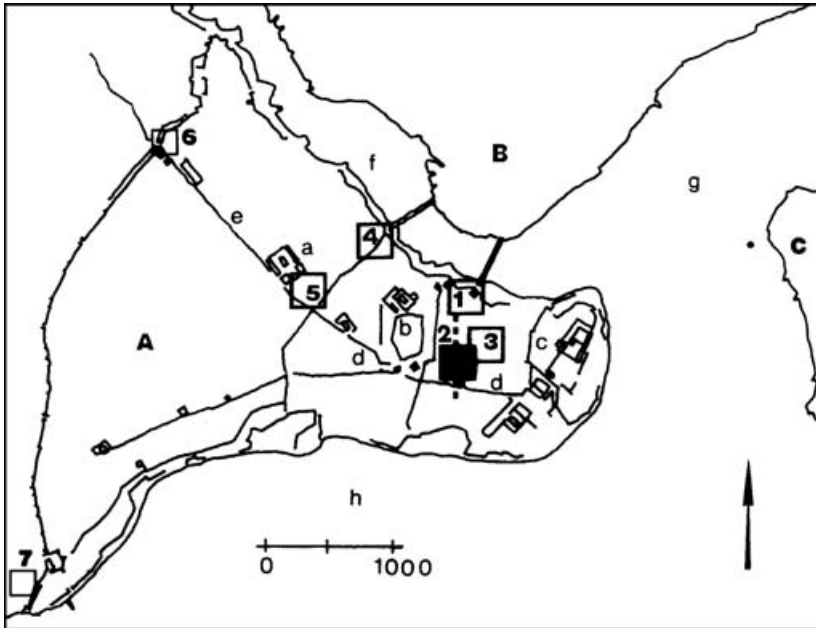


Figure 1: Commercial zone of sixteenth-century Istanbul

Source: The drawing is based on the map published by W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbul* (Würzburg, 1977).
Key: A. Istanbul B. Galata C. Üsküdar

1. Tahtakale 2. Bedestan Area 3. Mahmudpaşa 4. Unkapanı 5. Saraçhane
6. Edirnekapı 7. Yedikule
a. Fatih Complex b. Old Palace c. Topkapı Palace d. the Divan Yolu
e. Edirne-Istanbul Route f. the Golden Horn g. the Bosphorus h. Sea of Marmara

* Note the concentration of commercial activities on the area developing towards the shore.

the street pattern of the area with occasional references to neighbouring buildings. By comparing the information given in the series, it is possible to record the construction of new buildings and alterations to existing ones, and their replacement by different buildings or simply the change of function over a period of time. The court registers (*kadı sicilleri*) have also been used to provide information on various events, and the people and buildings involved in disputes. Additionally, the collections of imperial decrees (*mühimme defterleri*) supplied supplementary information on the social, commercial and urban life of Istanbul for the period.¹⁰

¹⁰ The Court Registers are in the Müftülük Arşivi (the Archive of the Müfti's Office) Istanbul (hereafter MA), and the *Mühimme Defterleri* (hereafter MD) are in the BA.

Division of labour

Even though the Ottoman government did not play a direct role in the process of provisioning meat sold at shops, there was an obligatory system of supply that cannot be ignored. This obligation is to be found in the Market Law (*Ihtisab*) and in a series of decrees issued to enforce the rules and regulations on provisioning meat for the capital.¹¹ In order to monitor the regulations effectively, the authorities needed to control the producers in the provinces and the retailers in Istanbul. Within the city, the Ottoman guild, whose authority was backed by the judge (*kadı*) and the market inspector (*muhtesib*) performed, as elsewhere, some specific functions. The guild acted both as buyer of raw materials and seller of the products; it enforced quality standards and the prices of manufactured goods, and most importantly, it protected its members' occupations from expropriation by opportunistic urban elites.¹²

Within the system of meat supply, there were first the provisioning officers (*celepkeşan*) who were authorized to drive cattle and sheep to Istanbul, largely from the provinces of the Balkan peninsula and Ottoman Rumelia.¹³ They were obliged to muster them in Edirnekapı outside the wall. City butchers (*kassab*), who belonged to one of the most vital victualling crafts, were required to purchase cattle and sheep from the market held in Edirnekapı and do their butchering at a slaughterhouse in the area. They were expected to sell the meat at butchers' shops that existed in almost every neighbourhood within the wall.¹⁴ In addition, there were tanners, candle- and soapmakers who were enrolled in dependent manufacturing guilds. Leather merchants, though involved with another dependent sector, seem to have been discouraged, as we shall see, by the authorities from taking part in the system.

Each provisioning officer was made responsible for bringing a certain number of cattle and sheep at a certain time of the year, and for selling them at a fixed price and location. The distribution was thought to be

¹¹ Ö.L. Barkan, '15. asrın sonunda bazı büyük şehirlerde eşya ve yiyecek fiyatlarının tespit ve teftişi hususlarını tanzim eden kanunlar I [Edicts setting and inspecting the prices of goods and foodstuffs in some great Ottoman cities in the end of the fifteenth century]', *Tarih Vesikalari*, 1/5 (1942), 329–30.

¹² For the Ottoman guild, see G. Baer, 'The administrative, economic and social functions of Turkish guilds', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 1 (1970), 28–50, and H. İnalcık, 'The Ottoman economic mind and aspects of the Ottoman economy', in M.A. Cook (ed.), *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East* (London, 1970), 207–18. For comparison, see D.M. Palliser, 'The trade guilds of Tudor York', in P. Clark and P. Slack (eds), *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500–1700: Essays in Urban History* (London, 1972), 86–116, and S.R. Epstein, 'Craft guilds, apprenticeship, and technological change in preindustrial Europe', *The Journal of Economic History*, 58 (1998), 684–713.

¹³ Ahmed Refik, *Onuncu Asr-i Hicride İstanbul Hayatı, 1495–1591 [Life in Istanbul in the tenth century Hicri]* (Istanbul, 1988), 78–9.

¹⁴ For a detailed analysis of the system of meat supply for sixteenth- and eighteenth-century Istanbul, see Greenwood, 'Istanbul's meat', and his recent article 'Meat provisioning and Ottoman economic administration', in Ç. Kafescioğlu and L. Thys-Şenocak (eds), *Aptullah Kuran İçin Yazılar/Essays in Honour of Aptullah Kuran* (Istanbul, 1999), 191–210.

regulated in accordance with some official registers under the supervision of market authorities and guild representatives. Consider, for example, the report that 200,000 sheep were driven to the city yearly, and 80 sheep were daily given to the Jewish community while the rest were divided between the palace and the public kitchens of the city's religious complexes.¹⁵ However, this took place only in theory. The provisioning officers frequently avoided their responsibility, and it was difficult to impose tighter controls, especially in cases where animals were brought from afar.¹⁶ It can be surmised that hardly any of the sheep ordered for Istanbul from the villages of Anatolia would have reached the city.¹⁷

Despite the efforts of the market authorities and guilds, the policing of the meat supply was no better within the city. There were persistent suspicions that the city butchers privately slaughtered cattle and sheep to sell the meat at higher prices. Of course, the butchers must have wanted to make an extra profit, but this eventually caused a scarcity in the meat supply. In 1566, for example, Jewish butchers were required by law to butcher cattle and sheep at a slaughterhouse in Yedikule, and for this they were granted a shop in the area.¹⁸ However, thirteen years later in 1579, Jewish butchers were reported to have still been slaughtering cattle and sheep illegally at some other locations and selling the meat at higher prices in the city markets.¹⁹ In 1579, the same year, twenty butchers elsewhere in the city were purchasing cattle and sheep in secret thus causing a shortage. Consequently, the authorities ordered the demolition of these butchers' shops.²⁰

Ottoman authorities struggled to control the activities of butchers and restrict the number of their shops. But as the above cases show, years later they were still grappling with the same issues which indicates that such cases were not rare in sixteenth-century Istanbul. The recurrent, almost cyclical nature of these problems may well illustrate that the authorities were unable to restrict specific activities to the zones that they controlled.

Boundaries and density

The district of Edirnekapı, the first area under investigation in this paper, was primarily the gateway to channel the considerable traffic passing in and out of Istanbul in the sixteenth century. It housed the livestock market

¹⁵ Ahmed Refik, 'Sultan Süleyman kanunun son senelerinde, İstanbul'un usul-u iaaşesi [The provisioning procedure of Istanbul in the last years of the reign of Süleyman I]', *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası*, 37 (1916–18), 23–42.

¹⁶ Refik, *Onuncu*, 96–8.

¹⁷ See Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen*, 223, and Greenwood, 'Istanbul's meat', 28.

¹⁸ MD 5, 921/348.

¹⁹ MD 39, 78/32.

²⁰ MD 40, 384/173. Cattle and sheep for Istanbul's consumption were continuously smuggled to other markets of the city by butchers. See MD 61, 246/101, 247/101, 249/102.

just beyond the city gate of the area.²¹ It became the daily meeting place for cattle and sheep dealers, butchers, and many others who were engaged in the meat supply.²² The inner part of the district also included the customs house for goods sent by land, the Karagümrük, providing a further meeting place for people.²³

Within the wall, the *wakıf*-registers administratively defined four city quarters that grew up around the quarter (*mahalle*) mosques situated close to the Edirne–Istanbul route. These are the quarters of the Ali Paşa Mosque, the Hadice Sultan Mosque, the Hacı Muhyiddin Mosque and the Kasım Beğ Mosque. The analysis has shown that the size of the population of each quarter and the density varied according to their location (Figure 2).²⁴ The quarter of the Hadice Sultan Mosque, nearest to the Edirne Gate, was the most densely populated area, followed by the quarter of the Ali Paşa Mosque. The two other quarters had smaller populations because they included a massive vegetable garden, reclaimed from the disused Byzantine cistern known as the Çukur Bostan.²⁵

Numerous commercial structures were endowed by those who built the major religious foundations of the district, and all produced revenue for these religious complexes. The founder and later the administrator of the endowment normally built or bought some new premises with the available cash on ground nearby. For example, Hadice Sultan, daughter of Bayezid II, who built the Hadice Sultan Mosque, endowed a shop in the commercial area of the district. Ali Paşa, the founder of the Ali Paşa Mosque, erected three shops adjacent to the Edirne Gate. Kasım Ağa, the founder of the Kasım Beğ Mosque, endowed a complex close to Ali Paşa's shops. It consisted of five shops and a group of shops that served cooked animal heads (*hanut el revvoas*) built on a plot of 20 by 18 *zira*.²⁶ This complex had been in the hands of Hasan, and Kasım Ağa apparently bought it to

²¹ The market lasted until midday and often continued after the time for the afternoon prayers. For the schedule see Refik, *Onuncu*, 103.

²² The Ottoman government enforced sales tax on sheep and the right to collect this tax was sold by the state as a tax farm. It was collected at the point of distribution while several men representing the tax farmer, the state officials and the butchers' guild were present: see Greenwood, 'Istanbul's meat', 44.

²³ The Ottoman sources do not say much about the activities in the Karagümrük, but it can be assumed that it was not on the scale of the customs house for goods shipped to the city. Even goods sent by land, specifically grain, were taxed in the Flour House, Unkaparı, not in the Karagümrük. For this, see Özkoçak, 'Ottoman Istanbul', 133.

²⁴ For the population estimate for Edirnekapı, see *ibid*, 167–8.

²⁵ The Byzantine cisterns of Constantinople were left empty in the Ottoman period and turned to vegetable gardens known as *çukur bostans*. The Çukur Bostan that appears here was built by Praefect Aetius in AD 421: see S. Eyice, 'Tarih içinde İstanbul ve şehrin gelişmesi [The history of Istanbul and the city's development]', *Atatürk Yıllık Konferansları* (1975), 100–1.

²⁶ *Zira* is the Ottoman length measure used in architecture in the sixteenth century; it is equivalent of 0.650 m. See H. İnalçık, 'Introduction to Ottoman metrology', *Turcica*, 15 (1983), 311–18.

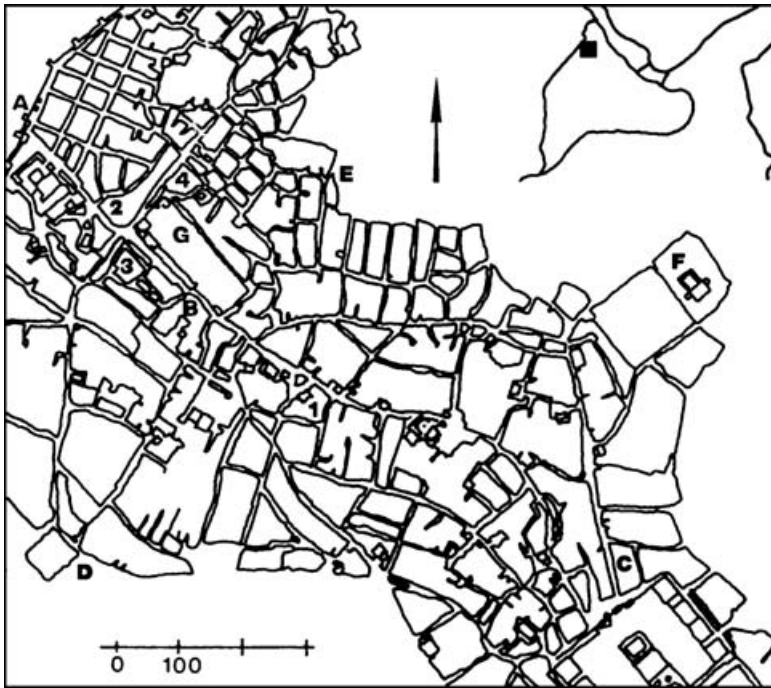


Figure 2: Quarters of Edirnekapı

Source: M. Cevdet 064. The drawing is based on the map published by E.H. Ayverdi, 19. *Asırda İstanbul Haritası [A Map of Istanbul in the nineteenth century]* (Istanbul, 1958).

Key: A. Edirne Gate B. Edirne-Istanbul route C. Otlukçu yolu
 D. Yenibahçe E. Draman F. Sultan Selim Complex G. Çukur Bostan
 1. Quarter of the Ali Paşa Mosque 2. Q. of the Hadice Sultan Mosque
 3. Q. of the Hacı Muhyiddin Mosque 4. Q. of the Kasım Beğ Mosque

increase the revenue for his *vakıf*. He, also, endowed a butcher's shop on a plot of 9 by 7 *zira'* nearby.²⁷

The boundary extended for some distance beyond the wall, reaching the part that was not regarded as a settled area. As noted above, this part of Edirnekapı was where cattle and sheep were distributed. It contained considerable areas of cultivated land and open meadows, used as pasture land or for cemeteries. In common with many suburbs of early modern cities, this setting normally attracted illegal occupation. In 1583, there was a complaint that people were collecting wood and stone in the cemeteries of Edirnekapı outside the wall, so there was not enough space for burials in the graveyards and that people were even unable to have a proper

²⁷ See the Ayasofya *vakıf*-register of 926/1520, the Atatürk Library, Istanbul, M. Cevdet 064, 138–9.

funeral.²⁸ This vacant area was eventually threatened by urban growth. It gave way to an agglomeration of dwellings by squatters who tried to avoid paying land rent. In 1573, it was reported that some houses and shops were erected on land belonging to the cemeteries of the sultan's pious endowment in this area and elsewhere outside the city walls. All were ordered to be demolished.²⁹ Some, of course, still continued to occupy such areas, and since we are informed only of those who were reported, there is no means of knowing how many remained, and how many obeyed the order.

Near the main marketing area by the Edirne Gate, both within and without, there were taverns (*meyhanes*) and coffeehouses (*kahvehanes*) which many male inhabitants of the district frequented during the day and night. In Edirnekapı, as elsewhere, such victualling houses were important popular alternatives to religious foundations as centres of various neighbourhood activities. However, almost everywhere, these establishments were associated by authorities with criminal activities and moral disorder. For example, frequenters of these taverns often appeared before the court accused of making insinuating remarks to women coming out from a public bath nearby, and provoking other passers-by to a fight.³⁰ The city authorities of Istanbul seem to have been less able to maintain public order than in London during this period.³¹ It appears that taverns and coffeehouses were frequently ordered to be closed down in the capital and other places in the Ottoman domains. However, in the event of such closures, people converted their houses into taverns in secret to continue business. In 1570, some houses in Edirnekapı, inside the wall, which had been turned into taverns, were ordered to be demolished.³² Whether this was carried out remains uncertain as such taverns continued to create problems for the courts of this area. In 1612, two persons identified as members of the butcher's guild were involved in an instance of fighting in a *meyhane* of a slaughterhouse of Edirnekapı outside the wall.³³ A similar instance took place in the same year, in front of another *meyhane* inside the wall, where two butchers stabbed each other with knives.³⁴

Urban establishments

The area just beyond the walls of the two districts, Edirnekapı and Yedikule, was, in fact, a place of urban production; it contained some

²⁸ MD 48, 640/229.

²⁹ MD 23, 267/131.

³⁰ MD 46, 697/306, and MD 73, 349/767.

³¹ Boulton, *Neighbourhood*, 270. He has shown that similar victualling houses were fairly controlled in the Borough district of London in 1622 even though they were associated with many illegal activities in the city.

³² MD 9, 233/90.

³³ MA, Is. 1/2-7, 133.

³⁴ MA, Is. 1/71, 488.

'dependent' establishments engaged in trades related to animal products which created within it an urban character of the period.

It was in Yedikule that Mehmed II (d. 1481), the Conqueror, built the first group of slaughterhouses, and this initially consisted of thirty-two shops.³⁵ New slaughterhouses were built over a period of time in this area. The Ayasofya *vakıf* register of 1520 lists two facing rows of twenty-one shops of similar size, specified as being used for butchering cattle and sheep. Even though the number of shops, often described only as rooms, provide some indication of the scale of these establishments, it does not give us the whole picture. Most of these shops were owned by different individuals who took perhaps no direct part in the business activity. For example, several women were listed as owners yet would certainly not have been involved with the slaughter of animals.³⁶ In Edirnekapı, just beyond the Edirne Gate, there was a slaughterhouse complex belonging to Hürrem Sultan (d. 1558), the wife of Süleyman I and mother of Prince Mehmed.³⁷ The complex consisted of eighteen rooms, and it produced a substantial amount of revenue, 18,485 *akçe* a year for her *vakıf*.³⁸ Near this complex, there were three private slaughterhouses described in a document of 1612 as a group of buildings constructed against one another, and these belonged to some Greek inhabitants of the neighbourhood.³⁹

By confining slaughterhouses to these districts, Ottoman authorities, if obeyed, may well have extended the controls. But there always remained some parts of the city where the authorities were ineffective. Slaughterhouses were frequently reported as newly built in unauthorised areas. Some smuggled sheep from these slaughterhouses, which others marketed the butchered meat at above the fixed price which was justification enough to order demolition.⁴⁰ However, from the decrees, it is not always possible to discover whether they were all eventually knocked down, and only rarely did decrees reveal that newly built slaughterhouses had been found and demolished.⁴¹

On the other hand, a part of Yedikule outside the wall on the coast of the Sea of Marmara developed into one of the first suburbs of the tanning industry after the conquest in 1453. It originally consisted of twenty-seven workshops on the coast.⁴² Its capacity doubled in the sixteenth century,

³⁵ See the deed of the Fatih *vakıf*, dated 901 (1495), published by F. Kiper, *Fatih Mehmed Vakfiyeleri* (Ankara, 1938), 211.

³⁶ M. Cevdet 064, 76a.

³⁷ Hürrem Sultan had endowed a great religious complex with a health centre in the city at Aksaray: G. Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London, 1971), 204–6. The date of the foundation of her *vakıf* is cited as 958/1551: see Barkan and Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları*, *vakıf* no. 2496.

³⁸ *Akçe* was the silver coin, the Ottoman currency in the sixteenth century.

³⁹ MA, Is. 1/39, 260.

⁴⁰ MD 61, 246/101, 249/102 and 250/102. Since most of these slaughterhouses were assigned to pious endowments it was not a simple matter to demolish them even for the state without a valid reason.

⁴¹ MD 61, 247/101.

⁴² Kiper, *Fatih Mehmed*, 211.

reaching forty-seven workshops with many urban dwellings.⁴³ In addition to slaughterhouses and tanning workshops, the sale of oak-bark (*palamud*) which was an important tanning material, also took place in this area.⁴⁴ In the sixteenth century, this part of Yedikule consisted of a mosque, two public eating-houses that served cooked animal heads (*başhanes*), forty-nine shops, nine urban houses and twenty-one smaller dwellings.⁴⁵ The Sultan, Bayezid II (d. 1512) endowed two baths there: one was to be used only by the tanners who worked for the palace while the other was for the public.⁴⁶ The *vakıf*-register describes a house complex, probably occupied by a tanner working in this quarter. It contained a storage space beneath the house for keeping the tanning tools with a shop constructed of wood arranged around a courtyard.⁴⁷ In the seventeenth century, Evliya noted that this quarter was largely inhabited by bachelor tanners because its filthy and smelly conditions could only be tolerated by those who actually worked there.⁴⁸

Tanning workshops were obviously dependent on slaughterhouses for supplies of animal hides and, thus, required to be built near their suppliers determined by the authorities. Significantly, the tannery of Istanbul was located in Yedikule, in the outer limits of the city, to protect the inhabitants from the dirt and smells generated by the tanning process.⁴⁹ For example, in the early sixteenth century, some tanning workshops had operated between Unkapanı and Cebe'ali inside the wall, alongside the shoreline of the Golden Horn, near the most populated parts of the city. These workshops had been demolished by an imperial order stating that all tanners were to be transferred outside the wall, and then outside the quarter.⁵⁰ Such a relocation of a tannery was not, of course, particularly unusual. It became necessary almost everywhere as the city expanded and

⁴³ Evliya estimated a total of 700 tanneries in seventeenth-century Istanbul, Galata, Üsküdar and Eyüb, but he was well known for his exaggeration: J. von Hammer (trans.), *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the seventeenth century by Evliya Efendi* (London, 1844), vols 1/2, 206.

⁴⁴ Oak-bark (*palamud*) constituted one of the main sources in processing of the coarse leather: see H. İnalçık, 'Eyüp projesi [The Eyüp project]', in idem, *Eyüp: Dün/Bugün [Eyüp: Today and Yesterday]* (Istanbul, 1994), 1–23. It was imported from outside, especially from the villages of Rumelia. See Refik, *Onuncu*, 112. For oak-bark shops adjacent to the tanners' workshops in this area, see Barkan and Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları, vakıf* nos 1103 and 1107.

⁴⁵ M. Cevdet 064, 76. The first mosque, Yedikule Cami, was built by Mehmed II, the Conqueror. Two other mosques were later added to the quarter by some individuals who actually worked and lived there, bearing the following names: the butchers' mosque built in 1683, and the tanners' mosque built in 1765. See [Hüseyin Efendi] Ayvansaraylı, *Hadikat'ül Cevami [Encyclopaedia of Mosques]*, 2 vols (Istanbul, 1865), vol. 1, 227–8.

⁴⁶ T. Gökbilgin, 14–15. *Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası Vakıflar [Vakıfs, in the Livas of Edirne and Paşa in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries]* (Istanbul, 1952), 34.

⁴⁷ It was bounded by watering places for cattle or sheep: Barkan and Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları, vakıf* no. 2382.

⁴⁸ Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi* (Istanbul, 1336/1920), vol. 1, 88.

⁴⁹ Yedikule also provided ready water and large open spaces, which were necessary for various treatments of animal hides such as depilation, stretching hides and for final cleaning: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edn., XVI, 334–6.

⁵⁰ Barkan and Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları, vakıf* no. 1536.

its outer limits changed. It occurred, for example, in sixteenth-century Ottoman Jerusalem and seventeenth-century Kayseri.⁵¹ Environmental reasons, specifically pollution of the Golden Horn with filthy waste, are unlikely to have ever been important in this decision. Take a case in 1586: the city inhabitants had deposited rubbish and other waste on the landing places alongside the Sea of Marmara. They were ordered to take the rubbish to the landing place on the Golden Horn.⁵²

Within this network of urban establishments, there were craft industries producing candles and soap, and these were dependent on slaughterhouses for supplies of animal fat.⁵³ Their workshops appear near their suppliers in both Edirnekapı and Yedikule. In this connection, it is worth noting that candle- and soapmakers were made officially dependent for raw materials on the specific slaughterhouses located near them. This was, as was the case in the tanning industry, to prevent a shortage of raw materials that would have interrupted production. Consider, for example, that the animal fat collected at a butcher's shop outside the Ayakapısı was originally given to the Hasköy candlemaker, which produced candles for the palace for outdoor lighting. In 1584, it was claimed that the Hasköy candlemaker had a shortage of animal fat because its supply had been taken by a candlemaker in Kasımpaşa.⁵⁴

The area of Edirnekapı, outside the wall, contained many candlemakers as animal fat was readily available. In 1612, a court case describes a candlemaker (*şem'ahane*) in this quarter. Endowed by Haseki Sultan as a source of income for her *vakıf*, this candlemaker appears at the centre of three slaughterhouses which were owned by non-Muslims. It had been let to a non-Muslim at the low rent of 100 *akçe* a month, and was presumably operated by this tenant.⁵⁵ He appears to have transferred it to his son at 50,000 *akçe*.⁵⁶ Another document informs us that a candle-shop (*mumcu dükkanı*) was built against the walls of a non-Muslim candlemaker in this area. This shop had been let to a Janissary, Ahmed Beğ, also at the low rent of 75 *akçe* a month.⁵⁷

It appears that the retailing of tallow candles took place at candlemakers, and there is some evidence that even beeswax candles were required to be

⁵¹ For Jerusalem, see Cohen, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 17. For Kayseri, see Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen*, 160.

⁵² MD 58, 29/9. The foundation of numerous factories on the waterfront of the Golden Horn in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries further shows the lack of environmental considerations even in the course of the later periods.

⁵³ This was sheep tallow, one of the oldest materials used both for making candles and soap: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, V, 178 and XXV, 297.

⁵⁴ MD 52, 485/189.

⁵⁵ The low rent (*icare-i mü'eccele*) was normally granted to those who promised to repair a property that had fallen into disuse.

⁵⁶ Of the 50,000 *akçe*, 20,000 was estimated as the cost of tools found in the shop: MA, Is.1/39, 260.

⁵⁷ MA, Is. 1/54, 369.

sold at candlemakers.⁵⁸ Hence, the candlemaker must have differed from the candle-shop in its size or capacity but not in its function as producer-retailer. It would, of course, be inconvenient for city inhabitants if tallow and wax candles had been sold only at candlemakers in Edirnekapı and Yedikule. Grocers, which were found in almost every neighbourhood, must have, therefore, been later allowed to sell candles.⁵⁹

Many candle- and soapmakers were also clustered in Yedikule outside the wall because of the slaughterhouses. The main manufacturing area appears to have developed into rows of shops with related occupations. The Ayasofya *vakıf* register of 1520 lists twenty workshops and/or shops of candlemakers with tanners, twenty-five soapmakers on their own, and fifty-seven workshops of candle- and soapmakers.⁶⁰ In addition to these *vakıf* foundations, some private candlemakers were found in this area, as stated in a court case of 1557 recording the sale of three such candlemakers attached to a soapmaker belonging to the Sultan's *vakıf* on the coast.⁶¹

In this manufacturing area of Yedikule, some shopkeepers are described as butchers. It is evident that butchers were involved in the production and retailing of candles and soaps, although this was not permitted. In 1582, for example, the candlemakers stated that some butchers had kept animal fat for themselves and had begun producing candles. The butchers were told to confine themselves to their trade: they had to give animal hides to tanners' workshops and animal fat to candlemakers and soapmakers.⁶²

Butchers, who were required to be fairly well-off, were usually appointed by the authorities, and in most cases this was not of their choosing.⁶³ And, as we have seen, butchers were often assigned more than one occupation, and it seems unlikely that they performed the actual butchering.⁶⁴ In 1583, for example, a non-Muslim called Yanaki, who ran a timber shop in Kumkapı and was described as the chief of taverns, was obviously found wealthy enough to be nominated a butcher. Evidently, Yanaki did not reside in Edirnekapı or in Yedikule.⁶⁵ However, those who actually

⁵⁸ BA, D.Şm. 2, 1/2. Beeswax was the raw material from which candles were made, and these candles were better than tallow candles not only in terms of their purity but also their excellent light: see G.P. Bevan, *British Manufacturing Industries* (London, 1876), vol. 5, 128. They must have been more expensive and thus preferred by Ottoman elites and wealthy households.

⁵⁹ See a document stating that candles were sold at grocery shops: E. Eşrefoğlu, '16. ve 17. yüzyılda İstanbul'da belediye mevzuatı, esnafın kontrolü [Municipal regulations, the control of guilds in Istanbul in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries]', *Hayat Tarih Mecmuası* (1976), 61.

⁶⁰ M. Cevdet 064, 76–9.

⁶¹ MA, Ba. 1/73, 601.

⁶² Refik, *Onuncu*, 123.

⁶³ For forced appointments and the criteria taken in the selection of Istanbul butchers, see Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen*, 228.

⁶⁴ The word butcher, *kassab*, was used in general to refer to those who held the license to run butchers' shops: Greenwood, 'Istanbul's meat', 47.

⁶⁵ MD 52, 162/70. Yanaki lived in the quarter of the Bali Paşa Mosque (modern Fatih), a long way from Edirnekapı or Yedikule: see Barkan and Ayverdi, *Istanbul Vakıfları, vakıf* no. 1254.

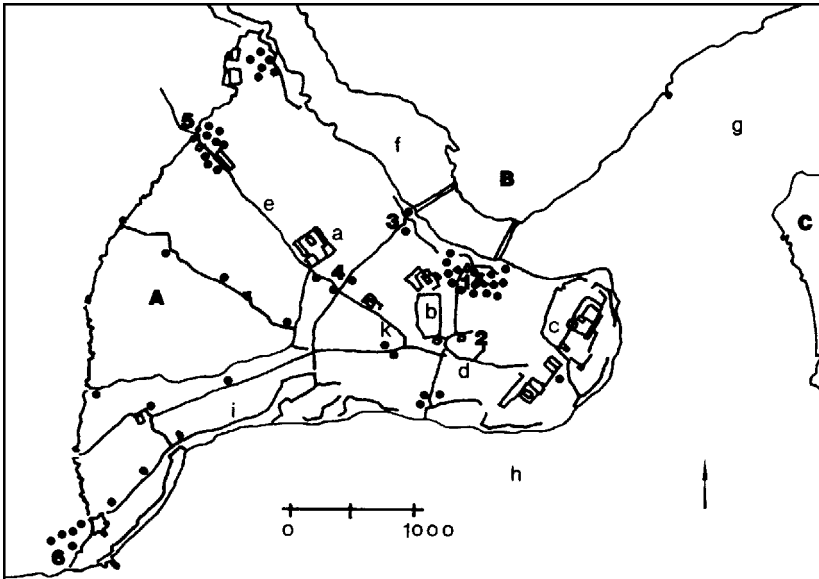


Figure 3: Distribution of the butchers' shops in sixteenth-century Istanbul

Source: M. Cevdet 064. and Ö.L. Barkan and E.H. Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri, 953 (1546)* (Istanbul, 1970). BA, TD 670, and TA, TD 541 and TD 542.

Key: a. Fatih Complex b. Old Palace c. Topkapı Palace d. the Divan Yolu e. Edirne-Istanbul Route f. the Golden Horn g. the Bosphorus h. Sea of Marmara i. Kasap Yolu k. Et Meydanı

* Note the circles filled in black; each represents a *vakif* butcher's shop.

butchered animals usually took up lodgings near or in their workplaces in Edirnekapı or Yedikule.⁶⁶

Butchers' shops were distributed throughout the city with particular concentrations in parts of Edirnekapı and Yedikule, and in the most populated areas (Figure 3). One or two shops were usually found in the market of a quarter with other essential victualling houses such as groceries and bakeries. Many wealthy individuals, not only butchers, from the neighbourhood seem to have supplemented their income by keeping these shops.⁶⁷ The *vakif*-registers record forty-nine butchers' shops found in the walled city in the sixteenth century, though this figure represents only the *vakif* shops. Many private butchers' shops should, of course, be

⁶⁶ MA, Is. 1/39, 260.

⁶⁷ Butchers' shops were sometimes built by people from the neighbourhood: Barkan and Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları*, *vakif* no. 821.

added to this figure.⁶⁸ Some butchers only supplied palaces.⁶⁹ But, it is known that the number of butchers' shops was often attempted to be controlled by the authorities to prevent a probable shortage in the meat supply.⁷⁰

Butchers' shops which supplied only the Janissaries were set up in the Et Meydanı (modern Aksaray) near the Janissary barracks. This square with its mosque and six butchers' shops was also a social gathering place for butchers and the Janissaries. The meat from the slaughterhouse at Yedikule, built specifically for the Janissaries, was brought by butchers to the Et Meydanı along the same route called the Butchers' Route, Kasap Yolu, early every morning.⁷¹

Topographical development

The topographical development of Edirnekapı would further help to explain the social and economic character of the district. The initial development was generally brought about through the alteration of the existing urban layout. Some old foundations indicated in the documents as *kadim* – probably dating from the Byzantine period – were now used to meet the daily needs of the district's inhabitants. For example, it was recorded that two neighbouring Byzantine houses were converted into *boza*-making and/or *boza*-drinking houses (*bozahanes*).⁷² The first was originally a very large house which was built adjacent to the Edirne Gate on a plot of 40 by 16 *zira'*, flanked by streets on two sides. It was later owned, most probably inherited, by Manol. The latter house was a one-storey two-unit block built on a plot of 30 by 22 *zira'*, bordered by a street, a dead end and some other buildings. This was bought by İskender Beğ, who owned the other properties that bordered the premises.⁷³ It was made clear that the whole conversion was carried out following an earthquake.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ It appears that there were four shops in Galata, two in Kasımpaşa and forty-eight in Eyüb: see Refik, *Onuncu*, 92.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 9–10.

⁷⁰ In 1575, all newly built butchers' shops in Galata were ordered to be demolished because they caused scarcity in the meat supply: *ibid.*, 92–3.

⁷¹ İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilatından Kapıkulu Ocakları [The Janissary Corps of the Ottoman State]* (Ankara, 1943), vol. 1, 247–59. See also C. Behar, 'Kasap İlyas Mahallesi, İstanbul'un bir mahallesinin sosyal ve demografik portresi: 1546–1885 [Quarter of Kasap İlyas, the social and demographic portrait of a quarter of Istanbul: 1546–1885]', *İstanbul Araştırmaları*, 4 (1998), 46–7.

⁷² *Boza* was a beverage made of fermented millet. *Bozahanes* frequently appear in most crowded areas of the city.

⁷³ M. Cevdet 064, 138b–139b.

⁷⁴ This must have been the earthquake of 1509 by which the city was extensively devastated, including its walls. See M. Cezar, 'Osmanlı devrinde İstanbul yapılarında tahribat yapan yangınlar ve tabii afetler [Fires and natural catastrophes that caused destruction in the buildings of Istanbul in the Ottoman period]', *Türk Sanatı Tarihi ve İncelemeleri I* (1963), 382–3.

As the cases above show, urban properties were constantly changing hands in sixteenth-century Istanbul, and a new owner could either tear down the existing dwelling to put up a newer one or simply extend the ones that existed. In Edirnekapı, a group of buildings underwent small-scale addition, and, of course, this was not the only one. It consisted of a large shop with two rooms on the ground floor and two on the upper level, occupying a plot of 16 by 11 *zira'*, flanked by streets on two sides. Hüseyin and Hüma, who had other properties in this particular area, bought this complex some time before 1520 from Şaban, and most probably they added the newer part.⁷⁵

Edirnekapı underwent a major commercial and residential development between 1546 and 1596. During this period, twenty-four shops, four shop-dwelling complexes and twenty-four houses were recorded to have been added to the district. This represents only the *vakıf* buildings, and there must have been some private buildings which do not appear in the *vakıf*-registers. In this district, as was the case all over the city at that time, the city gate and the main thoroughfare attracted much of the commercial development. Just inside the Edirne Gate, for example, there had been six shops with a baker's shop built for the *vakıf* of Şeyh Sinan; these developed into eight shops with four one-room apartments.⁷⁶ Some commerce-oriented buildings were constructed adjacent to the mosques and public baths of the district to which they were attached as the *vakıf* property.⁷⁷ Two shop-dwelling units appear adjacent to Ali Paşa's foundation: the first was built for the *vakıf* of Gülbadem and the latter for the *vakıf* of İsmail.⁷⁸ Another shop-dwelling complex may be added built for the *vakıf* of Emine Hatun and three shops built for the *vakıf* of Kumri Hatun adjacent to the Hadice Sultan Mosque.⁷⁹ Some of the new structures were put up for the existing *vakıfs*. For example, a public bath in the Ali Paşa quarter had nine shops built against its walls for the *vakıf* of Hadice Sultan, and a butcher's shop and a shop-dwelling complex were built there for the same *vakıf*.⁸⁰

In this period, the Edirne-Istanbul route appears to have subsequently grown into the main street of the district. The street side of the Çukur Bostan, which was a *vakıf* property of Hacı Mehmed, was lined with rows of shops. Hence, Hacı Mehmed was said to have endowed six shops with

⁷⁵ M. Cevdet 064, 138b.

⁷⁶ The *vakıf* was founded in 965/1559, recorded under the quarter of the Ayasofya Mosque in the third register. New structures must have been built sometime before 1596, the date of the register: TA, TD 541–542.

⁷⁷ For the generating role of a mosque in the development of a city quarter see Özkoçak, 'Ottoman Istanbul', 24–45. For a relevant discussion, see S. Özkoçak, 'The reasons for building: the cases of Rüstem Paşa and Yeni Valide mosques', in Kafescioğlu and Thys-Şenocak, *Aptullah Kuran İçin Yazılar/Essays in Honour of Aptullah Kuran*, 265–76.

⁷⁸ The first *vakıf* was founded in 955/1548 and the latter in 959/1552, recorded under the quarter of the Ali Paşa Mosque: TA, TD 541–542.

⁷⁹ The first *vakıf* was founded in 970/1563 and the latter in 984/1576: BA, TD 670, 500–501.

⁸⁰ The *vakıf* was founded in 919/1513: BA, TD 670, 499b.

six rooms – perhaps used as lodgings – on the street side and eleven shops with ten rooms nearby.⁸¹

The district of Edirnekapı was substantially improved by the construction of the religious complex built by Mihrimah Sultan (d. 1578), daughter of Süleyman I, on the site of a Byzantine church adjacent to the Edirne Gate. It consisted of a mosque, a public bath, a public fountain and a school.⁸² In spite of the congestion by the Edirne Gate, this area had room for new commercial development.⁸³ This appears to have been related to the sale of goods entering the city. For example, a contract document to rent out a cloth shop belonging to Mihrimah Sultan's *vakıf* (*abacı dükkanı*) indicates that there was a market (*abacılar içi*) for woollen cloth or garments, most probably imported from the villages of Rumelia by land.⁸⁴

Conclusion

This paper has explored the topographical development of two districts of sixteenth-century Istanbul, focusing especially on the economic links between some of their 'occupation-related' establishments such as slaughterhouses, tanning workshops, candle- and soapmakers. It has not been possible to provide a complete account of the occupational composition of Edirnekapı and Yedikule in comparison to other parts of the capital, and much remains to be known about the building activity in these districts. However, a number of important issues have emerged which shed light on the process of development in urban industries of early modern Istanbul. It can be suggested that decisions about the location of these establishments were closely related to social, economic and probably technological factors of the era. Regulations and restrictions imposed by the city authorities, as shown, mattered less in establishing the pattern of development in this period. This study of Edirnekapı and Yedikule has attempted to illustrate some of these relationships which are found in other cities of contemporary Europe.

In both Edirnekapı and Yedikule it is clear that the network of dependent occupational groups connected with the meat supply dominated

⁸¹ Barkan and Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları*, *vakıf* no. 2363.

⁸² The construction date of the mosque is uncertain, but it can safely be dated on the basis of two imperial edicts that appeared in the Rüstem Paşa's *vakıf* documents. The first, dated 970/1562–63, ordering the timber for the construction of the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque and that of the public fountain inside the wall in Edirnekapı, indicates that the mosque was under construction. The second, dated 973/1565–66, concerning the acquisition of *vakıf* properties in this area, states that the mosque had already been built. This would suggest that the mosque was completed just before 1565. See the Vakıflar Archive, Ankara, *Rüstem Paşa Vakfıyesi*, 635/1, 3.

⁸³ Mihrimah Sultan demolished a church of the Greek community, Aios Yorgos, to make room for her complex, and she granted them a permit to rebuild their church elsewhere in the area. For a Byzantine church on the site of the Mihrimah Complex, see the map published by A.D. Mordtmann, *Esquisse Topographique de Constantinople* (Lille, 1892), confirming the name of the church and its presence here.

⁸⁴ This is dated 1022/1612. MA, Is. 1/7, 51.

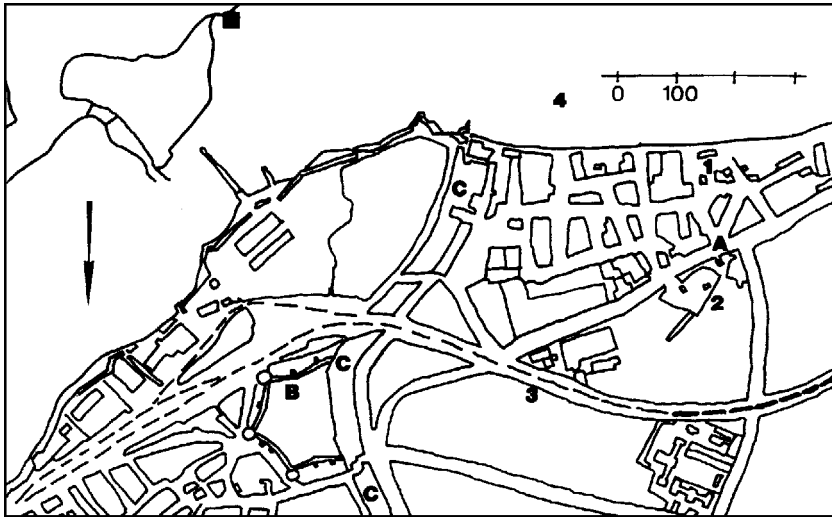


Figure 4: Kazlıçeşme

Source: The drawing is based on the map published in a city guidebook of 1934.

Key: Kazlıçeşme B. the Yedikule C. the city walls

1. the Kazlıçeşme Mosque 2. leather factory 3. railways 4. Sea of Marmara

topographical development. Tanners were totally absent from Edirnekapı since it is not located on the coast, and it was very much part of Istanbul. Like the rest of the city, Edirnekapı experienced commercial and residential development within the wall. The Yedikule area, marking the other end of the city on the coast of the Sea of Marmara, was the most suitable place for tanners in the sixteenth century, because of the convenience of water and large open spaces, and the wishes of the city inhabitants.⁸⁵ It seems to have been isolated from the city, showing more suburban characteristics, although it also had neighbourhoods.⁸⁶ Up to the modern period, Yedikule remained the tannery quarter. Known as Kazlıçeşme, it contained leather factories until very recently when they were removed to Tuzla outside the city.⁸⁷ It was inevitable that, through urban growth, Kazlıçeşme, a suburban development of early modern Istanbul, had become part of the inner city (Figure 4). The leather factories were, therefore, cleared from this particular area of the waterfront of the Sea of Marmara to be turned into leisure parks for wealthy inhabitants of the neighbouring districts, Bakırköy and Yeşilköy.

⁸⁵ The working area of Yedikule was surrounded by grasslands, probably for cattle and sheep: Barkan and Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları*, vakıf no. 2203.

⁸⁶ This area could be comparable to a shanty town of the Industrial Age where cheap inns and apartments were sited for workers around their factory.

⁸⁷ Until recently, we remembered Kazlıçeşme by the dreadful smell that exuded from the tanned leather.