

Provisioning the Ottoman Capital:
Istanbul's Market Garden between the Seventeenth and
Nineteenth Centuries

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Abstract

“Provisioning the Ottoman Capital: Istanbul’s Market Gardens between the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Centuries”

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Assoc. Prof. Cengiz Kırılı, Thesis Advisor

This study is about market gardens and their gardeners, which were a distinctive part of Ottoman Istanbul until recently. It draws on first and second-hand sources to examine the locations, physical features, and property structures of market gardens together with those who worked in there and how they were organized. Moreover, the study reveals the role and importance of market gardens in the provisioning of the city.

Based on archival material, the study describes the urban fabric, the labor structure, and migration with help of visual data. Although the market gardens of Istanbul played an important role in the provisioning of the city, shaped its urban landscape, and provided job opportunities for migrant laborers, they have not received the attention they deserve in Ottoman studies. The foremost goal of the study is to comprehensively document and compile the rich multi-faceted historical data. Another aim is to test two assumptions in the literature on Ottoman history against the historical data, namely, that Istanbul was a “city of consumption,” and that there was essentially a fixed, ethno-religious division of labor in the Empire.

25,000 words

Özet

“Osmanlı İstanbulu’nun İaşesi: Onyedinci ve Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıllar Arasında İstanbul Bostanları”

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Bu çalışma son dönemlerine kadar Osmanlı İstanbulu’nun ayrılmaz bir parçası olan bostanları ve buralarda çalışan bahçıvanları konu almaktadır. Çalışmada bostanların yerleri, fiziksel özellikleri ve yetiştirilen ürünlerin yanı sıra, mülkiyet yapıları, kimler tarafından işletildikleri ve kimlerin çalıştığı ile ilgili bilgiler birincil ve ikincil kaynaklardan yararlanılarak incelenmektedir. Ayrıca bostanların, kentin iâşesindeki rolü ve önemi de ortaya konulmaktadır.

Çalışma arşiv materyalleri ışığında, dönemin kent dokusunu, iş gücü yapısını ve göç olgusunu, görsel malzemeler yardımıyla betimlemektedir. İstanbul’un iâşesinde önemli yere sahip olan, kent peysajını biçimlendiren ve çok sayıda göçmen işçiye iş olanağı sağlayan bostanlar, bir araştırma konusu olarak Osmanlı çalışmaları literatüründe hak ettikleri yeri bulamamıştır. Çok boyutlu ve zengin tarihsel malzemeyi kapsamlıca derleyerek okuyucuya sunmak bu çalışmanın önde gelen hedefidir. Bunun yanında, Osmanlı tarihi literatüründeki yaygın iki kabulü, yani İstanbul’un bir “tüketim kenti” olduğuna ve İmparatorluk’ta sabit bir etnik-dinsel işbölümü bulunduğuna dair varsayımları tarihsel veriler ışığında sınamaktır.

25.000 kelime



To my brother, Ahsen...

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Introduction

Recently, several debates have escalated around environmentalist movements to save the gardens in Yedikule, Kuzguncuk, and Piyale Paşa; in short, the gardens of Istanbul. This has coincided with a phenomenon of urban agriculture becoming popular both in academic circles and in the media. Of course, the once extensive presence of gardens within the city is long gone, and for the most part, only their names remain, as the names of streets, mosques, and public baths. However, urban agricultural lands still exist, despite their diminishing total size. Resisting radically changing circumstances and with standing the test of time, urban gardens are a current issue as much as a historical one.

Urban agricultural lands in Istanbul gradually began losing ground under the influence of modernization at the end of the nineteenth century. They were among the first lands to be dispensed with when land was needed to build new consulates, factories, train stations, schools, and military barracks. Even so, up until the last quarter of the twentieth century, Istanbul maintained agricultural production even within its central districts. One encounters these gardens often on old maps. The urban form of the city changed tremendously with a rapid population increase, that started in the second half of the twentieth century. In the absence of planned measures to guard against the phenomenon, the result was an inevitably haphazard urbanization. Population growth affected the landscape order as rapid increases in construction altered existing

(authentic) land-uses. This resulted in the formation of new residential districts on what had earlier been garden-lands. Thus, urban agricultural lands that had existed for more than a thousand years dramatically lost ground in the span of twenty to thirty years. Another process supporting this course of events was changes in transportation technology. After the 1950s, road construction projects started to be carried out throughout the country, which caused urban agricultural lands to lose their significance. In this sense, Istanbul is just another example of a city in which the development of capitalism expelled the “rural” from urban areas. This led the city to become provisioned via a global food market reliance on fossil fuels.

Historically, the boundaries between the urban and the rural have never been clear: food production and urban space were never as segregated in pre-industrial cities as they are today. At present, the city is thought to be the locus of secondary and tertiary activities (processing raw materials and providing health, education, and similar services) than primary activities such as animal husbandry or agriculture. However, before the modernization of transportation, fresh, perishable vegetables were produced in intra-urban and peri-urban areas and complemented the rural production of staple foods. A garden with domestic farm animals within the city center would be surprising today, whereas a hundred years ago it was an ordinary part of daily, urban life. The distinction between “townsmen” and “countrymen” did exist. For instance, Eyüp, an important district in Istanbul including both urban and rural elements. It is difficult to address the question whether a gardener in the center of Ottoman Eyüp was living an urban or rural life, since one could alternatively approach the question from the point of view of his place of residence or of his profession.

In Turkish, the terms *bostan*, *bağçe*, and *bağ* all generally refer to gardens. The word *bostan* refers to a vegetable garden or a melon patch. The Ottomans generally used the word *bostan* specifically for vegetable gardens; however, it is probable that a few fruit trees also existed in a *bostan*. *Bahçe* is a more inclusive term; it can mean an orchard, a vegetable garden, a flower garden, or a park. It is generally collocated with an adjective to indicate the function of the garden. The word *bağ* is a specific name generally used for vineyards. As gardens in the Ottoman era generally had a mixed organization of vegetables and

fruit trees, both *bahçe* and *bostan* were used interchangeably in archival documents. Since the subject of the present study consists of market-oriented gardens, the term “market garden” will be used to substitute both *bostan* and *bahçe*. While the term “vegetable garden” would also be appropriate “market garden” will be preferred to emphasize.

Istanbul’s agricultural lands and horticultural traditions have lasted for centuries. They have provided sustenance to the city from the antiquity up until modern times. The city has always been dense, and provisioning it was naturally a crucial issue. There had to be an organized, large, complex food supply network to meet the needs of the city. In historical narratives, Istanbul has generally been presented as a city of consumption -sometimes even a “parasitic” city. However, the literature on the provisioning of the city generally focus on grains and meat, whereas fresh produce is overlooked. In fact, the consumption of fresh food in Istanbul was provided for through goods produced within the city itself, which was a natural result of a lack of developed transportation and preservation technologies.

Although there is a wide literature on the urban history and food culture of Istanbul (focusing mostly on court cuisine), there are few works directly addressing the city’s market gardens in the Ottoman era. A study by Suraiya Faroqui and an article by Ayhan Han and Aleksandar Shopov are notable examples. As a matter of a fact, market gardens constituted one of the pillars in the provisioning the city and were highly relevant to its organizational structure -however neglected they are by researchers. Other works not directly related to the issue but important for their ancillary information can be grouped as such follows: studies on Constantinople’s gardens, parks and food culture in the Byzantine era,¹ studies on Istanbul’s food culture and especially court cuisine in the Ottoman era,² studies on Istanbul’s gardens in the fields of art

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- 1 For see examples, see Henry Maguire, “Gardens and Parks in Costantinople,” in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000).; John L. Teall, “The Byzantine Agriculture Tradition,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 25 (1971).; J. Koder, “Fresh Vegetable for the Capital,” in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland: Papers from the Twenty-Seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. Cyril Mango and Gilbert Dagron, (Oxford, 1993), 49-56.
 - 2 For example, see Arif Bilgin, *Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı 1453-1650* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2004)

history and landscape architecture,³ and studies on Istanbul's agricultural fields during the Republican period.⁴

The present study aims to fill this gap in the literature to an extent, focusing on archival records related to Ottoman Istanbul's market gardens and gardeners between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. The motivation for selecting this topic is academic negligence, despite its being an interesting and informative field of research. Rich archival materials provide a wide range of content from migration to urban agriculture. Indeed, the urban agricultural system of Istanbul includes such topics as; provisioning, labor migration, property structures, division of labor, socio-spatial relations, and security. This creates a certain difficulty for the researcher, since it demands reliable knowledge of each of these topics. Moreover, a thorough examination of all such, topics would demand a voluminous work. In this regard, the present study's intent is not to scrutinize every issue related to the market gardens and gardeners in a detailed fashion, but to present a general overview and point out possible research agendas. The original contributions of the thesis are that it reveals new, unused archival materials; provides a general descriptive picture of the phenomena; visualizes and schematizes urban agricultural activities in Ottoman Istanbul; tests the relevant literature against newly found archival data; and raises new questions on the matter. Accordingly, the market gardens of Istanbul are examined according to their liminal position between the urban and the rural, their importance in the provisioning of the city, and as potential employment opportunities for migrant workers. The main questions the study raises are as follows: is it possible to draw a line separating the urban and the rural, and what does that imply for conceptualizing "the city" in historical research? Is the common assumption that Istanbul is a "city of consumption" valid in terms of the provisioning of fresh food for the city? Is the generally accepted account in Ottoman studies that there was an ethno-

3 For examples, see Nurhan Atasoy, *A garden for the sultan: gardens and flowers in Ottoman culture*, Istanbul: Aygaz, 2002); Gönül Aslanoğlu Evyapan, *Eski Türk Bahçeleri ve Özellikle Eski İstanbul Bahçeleri*, (Ankara:Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1972).

4 For example, see Paul J. Kaldjian, "Istanbul's Bostans: A Millennium of Market Gardens," *Geographical Review* 94, (July 2004), 284-304.

religious division of labor valid for gardeners who worked in Istanbul's market gardens of Istanbul?

The thesis is composed of five chapters including the introduction and conclusion. The second chapter, "Literature Review, the Method, and the Focus of the Study," will critically discuss the relevant literature, and will consist of four subsections. First, the ambiguity of "the urban" and "the rural" and the changing criteria for distinguishing between them in pre-industrial and post-industrial contexts is noted. It will be questioned whether it is actually possible to draw a sharp line between the two. Furthermore, the historical and geographical trajectories of urban agriculture will be traced drawing on examples that show that although the terms are relatively new, the phenomenon itself dates back to early historical periods; variously motivated by war, economic crisis, and famine. Certain settlement utopias based on the idea of urban-rural togetherness will be examined. Second, the urban provisioning system of the Ottoman Empire will be presented. The importance, regulations, and measures regarding the provisioning of the imperial capital, Istanbul, will be described. The geographical extent of the provisioning process will be depicted, and fundamental resources such as food and fuel will be mapped out according to von Thunen's model. The locations and main supply lines that provided Istanbul with fresh fruits and vegetables will be touched upon. The lack of a description of the provisioning of fresh products in academic the literature will be noted. A critique of the assumption that Istanbul was a city of consumption -a "parasitic" city-, will be developed based on the widespread presence of market gardening in the city. The third section will deal with questions of migration and the ethno-religious division of labor in the Ottoman Empire, with reference to generally accepted and alternative models. It documents the reasons behind the vast waves of migration toward to Istanbul in the period in question, as well as measures taken by the administration. A typification of the migration (i.e., mass migration, chain migration, etc.) will be defined. The problems that migrants encountered and their reactions will be listed. Also, the ethno-religious division of labor in the Ottoman Empire will be discussed critically, including a comparison of the generally accepted and a competing thesis. Lastly, in the subsection about the methodology of the study, the aforementioned topics that constitute the three main axes of the study will be evaluated, and the position of the present study will be clarified.

The third chapter, “Historical Inheritance,” will deal with the historical inheritance of the market gardens in the Byzantine Constantinople. To that end, the property structures, the relation between the land ownership and power, the geographical layout of the gardens within the city, and their various functions will be presented by means of secondary sources. The section will give a brief description of certain aspects and structures of urban agriculture that were inherited from the Ottomans. In the second subsection, the fall and rebuilding of the city will be mentioned. The methods and endeavors of the Ottoman administration to bring the city back to its magnificent days will be depicted. In this regard, the *vakıf* system will be explained. Lastly, continuities and ruptures after the fall of the city –including developments under the Ottoman rule up to the seventeenth century- will be briefly presented based on secondary resources.

The fourth and main chapter of the study, “Istanbul’s Market Gardens and Gardeners between the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Centuries” will draw upon firsthand archive sources. This section will be divided into two subchapters regarding gardens and gardeners, respectively. The section about gardens will start with a detailed description of a typical market garden based on the documents. Then, the locations of the gardens in the city will be described in detail. The existing data will be visualized and certain deductions and speculations regarding matters not directly accessible in the material (such as garden sizes, types, etc.) will be made based on the locations and number of employees. The property structures and possessions of the market gardens will be examined and classified according to the Ottoman land system. Gardens that belonged to female owners will be listed separately since these are exceptional. The second section of this chapter will deal with gardeners. The aggregate quantity of gardeners and their living conditions will be examined. The administrative records prepared for surveying the gardening business in the city will be described and the guarantorship system and its social function for governance and security will be examined. Visual materials and tables based on firsthand archival sources, which document many characteristics of gardeners (hometowns, religious affiliations, ethnicities, and family patterns) will be prepared for different points in time. Since the majority of the gardeners were migrants, the hometowns and possible migration routes will be documented and mapped.

Lastly, the conclusion will compile the findings of the study and answer the questions raised by the thesis. Another issue just outside the time period of the study -how the market gardens began to gradually become extinct at end of the Ottoman era- will be mentioned briefly to encourage further work on the subject.



The Literature, Method, and the Focus of the Study

This study is inspired by the observation that the role and function of urban agriculture in Ottoman Istanbul is a generally overlooked topic in the historiography of the city. As influential factors shaping urban space, organizational structures, and patterns of daily life, urban agricultural activities -and market gardens and gardeners in particular- should not be ignored. This presents a critical review of the relevant literature, illustrating what is lacking from it. This study is organized according to three main axes -respectively urban-rural linkages, provisioning, migrant gardeners vis-à-vis the “myth” of ethno-religious division of labor in Ottoman Empire -this chapter will examine problematic assumptions within each sub-topic, clarifying the position of the present study.

§ 2.1 Urban Agriculture and Urban-Rural Linkages

2.1.1 *Ambiguity of the Urban and the Rural*

In an era when transportation facilities were inadequate and cooling technologies for preserving fresh food were lacking, the production of perishable foods was necessarily handled within the city and at its periphery. Therefore, there were farmers who resided in the city. At first sight, their profession seems to be a naturally “rural” activity while they inhabit an “urban” area. The problem of fresh food preservation also led to a division among cultivation areas

(e.g. grain was sown in large farms far from the city).¹ Yet, with the baggage of current nomenclature, which was constituted in order to analyze the modern concept of the urban, this situation seems contradictory to the academic milieu in urban studies. They have difficulty identifying this ambiguous phenomenon, which does not allow for drawing a distinct line between the urban and the rural.

Therefore, when speaking about the city, one must take into account whether it exists in a pre-industrial or post-industrial context. In the former, rural characteristics such as engagement with agricultural activities and underdeveloped infrastructure dominated “urban” life to an extent. In this context, an increase in the extent of agricultural fields around the city would allow for population growth. However, this symptom would imply the opposite in a post-industrial metropolitan area. With modernization, necessity for agriculture in urban and peri-urban areas diminished as a result of advanced transportation technologies, proliferation of factories, and a growing population. Fields were transformed into more profitable investments.² Moreover, the urban organization spread to non-urban fringes to dominate and exploit rural resources (surplus population, raw materials, etc.) kowtowing to capitalistic interests.³ These gradual processes gave way to what is called “the urbanization of rural.” Although agriculture was previously the only sector in rural areas, due to the afore mentioned process, it has since lost that significance and is today penetrated by non-agricultural economic activities.⁴

If a separating line between the urban and the rural really exists, how should it be drawn? Answering this question is not so simple as “the boundaries of urban settlement are usually more blurred than portrayed by administrative delimitations... a large number of households in urban areas tend to rely on rural resources, and rural populations are increasingly engaged in non-

1 A detailed example is in the section “Provisioning the Ottoman Capital.”

2 In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, city utopias and plans in Europe included correlations between the urban and rural. This issue will be examined in detail in the next section.

3 Micheal Lipton, *Why Poor People Stay Poor: Urban Bias in World Development*, (London: Temple Smith, 1977), 13.

4 Ahu Aliye Gülümser, “Rural Areas as Promising Hot Spots: Sustainable Rural Development Scenarios” (PhD. diss., Istanbul Technical University, 2009).

agricultural activities.”⁵ There is no general consensus among scholars, and each researcher approaches the problem of urban-rural distinction from a different perspective highlighting different factors. The most well-known paradigms for separating the urban from the rural are: demography and population structures, economic structures, environmental structures, and social structures.⁶ Such classifications, which set the rural in opposition to the urban, ignore the fact that the dominant transformative power of capitalist agglomeration extends beyond local limits to supply needs such as “socioeconomic activities, metabolic cycles and growth imperatives.”⁷ For instance, the hegemony of national and international trade networks were established on non-urban territories and places where capitalist markets were underdeveloped. The new situation can be summarized as follows;

This newly consolidated, planetary formation of urbanization has blurred, even exploded, long -entrenched sociospatial borders- not only between city and countryside, urban and rural, core and periphery, metropole and colony, society and nature but also between the urban, regional, national and global scales themselves.⁸

The notion “city” gave place to an “urbanization process” with the acceleration of urban growth. As Gandy indicates, “[w]e can never really understand cities as simply ‘things in themselves’ since they are manifestations of broader processes of change, connection and re-combination. Cities are just a particular form of urbanization.”⁹ Harvey similarly highlights the importance of the “process” in grasping the dynamics of the modern city by stating, “the

5 Cecilia Tacoli, “Rural-Urban Interactions: A Guide to the Literature,” *Environment and Urbanization* 10 (1998): 147.

6 Ibid.

7 Neil Brenner, Introduction to *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*, ed. Neil Brenner (Berlin: Jovis, 2014), 20.

8 Ibid., p. 18.

9 Matthew Gandy, “Where does the City End?,” in *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*, ed. Neil Brenner. (Berlin: Jovis, 2014), 86.

‘thing’ we call a ‘city’ is the outcome of a ‘process’ that we call ‘urbanization.’”¹⁰ In parallel with these, Brenner renders the difference between the old perception of the city “as a bounded, nodal and relatively self-enclosed sociospatial condition” and the new approach of urbanization as “urban without an outside.”¹¹ As mentioned before, the old perception, which locates the city at the core of the problem, emphasizes features such as scale, density, and social diversity as primary indicators to make a distinction between the cities and non-cities.¹² However, as Lefebvre puts it, capitalist urbanization, which extends its operational landscapes to large-scale spatial formations beyond conventional zones of urban agglomeration, caused the submission of the agrarian to the urban.¹³

Lastly, two intertwined processes caused the relative autonomy and self-sufficiency of the countryside to diminish: the emergence of capitalist territorial organization as a result of changing property relations and spatial division of labor,¹⁴ which destroyed “any transparent differentiation between city and countryside,”¹⁵ on the one hand; and techno-structural interference such as “the extension of logistical, commercial and touristic infrastructures... construction of major industrial estates, large-scale housing ensembles in peripheral locations... [and] the destruction of quasi-autonomous agrarian communities in old rural zones”¹⁶ on the other.

10 David Harvey, “Cities or Urbanization?,” in *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*, ed. Neil Brenner. (Berlin: Jovis, 2014), 61.

11 Brenner, Introduction, 15.

12 Ibid., p. 15.

13 Alvora Sevilla-Buitrago, “Urbs in Rure: Historical Enclosure and the Extended Urbanization of the Countryside,” in *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*, ed. Neil Brenner. (Berlin: Jovis, 2014), 236.

14 Alvora Sevilla-Buitrago, “Urbs in Rure,” 237-238.

15 Brenner, Introduction, 17.

16 Ibid., p. 17.

2.1.2 *Urban Agriculture in History*

Of late, urban agriculture is a growing topic in the literature. It was popularized by the 1996 United Nations Habitat Conference in Istanbul which described "...the growing, processing, and distribution of food and other products through intensive plant cultivation and animal husbandry in and around cities."¹⁷ In the conference, the concept of "urban agriculture" was applied to use to describe the phenomenon.¹⁸ The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) declared that urban agriculture was an expanding industry. According to research made by the UNDP, the amount of agricultural production in and around the cities has increased dramatically in various countries. In 1980 only 30% of American agricultural production was produced in metropolitan areas, whereas by 1990 it had increased to %40. According to the Council for Agricultural Science and Technology (CAST), urban agriculture has social, environmental, economic, and sanitary dimensions. Generally, this growing activity is regarded as beneficial. The most common benefits are economic development, diminishing of poverty, food security, reutilization of urban waste and waste water, and the contribution to the ecology and biodiversity of urban areas.¹⁹

There are differences between urban and rural agricultural production. The former is involved in, interacts with, and is integrated into the economic and ecological systems of the city. Moreover, it becomes more prevalent in difficult socio-economic circumstances such as wars, financial crises, and poverty. Furthermore, compared with rural agriculture, the former has lower costs and is more profitable. As might be expected, while the rural agriculture

17 Urban Agriculture Committee of the Community Food Security Coalition (CFSC) 2003.

18 ___Urban Agriculture, *Food, Jobs and Sustainable Cities*, (New York: The United Nations Development Programme, 1996), 25.

19 Behice Bilgi Solduk, "Sürdürülebilir Kentsel Gelişmenin Sağlanması Açısından Kentsel Tarımın Rolü, 'İstanbul Metropolitan Alan' Örneği" (Master's Thesis, Istanbul Technical University, 2010), 19.

industry is predicated on mass output of a few select products, urban agriculture has smaller units of production, but more product diversity. Lastly, urban agricultural activities benefit from the facilities of urban infrastructure.²⁰

Although, the phenomenon of urban agriculture has been growing recently utopic ideas about synthesizing the urban and the rural to bring about new styles of cohabitation and overcome problems stemming from rapid industrialization and urbanization have long existed.²¹ Ebenezer Howard's Garden City planning method (revealed in 1898, in the United Kingdom) created self-contained communities with a harmonious co-existence of residential, industrial, and agricultural areas. In this model, a large share of the land was allocated for food production.²² The founder of utopian socialism and the cooperative movement, Robert Owen, imagined the New Moral World, an idealized settlement model that covered every aspect of social life. The project was envisioned in the 1820s as a communal village established on 100-150 hectares of land, which would accommodate 1200 people. The community members were to be employed in both farms and factories. He bought a town named "New Harmony" in India to realize his dream.²³ James Silk Buckingham planed a settlement model called "Victoria" in the 1840s, in which inhabitants would engage in agricultural activities just outside the city.²⁴ In his utopic design for Broadacre City, Frank Lloyd Wright was inspired by ancient urban architecture, imagining a harmony of nature and architecture. He predicted that in the future, agricultural fields and architecture would be more

20 Ibid., p. 31.

21 Hillary Angelo and David Wachsmuth, "Urbanization Urban Political Ecology: A Critique of Methodological Cityism," in *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*, ed. Neil Brenner. (Berlin: Jovis, 2014), 372.

22 Yao Dong and Di Xia, "Bostans: Agricultural Generators for Istanbul's Urbanization" (paper presented as Penny White Award Proposal, October 19, 2010), 1.

23 Zeynep A. Güler-Üçer and Gülsen Yılmaz, "Housing Typologies in the Context of Urban Utopias," *G. U. Journal of Science* 17 (2004): 136.

24 Solduk, "Sürdürülebilir," 25.

interdependent than in his present time.²⁵ Lastly, Le Corbusier thought to reorganize cities from a functional, rationalist point of view. In his ideal city model, urban agricultural fields played a crucial role.²⁶

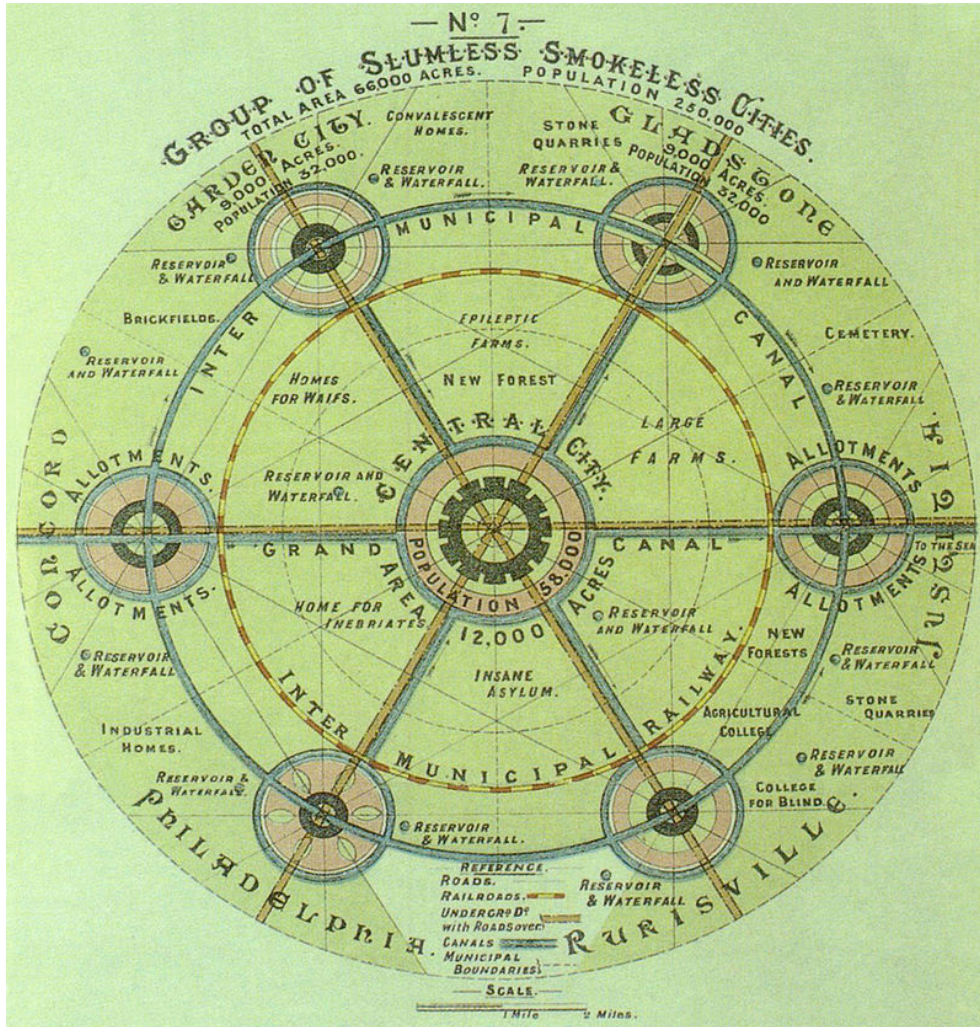


Figure 2.1 Ebenezer Howard's Garden City Model

Studies in the field of urban agriculture generally examine contemporary issues and largely consist of reports.²⁷ Urban agriculture includes different ty-

25 Ibid., p. 27.

26 Ibid., p. 26.

27 For instance, surveys by UNICEF, the United Nations Development Programme, and regional and local offices of various countries.

pologies, such as market gardens, allotment gardens, kitchen gardens, war gardens, and victory gardens. In contemporary studies there is also a division based on the level of development in particular countries, which mainly examine and compare different applications of urban agriculture. For example, according to the report prepared by the UNDP, the dynamics of urban agriculture is not same between developing and developed countries. The emergence of urban agriculture in developing countries is generally related to the inadequacy of urban facilities and transportation technologies to meet the needs of rapidly growing urban populations. Thus, adequate supply of fresh products is insufficient, causing a rise in food prices. For this reason, entities called “allotment gardens” or “community gardens,” in which poor people can cultivate their own food for low costs, became prevalent. Mostly, poorer people are interested in this phenomenon because fresh foods are beyond their purchasing power; however, with the application of urban agriculture, prices decrease to more modest levels. In developed, Western countries, the issue of food supply and urban agriculture are popular and well supported but for a different motivation. This popularity is the result of ecological concerns: if a city procures its food from its immediate vicinity, fossil fuel consumption will decrease. In underdeveloped countries, urban agriculture is practiced by the poor, whereas in developed countries generally middle or upper-middle classes are at the forefront. In both cases, urban agriculture faces the pressures of urban development, population growth, and enforcement of health and nuisance regulations that impose more sterile environments.²⁸

Naturally, during exceptional circumstances such as a famine, public enforcement on urban agriculture for health and nuisance reasons are left aside. Modern urban agriculture is not a new phenomenon in Western countries. It dates back to the world wars. In these periods, urban farming became prevalent due to the risk of famine and for other strategic purposes. For instance, when World War II broke out, Britain was importing more than two-third of the nation’s food requirements. This was a real problem that led the British government to consider it also as a war of food. Every measure was taken to increase the efficiency of agriculture, including further mechanization of the

28 Chiara Tornaghi, “Critical Geography of Urban Agriculture,” *Progress in Human Geography* 38 (2014): 555.

agricultural sector. The trend called “Victory Gardens” or “War Gardens” was a result of this necessity. Countries like the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, Poland, and Germany all encouraged their citizens to partake in urban agriculture, promoting these activities as “patriotic.” The British campaign, “Dig for Victory,” was a prominent example, by means of which domestic vegetable production had reached six million tons per annum by the end of the war.²⁹ These community gardens were located at private residences and public parks where vegetables, fruits, and herbs were produced. Production of food in the urban areas played a redeeming role not only during war, but also during economic crises such as the Great Depression in 1929. Following such wars and crises, these gardens were mostly turned into recreation areas and or gave way to more profitable sectors.



Figure 2.2 A poster in Great Britain during World War II

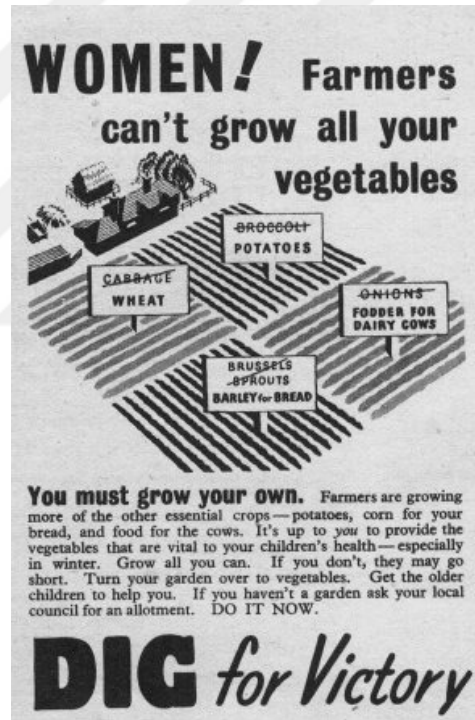


Figure 2.3 A poster in Chicago during World War II

29 Franklin Ginn, “Dig for Victory! New Histories of Wartime Gardening in Britain,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 38 (2012): 296.

There are several studies focusing on urban agriculture in contemporary contexts. Paul Kaldjian's descriptive work on the market gardens of Istanbul is a significant example.³⁰ Kaldjian examines contemporary practices in Istanbul's market gardens by means of anthropological observation and interviews with gardeners. In his holistic approach, he takes the gardens as integral parts of the city landscape and considers the institution of gardens in debates of urban agriculture and food security. Accordingly, he points to migrant families who depend on a single income, stressing the importance of urban agriculture for meeting their livelihood needs. He schematizes market gardens in contemporary practice by classifying cultivation arrangements according to the vegetable types, facilities, and equipment (e.g. baskets, stakes, and other gardening tools) present in the gardens. Furthermore, he asserts the importance of market gardens for the provisioning of the neighborhoods in which they are located. In the end, the author centers on the gradual process by which gardens are squeezed into smaller areas as a result of rapid urbanization, modernization, and industrialization, and suggests policy implications.

Other studies analyze urban agriculture from a historical perspective. For instance, Barthel and Isendahl associate urban agriculture with food security and sustainability in two pre-industrial contexts: the classical Mayan civilization of the late first millennium AD and Byzantine Constantinople.³¹ The authors explore how cities with histories full of crises managed issues of food security, as well as what kind of "social-ecological memory" helped them to overcome trouble. For instance, when Byzantine Constantinople was under siege, pleasure gardens in the city were gradually replaced with farm fields and kitchen gardens. Besides that, Barthel and Isendahl criticize the modernist paradigm of the Chicago School of urban sociology, founded in the 1920s and traceable to the present day. According to this paradigm, "urban life is an essentialist reality separate from rural life;" however, Barthel and Isendahl point

30 Paul J. Kaldjian, "Istanbul's Bostans: A Millennium of Market Gardens," *Geographical Review* 94, (July 2004), 284-304.

31 Stephan Barthel and Christian Isendahl. "Urban Gardens, Agriculture, and Water Management: Sources of Resilience for Long-term Food Security in Cities," *Ecological Economics* 86 (February 2013): 224-234.

out that “physical separation between urban and rural sectors emerged largely as a consequence of modernist space-time compression.”³² Such a critical approach is predisposed to hold that urban agriculture is a proper characteristic of urban support systems on the long run on a global scale. According to the authors, agricultural production is not “the antithesis of the city;” quite the contrary, it is a part of the city complex that provides a flexible provision system.

Another study on urban agriculture from a historical perspective is Stanhill’s work focusing on the urban agro-ecosystems (*marais*)³³ of Paris in the second half of the nineteenth century.³⁴ According to Stanhill, one sixth of Paris’ total land area (13.3 square kilometers) served as market gardens and their total yield was more than 100,000 tons yearly. In this form of “French gardening”, which employed an “inter- and successional” cropping system, each year’s harvest varied from three to six times but rarely fell below that range. The urban agro-ecosystem not only supplied the city with fresh food, but also provided a creative, productive solution to one major problem in the city, namely abundant animal manure. Moreover, by means of glass cloches and straw mats, out-of-season production became possible. Stanhill states that the system had gradually developed since the Middle Ages to the point it became a complex, significant activity by the nineteenth century. However, it declined rapidly after motor vehicles replaced horses and competition for urban land rose.

Ancient or modern, developed or underdeveloped -all sorts of agricultural activities have existed in urban contexts predominantly for the provisioning the city. The gardens of Ottoman Istanbul were no exception.

32 Ibid., p. 224.

33 French term “marais” stands for vegetable garden. The third arrondissement in the central Paris inherited the name “marais” from its historical function.

34 Gerald Stanhill, “An Urban Agro-Ecosystem: The Example of Nineteenth Century Paris,” *Agro-Ecosystems* 3 (1977), 269-284.

§ 2.2 Provisioning the Ottoman Capital

As the capital in administrative, military, economic, religious, and educational terms, Istanbul was a node connecting a complex commercial network, including the network regarding the food supply. The food shed of the capital had always been wide, as it acquired its provisions from a large hinterland. Beyond that, the “labor hinterland” of the city was also wide: the need for a labor force employed in diverse crafts was supplied permanent and seasonal immigrant workers. Its geographical position was suitable for maintaining such a hinterland: “Istanbul, at the nexus of the Mediterranean and Black seas and seated astride the overland routes between Europe and the Near East, has profited much from its position, serving for almost three millennia as a prime trading center.”³⁵ A wide, complex geographical organization was needed to feed such a metropolis, where all sorts of food products were consumed in vast amounts. From the rule of East Rome through the Ottoman era, the provisioning the capital was always under the control and organization of the state, which was a political and administrative necessity for ruling elites.³⁶

The state served was both as the organizer and also controller, preventing black market and low quality foods.³⁷ This system also served to control population increase by determining refugee policies.³⁸ However, the fact that it pursued provisioning policies did not mean that the state transported goods itself. The Ottoman state was mainly interested in organization and surveillance, but did not have its own mercantile fleets or caravans. Overseas trade was conducted on specialized boats by shipowners who had their own guild.³⁹ Free trade and export of some materials (such as grain, cotton, wool, wax, and leather.) were banned to prevent speculation and the flow of goods to foreign markets, only those who were granted permission by the state could trade

35 Gideon Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City: Past and Present* (New York: Free Press, 1965), 86.

36 Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi, s. v. “İaşe: Bizans Dönemi.”

37 İlber Ortaylı, *İstanbul’dan Sayfalar* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999), 144.

38 Cafer Çiftçi, “Osmanlı Döneminde İstanbul’un İaşesinde Bursa’nın Rolü,” *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi (OTAM) Dergisi* 16, (2004), 151-171.

39 Robert Mantran, *17. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul: Kurumsal, İktisadi, Toplumsal Tarih Denemesi II* (Ankara: V Yayınları, 1986), 83-98.

these materials. These privileged few were generally selected among notable merchants and ship owners.⁴⁰ Since the official, fixed prices of goods were unsatisfactory to traders, illegal repricing and black-marketeering were common.⁴¹

As a metropole, Istanbul needed outside support.⁴² It had hardly any exported goods; on the contrary, foreign trade was mostly unidirectional.⁴³ Provisionalism was the most significant principle of Ottoman economic policy and the state consistently interfered in economic life.⁴⁴ The main goal of provisionism was to provide goods and services as cheaply, abundantly, and at a high level of quality. In other words, the supply level should be as high as possible.⁴⁵ According to the Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire, provisionism is the one of three basic principles of the Ottoman economy, the other two being fiscalism and traditionalism.⁴⁶ But the most prominent among them was provisionism, since productivity had a low average rate in the Empire. The aim was not to produce for export, but to meet domestic demand. Excess goods in towns were generally sent to large cities with high levels of consumption, especially to Istanbul.

Although the port of Istanbul was significant, to a large extent it was used for importing, and unlike the ports of Izmir and Iskenderiye, it was not active in overseas trade.⁴⁷ Taking that into consideration, Mantran claims that even

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- 40 Halil Inalcık, *Devlet-i Aliyye: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Üzerine Araştırmalar I*, (İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, 2014), 280.
- 41 Lütfi Güçer, "İstanbul'un İaşesi için Lüzumlu Hububatin Temini Meselesi," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası XI* (1950): 401.
- 42 Feridun Emecen, "XVI. Asrın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul ve Sarayın İaşesi İçin Batı Anadolu'dan Yapılan Sevkiyat" (paper presented at seminar of Tarih Boyunca İstanbul, İstanbul, 1988)
- 43 Mantran, 17. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul II, 93.
- 44 Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, (İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınları, 2000), 45-46. See also Çiftçi, *Osmanlı Döneminde İstanbul'un İaşesinde Bursa'nın Rolü*, 153-154.
- 45 Ibid., 45-46.
- 46 Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire, s. v. "İstanbul."
- 47 Robert Mantran, *17. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul: Kurumsal, İktisadi, Toplumsal Tarih Denemesi I* (Ankara: V Yayınları, 1986), 91.

though Istanbul was an administrative, military, and religious capital, it was non-productive. His argument follows that the consumer goods accruing in the city were being used for intra-city consumption; there was hardly any exporting of goods. The gigantic market that was Istanbul had an immense capacity to absorb imported supplies, which kept the city from developing any remarkable industry. Which is to say, imported goods did not encourage production in the city.⁴⁸ In parallel, capitals such as Rome, Venice, Vienna, Paris, London, Delhi, Beijing, and Istanbul are acknowledged to be “parasitic cities” in most studies urban history.⁴⁹

The parasitic city metaphor is justified by the facts of overconsumption and a lack of production. However, urban agricultural spaces in Istanbul and its vicinity open the issue up for discussion: putting other goods aside, was the city not self-sufficient in terms of fresh food? Accordingly, one intent of the present study is to examine the role and scale of market gardens for the provisioning of the city. Relevant studies on the subject focus on the grain supply, and fresh food produce is mostly overlooked. The exception is Suraiya Faroqhi’s study about the fresh food supply of Istanbul where she adapts von Thunen’s model of agricultural lands to Ottoman Istanbul.⁵⁰

The grouping model created by Johann Heinrich von Thunen in the nineteenth century can be a useful analytical tool for schematizing urban-rural distinctions (see figure 2.4). In his agricultural land use model, Thunen positions agricultural land vis-à-vis the city center given respective transportation costs. He presupposed that all land was plain and possessed the same fertility level. Such a model provides a generalized picture about zone-product overlaps in the city. According to Thunen’s model, there is a city center surrounded by agricultural rings. The closest circle consists of market gardens and dairy farms, since such products are perishable. Also, as these gardens were cultivated intensively, they did not require extensive land area. Forests, providing wood, are located in the second circle due to their high transportation cost,

48 Ibid., 98.

49 Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters, *Doğu ile Batı Arasında Osmanlı Kenti: Halep, İzmir, İstanbul* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2003), 25.

50 Suraiya Faroqhi, “Supplying Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Istanbul with Fresh Food,” in *Nourrir les cités de la Méditerranée: Antiquité-Temps modernes*, ed. Brigitte Marin and Catherine Virlouvet (Paris: MMSH and Adrien Maisonneuve, 2003), 273-30

and their importance for the city as fuel and construction material. In the next circle are durable products (grains and field crops) that have relatively low transportations costs. The last circle includes livestock and ranching.

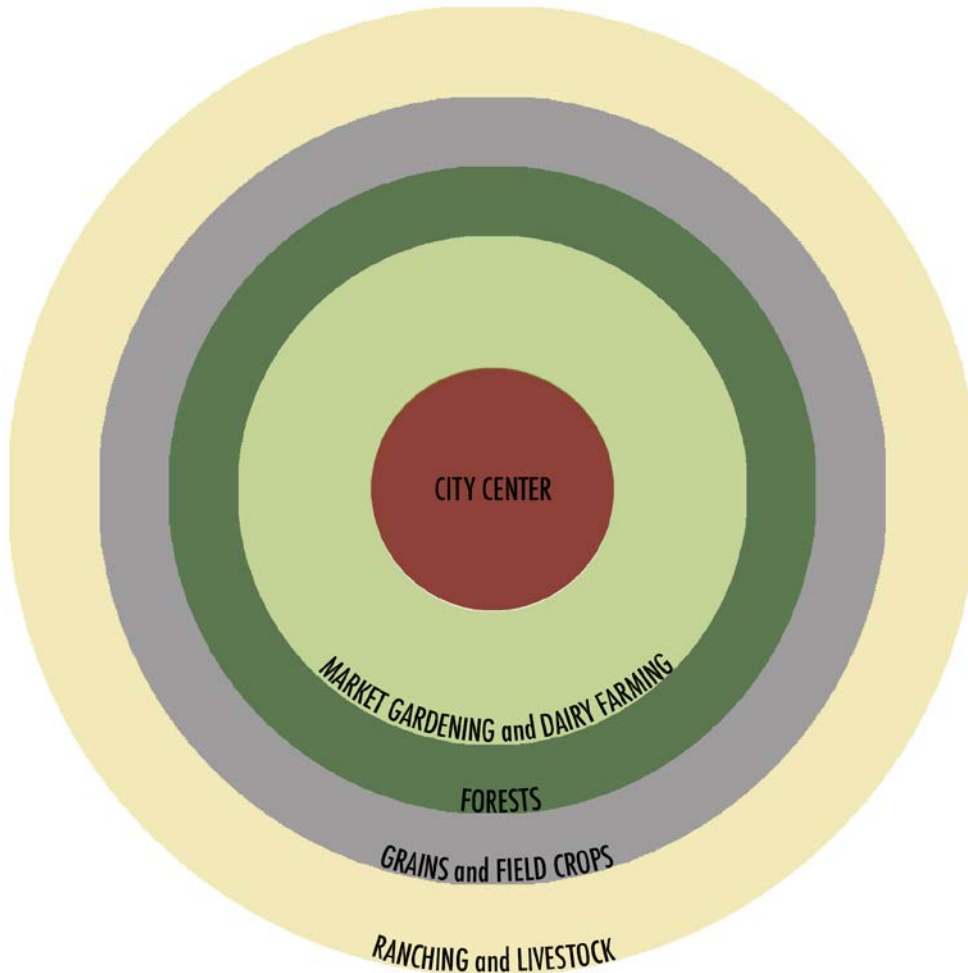


Figure 2.4 Istanbul in von Thunen's Model

Istanbul's geographical location was more convenient for marine transportation. Istanbul was being nourished to a large extent with goods transported by sea, since ships carry far more weight than land transportation means. The expense of keeping animals usually exceeded the value of the products they were used to carry.⁵¹ Thus the rings were never as homogenous the model (fig-

51 Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 117.

ure 2.4). When the topography of Istanbul is considered, the correlation between distance and journey speed (time) is weak. Since maritime transportation is faster, a location further away but on the coast would even out with a much closer location on land. Two different points producing the same product may be located different radial distances from the city center, making it impossible to create proper, circular zones. For example, settlements near the Marmara Sea (such as Mudanya, Izmit, Yalova, and Bursa) and the Black Sea (Trabzon, Crimea, and Dobrudja) were other centers of fresh produce supply together with agricultural areas within the city.

Various regions and centers were active in the provisioning of Istanbul. The regions that were supplying of Istanbul were places where production for the market developed early. Especially farms (*çiftlik*) in the vicinity of the city and along the western shores of the Black Sea played a crucial role. These farms were seen as areas for investment. Istanbul imported its domestic needs from a variety of locations: Products such as raisins, vinegar, olives, and wine came from vineyards along the coast of the Aegean Sea.⁵² The city's demand for wood was satisfied from the immediate vicinity of the city and from the Balkans, while grain was supplied from Rusçuk (*Ruse*) and other places along the western shores of the Black Sea, Western Anatolia, Dubrovnik, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Egypt. Egypt also supplied rice.⁵³ The onus of supplying meat belonged to wealthy individuals in the upcountry of the Balkans and nomadic tribes in Anatolia (See Figure 2.5).

52 Suraiya Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change, 1590-1699," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 577.

53 Faroqhi, "Chiris and Change," 620-621.; Cafer Çiftçi, *Osmanlı Döneminde İstanbul'un İlaşesi*, 160. See also, Mantran, *17. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul I*, 174-176.

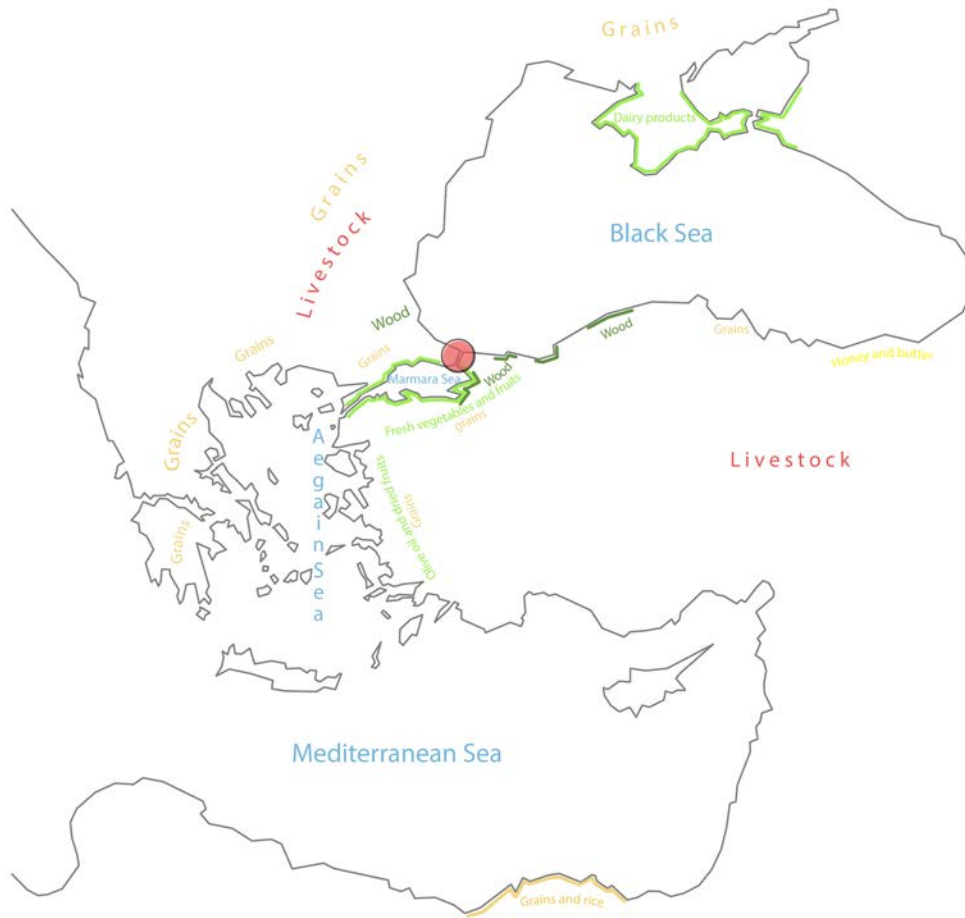


Figure 2.5 Locations of basic resources for provisioning Istanbul

Just as in the Roman Era, the extent of the hinterlands of the Ottoman capital did not remain constant through the centuries. The regions supplying food to the city were determined according to needs and conditions (such as the loss or gain of territory) of each particular time. Territorial expansion of the empire generally implied an increase in the total quantity of goods flowing to the city.⁵⁴ Also fluctuations in the city population affected the scope of city's food hinterland and number of vegetable gardens in the city changed according to the aggregate demand.

54 Gülsüm Ece Turnator, "The Provisioning of the Byzantine Constantinople" (Master's Thesis, Bogazici University, 2000).

§ 2.3 Migrant Workers and Ethno-Religious Division of Labor in the Ottoman Empire

The population of the capital consisted of various ethno-religious entities: a miniature reflection of the empire itself. As a center of sea trade, it had a cosmopolitan, multi-lingual culture. It was also a destination for migrants, especially those who were searching for work. Walking far distances and only returning home after years of work was a common pattern of life for migrant workers in the Ottoman Empire. Generally, they lived in communal, bachelor quarters, inns, or coffeehouses. After working for years, they usually handed off their jobs to newly arrived, fellow townsmen.⁵⁵ Both chain migration and mass migration were common.⁵⁶ Mass migration was generally connected with sudden, dramatic events, like the loss of imperial territory. Chain migration was more common. This latter form of migration is a gradual, long-term process in which the relationship of migrants to their hometowns and their chance of returning persists. In this kind of migration, first wave of migrants generally influenced fellow countrymen to follow if the conditions they encountered were good. Also, chain migration provided more opportunities for migrants to confront deficient urban conditions with the help of their informal relational networks.⁵⁷ Taking the regulated structure of urban life under Ottoman rule into consideration, it was difficult to enter into city life and the local labor market without references and liaisons such as fellow townsmen,

55 Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 114.

56 Cem Behar, *A neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 96.

57 *Ibid.*, 107.

artisanal groups, or various affiliations.⁵⁸ In this regard, characteristics of identity such as “origin, religion, family, belonging profession, membership in labor, civic or religious institutions”⁵⁹ were key.

Migration waves changed life in Istanbul. The increasing population began to be perceived as a problem starting in the middle of the sixteenth century. While the factors such lost territory, increasing tax burdens, banditry, and rebellions “pushed” the population off their lands, life in Istanbul looked like an attractive option with its security, absence of peasant taxes, job opportunities, and abundance of food due to abundant hospices and the provisionalist policy of the court.⁶⁰ With the drastic influx of migrants from both Rumelia and Anatolia, the administration developed policies against the migration.⁶¹ As Herzog states, “controlling the movement is closely linked to the question of identifying the individual.”⁶² As a result, certain characteristics of individuals were noted in record books.⁶³ Although the administration was inadequate to control the flow of migrants, some measures were successfully implemented. The most common way to manage the flow was the sponsorship system (*kefalet*), in which confirmation of a trustworthy person was sought, granting permit to pass (*mürur tezkeresi*) through checkpoints at the entrances of the city and at other necessary locations. “Suspicious” men were sent back.⁶⁴

In the Ottoman Empire, an individual had various identities in terms of religion, origin, occupation, and social status (i.e. ruling classes or subjects).

58 Betül Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014), 25-27. See also Nora Lafi, “The Ottoman Urban Governance of Migrations and the Stakes of Modernity,” in *The City in the Ottoman Empire: Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity*, ed. Ulrike Freitag et al. (London; New York: Routledge, 2011), 20.

59 Lafi, “The Ottoman Urban Governance,” 20.

60 Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul*, 30-31

61 Ibid., 27-29. See also Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul*, 96.

62 Christoph Herzog, “Migration and the State: On Ottoman Regulations Concerning Migration since the Age of Mahmud II,” in *The City in the Ottoman Empire: Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity*, ed. Ulrike Freitag et al. (London; New York: Routledge, 2011), 117.

63 More detailed information is in the section “Gardeners” in the present work.

64 Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul*, 36-38. See also Herzog “Migration and the State,” 119. Behar, *A neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul*, 96.

The boundaries among them were not fixed.⁶⁵ Quataert points out common depictions by Ottoman historians, one of which is that “each community lived in isolation from one another.”⁶⁶ Same representation is also used while examining the division of labor in Ottoman economic life. However, there is a gradual increase in critical approaches to such widely accepted assumptions. Kırılı’s study based on survey registers of nineteenth century Istanbul is one example.⁶⁷ He constructs a detailed profile of labor force in the city. Drawing attention to metropolitan Istanbul, where people from diverse religious and ethnic backgrounds lived and worked together, he evaluates academic assumptions regarding the classical question of just how integrated people in Ottoman society actually were? The most popular answer highlights the ethno-religious division of labor and confessional community system of the empire. This system operates by grouping people according to their religion or ethnicity. People were thus able to present themselves more effectively as a group than as individuals. According to Kırılı, this pattern of thought is the product of the early modern era, which considered society in terms of legally defined limits. He points out that society also operates outside of the formal, legal systems of the state. It is a unidimensional understanding to define communities according to confessional and ethnic allegiances, one which neglects relational and spatial aspects: the interrelation between janissaries and tradesmen, for instance,⁶⁸ or ethno-religious division of labor specific to regions. In parallel, Quataert highlights the inaptitude of generalizing ethno-religious division of labor to the whole empire, calling it a “myth.” While some specific overlaps between occupational categories and ethno-religious groups were observed in some parts of Istanbul, they were not apparent everywhere in the city.⁶⁹ Moreover, in some regions of Istanbul some one-half of the labor force

65 Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 140.

66 *Ibid.*, 173.

67 Cengiz Kırılı, “A Profile of the Labor Force in Early Nineteenth-Century Istanbul,” *International Labor and Working Class History* 60 (Fall 2001): 125-140.

68 See the works of Başaran and Kırılı.

69 Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 179.

consisted of migrant workers. When these migrants are taken into consideration, spatial, occupational, and ethno-religious correlations dissolve.⁷⁰

Kırlı refers to two articles in which ethno-religious division of labor is considered as given, without considering the relational and regional aspects of the issue. One is a 1917 article of Sussnitzki, in which he argues for a sharp ethno-religious division of labor in the labor market.⁷¹ He suggests that Muslims generally worked in agricultural sectors, whereas non-Muslims participated in trade. The other is an article of Issawi⁷² in which he maintains the general view of Sussnitzki: “In Turkey, the Greeks, Armenians and Jews, in that order, dominated the urban sector and controlled a considerable part of the rural.”⁷³ Although these works are useful for the historical material they provide, their assumptions on the division of labor in the Ottoman Empire need refinement.

§ 2.4 Methodology of the Study

As seen in the review above, the role and function of urban agriculture in Ottoman Istanbul has been generally ignored. This study presents a multifaceted description of market gardens by documenting available materials and filling a vacuum in the relevant literature. Also, the study visualizes the data for further surveys.

First of all, the approach should be clarified in order to put market gardens of Istanbul in a proper historical context. How can one define the relationship between the “urban” and the “rural” in the past, given that its conditions are different than the modern present with respect to the structural processes of modern urban development and the problems and needs of the modern city. According to the modernist view, rural space is thought to be antipodal to the

70 Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul*, 40. See also Kırlı and Behar’s works.

71 A. J. Sussnitzki, “Zur Gliederung wirtschaftslicher Arbeit nach Nationalitäten in der Türkei,” *Archiv Wirtschaftsforschung im Orient II* (1917): 382–407. An English translation appeared in “Ethnic Division of Labor,” in *The Economic and Social History of the Middle East, 1800–1914*, ed. Charles Issawi (Chicago, 1966), 114–125.

72 Charles Issawi, “The Transformation of the Economic Position of the Millets in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes and Maier Publishers 1982).

73 *Ibid.*, 262.

urban, referring to a fixed assent of the urban-rural distinction. The present study stands closer to the mentioned authors' position, which elaborately criticizes such approaches. Also, it agrees with the point of view that it is not possible to draw a sharp distinction between the urban and the rural. Hence, the first axis of the present study will show that market gardens in Istanbul during the examined period –as spaces of urban agricultural production- were an inseparable part of city life. Although this study is limited to the example of Istanbul between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, it encourages the rethinking of the urban-rural ambiguity, perceptions of urban space, and urban identity throughout the field of urban history.

The second axis of the study concerns the provisioning of Istanbul. As mentioned above, metropolises like Istanbul are constructed in urban history as non-productive and sometimes as parasitic given their huge consumer-oriented markets. However, one can question the deduction that Istanbul was inadequate in every respect simply based on the size of its consumer market. Such a generalization needs more detailed, elaborate empirical evidence regarding each and every sector of consumer goods. Research that examines the urban history of Ottoman Istanbul should take the principle of “provisionalism” (*iaşe*) into account, yet studies about the provisioning of Istanbul generally focus only grain and meat consumption. It is understandable why these items became the prominent components of Istanbul's food consumption patterns given the feeding habits of the time. However, as will be seen in this study, this is no reason to ignore fresh products when examining the food provisioning of the city. Also, the study will whether the production capacity of market gardens was sufficient to supply Istanbul with fresh food.

Historical Inheritance

When traced back, the phenomenon of urban agriculture in Istanbul appears to be almost as old as the city itself. Istanbul had been an administrative, military, and religious capital for centuries, it inhabited a high population except in certain times of crisis. As mentioned, providing the city with fresh fruits and vegetables was always a concern for cities of such a scale, and its provisioning was thus subject to a complex organization and surveillance process. In the Byzantine period, this process was supervised by the Palace and the Church, while under the Ottoman rule, ruling elites and *vakıfs* that belonged to them generally handled it.

§ 3.1 Urban Agriculture in Byzantine Constantinople

The pre-Ottoman food production system of the city worth mentioning to distinguish among aspects inherited from Byzantine Istanbul and those which became defunct. Fortunately, there is a recent literature concerning Constantinople's garden culture in the Byzantine era. Teall is interested in the social status of gardening in the empire, describing the taste and interest of elites for gardening, which was perceived as a "skilled and dignified occupation" at the time.¹ Landed estates were not concerned with producing a yield and a financial return, but they offered opportunities to highlight or even advance social

1 John L. Teall, "The Byzantine Agriculture Tradition," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 25 (1971), 38.

status. The local aristocracy owned market gardens surrounding the city; however, there were also agricultural entrepreneurs who lived outside the city but held garden properties as investments.

Costantinides shows how the gardens of Constantinople were categorically divided according to function.² There were two main groups: productive and pleasure gardens (see figure 2.6). Although this categorization helps the reader to comprehend the general framework, in neither the Byzantine nor Ottoman eras was there a zoning system in modern sense of the term. Such categorizations do not reflect actual conditions *per se*. For example, certain parts of the palatial gardens were also cultivated for vegetables and fruits.

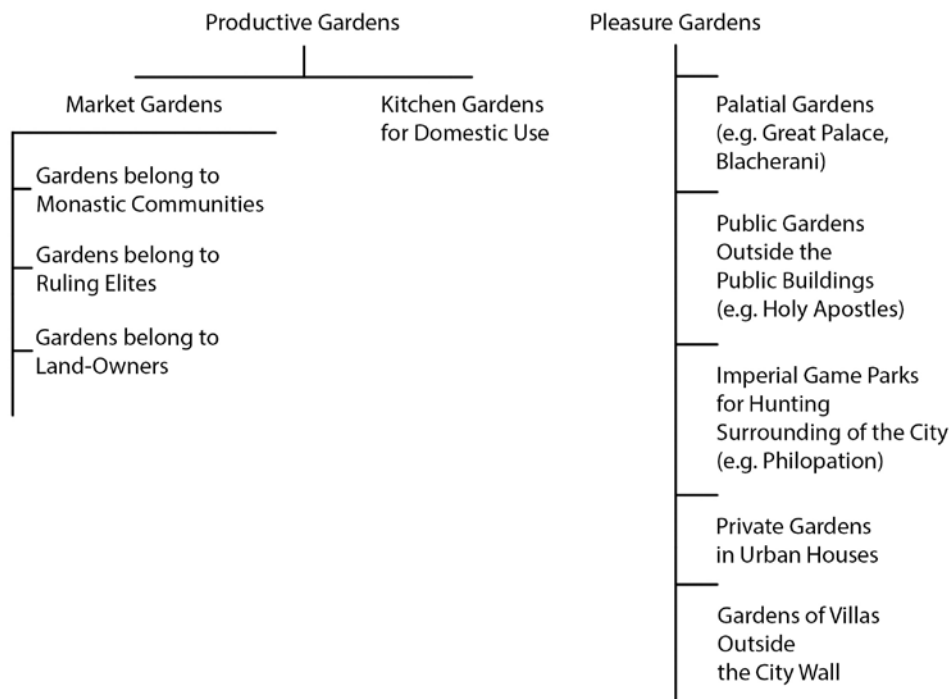


Figure 3.1 A General view of the gardens in Constantinople according to their functions and owners. This figure was created with information from the article of Costas N. Constantinides.

2 Costas N. Constantinides, “Byzantine Garden and Horticulture in the Late Byzantine Period, 1204-1453: The Secular Sources,” in *Byzantine Garden Culture*, ed. Antony Littlewood, Henry Maguire, and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 87-103.

Similarly, Frankopan mentions that in the Byzantine era, large-scale tracks of land belonged to one of the following groups: the emperor and the aristocracy, monasteries, and land-owning farmers (oikos).³ He highlights the relation between owning land (as an investment or as a means of production) and power. For instance, one of the primary sources of revenue for the empire and the emperor was achieved by the “control[ling] of land, of its tenants and of its owners.”⁴ The land held central importance for the Byzantine state: the military, social hierarchy, reward systems, and administration were all organized according to it.⁵ By seizing large tracts of land, the emperor could grant power and obligations to those who were close to him. The correlation between the transference of power and granting of land continued in the Ottoman era.

People from lower classes grew food on smaller private plots called kitchen gardens. Although monasteries and the aristocracy held most arable land, these were mostly rented out and worked on by small holders. For example, according to a Byzantine document called *Praktika* written in early fifteenth century, the Athonite Monastery of Iveron held estates outside the Golden Gate of Constantinople (*Yedikule*). The monastery allowed an aristocratic family to manage the lands in return for paying an annual rent of gold coins and meeting the food requirements of the monastery with products from the gardens. The specific products mentioned in the document are cabbage, leeks, carrots, garlic, onions, courgettes, melons, cucumbers, and pomegranates. From this list, which contains both winter and summer vegetables, we can deduce that the gardens were being cultivated and producing a harvest in all seasons. Aristocratic families sublet the land in small plots to a number of gardeners, and by doing so the family earned much more than the annual rent paid to the monastery.⁶ The earnings were also related to the quality of soil, the kind of crops that could be cultivated, and how far the land was from the markets.

3 P. Frankopan, “Land and Power in the Middle and Late Periods.” In *A Social History of Byzantium*, edited by John Haldon, (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell Press, 2009), pp. 112-143.

4 *Ibid.*, 113.

5 *Ibid.*, 113.

6 Costantinides, “Byzantine Garden and Horticulture in the Late Byzantine Period,” 89.

The research of Koder, on the other hand, concerns more technical aspects of gardening, such as production and supply rates per unit area.⁷ According to him, approximately 16 square kilometers of land in and around twelfth century Constantinople easily satisfied the fresh produce needs of 300 to 500 thousand people (see figure 3.2). Koder based his estimations on the findings of horticultural studies. According to these, 40 square meters under pre-industrial conditions in a central European climate are enough for the total annual vegetable consumption of one person.⁸ The list of plants and vegetables grown in Constantinople throughout the year (listed in *Geoponika*)⁹ proves that city dwellers would have had sufficient fresh vegetables in each season.

A large part of the agricultural areas were located in the vicinity of the city's land walls, which run three kilometers from the Marmara Sea in the south to the Golden Horn in the north. As in Ottoman times, the built-up area in the Byzantine era did not fill the entire land area within the land walls, so agricultural lands located both within and outside the walls.¹⁰ Land-owners used the lower floors of the wall's watchtowers and gates as storage for agricultural tools and goods.¹¹ The land walls joined the seaward walls at the Golden Horn and the Marmara Sea, thus encircling the peninsula of ancient Constantinople. These walls were built to defend the city against attack, and the exterior perimeter of the landwalls had a wide ditch designed to help in the city's defense; however, it seems that these moist fields were turned into areas of cultivation area which provided vegetables for the capital through the centuries (see figure 3.3).

7 J. Koder, "Fresh Vegetable for the Capital," in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland: Papers from the Twenty-Seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. Cyril Mango and Gilbert Dagron, (Oxford, 1993), 49-56.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 51.

9 An ancient book collection and horticultural encyclopedia from tenth century Byzantium.

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 53.

11 Alessandra Ricci, "Intangible Cultural Heritage in Istanbul: The Case of the Land Wall's Byzantine Orchards" (paper presented at International Istanbul Historical Peninsula Symposium, Istanbul, 2008).

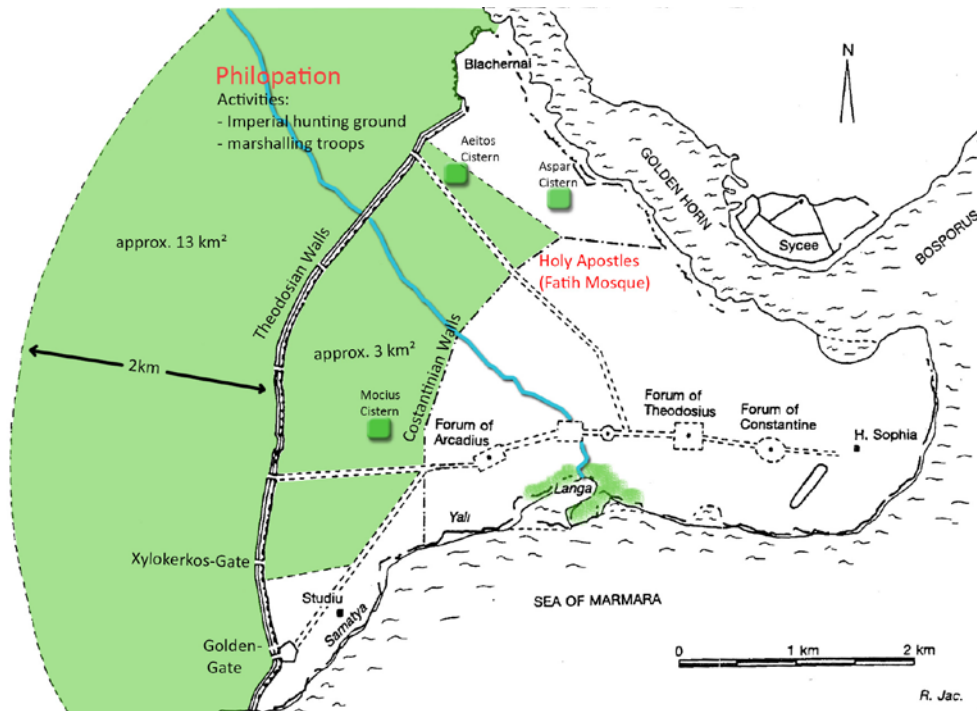


Figure 3.2 Map of Constantinople's agricultural fields. This map is edited from Koder. The shaded sections (16 km²) represent areas used for agriculture, which according to Koder were enough to feed a half million people. The green dots represent cisterns.

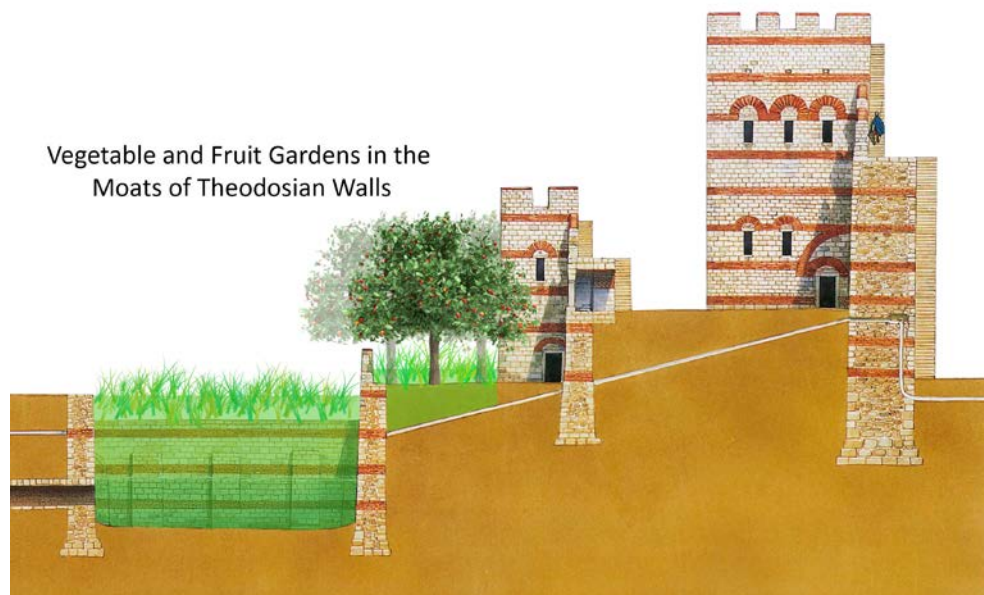


Figure 3.3 Plan of Theodosian walls

Located just outside the city walls were the suburban palaces and villas of ruling elites with their gardens. The most well-known among them was Philopation which was used as an imperial hunting ground and marshalling area for troops (see figure 3.2). These activities continued during the Ottoman era.

Even though to a large extent market gardens were distributed along the land walls, others were located where the Lycus River (*Bayrampaşa deresi*) emptied into the Sea of Marmara. This fertile land was called Vlanga (*Langa*) in the Byzantine period, and kept its name and agricultural function under Ottoman rule. Besides the arable lands the Theodosian Walls, gardens surrounded the Church of the Apostles (later Fatih Mosque), and people living there grew enough food there to support themselves.¹² Also monasteries like the Monastery of Studiou (later İmrahor İlyas Bey Mosque) located in Samatya had their own horticultural areas (see figure 3.2).

The cisterns shown in figure 3.2 are ones that had dried up in time and were turned into cultivated land (see figure 3.2). Inherited from the Byzantine Empire, they kept their agricultural function in the Ottoman era and were called sunken gardens (*çukur bostan*) with reference to their concave shape. There were three old cisterns on the historical peninsula: the Cistern of Aspar in the district of Balat where there is presently a park, the Cistern of Aetius in Karagümrük which is now used as a soccer field, and the Cistern of Aya Mocius in Seyit Ömer. These old and dried cisterns continued to be cultivated in Ottoman times.

Agricultural activity in Constantinople was also motivated by the threat of attacks and potential loss of food producing regions. Muslims had organized twelve expeditions against the city. Food production in urban areas were also sufficient to prevent a famine in the cases of siege (Constantinople was besieged many times by Arabs, Sassanids, Latins, Bulgarians, and Turks). While arable lands within and along the city walls were densely cultivated during such periods of stress, pleasure gardens could also be turned into cultivated land. This fact is clear in a text by Nicholas Mesarites, a Byzantine clergyman and writer who lived in the twelfth century. He mentions that people living near the Holy Apostles (which was demolished and replaced by the Fatih

12 Henry Maguire, "Gardens and Parks in Constantinople," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 263.



Figure 3.4 The Cistern of Aeitos in Karagümrük.



Figure 3.5 The Cistern of Aspar in Balat.

Mosque after the capture of the city) grew food in their gardens to reduce the risk of famine during war. Citing Mesarites, Maguire writes:

People from whom this church is far distant can see from afar the wheat being brought in; for those who live near it, the wheat alone which grows in the land about their houses is sufficient for their nourishment, they need no care for invasion of barbarians, for the mighty waves of the sea (or) for the dangers from pirates.¹³

In the period from 1204 to 1453, many such threats were witnessed, including the Crusades and attacks by the Ottomans. In this period, safety and the luxury of the city declined; pleasure and flower gardens were gradually replaced by vegetable and kitchen gardens.¹⁴ At the end of the fourteenth century, for example, the city was blockaded for eight years; however, city dwellers withstood the threat. Although there was a decline in the population of the city during that period, its cause was not famine. In times of food shortages, the Church was seen as a form of insurance and earned a prestigious reputation. Under threat, large landowners tended to escape the city, leaving their precious lands behind. On the contrary, the Church had to remain, and as the largest landowner it became the only guarantor of provisions.

The Byzantine land system did not undergo significant transformation in the Ottoman era. The imperial estates of Constantinople changed hands, of course, but Byzantine traditions were kept to a degree. First and foremost, families close to the Sultan received their share of the profitable agricultural business, just as in the Byzantine era. Moreover, peri-urban and intra-urban agriculture in Istanbul continued under Ottoman rule. Traditional vegetable gardens and orchards, called *bostan*, kept playing an important role in feeding the city and resumed their characteristic role in the urban landscape. While in the Emperor, aristocrats, the Church, monasteries, and commoners possessed the lands in the Byzantine Empire, they passed into the hands of the Sultan, palace bureaucracy, military elites, *vakıfs*, religious lodges and commoners.

13 Nicholas Mesarites, "Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople" translated by Henry Maguire in *Gardens and Parks in Constantinople*, 2000.

14 Costantinides, "Byzantine Garden and Horticulture," 87.

§ 3.2 After the Fall of Constantinople

Just before the fall of the city, Constantinople had become disconnected from its hinterland, and its population had decreased to as little as 25 thousand people. As the city changed hands, Sultan Mehmet II tried to restore the city by establishing an administrative body and policies to revive economic life.¹⁵ The Patriarchate and some Greek notables were included in the administrative processes. In addition, he undertook strategies to repopulate the city by resettling people from different regions. This included, bringing back warmer city dwellers who had run away and forcing certain groups (especially skilled and experienced craftsmen) to migrate from all over the empire.¹⁶ This policy of repopulating Istanbul continued through the sixteenth century.¹⁷

Alongside activities directed at increasing the population, projects for the reconstruction of the city began. This brought with it a mobilization of labor, capital, and material. New social complexes, including *hans*, *medreses*, mosques, public soup kitchens, and shelters were constructed in the process. Also, a new *Bedesten* (the future Grand Bazaar) was built to bring the city's economy back to pre-war standards. Mehmet II had a palace (Eski Saray in the district of Beyazid) and a *küllüye* (the mosque that took the place of the Holy Apostol) constructed in his name. A project for a new palace (Topkapı) in Sarayburnu started in this period. Churches and monasteries were converted into mosques and dervish lodges, and a shrine in the name of Eyüp (a companion of prophet Muhammed who allegedly died along the walls of the city during a siege) was built to the north of the city and became a popular destination among Muslims. With all this, a rapid process of Islamization started.¹⁸ Mehmet II granted the homes of former Greeks to soldiers and dervishes who had participated in the siege and large tracts of land to his military officers.¹⁹ New neighborhoods emerged around mosques belonging to notable

15 Robert Mantran, *İstanbul Tarihi*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 192-193.

16 Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, 9.

17 Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul*, 28.

18 Mantran, *İstanbul Tarihi*, 196-197.

19 Halil, Inalcık, "Istanbul: An Islamic City," in *Essays in Ottoman History*, ed. Halil Inalcık, (Istanbul: Eren Yayınları, 1998), 252-253.

families. Even today, many neighborhoods and mosques are called by the names of their founders, such as Hoca Paşa, Gedik Ahmet Paşa, and Davut Paşa.²⁰

According to Inalcik, the reconstruction of Istanbul made use of the *vakıf* system, an essential element of the Turkish-Islamic city. Public services were provided by these *vakıfs*, which were divided into two groups according to their charters: individual *vakıfs* and pious foundations. The former were established to protect family interests and wealth. pious foundation, on the other hand, consisted of facilities directly related to charity services; places of worship, poorhouses (*imarethane*), fountains, public baths, bridges, schools, and hospitals. Second, pious foundation also included profit-oriented establishments that funded such facilities, such as shops, rental properties, and market gardens.²¹ For example, the *vakıf* of Ayasofya mosque owned many shops together with extensive market gardens in Istanbul, with which it covered expenses.²²

In due time, the policies of Mehmet II proved successful and the city regained its prominence. The population doubled within 25 years of the conquest. At the end of the seventeenth century, it reached 300 thousands.²³ Undoubtedly, labor migration played a role in this dramatic growth, which will be examined with regard to gardeners within the following chapter. In the middle of the seventeenth century, the vast majority of the population well within the city walls.¹⁷ Inhabitants consisted of Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and mainly Turks. Two crowded suburban districts located outside of the walls were significant, namely Eyüp and Yedikule. On the opposite shore of the Golden Horn, Galata -a former colony of the Genoese and Venice became a densely populated trade center. Two prominent settlements were located along the shores of Bosphorus: Üsküdar in Anatolia and Beşiktaş in Europe.²⁴

20 Inalcik, *Devlet-i Aliyye-I*, 125-127.

21 Ibid., 261.

22 Aleksandar Shopov and Ayhan Han, "Osmanlı İstanbul'unda Kent içi Tarımsal Toprak Kullanımı ve Dönüşümleri: Yedikule Bostanları," *Toplumsal Tarih Dergisi* 236, (2013): 35.

23 Stefanos Yerasimos, "16. Yüzyılda İstanbul'un Nüfusu," *Toplumsal Tarih* 14 (1995): 26-27.

24 Mantran, *17. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul I*, 41-42.

One of the most important positions in the administration of Istanbul was the *Kadı*.²⁵ In the Ottoman era, *Kadıs* were both judicial authorities and administrative chiefs. Beside these duties, they had a role in conducting municipal affairs. There was one *kadı* in Istanbul intra-muros and three others in greater Istanbul (*Bilad-ı Selase*) each responsible for wide swaths of the city. These were the *Eyüp Kadısı* (the area in Istanbul extra-muros that extended to Çatalca and Silivri), the *Galata Kadısı* (Beyoğlu, along western shore of the Bosphorous), and the *Üsküdar Kadısı* (which included the whole of Anatolian Istanbul).²⁶ Among the municipal duties of the *Kadıs* were assigning *Kethüda*



25 A judge of Islamic canon law, and, in Ottoman history, governor of a *kaza*

26 Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediyye I* (İstanbul: İBB Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 1995), 287. See also *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, s. v. “Kadı.”

(stewards) and *Yiğitbaşı* (deputy stewards) for guilds,²⁷ designating *narh* (administered prices),²⁸ distributing and recording the *gediks*²⁹ and organizing among the crafts.³⁰

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- 27 In the broadest sense, *esnaf* (tradesmen) was an occupational organization or institution that includes any employees in any specialized production or service sector profession. Every *esnaf* had an administrative body (guild council). This council consisted of notables and masters of the relevant profession. The headman was called the *kethüda*; and another important member of the council was the *yığitbaşı*. There was only one *kethüda*, but the latter could be several in number. The main duties of a *kethüda* was to represent the organization to the state, inform members about state orders, ensure obedience, reconcile disagreements among members, properly manage the organization's savings, lead the council, conduct rituals for recruitment or promotion of members, participate and supervise price fixing meetings to prevent unfair competition, arrange the supply and distribution of raw materials demanded by the member craftsmen as well as the services, needs, and labor force requested by the state, and finally, to collect *jizya* taxes from non-Muslim members. For more detail, see *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, s. v. "Esnaf."
- 28 Until the practice was dissolved in 1865, food prices were officially fixed. This implementation, called *narh* forbade sales above a set price. For more detail, see Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-u Belediyye I*, 393.
- 29 *Gedik* is a term that "had come to mean the right to practice a particular trade at a specific work" by until the end of the 19th century. For more detailed information see Engin Deniz Akarlı, "Gedik: Implements, Mastership, Shop Usufruct, and Monopoly among Istanbul Artisans, 1750-1850," in *Wissenschaftskolleg Jahrbuch 1986*, (Berlin: 1987), 223-232. For more detailed survey, see the same author's "Gedik: A bundle of Rights and Obligations for Istanbul Artisans and Traders, 1750-1840," in *Law, Anthropology, and The Constitution of the Social: Making Persons and Things*, ed. Alain Pottage and Martha Mundy. (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 166-200.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 291.

Istanbul's Market Gardens and Their Gardeners: Between the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Centuries

Six survey registers of what constitute the fundamental records which are investigated in this study. Such records were prepared to monitor and limit the increasing population of the city as a result of waves of migration from Rumelia and Anatolia, as well as for policing (*zaptiye*) stemming from growing security concerns.¹ Although they employ different archival codes, all the registers follow a pattern, wherein they provide detailed information regarding the hometowns, names, physical descriptions, and titles of workers. Within the survey registers, gardens are grouped according to location. There is detailed information about the *gedik* holder or the *müstecir* (lease holder) of each garden, about those who worked in the gardens, and about who was liable for these people to the state. In light of these, relevant maps were prepared regarding both the gardens and the issues about gardeners. The table 4.1 and figure 4.1 illustrate the geographical scope and content of these six registers.

1 This can be clearly seen in the organization of the BOA record, NFS.d, 4, 29.Z.1207 (August 7, 1793).

Table 4.1 Geographical distribution of Market Gardens and Gardeners according to the specified registers*

Register No.	Date	Geographical Area	No. of Gardens	No. of Gardeners
D.M.d 36860	1637	Üsküdar	60	184
D.BŞM 1841**	1712	Istanbul Intra-muros	228 (7 not cultivated)	978
NFS 1	1733	Istanbul Extra-muros (from Yedikule to Ayvansaray, Eyüp, and Hasköy)	167 (7 not cultivated)	636
A.DVN 881***	1792	Eastern shore of the Bosphorus (Kadıköy to Anadolu Kavacağı)	169	611
		Western shore of Bosphorus (Beşiktaş to Rumelikavağı)	89	297
NFS 4	1793	Istanbul Extra-muros (Eyüp to Yedikule and Çatalca)	276	938
NFS.d 15	1827	Istanbul Intra-muros	231	986
D.BŞM 42648****	(?)	Eyüp-Hasköy-Sütlüce	79 (1 not cultivated)	232
		Western shore of Bosphorus (Beşiktaş to Rumelikavağı)	70	193

* (BOA) D.M.d.: Bab-1 Defter-i Müteferrik (Records of Treasury); (BOA) D.BŞM.: Başmuhasebe Kalemi (Records of the Office of Chief Accountant); (BOA) NFS.: Nüfus Defterleri (Census Registers); (BOA) A.DVN: Divan (Beylikçi) Kalemi Defterleri

** Record mentioned by Shopov and Han (Shopov and Han, 2013)

*** Record previously transcribed by Hüseyin Nejat Ertuğ (Ertuğ, 1997)

**** Record examined by Cengiz Kırılı (Kırılı, 2001)

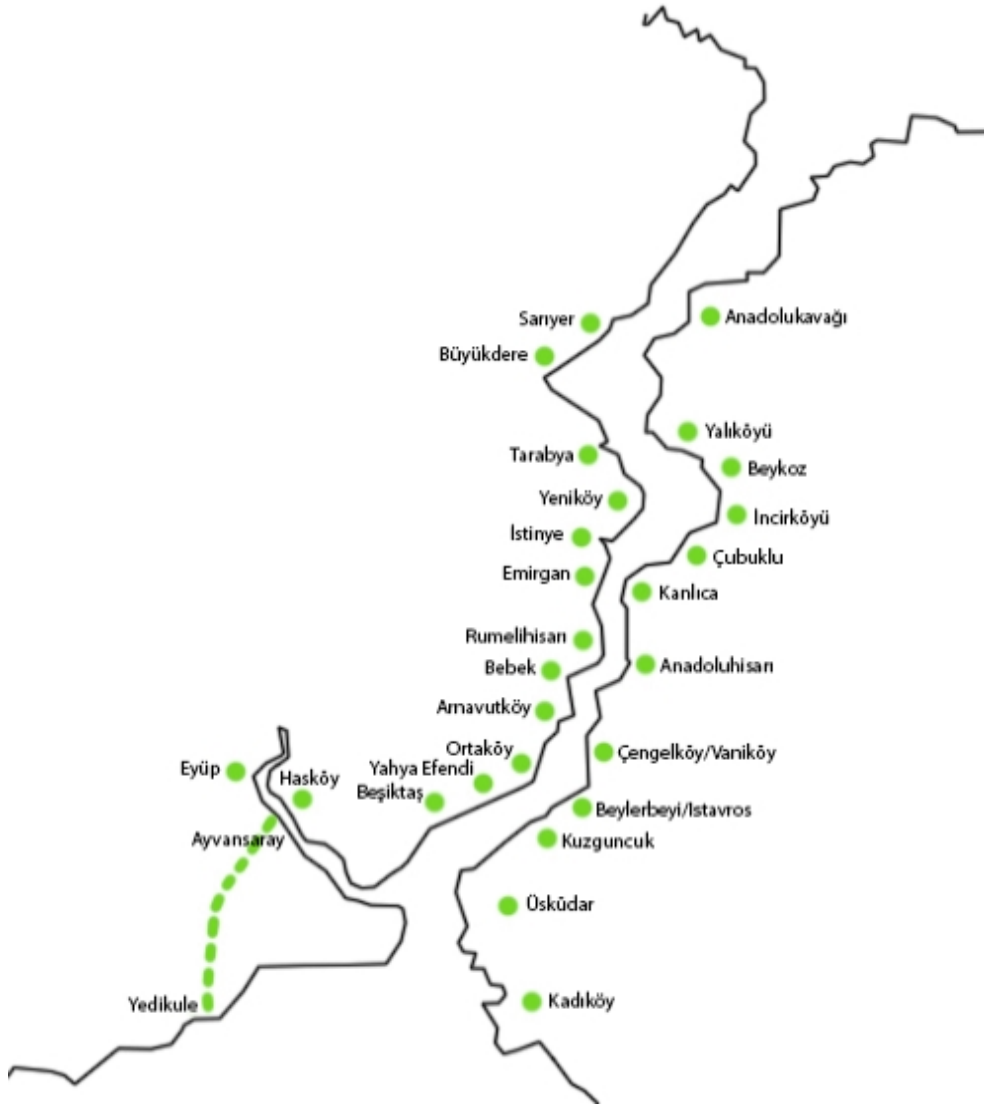


Figure 4.1 Sketch of locations of recorded market gardens (for a detailed map of Istanbul intra-muros, see Appendix A)

As it is seen in the figure 4.1, market gardens were spread throughout the greater city area. Most of these parts of Istanbul were semi-rural. This was a natural outcome of the geography of the city with its many shores. The gardens along the Bosphorus were clustered around the “villages of Bosphorus,” which have today become part of the city proper. Interestingly, the number of market gardens in Istanbul intra-muros was almost equal to the sum of those located along both shores of the Bosphorus and in Istanbul extra-muros, even though the latter had much more open space in which to expand. Another significant

detail about gardens along the Bosphorus is that the number on the eastern, Anatolia shore is almost double that of those in the western shore.

Istanbul in the Ottoman era did not develop in concentric circles around a center. As mentioned in the previous chapter, it was a collection of dispersed neighborhoods clustered around mosques. In the registers, the locations of and directions to gardens are generally indicated with reference to these neighborhoods. Each register provides certain information about garden locations in different time, so it is possible to trace and map the locations, especially in Istanbul intra-muros where the names of landmarks persist in the names of streets, and mosques. However, when the registrations of gardens in the books are checked against actual conditions, it is clear that clerks did not necessarily “follow” regular routes (see Appendix A). This was probably clerks were not mobile; they not actually visit each garden. Rather, the gardeners in charge or the steward of gardeners (*bağçıvanlar kethüdası*) informed him of the status and relevant conditions of their gardens.

Before evaluating the registers, some limits and opportunities of these sources should be noted. First of all, although they provide certain standard items of information, not every detail is present in each book. For instance, the marital status and the title of registered individuals are absent from some records, but this does not mean that the records lacked a systematic method. It seems records were updated when significant changes occur, such as an individual leaving a location (*reft*) or a death (*mefit*). Also, some speculation is possible by comparing data given in different registers. For instance, relatively more information is given about the individuals who were responsible in the gardens: for the most part, *gedik* or lease holders.² Since it is often observed, it is possible to project this pattern to registers where such details are lacking. The case of a register from 1827 is an example. The marital statuses of the gardeners on the first line of the record are noted; however, there is no data regarding their status as *gedik* or lease holders. One can deduce that the individuals recorded first were also in positions of responsibility based on the fact that their marital status is highlighted. The clerk was possibly more interested in marital details of people with higher status due to matters of inheritance.

2 BOA, NFS, 4, 29.Z.1207 (August 7, 1793). and BOA, D.BŞM, 1841.

Another issue with the sources concerns chronological differences. In some cases, the period between successive register books stretches over a century. Yet, this fact can be used for a spatial comparison. One can observe continuities and patterns in a given place by comparing two different periods. In other words, it is possible to assess the distribution of the urban agricultural landscape in terms of “continuity of space.” Two cases provide sound examples here. First, the names of certain gardens in Istanbul (Lalezar Bahçesi, Çivizade Bahçesi, Bucak Bahçesi, Langa Bahçeleri, Çukur Bostanlar, Kaya Sultan Bahçesi, Kurkcubasi Bahçesi, and Davutpasa Bahçesi) were noted by the famous traveler Evliya Çelebi, and are also found in the examined records.³ Even today, a park named “Çukur Bostan” exists in the district of Fatih, although no market gardens are left in the neighborhood. Second, some market gardens (such as Bucak Bostanı and Malcı Bostanı) that are found in the registers are also on a map prepared by Reşat Ekrem Koçu in the first half of the twentieth century (see Appendix D). It is possible to make a comparison of the number of gardens in different periods.

The following sections include the results of these comparisons as well as deductions with regard to how urban agriculture took shape in Istanbul, to the spatial distribution of property relations and division of labor, and to the ethno-religious characteristics of workers in the gardening profession. Furthermore, they include detailed information about a particular aspect of labor migration to Istanbul, which created a remarkable labor market in the pre-industrial era. Finally, they present a picture of how policing and migration control took shape in the examined period.

3 Kahraman, Seyit Ali, and Yücel Dağlı, trans. *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyehatnamesi: İstanbul II* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2013), 558.

§ 4.1 Market Gardens of the City

Market gardening was a profitable, urban business.⁴ This is what led to the tendency to employ empty spaces in the city as gardens. For instance, Okmeydanı, set aside as an archery range by Mehmet II, was spared from market gardens with the help of the stern warnings of sultans. Altınay mentions two decrees regarding Okmeydanı, dated 1730 and 1849, both of which forbade market gardens in the region.⁵ On the other hand, market gardens were of utmost importance in the provisioning of the city, to which the state itself attached an obvious emphasis. The Ottoman administration tried to regulate and ensure the continued presence of gardens in the city. For instance, there were occasions when property holders ruined gardens or cut down trees due to their over-taxation, endangering the balance of the provisioning of the city.⁶ The administration developed measures against such incidents. Market gardens within the city were expensive.⁷ Their production type should be thought within the urban context. A document dated 1834, for example, gives information about a garden specialized in silk production that occupied a large part of the Hekimbaşı Çiftliği (*Hekimbasi farm*) located in Göksu.⁸ This cultivation area belonged to the Imperial Mint (*Darphane-yi Amire*), and its operation was a net loss due to high labor costs in the silk production sector. According to the record, “the costs are a few times higher than the profits.” For this reason, the relevant director of the *Darphane-yi Amire* recommended replacing the garden’s mulberry trees with vegetables and fruits. His argument was

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- 4 The yearly income of a market garden around Samatya was worth the aggregate income of 17 shops in Aksaray. See the article of Shapov and Han, “Osmanlı İstanbul’unda Kent içi Tarımsal Toprak Kullanımı ve Dönüşümleri,” 34-38.
- 5 Ahmet Refik Altınay, *Onikinci Asr-ı Hicride İstanbul Hayatı 1689-1785*, (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi Yayınları, 1988), 112-115.
- 6 BOA, DH-HMŞ, 1-2, 9.C.1329 (December 8, 1916).
- 7 In the neighborhood (around Langa) examined by Behar, a market garden was worth 500 kurus in 1780, whereas the price of a house was around 300 kurus. This is high. For more detail, see Cem Behar, *Bir Mahallenin Doğumu ve Ölümü 1494-2008: Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Kasap İlyas Mahallesi*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2014), 119.
- 8 BOA, DRB, 1-51 17.Za.1249, (March 28, 1834).

based on the notion that silk production was more proper for rural agriculture. One can deduce that agricultural activity was perceived in terms of urban and rural production, and market gardens were understood to be part of urban agriculture up until the late nineteenth century. As a profitable sector, market gardening was a significant source of employment. According to a study by Kırılı and Başaran about the artisans of Istanbul, gardens were the city's third largest employers, behind coffee houses and barber shops.⁹

4.1.1 *Portrait of A Market Garden*

“A shack surrounded by gardens, a trellis, a lean to roof, a well, a kitchen, a toilet, a pond, trees with fruits and a vegetable garden...” This excerpt describes a market garden in the district of Kasap İlyas belonging to the *vakıf* of Hurşide Hatun.¹⁰ Figure 4.4, a report dated 1866, provides more details.¹¹ It was prepared to approximate the market values of products from a garden named *Çukurbostan* in the Tomtom neighborhood around the district of Galata-Tophane. According to the document, the reason for the survey was a request by French nuns to build an orphanage on land where the garden was located. They conveyed their wish to the Sultan and he approved it. Thus, a committee led by the *Istanbul Bahçivanları Kethüdası* (steward of gardeners of Istanbul) was assigned to calculate and prepare a table of current market values for the garden's vegetables and fruits. The garden is located in the city center. Although remarkable, it was usual for gardens to be located in the center of Istanbul at that time. Nevertheless, there is no mention of any landscape details or topographical features of the garden in the document. Also, it does not comment on stables, wells, water wheels, or lodgings for gardeners, which were present in other gardens. The document only itemizes the fruits and vegetables cultivated and the pine sticks necessary to bind these. The variety of products shows that it was a mix type.

9 Cengiz Kırılı and Betül Başaran, “18. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Osmanlı Esnafı,” in *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Esnaf ve Ticaret*, ed. Fatmagül Demirel, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 10.

10 Behar, *Bir Mahallenin Doğumu ve Ölümü*, 103.

11 BOA, I.HR.221.12899, 27.Ra.1283 (August 9, 1866).

The total value of the products in the garden amounted to approximately 75 thousand kuruş, which corresponds to the purchasing power of 13,500 present-day Turkish lira, a relatively high amount.¹² The unit of measure for cultivated land used as a garden was called *tahta*, which refers to a plot approximately 2-3 x 10-15 meters or the sum of products harvested from around 20-45 square meters of land (see figures 4.2 and 4.3). Calculating via *tahta* units, it is possible to estimate the size of the garden in metric units. The garden had a few *tahta* for each of different vegetables totaling 35, so the estimated total area was 35 x (20-45) = 700-1,575 m² square meters of cultivated land, a small garden of its kind.

Though not stated in the document, animals played a crucial role for sustaining the aforementioned agricultural system. Horses were used for transportation of raw materials and finished products, as well as to run water wheels, since most market gardens in the city were irrigated by wells, although some benefited from a river or creek passing through it.¹³ Animals also supplied nourishing manure to the gardens.¹⁴ Gardening was labor intensive work and required both animal power and manual labor, demanding tools such as the *çapa* (mattock), the *çatal bel* (digging fork), and the *bel* (shovel).¹⁵ The needs of seed were satisfied both by the previous harvest and by seed vendors.¹⁶

Sebzehanes (vegetable markets) were important for the distribution of products including those imported from outside the city. Imported products were brought first to the *sebzehane* and sold to traders after the Palace purchased the best goods for itself. The *sebzehane* system restraining the trader from buying freely, serving to prevent undesirable price increases in Istanbul's fresh products market.¹⁷ But to bypass the *sebzehane*, some merchants bought

12 Şevket Pamuk, editor, *500 Years of Prices and Wages in Istanbul and Other Cities*, (Ankara: TC Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000).

13 Paul J. Kaldjian, "Istanbul's Bostans: A Millennium of Market Gardens," 284-304.

14 See BOA, BEO, 4273.320424, 28.R.1332 (March 25, 1914); Barthel and Isedahl, *Urban Gardens, Agriculture, and Water Management*, 224-234.

15 BOA, D.BŞM.d, 7641, 15.Ra.1224 (April 30, 1809).

16 More detailed information about seed vendors is in the section "The Gardeners of the City."

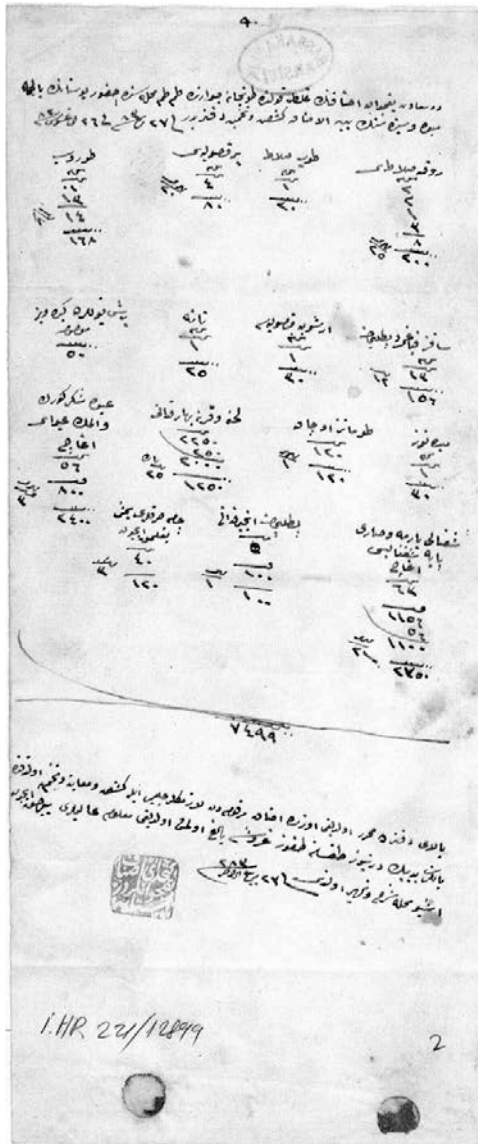
17 BOA, Cevdet Belediye, 5669, 19.Z.1123 (January 28, 1712).



Figure 4.2 Approximate dimensions of a *tahta*



Figure 4.3 Another image of a *tahta*



Dersaadet-ı bahçıvan esnafından Galata kolunda Tophane civarında Tomtom mahallesinde Çukur Bostanın bilcümle meyve ve sebzesinin beyn-el-esnaf keşfi ve tahmini defteridir (Fi 27 Rebiül Ahir Sene 83 / Fi 26 Ağustos Sene 82)

4 Turup	3 Yer Fasulyesi	2 Turp Salata	1 Roka Salatası
14 (tahta) x 12= 168 kuruş	4 (tahta)x20= 80 kuruş	1 (tahta) 20 kuruş	8 (tahta) x 25= 200 kuruş
8 Yaş (?) Kereviz (?)	7 Nane	6 Arşun Fasulyesi	5 Sakız Kabağı ve Patlıcan
50 kuruş	1 (tahta) 25 kuruş	1 (tahta) 30 kuruş	13 (tahta) x12= 156 kuruş
12 Ayva şekerkoruk(?) ve Ekmek Ayvası ağacı	11 Lahana ve Karnabahar Fidanı	10 Domates Ocak	9 Maydonoz
240 kuruş	1250 kuruş	1 (tahta) 120 kuruş	1 (tahta) 30 kuruş
	15 Çam sırıkları yemiş bağlamak için	14 Patlıcan İnciri Fidanı	13 Şeftali Yarma ve sarı paye Şeftalisi Ağacı
	120 kuruş	1 (tahta) 100 kuruş	2350 kuruş
Toplam: 7499 Kuruş			

Bala-yı defterde muharrir olduğu üzere esnaf-ı merkumeden lazım geldiği ile keşif ve muayene ve tahmin olundukda yalnız yedi bin dört yüz doksan dokuz kuruşa baliğ olmuş olduğu malumu âlilerine buyrulmak icabından işbu mahalle şerh ve tahrir olundu (Fi 27 Rebiül Ahir Sene 283)

Asitane-yi Kethüda-yı esnafı bahçıvanlarıdır

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------|--|
| 1- Rocket salad | 6- Bean (?) | 11- Seedlings of Cabbage and Cauliflower |
| 2- Radish salad | 7- Mint | 12- Quince tree |
| 3- Bean (?) | 8- Celery | 13- Peach tree |
| 4-Turnip | 9- Parsley | 14- Fig sapling |
| 5-Vegetable marrow and aubergine | 10- Tomato | 15- Pine sticks to tie plants up |

Figure 4.4 A record indicating the products of a market garden in 1886 (originally transcribed by the author)

and stored goods secretly, and thus sold at higher prices than determined by the state.¹⁸

Since most shops were located in the city center, they were inadequate for distributing goods to the city as a whole. Thus, there were peddlers and porters who daily sold fresh products in the far corners of the city. In his book examining five hundred years of the history of the Kasap İlyas neighborhood, Behar mentions peddlers and porters who would buy products from the gardens of Langa and sell in faraway districts, usually transporting the goods by means of donkeys and horses. These occupations were not seasonal, as gardens yielded produce year around.¹⁹ Boats carried out transportation of goods, passengers and food between coastline neighborhoods.²⁰

Another issue concerning gardens was security. A verdict dated 1754, aimed to prevent people from cutting the trees and damaging the vegetable gardens of the Bayrampaşa Vakfı around Edirnekapı. The kadı stated that these people were members of *piyade* and *süvari taifesi* (infantry and cavalry) and that they were fought off by the Haslar subaşı (army officer).²¹ Unfortunately, there is no data about the attackers' motivations; they were probably related to uprisings in the period. These were the after effects of the 1730 revolt of Patrona Halil²² and a 1740 revolt called the "market rebellion."²³ Occasional watchmen patrolled some gardens to prevent security breaches mentioned above. Although no mention of such guards is found in eighteenth century records, a survey register dated 1827 mentions 9 watchmen patrolling in different neighborhoods of Istanbul intra-muros.²⁴

18 Erhan Afyoncu, "Tarih Boyunca İstanbul'un İaşesi," Bugün, October 10, 2011.

19 Behar, *Bir Mahallenin Doğumu ve Ölümü*, 183-184.

20 Cengiz Orhonlu, "Osmanlı Türkleri Devrinde İstanbul'da Kayıkçılık ve Kayık İşletmeciliği," *Tarih Dergisi* 11 (1966): 109.

21 Ahmet Kal'a, editor, *Ahkam Defterleri: İstanbul Tarih Tarihi I* (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1997), 315-316.

22 The Patrona Halil revolt is detailed in the section "The Gardeners of the City."

23 For more detailed information, see Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul*.

24 BOA, NFS, 15, 29.Z.1242 (July 24, 1827).

§ 4.2 The Market Gardens According to Locations and Sizes

The locations of gardens were highly dependent to water sources (ground water, running water). However, Istanbul's topography was not very suitable for reaching to fresh water sources easily. This is the reason why Istanbul's vegetable gardens were generally located in valley bottoms. Since the eastern side of Bosphorus was hillier, there were longer and wider valley bottoms. This may be the topographical reason of the existences of more gardens in the eastern side.²⁵

Survey registers proffer rewarding data about the gardens. Clerks usually describe gardens and various features in detail, which allows the particularities of garden owners and products to be imagined. The clerks who compiled the survey records examined in this study categorized the gardens according to features such as: the products produced in it (e.g. gardens of mint, onions, lemons, flowers, etc.), the names and titles of owners (e.g. Bayram Pasha, Ruşen Bey, etc.), the occupations of owners (e.g. the garden of the custom officer, tinsmith, breadmaker, etc.), the garden's form (e.g. sunken gardens), and their locations (e.g. garden located at Mevlevihane Kapı, around Kanai lodge, around Ayvansaray Kapısı, etc.).

The registers examined provide useful details for determining the locations and sizes of gardens. Some gardens retained their names for centuries even when inherited by neighbors, or the names were given to streets and parks, which provides allows them to be conveniently located on a contemporary map (See the Appendix A). Moreover, as the registers belong to different years, changing conditions of a given location can be compared. For instance, when the registers concerning Istanbul intra-muros from 1735 and 1827 are compared, it is observed that neither the number of gardens nor gardeners had changed over the 100-year period. On the other hand, two registers concerning Istanbul extra-muros in 1733 and 1793 show an increase of around 65% over 60 years (see table 4.1). The reason is the inclusion of an additional district, Çatalca that was not registered in the older book. This suggests that the gardening hinterland of Istanbul grew in parallel with the increasing population as uncultivated lands were transformed into gardens. One cannot make

25 I am thankful to Prof. Murat Güvenç for his much valuable insights on the issue.

similar comparisons for gardens along the shores of the Bosphorus due to a lack of periodical information. However, as mentioned, the number of gardens on the eastern shore was almost twice that of those on the western shore. All aside, the density of Istanbul intra-muros with regard to the number of gardens and gardeners was unexpectedly high.

Gardens registered along the shores of the Bosphorus were located in the villages called *Boğaz köyleri*. Even though they had more room in which to extend, the total size of these gardens with respect to those in Istanbul intra-muros were more or less the same. Taking both Istanbul intra-muros and extra-muros into consideration, gardens were clustered where the topography was suitable. The band just outside the Theodosian Walls, stretching from Yedikule in the south to Eyüp in the north, was filled with gardens. As shown in topographical maps by Wolfgang Müller-Winerer, the Yenibahçe region where the Bayrampaşa River basin ran through the city not built up and was available for gardening.²⁶ Also, there were large gardens in the fertile lands in the district of Langa where the Bayrampaşa River meets with the sea. Eyüp was more rural, characterized by countryside except for its center. Ayvansaray, Edirnekapı, Eğrikapı, Yenikapı, and Yedikule were neighborhoods of Eyüp that included many gardens (see figure 4.5).²⁷

Although it was not unusual to see gardens in the city center, most were situated in less populated areas. As Ayverdi states, the most populated regions were around the Beyazıt Mosque and along the Haliç coastline; density decreased towards the shores of the Marmara Sea.²⁸

26 Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001).

27 Tülay Artan, "Terekeler Işığında 18. Yüzyıl Ortasında Eyüp'te Yaşam Tarzı ve Standartlarına Bir Bakış: Orta Halliliğin Aynası," in *18. Yüzyıl Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Eyüp'te Sosyal Yaşam*, ed. Tülay Artan, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2008), 52.

28 Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Fetih Devri Sonlarında İstanbul Mahalleleri Şehrin İskanı ve Nüfusu* (Ankara: Doğu Matbbası, 1958).

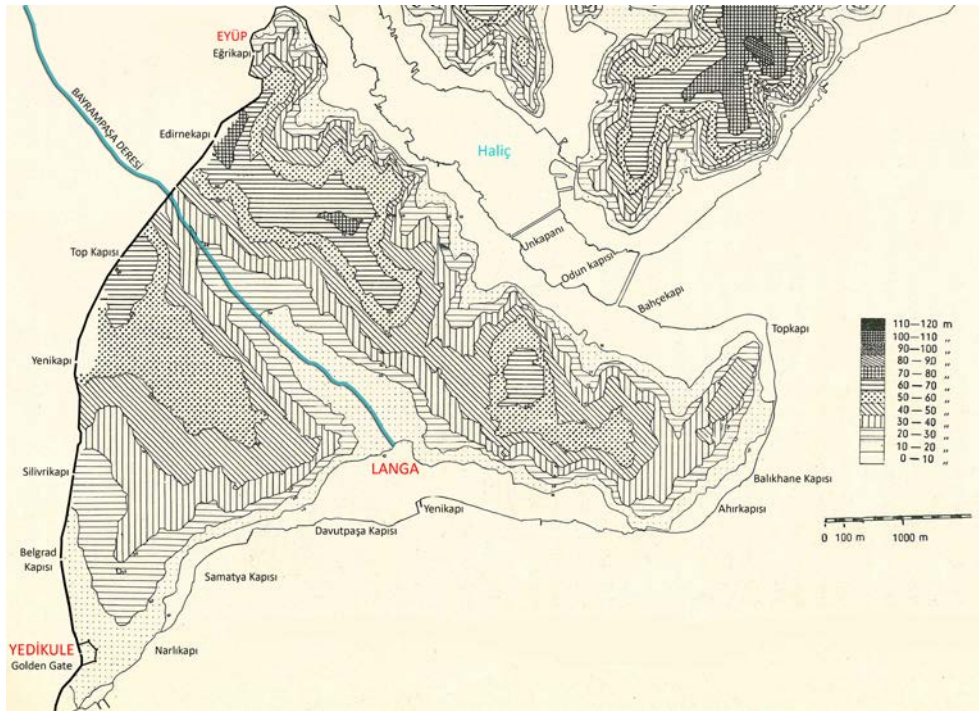


Figure 4.5 Map showing the topography and regions of Istanbul.

Gardens were mostly mid-sized, yet there were a few large ones employing up to 15 gardeners. Large gardens were located in extra-muros around the Langa region. Gardens significantly shaped the urban fabric. The total number of gardens in Istanbul intra-muros was around 230, and approximately 1000 people worked these gardens (see table 4.1). Thus, the average number of workers per garden was around four. This was slightly more than workplaces in other crafts. Kırılı's study shows that the average number of employees in shops was two and a half, illustrating again that gardening was more labor-intensive than other sectors.²⁹

According to Koder's map,³⁰ the gardening area in Istanbul extra-muros was around 13 square kilometers, whereas within the city walls it occupied 3 of the city's 15 square kilometers. So approximately 20% of the walled city consisted of gardens. Based on Koder's calculations, one can determine that one gardener worked around 0.3 hectares of land. Koder also postulates that 40

29 Kırılı and Başaran, "18. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Osmanlı Esnafı," 7-42.

30 The map is in the section "Urban Agriculture in Byzantine Constantinople" in the third chapter.

square meters of garden produced enough fresh vegetables for one person. As the population of greater Istanbul in the seventeenth century was estimated to be 300 thousand a total area of 12 square kilometers of gardening land would have been needed to supply the city with fresh food.³¹ The arable lands of Istanbul were much larger than this, showing that Istanbul was self-sufficient in terms of fresh food.

4.2.1 *Possession of Market Gardens*

Gardens of Istanbul were divided into two main categories in terms of their ownership: those belonging to the Sultan (*has bahçeler*) and those in the possession of commoners (*reaya*), *vakıfs*,³² or Janissaries. Both produced for the market. Beside these, there were kitchen gardens, which supplied to individual households and were irrelevant to market demand. According to the registers examined, there were only two locations where a market garden was part of a private household.

Excluding the Sultan's gardens, most gardens in Istanbul had the status of *mülk*³³ or *vakıf* only one garden held the status *miri*. In some, responsibilities were undertaken by an individual other than the owner (*deruhte edilmiş*), some were allotted (*hisseli*), some were entailed estates (*meşruta*), and some were part of the commons (*müşterek*). Most gardens were owned by rich elites or vakıfs founded by them. These are properties that had been granted by the Sultan. Significant pious foundations (vakıf) such as Fatih Hospice or Hagia Sophia Mosque had exclusive estates and farmlands from which they merely procured income. Among other possessions, the vakıf of Hagia Sophia owned some part of the lands in Langa.³⁴ As with the Byzantine emperors, Ottomans sultans granted agricultural lands within and around the cities, which were significant sources of income, to those who had developed and maintained

31 Betül Başaran, "The 1829 Census and the Population of Istanbul during the Late 18th and early 19th Centuries," in *Studies on Istanbul and Beyond the Freely Papers*, ed. Robert G. Ousterhout, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum Publications, 2007), 53-71.

32 The vakıf system is explained in detail under in the section "After the Fall of Constantinople."

33 *Mülk* means possession, property or real estate, the right of property of which belongs to landowner.

34 Shopov and Han, "Osmanlı İstanbul'unda Kent içi Tarımsal Toprak Kullanımı," 34-38.

close personal relationships. In this way, wealth was kept within a close circle of favored individuals. This situation was reshaped by redistribution of land that occurred at certain conjunctions, such as the enthronement of a new sultan. Having been granted land in the capital by the Sultan conveyed an honorable status, in addition to the fact that it was quite profitable. This is why some notables living outside Istanbul also had land in the city.

According to survey registers, the possession of gardens can be classified as: 1) gardens belonging to high ranking officers and their *vakıfs* (e.g. the gardens of Bayram Paşa, Nakkaş Paşa, Şeyhülislam, Şeyh of Kabe, etc.), 2) gardens that belonged to the Palace bureaucracy (e.g. the gardens of the Haremeyn translators, sealer, clerk, kadı, etc.), 3) gardens belonging to members of the Enderun (e.g. the gardens of the Agha of the Gate of Felicity, the Agha of the House of Felicity, Sarıkçıbaşı, Silahdar Ağa, Şahincibaşı, Tırnakçı, etc.), 4) gardens that belonged to municipal service administrators (e.g. the gardens of the Customs Officer, Tomb Keeper, Chief Inspector of Weights and Measures, Kursuncubaşı, Tuz Emini, Koyun Emini, etc.), 5) gardens belonging to guilds or military *vakıfs* (e.g. the gardens of Orta,³⁵ Ocak,³⁶ Lonca, etc.), 6) gardens that belonged to religious lodges or other religious institutions (e.g. the gardens of the lodge of Mevlevi dervishes, lodge of Emirler, lodge of Sufis, lodge of Himmetzade, Kürkçü Mosque, churches, etc.), and 7) gardens belonging to commoners (e.g. the gardens of the tinsmith, bath attendant, bread maker, butcher, etc.) Although the property belonged to garden owners, possession rights were either undertaken by others (*gedik sahibi*) or rented to lease-holders (*müstecir*).

Another issue was the taxation of garden goods. Vegetables and fruits cultivated in other towns were subject to taxes such as *öşr-i bostan ve sebze*, *öşr-i piyaz*, *öşr-i meyve ve sebze*, and *öşr-i sir*. Although no records regarding taxation were encountered in the archival documents, this practice was probably also the case in Istanbul.³⁷

35 Orta was a military term used to indicate a janissary troop.

36 The ocak of the Janissaries meant the whole corps of Janissary forces.

37 İbrahim Solak, "Osmanlı imparatorluğu Döneminde Anadolu'da Meyve ve Sebze Üretimi," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Dergisi* 24 (2008): 230.

4.2.1.1 Women Garden Owners

It is difficult to estimate whether women worked as gardeners due to a lack of data in the registers. It is known that women and men being together in a public place was considered improper in Ottoman society, as illustrated by the fact that the clerk noted that two male gardeners who worked for a woman (Topal Arife Hatun) were themselves “married.”³⁸ According to the clerk, Arife Hatun lived in her own garden, and the clerk may have found this situation problematic. Thus he remarked on the gardeners’ marital statuses.

There were gardens that were owned by women, although it was an exceptional situation. In the survey registers, there were 35 gardens belonging to 21 women.³⁹ These women were generally wives, sisters, mothers or daughters of elite citizens or were themselves sultans, and the latter often owned more than garden. Only six women owners are recorded without any reference to men or their title, only with respect to their location. (See table 4.2). The names listed represent the current or erstwhile owners of the gardens: ownership may have changed hands in time.

Table 4.2 Titles of women who own one or more gardens

	Title	Number of gardens
Fazlı Paşa deruhde-yi İsmetli Emine Sultan	Sultan	3
Bayrampaşa deruhte-yi ismetli Hazret-i Hatice Sultan		2
İsmetli Hatice Sultan	Sultan	3
İsmetli hazreti Fatma Sultan	Sultan	5
İsmetli hazret-i Atike Sultan	Sultan	5
Saime Sultan	Sultan	1
Başkadın hazretkerinin	Matron	1

38 BOA, NFS, 1, 29.Z.1145 (June 12, 1733).

39 BOA, NFS, 1, 29.Z.1145 (June 12, 1733) and BOA, D.BŞM, 1841.

	Title	Number of gardens
Suyolcu kerimesi Hacı Kadın	Hacı	1
Hatice Hatun kerime-yi koyun emini	Daughter of <i>Koyun Emini</i>	1
Merhum Hüseyin Paşa kerimesi Rahime Hanım	Daughter of Pasha	1
Hamza Ağa kerimesi saki-i Cübbe-yi Ali	Daughter of Hamza Ağa	2
Tabakzade kerimesi	Daughter of Tabakzade	1
Eyyüblüzade haseki Süleyman Ağa validesi	Mother of Süleyman Ağa	1
Merhum Kazasker Salih Efendi'nin ehli hanımın	Lady of <i>Kazasker</i>	1
Çelebioğlu merhumun ehli hanımın	Lady of Çelebioğlu	1
Fatma kadın sakin-i Aksaray	Woman	1
Topal Arife Hatun sakin-i bostan	Woman	1
İbşir ehli Bahtiyar kadın	Woman	1
Fatma Hatun sakin-i Çatal çeşme	Woman	1
Şerife Hatun	Woman	1
Fatma Hatun	Woman	1

4.2.2 Private Gardens of the Sultans (*Hasbahçe*)

The term *hasbahçe* refers to gardens owned by the Sultan himself. The term was originally coined for the garden of Topkapı Palace, but in time it turned into a general name for all gardens belonging to the Sultan. There were around

50-60 such gardens in distinct neighborhoods of Istanbul and its vicinity.⁴⁰ Some of these included Üsküdar garden, Tower garden (*Kule-bahçe*) in Çengelköy, *Tersane* garden in Kasımpaşa, *Kandilli* garden, *Karabali* garden in Kabataş, *Sadabad* garden along the Golden Horn, and other gardens in Bebek, Rumelihisarı, Paşabahçe, Fenerbahçe, and Eyüp.⁴¹ Beside *has bahçes* or elite's gardens, there were public gardens where people from different ages, genders, ranks, and status entertained. Sadabad garden in Kağıthane district was one of them.⁴²

These were not only pleasure gardens for use by the Sultan and the elites, but places of agricultural production. Even in the gardens of Topkapı Palace there were agricultural areas that supplied fresh food for the Palace.⁴³ Furthermore, vegetables, fruits, and flower varieties harvested from these gardens were sold to shops for profit. Although the royal treasury derived profit from selling such products, their productivity was symbolic compared to specialized agricultural estates (*çiftlik*). It was common to see a residential quarter, a dairy, a small mosque, storehouses, fountains, wells, and dormitories for gardeners in these royal gardens. Some of them had mineral resources such as limestone in Beykoz and Çubuklu gardens.

These gardens were cultivated and protected by an exclusive group of gardeners called *bostancı*. Like other royal service units, these were recruited from among non-Muslim groups (*devşirme*)⁴⁴ and had their own association,

40 Inalcık, *Devlet-i Aliyye II*, 111-112. Also see the archival record BOA, D, 7263, sene 1092 (in 1681).

41 Gülru, Necipoğlu. "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture," in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli. (Leiden and New York and Köln: Brill, 1997), 32-71.

42 Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008):3.

43 Kahraman, Seyit Ali, and Yücel Dağlı, trans., *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyehatnamesi: İstanbul II* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2013).

44 The method of recruiting administrators and soldiers in the Ottoman Empire. The system started to break down in the sixteenth century. For further detail, see Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 98-100.

called *Bostancı Ocağı*.⁴⁵ The foundation of this *ocak* is as old as the janissaries.⁴⁶ Bostancıs responsible for handling the Sultan's gardens were divided into *hasbahçe bostancıları* and *hassa bostancıları*. The former group served in the gardens of Topkapı Palace, while the latter worked gardens outside of the Palace.⁴⁷ Twenty to thirty bostancıs worked in each garden under the command of a garden master. According to İncalcık, these were the second most populous military group in Istanbul after the janissaries.⁴⁸ A document dated in the seventeenth century records that around three thousand bostancıs served in Istanbul.⁴⁹ İnciciyan mentions that this number had grown to six thousand by the eighteenth century.⁵⁰ Since bostancıs were a military class, they were also responsible for the security of the gardens where they worked. Moreover, *has bostancıs* of Topkapı Palace would protect the Palace when necessary. They were mostly used by the Sultan against rebel groups such as the janissaries.⁵¹ The head of all bostancıs was called the *bostancıbaşı*. Among his duties were recording and reporting to the Sultan income obtained from the sale of the gardens' products.⁵² In these documents, the yearly income of each garden was recorded individual. Other duties of the *bostancıbaşı* included patrolling districts order of the coastlines of the Bosphorus, the Prince Islands, and the Asian shores, as well as and preventing immigrants from entering the city, stopping them at the *Bostancı Köprüsü* (Bridge of Bostancı).

45 İncalcık, *Devlet-i Aliye I*, 207.

46 Abdülkadir Özcan, "Bostancıların Beledi Hizmetleri ve Bostancıbaşı Defterlerinin İstanbul'un Toponomisi Bakımından Değeri" (paper presented at the seminar of Tarih Boyunca İstanbul, 1988).

47 Muzaffer Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Bahçeleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 4, (1958): 151-154. See also, Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth century Istanbul," 33.

48 İncalcık, *Devleti Aliye I*, 210-211.

49 İncalcık, *Devleti Aliye II*, 111-112.

50 Özcan, "Bostancıların Beledi Hizmetleri."

51 İncalcık, *Devleti Aliye II*, 111-112.

52 BOA, D, 7263, sene 1092 (in 1681).

Just as with the Byzantines, Ottoman elites were interested in gardening. This is best observed in books about gardening and floriculture.⁵³ Ruling elites (viziers, pashas, treasurers, and ulemas) had suburban palaces, villas, and agricultural estates in addition to their permanent residences in the city.⁵⁴ Those who owned gardens had servants who worked there. The garden of Bayram Pasha near Edirnekapı; the Grand Gardens of Rüstem Pasha and his wife, Mihrimah Sultan, in Üsküdar; Sokollu Mehmet Pasha in Eyüp; and the garden of Sivayuş Pasha near Bakırköy are examples. Yet, although ruling elites owned estates bestowed by the Sultan, it was uncertain whether they could hold on them. There was always a risk of confiscation due to a death, moving out, or simply the Sultan's command.⁵⁵ For example, the estate of the Chief Treasurer İskender Çelebi was turned into a *has bahçe* after its owner was executed.⁵⁶

§ 4.3 Gardeners of the City

Gardeners constituted a significant, essential part of the city's population. Their numbers reached almost one thousand in Istanbul intra-muros. As will be shown, they consisted mostly of migrants, from which important conclusions will be drawn that are contrary to the common view of the ethno-religious division of labor in the Ottoman Empire. As Behar,⁵⁷ Kırılı,⁵⁸ and Quataert⁵⁹ indicate, the myth of "ethno-religious division of labor" in the Ottoman Empire is restrictive, inadequate, and too generic for an empire that had spread across a wide geography and was constituted of various types of social and economic units. Other kinds of relationships such as being from the same town and connection to the space are foregrounded in those authors

53 For example; Tezkire-yi şükufeciyan, Revnaku'l-ezhar, Şükufename, Mi'yarı'l-ezhar, Ferahname, Garsname, etc. For more detailed information, see Erdoğan, *Osmanlı Devletinde İstanbul Bahçeleri*, 149-182.

54 Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Suburan Landscape of Sixteenth century Istanbul," 32-71.

55 Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Devletinde İstanbul Bahçeleri," 152.

56 Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Suburan Landscape of Sixteenth century Istanbul," 41.

57 Behar, *Bir Mahallenin Doğumu ve Ölümü*, 160-166.

58 Kırılı, "A Profile of the Labor Force," 125-140.

59 Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*.

works. For instance, Behar mentions eighteenth century peddlers from the vicinity of Arapgiri who worked in the Kasap İlyas neighborhood close to Langa. He explains the interrelation between the occupation and the origin of the workers, which in this case was the decision of a state officer who had once served in Arapgiri to keep his servants close, resulting in a chain of migration. In this example, almost all the individuals who resided in the same area of Istanbul were from the same place and held the same occupation. In line with Quataert, Behar does not generalize based on a single case. Accepting the presence of such division of labor to an extent, Kırılı similarly regards such generalizations with suspicion when examining Istanbul's artisans and traders, pointing out possible cross-correlations. For example, he mentions of a profession of majority non-Muslims where the deputy steward was Muslim. He also emphasizes the dominance of Muslims in trading through stores, undermining the common thesis that links Muslims to non-commercial activities. Correspondingly, the present study agrees with the view of these authors and opposes the stereotype of ethno-religious communities based on occupation. For instance, there is a common view linking non-Muslims to fruit and vegetable cultivation, and Muslims to grain. In this study, it is shown that plenty of Muslims worked in the market gardens of Istanbul even if non-Muslims predominated.

The findings of the present study are not only consistent with those of the aforementioned authors, but the survey registers on which the research is based provide useful, detailed data in this regard. The goal of these registers was to have a record of the working populations of Istanbul for security reasons.⁶⁰ As a result, the records emphasize individuals' name, father's name, physical description, title, marital status, and homeland, and they were reviewed every six months. Revisions include marks such as *reft* and *meft*, referring to leaving and death, respectively. The facts of migration and migrant workers appear explicitly in these registers. The majority of migrants was from Balkan provinces, and most traveled to Istanbul and then returned home, as the mark *reft* implies. Although out of the temporal scope of the study, another example points to seasonal migration in the gardening sector. A document

60 Kırılı, "A Profile of the Labor Force," 125-140.

dated 1903 shows that the government suspected a Bulgarian gardener of attending a rebellion in Bulgaria when he moved back to his homeland for the off season.⁶¹ An additional group of gardeners in Istanbul were registered as Istanbulite. In a nutshell, the majority of gardeners were seasonal, migrant laborers (see the maps in the appendices). However, as Kırılı indicates, it is a mystery what the clerks took as the criterion for being considered a native İstanbulite.⁶² The city is mentioned by different names in the documents, e.g. “Istanbul” or “Asitane.” For the most part, the latter referred to intra-wall regions of Istanbul, whereas the extent of the former is unclear. Additionally, Eyüp, Hasköy, Edirnekapı, Ayastefanos (Yeşilköy), Makriköy (Bakırköy), Kalfaköy (Çatalca), and Bahçeköy (Sarıyer) are other origins recorded in the books.

According to the registers, the total number of towns from which migrants came numbered around a hundred, and most were in the Balkans (Rumeli), the demographic center of the empire until its dissolution.⁶³ As Orhonlu states, it was not possible for the villagers or townfolk to move at will within the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁴ Peasants who migrated without permission were called *çiftbozan*. The reasons for the high rates of migration from the Balkans were weakening central authority, territorial losses,⁶⁵ the decline of the tımar

61 BOA, BEO, 2006.150391, 24.Za.1320 (February 22, 1903).

62 Kırılı, “A Profile of the Labor Force,” 125-140.

63 Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 111.

64 Cengiz Orhonlu, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Şehircilik ve Ulaşım,” *İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları* 31, (1984): 7.

65 The defeat of the Ottoman army in Vienna led to the dissolution of the empire in the Balkans. For more detail, see Zülküf Oruç, *Balkanlarda Türk Olmak*, (Ankara: Vadi Yayınları, 2013), 94. Also Reşat Kasaba, *Bir Konargöçer İmparatorluk: Osmanlıda Göçebeler, Göçmenler ve Sığınmacılar* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2012).; Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 116.

institution and the rise of larger farms (*çiftlik*),⁶⁶ on upsurge of banditry, population increase,⁶⁷ droughts, famines, and rebellions. Non-Muslims suffered most from such developments. According to Jelavich, under the *çiftlik* system, a Christian peasant was obliged to pay taxes to the state, the estate holder, and the Church at the same time.⁶⁸ This provides a clue as to why the gardeners of Istanbul were mostly Christians from the Balkans.

Being a Balkan migrant was hard due to region's the mountainous topography (see figure 4.6). There were two main access roads. The first followed the river basin of the Danube to the Black Sea. The second started at the meeting point of the Danube and Sava rivers, following either 1) the Morava valley, Nis, and Vardar valley to arrive at the port of Thessalonica or 2) the Dragoman Passage from Sofia, to Plovdiv, to Edirne, eventually arriving in Istanbul. Another ancillary road was the "Via Egnatia," which dated to the Roman era, which followed the route from Draç (Dyrrhacium), İşkombi (Apollonia), or Ohrid Lake to Thessalonica. Water routes followed rivers such as the Danube or Maritza.⁶⁹

66 One reason behind the rapid expansion of the Ottoman Empire into the Balkans in the seventeenth century reestablishing the central authority once held by the Byzantine Empire in the region, was the decision to accommodate small land holders and institute the *timar* system. In time, the rights of the *timar* holder over subjects increased to the detriment of peasants, and a new economic unit came into existence: the *çiftlik*. In this new system, the owner of a *çiftlik* had rights almost equivalent to private property, which gradually led to a 'more work, less gain' situation for peasants. For more details, see İslam Ansiklopedisi, s. v. "Timar" and "Çiftlik." F.W. Carter, editor, *An Historical Geography of the Balkans* (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 177-181.

67 According to İnalçık, the population in Balkans increased in the sixteenth century. İnalçık deduces this from tax increases in the region. Population increase led to financial difficulties, which triggered the migration to cities. For more detail, see İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye* 1, 203.

68 Jelavich, *History of the Balkans: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century*, 67.

69 Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1999). See Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 118.

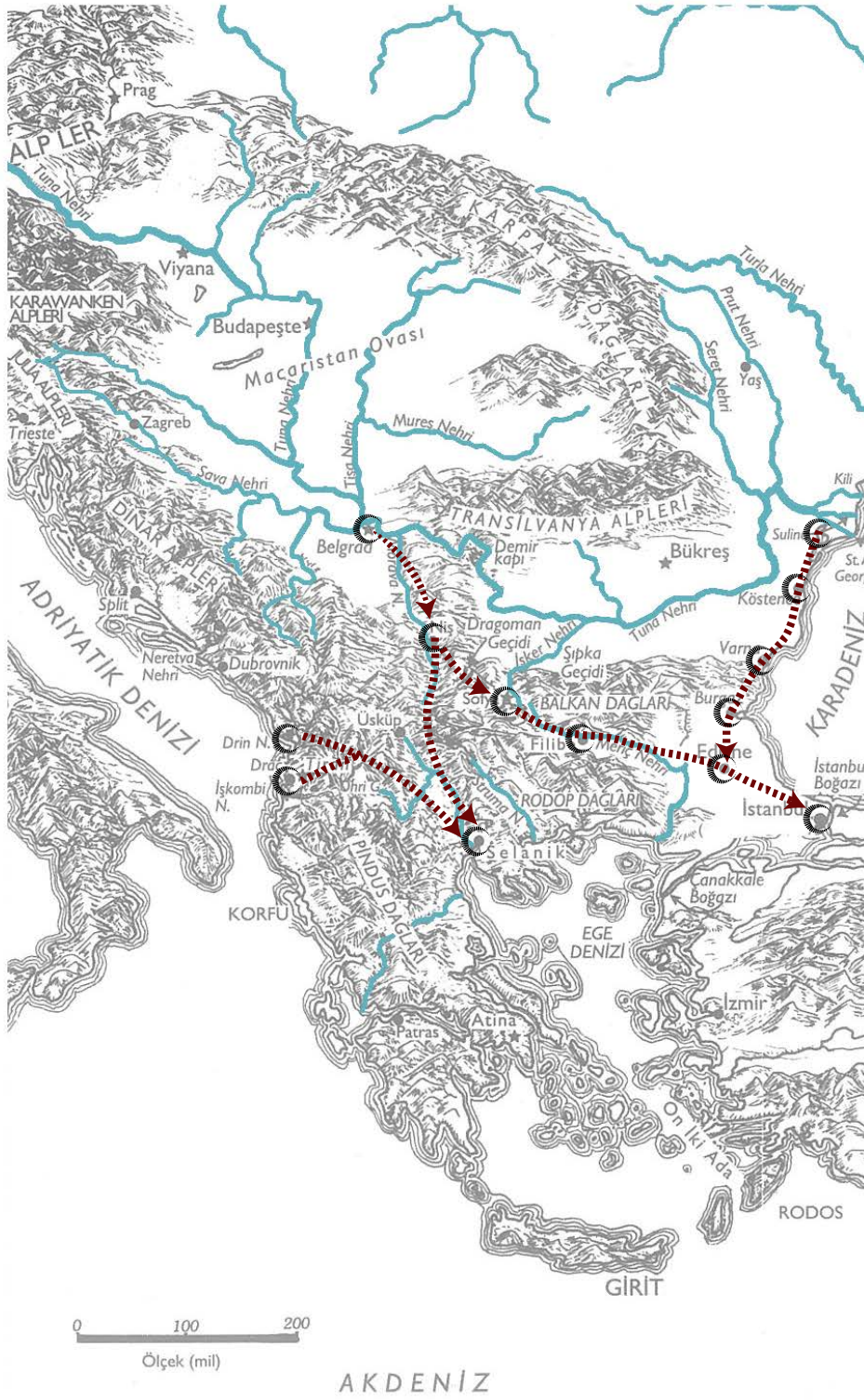


Figure 4.6 Map of most traveled routes from the Balkans

Both individual and chain migration are discernible in the registers. Towns such as Permet, Manastır (*Bitola*), Ohri (*Ohrid*), Niğde, Edirne, and Sarıgöl (*EllisPontos?*) were centers of intense chain migration (see the maps in the appendices). There were also significant numbers of individuals for a chain was not apparent, the number of places with low emmigration rates (1-5 persons) is high. The towns from which migrants came were mostly located in present-day Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania. Only three out of approximately on hundred towns mentioned in the documents, supplied more Muslim than non-Muslim migrants. These were Avlonya (*Vlore*), Tepedelen (*Tepelene*), and Foça (*Fotcha*). Some towns from which the most migrants came were religious centers, such as Ohri and Tirnova (*Tarnovo*), which successively hosted the Patriarchate of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. Others, such as Manastır (*Monastir*) and Belgrade were centers of trade. Some were villages (e.g. Topçular and Yenice were villages of Kırkkilise, and Maden was probably a village of Niğde), while others were former garrisons that had experienced Islamisation (as Permet, the town from which the most migrants had come). Many migrants also came from small towns that later became larger cities after the Ottoman conquest, such as Filibe (*Plovdiv*), Sofya (*Sofia*), Belgrade, Sarayova, Üsküp (*Skopje*), Yenişehir (*Larissa*), Elbasan, Manastır, Köstence (*Kostanta*), and Rusçuk (*Ruse*).⁷⁰ Two settlements, namely Permet and Ohri in Albania are often mentioned in the registers (see the maps in the appendices). The reason may be the continuation of an older pattern: the earliest migrating groups were seasonal laborers from Albania who worked the farms of the rich in the vicinity of Istanbul in the sixteenth century.⁷¹ On the other hand, there were few centers in Anatolia from which migrants came to work in the gardens of Istanbul. According to the registers, Niğde which was the source of the most Anatolian migrants who became gardeners. The main reason for migration

70 Halil Inalcık, "Türkler ve Balkanlar," *Türklük Bilgisi* 3, (2005): 22.

71 Suraiya Faroqhi, "Eyüp Kadı Sicillerine Yansıdığı Şekliyle 18. Yüzyıl 'Büyük İstanbul'una Göç," in *18. Yüzyıl Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Eyüp'te Sosyal Yaşam* ed. Tülay Artan. (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2008), 41.

from Anatolia may be related to the Jelali revolts,⁷² but; it is interesting that among other Anatolian provinces, migrants who became gardeners generally came from Niğde. How and through which networks these migrants from Niğde were integrated into the gardening sector is unknown.

During Ottoman rule, migration, especially migrating to Istanbul was not simple. Migrants could enter the city only with permission papers (*tezkere*) and certification of a guarantor (*kefil*). During and after the seventeenth century, migrants were unwanted and refused. Two important reasons were problems with security and provisioning. Increasing population had resulted in a scarcity of food and fresh water.⁷³ After the Patrona Halil revolt of 1730, immigrants -specifically those of Albanian origin were deemed potential criminals by the ruling elite.⁷⁴ There were around twelve thousand Albanian migrants in the city, most of whom actively participated in the revolt.⁷⁵ After the rebellion, the administration continued to see all migrants and especially bachelors as a potential threat to the city. It began implementing a strict surveillance system.⁷⁶ This is evident in a register dated 1733, where gardeners of Albanian origin are particularly thoroughly documented (see map of “Origins of the Gardeners in 1733”). Although several edicts strictly monitored and controlled migration, these were not effective enough, as migrants developed alternative ways (such as side roads) to pass checkpoints and arrive in the city.⁷⁷ There was yet another procedure of control: keeping bail registers. Those without

72 The name given to rebellions against Ottoman rule that happened in Anatolia during sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which caused a flow of the rural population to cities. It dramatically changed the socio-economic structure of Anatolia. See *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, s. v. “Celali İsyancıları.”

73 *Dünden bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, s. v. “İaşe.”

74 A revolt led by the Albanian Patrona Halil during the reign of Ahmet III. It gained the popular support of Albanians living in the city. For more detail, see Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul*.

75 Bruce McGowan, “The Age of the Ayans, 1699-1812,” in *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Halil İnalcik and Donald Quataert (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 770.

76 Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul*, 23.

77 Faroqhi, *Eyüp Kadı Sicilleri*, 34.

guarantors (*kefil*) were captured and deported.⁷⁸ This system of sponsorship had a basic principle: the guarantor had to assure authorities that the individuals he vouched for would not violate the restrictions. In Ottoman legal terms, guarantorship (*kefalet*) and witnessing (*şehadet*) were taken together, which was a common principle for managing both subject-state and inter-subject relations. The system aimed to render an “unknown” person trustworthy and responsible via multiple references.⁷⁹ It was an efficient way of ruling group of subjects. The rationale was the intention of the Ottoman state to take a single individual as the interlocutor representing a whole group, while at the same time, individuals were not legally considered as such, but as part of a community.⁸⁰

The guarantorship system was applied to gardens as follow: the gardener responsible for a garden - was typically at the same time a *müstecir* (lease holder) or *gedik* holder - would stand bail for the gardeners working for him, while these guarantors were also vouched for by someone else: sometimes the steward of gardeners (*bahçıvanlar kethüdası*) himself, or a deputy steward (*yiğitbaşı*), or another responsible gardener. This intention of the state to address individuals as representatives of a group is also observed in gardens run by joint gardeners, where one would stand bail for the other partners (*şeriks*). All the gardens examined were under the responsibility of an individual either *gedik* holders or *müstecirs*. The number of the former was much more than the latter (see Appendix H). The clerks not only noted their names, but various information about them. For example, in a register on Istanbul intra-muros dated 1827, the racial status of each person at the top of the list is marked. Several titles are noted, although not often. These can be classified as military class (*cebeci, beşe, bostani*), profession (*bahçıvanoğlu, bahçıvanzade, bahçıvan babası, yiğitbaşı, usta, çırak, aylakçı, yanaşma, hizmetgar*), religious status (*esseyid, molla, tekyenişin el-hac, emir*), local to Istanbul (*şehri*) or some other

78 Kırılı and Başaran, “18. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Osmanlı Esnafı,” 10.

79 For detailed information, see Abdullah Saydam, “Osmanlılar’da Kefalet Usulü,” *Tarih ve Toplum* 164 (Ağustos 1997): 4-12.

80 Kırılı and Başaran, “18. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Osmanlı Esnafı,” 9.

reference (*garip*). References to military class suggest the janissaries involvement in the gardening business and the organic relations between tradesmen, military, and religious organizations.⁸¹ Moreover, there are data regarding the ages of gardeners. The clerks noted appearances next to some names indicating whether they were young or old: *genç oğlan* (young boy), *taze* (freshman), *küçük* (little), *ter bıyıklı* (with a new moustache), *taze traş* (cleanly shaven), and *ihiyar* (an old man). Based on such features one can deduce that the majority of gardeners were young men, once again showing that gardening was toilsome and demanded intense labor. In terms of discipline, those who worked in market gardens were much more free than those working in the private gardens of the Sultan (*has bahçe*). The latter's appearance and behavior were strictly control. According to an edict dated 1713, *bostancı*s of the *has bahçe* were expected to be unmarried, to wear proper suits, and to stay in the gardens at night, keeping themselves busy with worship and exercise.⁸²

Since most gardeners were seasonal migrants, they probably did not bring their families with them. Presumably, gardeners who were responsible for a garden (*gedik* holder or *müstecir*) were making profit at their own expense. However, it is not well known what kind of a wage system was applied to garden laborers, nor what were their living conditions. According to Oruç, these migrants faced housing problems, unemployment, low wages, and resistance from the native population.⁸³ These problems generally were overcome through informal networks - getting help from already settled individuals from the same hometown to find a job and settle down⁸⁴ It is not clear whether all gardeners were affiliated with formal networks such as guilds but, Başaran indicates that many seasonal workers were operating outside the guild structure to avoid taxes.⁸⁵

81 For more detailed information, see Cengiz Kırılı and Betül Başaran. "Some Observations on Istanbul's Artisans During the Reign of Selim III (1789-1808)."

82 Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Döneminde İstanbul Bahçeleri," 152.

83 Oruç, *Balkanlarda Türk Olmak*, 97.

84 Behar, *a neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul*, 96.

85 Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul*, 31.

Finding a place to stay was significant for migrants. Newcomers usually resided in peripheral districts such as Üsküdar and Eyüp.⁸⁶ As Faroqhi indicates, Eyüp was like an extension of the Balkans due to the large presence of migrant populations.⁸⁷ Those among migrants who were *gedik* holder or *müstecir* were earning well, but the same might not be the case for laborers. Although the wage system of this particular formation is unclear, in the registers a note next to some names is observed, namely “hirelings” (*yanaşma, hizmetgar*). It is possible that these were working for board. The laborers and migrants in charge were mostly bachelors and lived in shacks built within the gardens,⁸⁸ as residing in residential areas was forbidden for bachelors in Istanbul even if they had permission to work.⁸⁹ They generally resided in inns, bachelor quarters, coffeehouses, or the shops where they worked. Most probably, gardeners who were natives of Istanbul owned other houses in the city. For instance, there were gardeners who lived in the district center of Eyüp.⁹⁰ The registers show that Muslims and non-Muslims, natives and migrants worked together in the same gardens, and no ethno-religious divisions are apparent in the documents. Such a division existed only to a limited extent in a register on Üsküdar dated 1637, where Muslims and non-Muslims worked together in only three gardens.

When the registers are compared, one trend becomes clear: Muslim gardeners decreased in number in the course of time, contrary to expectation. This can be interpreted in two ways: either migrants stuck with their religious affiliation (mostly Christianity), or if some converted to Islam, continuous migration resulted in their replacement with non-Muslim newcomers. Another remarkable trend is the decrease in the number of Balkan migrants working in gardens in 1827, replaced by a dramatic increase in natives of Istanbul. In all the other (older) registers, Permet had topped the list. This change may have occurred in 1827 or started some time before. In either case, it is possible to

86 Dünden bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi, s. v. “İaşe.”

87 Faroqhi, *Eyüp Kadı Sicilleri*, 37.

88 64th matter of Ebniye Kanunu (building code) and BOA, İ.DH, 243.14779, 27.M.1268 (November 21, 1851).

89 Basaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul*, 37.

90 Artan, *Terekeler Işığında 18. Yüzyıl Ortasında Eyüp*, 52.

speculate about the reason: the grandsons of gardeners who were registered as coming from Permet started identifying as natives of Istanbul.

Table 4.3 Rational changes in the regions where the gardeners come from

	Balkans	Anatolia	İstanbul	Islands
1733 (Istanbul Extra-Muros)	83%	12%	5%	–
1735 (Istanbul Intra-Muros)	85%	13%	2%	–
1793 (Istanbul Extra-Muros)	79%	13%	6%	2%
1827 (Istanbul Intra-Muros)	67%	2%	30%	1%

Religious affinities and family relations constituted an important aspect of the migration process. The vast majority of gardeners were non-Muslims. Üsküdar, where the majority of inhabitants were Muslims, was the exception where the number of gardeners from both religious backgrounds in the seventeenth century was balanced. Gardeners in another district populated mainly by Muslims, namely Eyüp, were mostly non-Muslim (see the maps in the appendices). Thus, generalizations are inadequate; however, it is possible to illustrate the spatial distribution of gardeners in relation to their religious and ethnic identities. Religious affiliations or ethnic identities of the individuals are assumed according to the names, though names such as Yağmur, Bahadır, Arslan, Karaoğlan, and Edin do not suggest a particular background. A more detailed work would take Christian-Turkish groups who especially inhabited the area around Yedikule into consideration. This study does not make any interpretations based on the ethnicity of individuals' names because in the Ottoman world, ethnicity anyway referred to confessional differences. The main

means of differentiation was religion, such as Muslim, Christian, and Jewish.⁹¹ However, some documents include occasional notes about the ethnic identities of individual gardeners: Bulgarian, Rum, Albanian from Berat, Turk, Armenian, and Copt. The category *Kıpti* (copt) corresponded to “gypsies,” and since the hometowns of none (except one from Tirnova) was recorded, it can be assumed they were natives of Istanbul. On the other hand, there were Albanians recorded with reference to their town (Berat).

Table 4.4 Ethnicities recorded in 1733

Bulgarian	Rum	Albanian from Berat	Copt	Turk	Armenian	Total
46	28	6	4	1	1	86
53%	33%	7%	5%	1%	1%	

Lastly, although it is not within the scope of the present study, it should be stated that gardening was not solely the concern of gardeners; several professions were dependent or closely connected to it. Occupations such as merchantry, water wheel repair, seed supplying, and husbandry are prominent examples. These are related directly in terms of material input and labor processes, or indirectly in terms of transportation and repair. Among these, supplying seeds was of particular importance. In a register on Istanbul intramuro dated 1827, six seed suppliers from Istanbul are recorded.⁹² In another document, seed suppliers belonging to the *Istabl-ı Amire* directorate are mentioned.⁹³ Yet, there are no clear signs of a monopoly or any regulation of seed vendors; So, there must have been some gardeners who saved their own seeds.

91 Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 173.

92 BOA, NFS, 15, 29.Z.1207 (August 7, 1793)

93 BOA, A.DVN, 39.56.

5

Conclusion

Elbette İstanbul, sonuna kadar sadece marul yetiştiren bir memleket kalmayacaktır.

- Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Huzur*

This study conveys that the market gardens of Istanbul are an inseparable part of the history of the city. Inherited from the past, market gardens continue to shape the urban landscape through the first half of the Republic of Turkey. In the second half, however, they gradually dissipated, leaving behind few cultural remnants. As a result, research in this field and ascertaining early gardens' locations are toilsome and in some cases fruitless work. Today, almost all market gardens in the city have lost their agricultural function; only the names of streets, mosques, and squares provide clues to their whereabouts. The present study documented the physical features and mapped the locations of a large number of market gardens in both intra-muros and greater Istanbul from the seventeenth through the nineteenth century, drawing first on historical records and using contemporary clues as necessary. It also illustrated how profitable and widespread a business gardening was in the period examined. Generally speaking, mid-sized market gardens in which three or four people worked constituted the majority of gardens in the city. Apart from those, there were some large gardens in which ten to fifteen gardeners worked. These were generally located at the periphery of the city. There were some gardens with

only a single worker, as well. Although gardens were dispersed throughout Istanbul, many were located in central neighborhoods. The study also documented the ownership/possession profiles of market gardens, harvesting information about owners from the registers. It seems that in both the Roman and Ottoman Empires, gardens in the city were generally owned by those of high rank. Yet while the properties belonged to such owners, possession rights were undertaken either by *gedik* holders or lease-holders (*müstecir*). There were also women among owners, although this was exceptional. Another issue is whether the accepted assumption that holds Istanbul to be a city of consumption is valid in every respect. Based on the calculations, the study finds that Istanbul was self-sufficient city in terms of its need for fresh food.

The gardening sector of Istanbul was dominated by migrants who came from towns such as Premedi (Permet), Ohrid, Manastır (Bitola), Niğde, Grebeneş (Grebenets), Edirne, and Göllü Kesre (Kastoria). Almost one hundred such individuals were recorded in the registers, most of whom came from the most populous region of the Empire, the Balkans. The study shed light on possible migration routes, networks of relationship in which migrants were involved, their dwelling locations, and their status with regard to ownership/possession of the gardens. While only a few migrants came from some of these towns, hundreds came from others. The findings show that most of the migrant gardeners were from Balkans who came to the city and found jobs as seasonal workers through networks of their countrymen and became seasonal workers. The number of non-Muslim gardeners was more than those who were Muslim. In the gardening sector, *gedik* holders were more common than lease holders. This wide range data was gathered from Ottoman Istanbul's survey registers.

The study questioned the assumption that there was a strict ethno-religious division of labor in the Ottoman Empire. The findings illustrate that the correlation of Muslims with grain cultivation and non-Muslims with gardening¹ is overstated. In fact, the distribution of gardeners with respect to their ethno-religious identities changed according to the period and the location of the gardens. For instance, Üsküdar had many more Muslim gardeners than other districts. Additionally, the study documented the correlation between

1 Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 179.

gardening activity and social status. When individuals who got involved in the gardening business are examined according to status, it becomes clear that people of various religious, occupational, marital, and class backgrounds are involved. In some registers marital status was particularly noted, from which it was deduced that most gardeners were young bachelors. The involvement of janissaries in the gardening business was revealed, which implies organic relations between tradesmen and military organizations. Another discovery was that spatial mobility and networks among relatives and countrymen were as effective as any other factor for determining the distribution of the labor force in the gardening sector. For example, despite being affiliated with different confessional communities, gardeners generally worked in the same gardens with fellow townsmen. In conclusion, this study suggests that any attempt to find a pattern in the division of labor must adopt a broad perspective, taking factors and variables other than religion and ethnicity into consideration, such as spatial relations, and social status.

The study highlighted the ambiguity between the urban and the rural in pre-modern contexts. The fact that Istanbul supported many market gardens even at the center supports this claim. The reasons behind this – namely transportation technologies and land rent - were cited in the study.

Another important issue, not mentioned in the study is the transformation and restructuring processes the gardens undergo during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the Ottoman era, changing the structure of gardens required special permission since they were crucial for the provisioning of the city. Starting in the nineteenth century, the gardens of Istanbul underwent restructuring due to population increases and modernization. For instance, the market gardens belonging to the Ministry of Finance (*Hazine-yi Hassa-yı Şahane*) in Maçka were given to the Italian ambassador to build an embassy that later became Maçka Akif Tuncel Technical High School.² Also, the land on

2 BOA, BEO, 4700.352459, 6.R.1340 (December 6, 1921).

which the German Hospital in Taksim currently sits was once a market garden. It was sold by *Evkaf-ı Hümayun Nezareti* to the German Embassy.³ Another example is Galatasaray High School, a part of which property was again formally a market garden.⁴

Last, another topic for research would focus on the effect of changes in the legal status of gardens during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries on the restructuring of lands that formerly hosted market gardens. During the nineteenth century, market gardens and wastelands began to be subdivided and in turn became residential properties. Much later, in the 1970s, the concept of the freehold flat (*kat müliyeti*) emerged and new neighborhoods appeared. The sixteenth and seventeenth articles of the building code (*Ebniye Kanunu*), which was introduced in 1891, provides detailed information about building on subdivided former market gardens and wastelands. Plans were also drafted for wastelands resulting from fire, and some market gardens were added to such new restructuring projects.⁵ A document dated 1861 mentions the process of selling lands in the Aksaray district that had been market gardens, but which was destroyed by a fire there.⁶ As seen in such examples, there is a significant, unexplored field about the process by which construction occurred on market garden lands during nineteenth century - an interesting issue missing from the literature.

3 BOA, I.DH, 765.62358, 15.Ra.1295 (March 19, 1878).

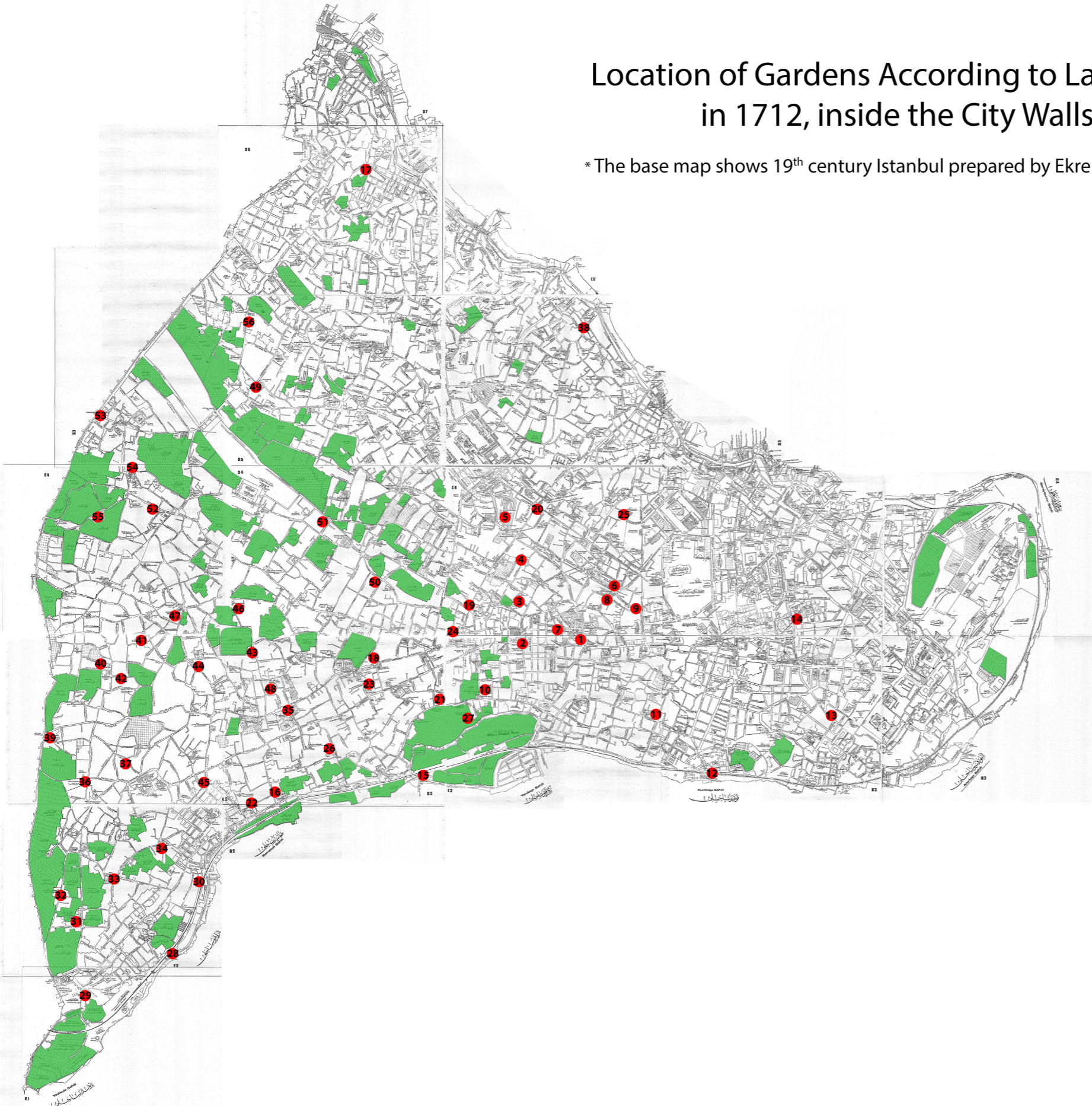
4 BOA, HAT, 1484.40, 27.R.1217 (August 27, 1802).

5 21th matter of the *Ebniye Kanunu* (building code).

6 BOA, A.MKT.MVL, 143.59, 6.L.1278 (April 25, 1862).

Location of Gardens According to Landmarks in 1712, inside the City Walls

* The base map shows 19th century Istanbul prepared by Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi

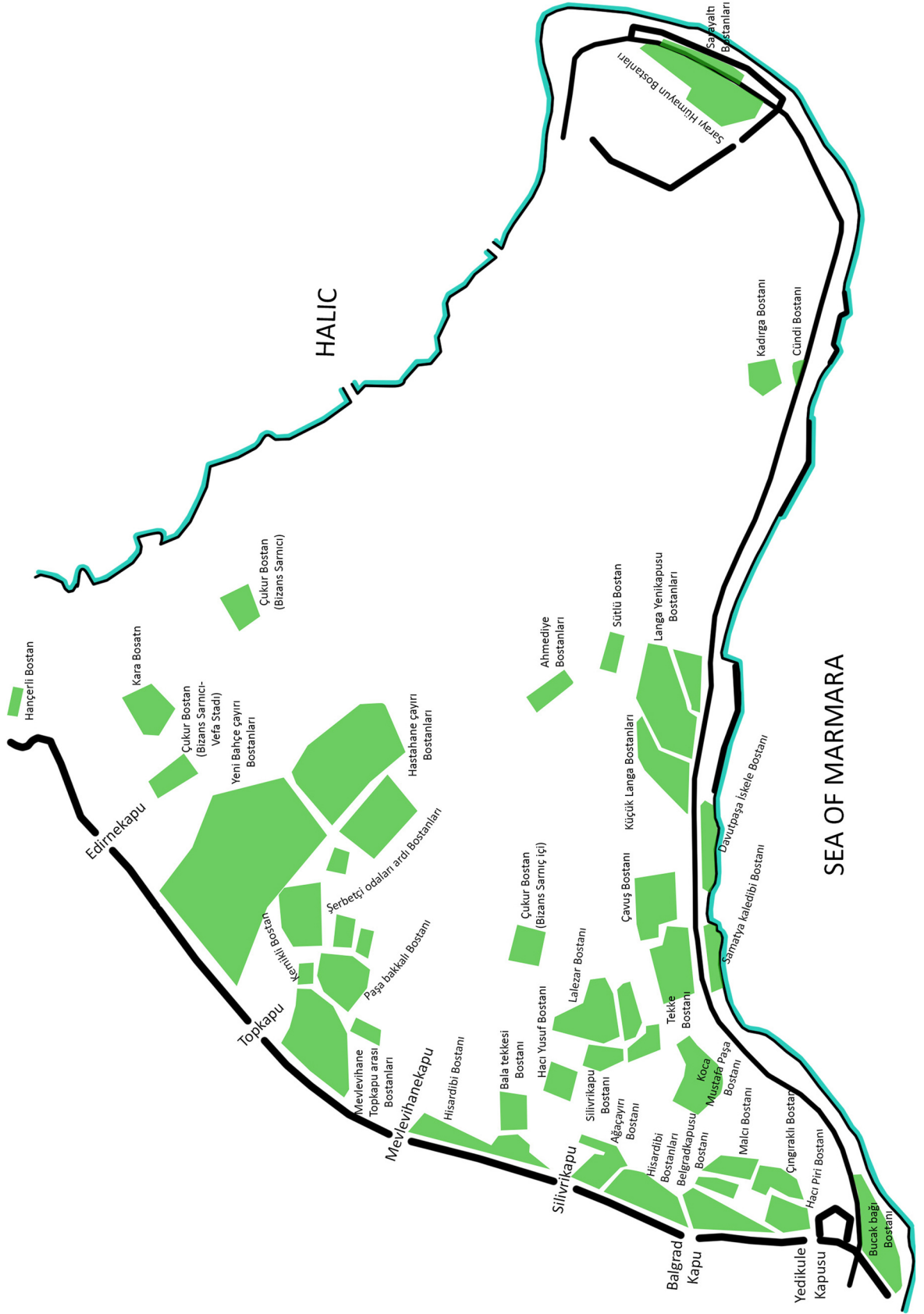


- 1 Gardens near Lale Çeşme (fountain)
- 2 Gardens near Aksaray
- 3 Gardens near the İsmail Ağa Mosque
- 4 Gardens in Karagöz neighbourhood
- 5 Gardens near the Saraçhane (Saddlery)
- 6 Gardens near the Medresa of İbrahim Paşa
- 7 Gardens near Soğuk Çeşme
- 8 Gardens near the square of Acemoğlanı
- 9 Gardens near Vezneciler
- 10 Gardens near Celladçeşmesi (fountain)
- 11 Gardens near Nişancı, Kumkapı
- 12 Gardens outside the Kumkapı
- 13 Gardens near Peykhane
- 14 Gardens near Mahmud Paşa
- 15 Gardens near the port of Davutpaşa
- 16 Gardens near Etyemez tekyesi (the lodge)
- 17 Gardens near Sultan Çeşmesi (fountain)
- 18 Gardens near Avrat Pazarı (Slave Women Market)
- 19 Gardens near Horhor
- 20 Gardens near At Pazarı (Horse Bazaar)
- 21 Gardens near Yokuş Çeşme (fountain)
- 22 Gardens near the Hatuniye Mosque
- 23 Gardens near Kıztaşı
- 24 Gardens near the Murad Paşa Mosque
- 25 Gardens near Molla Gürani
- 26 Gardens near the Çavuş Mosque
- 27 Gardens near Küçük Langa
- 28 Gardens near Narlıkapı
- 29 Gardens near Yedikule
- 30 Gardens near Samatya
- 31 Gardens in Hacı Evhad neighbourhood
- 32 Gardens in Hacı Piri neighbourhood
- 33 Gardens near the Malcı Mosque
- 34 Gardens in Hacı Kadın neighbourhood
- 35 Gardens near the Davutpaşa Mosque
- 36 Gardens near Ağa Çayırı
- 37 Gardens near the Meşeli Mosque
- 38 Gardens near Küçük Mustafa Paşa
- 39 Gardens near Silivrikapı (Gate of Kalagrc)
- 40 Gardens near Tavanlı Çeşme (fountain)
- 41 Gardens in Uzun Yusuf neighbourhood
- 42 Lalezar gardens
- 43 Altımermer gardens
- 44 Gardens near Küçük Hamam
- 45 Gardens near Uzuncaova
- 46 Gardens in Macuncu neighbourhood
- 47 Gardens near Odabaşı Çarşısı
- 48 Gardens near the Bekir Paşa Mosque
- 49 Gardens in the Karabaş neighbourhood
- 50 Gardens near the kiosk of Halıcılar
- 51 Gardens near Şimkeşhane
- 52 Gardens near Şehremini (Prefect of the City)
- 53 Gardens near Topkapı (Gate of St Roma)
- 54 Gardens near the Kurkçü Mosque
- 55 Gardens near Çivizade
- 56 Gardens near Sarmaşık
 - Gardens near Kızıl Musluk
 - Gardens near Taşlıkapı
 - Gardens near Katır Hanı
 - Gardens near the port of Kadiırga
 - Gardens near Sulukule Çeşmesi (fountain)
 - Gardens near Ağa Hamamı (bath)
 - Gardens near the fountain of Yusuf Paşa
 - Gardens near the fountain of Tozkopara
 - Gardens near Sufiler
 - Gardens near Bucak Bağı
 - Gardens near Horuslu
 - Gardens near the lodge of Emirler
 - Gardens near Mimar Çarşısı (Market of Mimar Sinan)
 - Gardens near Zincirli Kapı (Gate with chain)
 - Gardens near Balcı Yokuşu
 - Gardens near Suluçeşme (fountain)
 - Gardens near Şah Huban
 - Gardens in Altıparmak neighbourhood
 - Gardens near Leventçiler
 - Gardens near Sarıkız
 - Gardens near Mimar Sinan
 - Gardens near Yenibahçe

Appendix B: Plan de Constantinople 1895

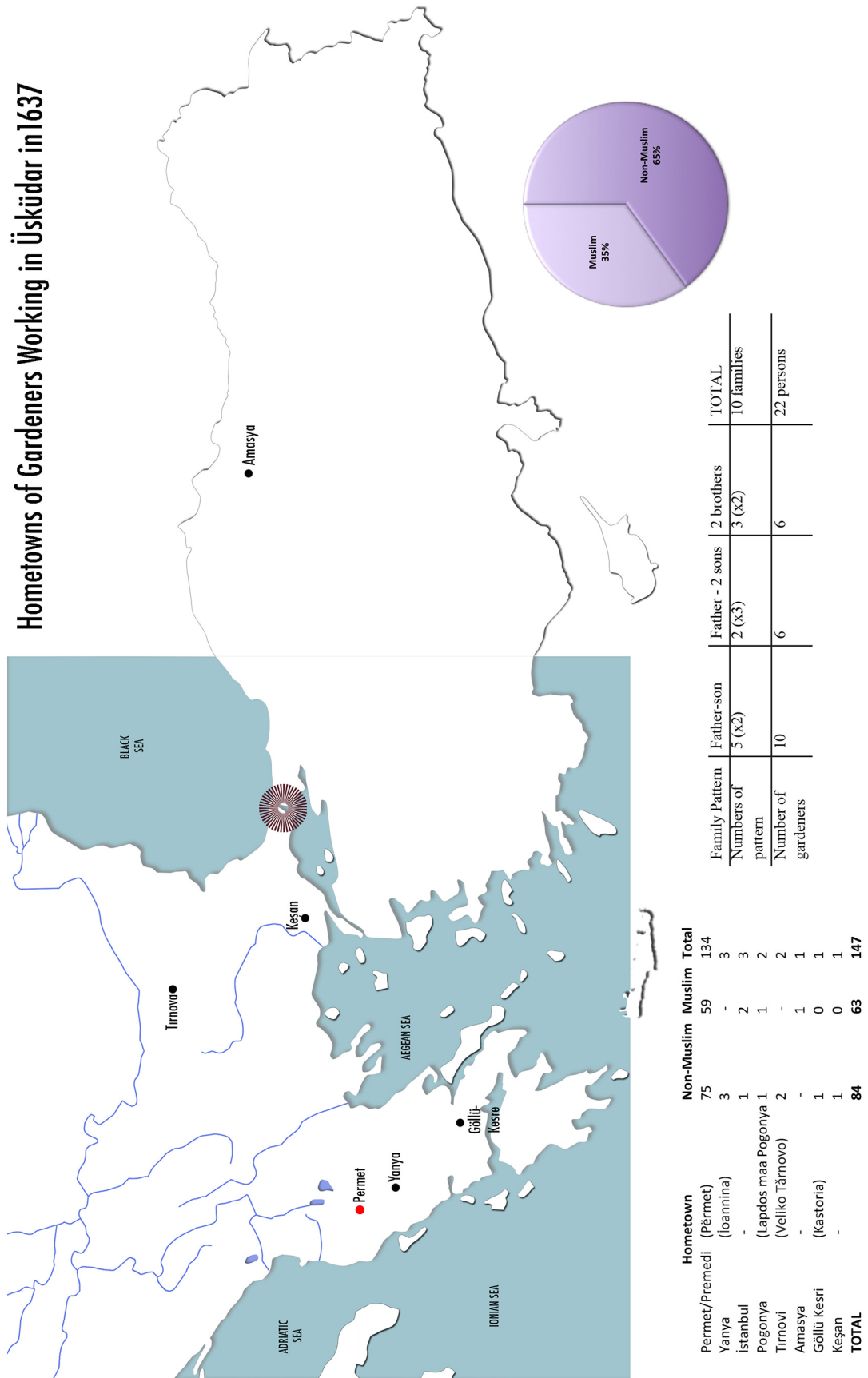


Appendix D: Market Gardens of Istanbul prepared by
Reşat Ekrem Koçu



Appendix E: Hometowns of Gardeners Working in Üsküdar in 1637

Hometowns of Gardeners Working in Üsküdar in 1637



This map prepared based on the register no D.M.d 36860 by the author

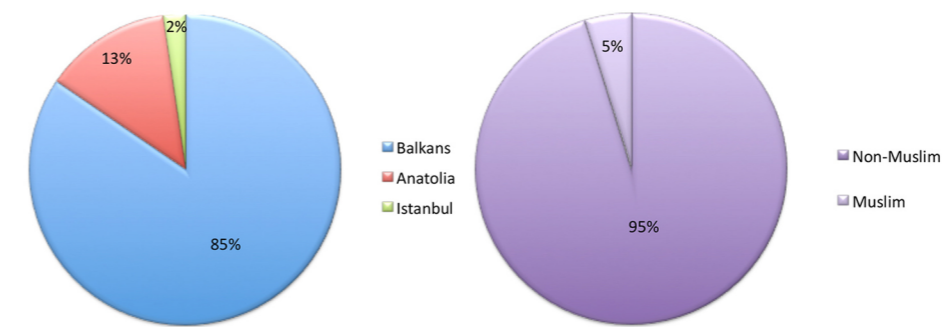
Appendix F: Hometowns of Gardeners Working inside the City Walls in 1712



Hometowns of Gardeners Working inside the City Walls in 1712



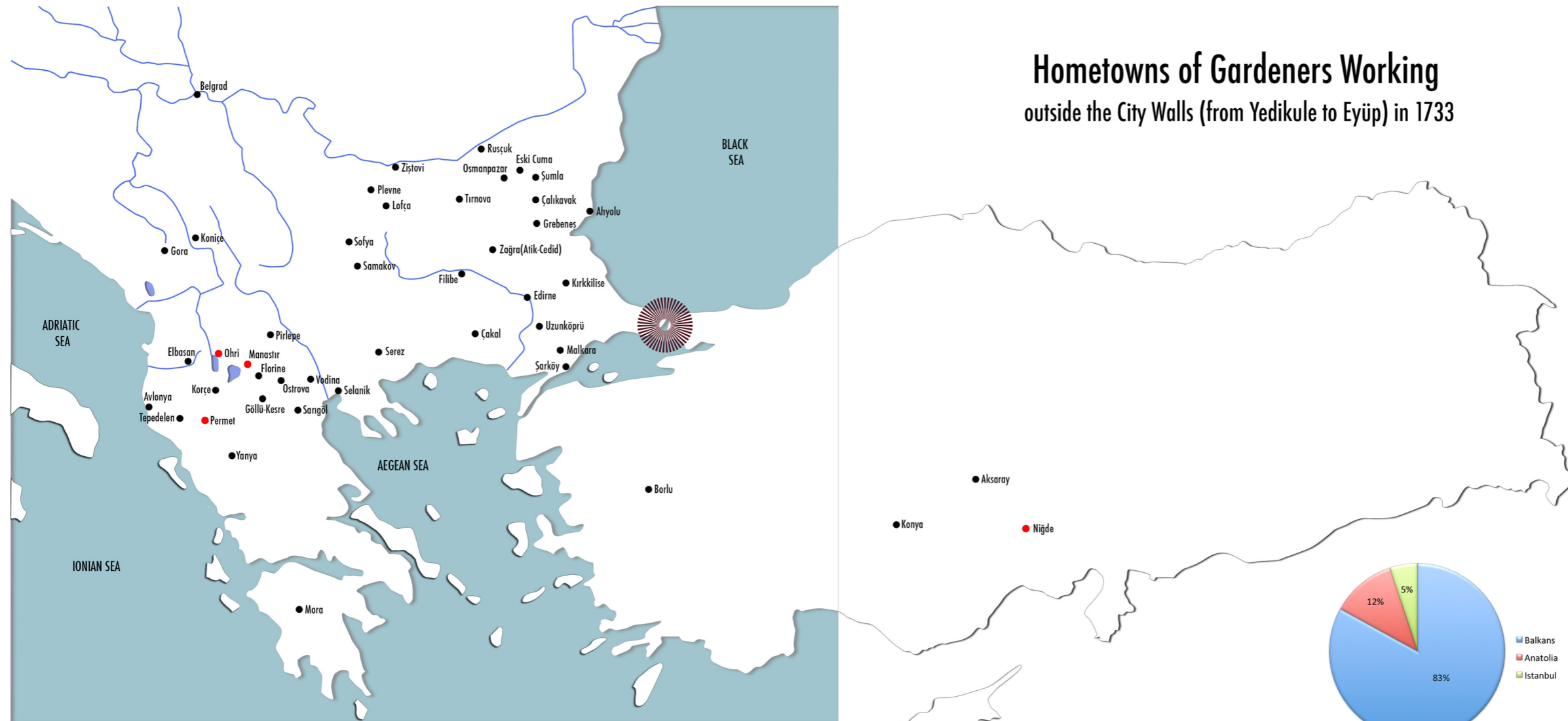
Hometown	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Unknown	Total				
Permet/Premedi (Përmet)	128	7	-	135	Tikveş	5	-	5
Niğde	129	3	-	132	Vardar	4	-	4
Göllü Kesre/Kesriye (Kastoria)	83	4	-	87	Foça/Fotcha (Fotcha)	-	3	3
Ostrova (Arnissa)	81	2	-	83	Karadağ	3	-	3
Ohri (Ohrid)	78	1	-	79	Karaferye(?) (Veria)	3	-	3
Sarıgöl (Ellispontos?)	57	11	-	68	Tirnovi (Veliko Tärno 3	3	-	3
Yanya (Ioannina)	61	-	-	61	Üsküp (Skopje)	2	-	2
Manastir (Bitola)	47	2	-	49	Vodina (Edessa)	2	-	2
Florine (Florina)	45	-	-	45	Eğridere	1	-	1
Selanik (Thessaloniki)	34	1	-	35	Eski Zağra (Stara-Zagora 1	1	-	1
İstanbul	22	1	-	23	Kalkandelen (Tetovo)	1	-	1
Menahir(?)	16	-	-	16	Köstence (Costanta)	1	-	1
Pirlepe (Prilep)	16	-	-	16	Köstendil (Kyustendil)	1	-	1
Prespe (Prespes)	16	-	-	16	Pazarcık (Pazardjik)	1	-	1
Vidin	16	-	-	16	Serez (Serres)	1	-	1
Filibe (Plovdiv)	8	-	-	8	Sofya (Sofia)	1	-	1
Korçe/Göriçe (Korçe)	5	3	-	8	Tekfurdag (Tekirdag)	1	-	1
Avlonya (Vlore)	5	1	-	6	Tirebolu	1	-	1
Koniçe	6	-	-	6	Uzunköprü	1	-	1
Edirne	5	-	-	5	Yenişehir (Larissa)	1	-	1
Elbasan	5	-	-	5	Unknown	34	8	42
					TOTAL		931	47
								978



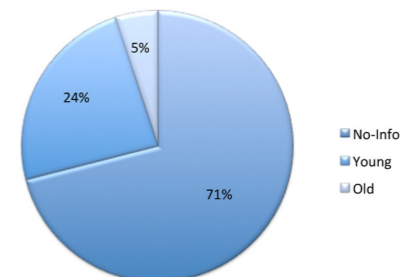
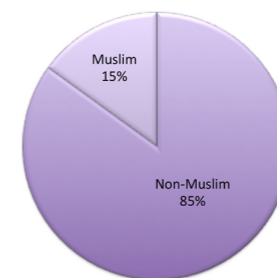
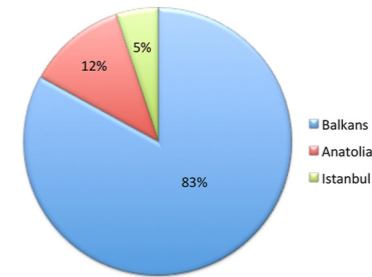
Family Pattern	Lease holder - son	Lease holder - brother	TOTAL
Numbers of Pattern	3 (x2)	2 (x2)	5 families
Number of Gardeners	6	4	10 persons

This map was prepared based on register no BOA.DBŞM 1841 by the author

Appendix G: Hometowns of Gardeners Working outside the City Walls (from Yedikule to Eyüp) in 1733



Hometowns of Gardeners Working outside the City Walls (from Yedikule to Eyüp) in 1733



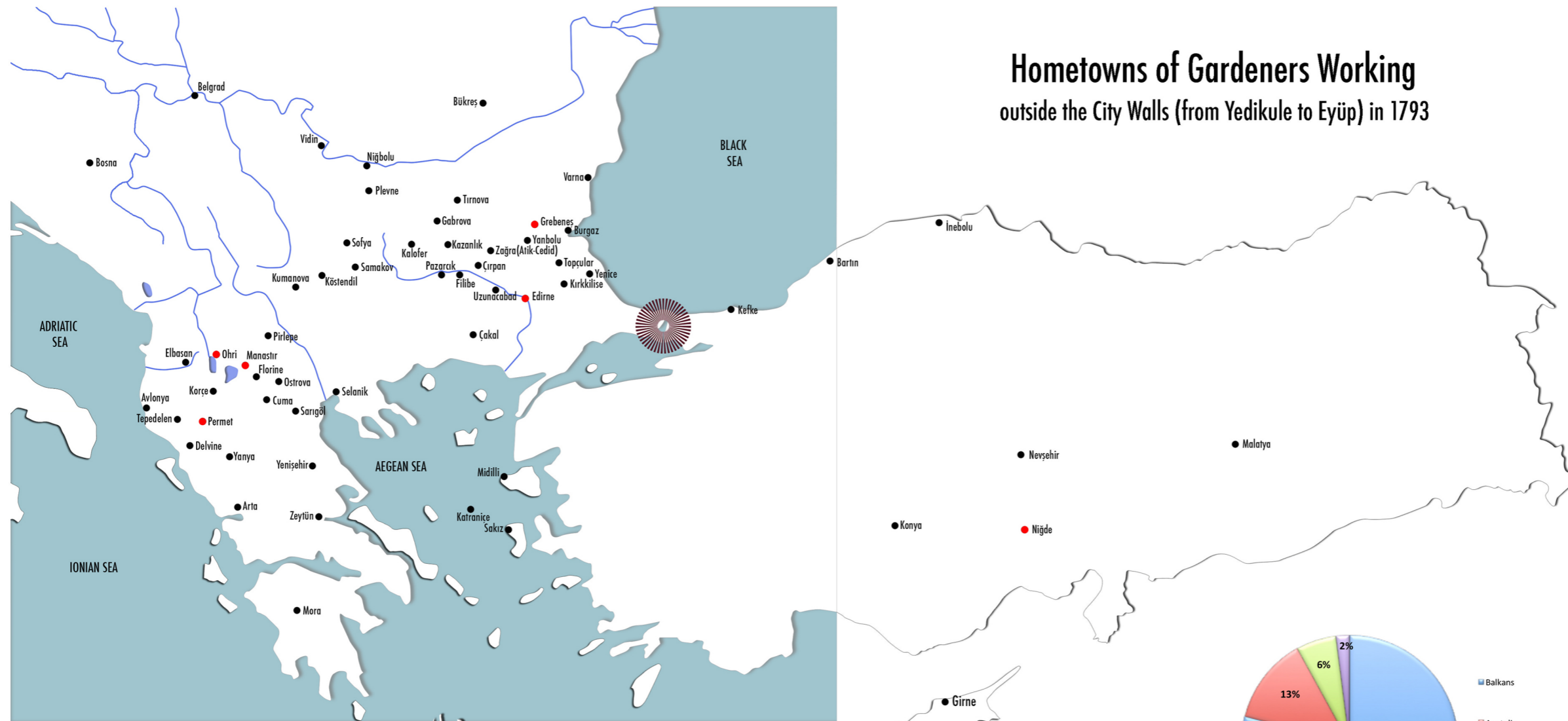
Hometown	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Unknown	Total
Permet/Premedi (Përmet)	63	7	2	72
Ohri (Ohrid)	44	2	1	47
Niğde	34	5	2	41
Manastır (Bitola)	23	3	1	27
İstanbul	16	3	1	20
Ostrova (Arnisia)	16	-	-	16
Göllü Kesre (Kastoria)	15	-	-	15
Ruşuk (Ruse)	10	4	-	14
Avlonya (Vlore)	3	10	-	13
Tırnovi (Veliko Tárnovo)	10	1	-	11
Pirlepe (Prilep)	9	-	1	10
Filibe (Plovdiv)	9	-	-	9
Sarıgöl (Ellisfontos)?	7	2	-	9
Istarova (Starova in Bitola)	8	-	-	8
Belgrad (Belgrade)	6	1	-	7
Koniçe	5	2	-	7
Florine (Florina)	5	-	1	6
Edirne	4	1	-	5
Korçe/Görice (Korçe)	5	-	-	5
Selanik (Thessaloniki)	4	1	-	5
Mora (Peloponneso)	4	-	-	4
Vodina (Edessa)	4	-	-	4
Ziştovi (Svishtov)	4	-	-	4
Osmanpazar (Omurtag)	3	-	-	3
Borlu	2	-	-	2
Çakal (in Komotini)	2	-	-	2
Konya	2	-	-	2
Lofça (Lovech)	2	-	-	2
Malkara	2	-	-	2
Samakov	2	-	-	2
Serez/Siroz (Serres)	2	-	-	2
Sofya (Sofia)	2	-	-	2
Uzunköprü	2	-	-	2
Zağra-ı Atik (Stara-Zagora)	2	-	-	2
Aksaray	1	-	-	1
Çalı Kavak (Rish in Shumen)	1	-	-	1
Elbasan	1	1	-	2
Ahyolu (Pomorie)	1	-	-	1
Zağra-ı Cedid (Nova Zagora)	1	-	-	1
Eski Cuma (Targovishte)	1	-	-	1
Gora (Crno-Gora)	1	-	-	1
Kırkkilise (Kırklareli)	1	-	-	1
Plevne (Pleven)	1	-	-	1
Şumla (Shumen)?	1	-	-	1
Şarköy	1	-	-	1
Tepedelen (Tepelene)	1	-	-	1
Yanya (Ioannina)	1	-	-	1
Derbend	1	-	-	1
Grebenes (Grebenets)	1	-	-	1
Kostorova	1	-	-	1
Köprü	1	-	-	1
Unknown	188	45	4	237
TOTAL	536	87	13	636

Bulgarian	Rum	Albanian-from Berat	Copt	Turk	Armenian	TOTAL
46	28	6	4	1	1	86
53%	33%	7%	5%	1%	1%	

	Father-Son	2 brothers	Father-Uncle-Son	TOTAL
Number of patterns	8 (x2)	8 (x2)	2 (x3)	20 family
Number of persons	16	16	6	38 person

This map was prepared based on register no BOA.NFS.1 by the author

Appendix H: Hometowns of Gardeners Working outside the City Walls (from Yedikule to Eyüp) in 1793

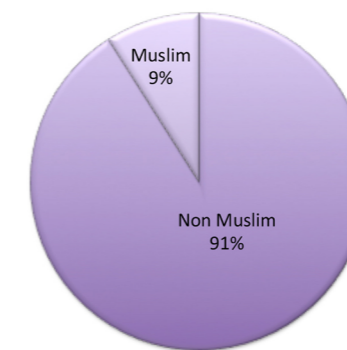
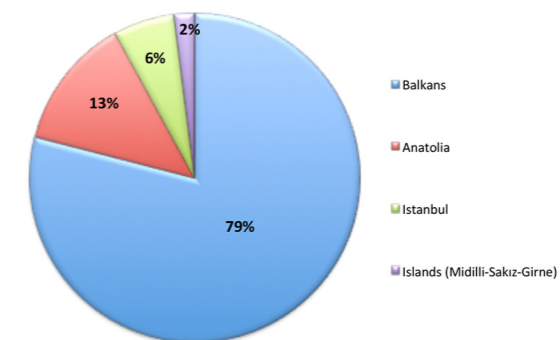


Hometowns of Gardeners Working outside the City Walls (from Yedikule to Eyüp) in 1793

Hometown	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Unknown	Total
Permet/Premedi (Përmet)	157	24	1	182
Ohri (Ohrid)	110	10	1	121
Niğde	80	15	1	96
Edirne	70	-	-	70
Manastr (Bitola)	68	-	1	69
Grebenes (Grebens)	59	-	-	59
İstanbul	42	9	1	52
Filibe (Plovdiv)	36	2	1	39
Pirlepe (Prilep)	25	3	-	28
Delvine (Delvinë in Vlore)	20	-	-	20
Sargöl (Ellispontos)?	19	-	-	19
Tirnovi (Veliko Tărnovo)	15	1	-	16
Vidin	13	-	-	13
Girne (Kyrenia)	12	-	-	12
Kırkkilise (Kirkklareli)	10	1	-	11
Pazarcık (Pazardjick)	7	-	-	7
Samakov (Samokov)	5	-	-	5
Varna	5	-	-	5
Zağra (Atik and Cedit) Zagora (Stara-Nova)	5	-	-	5
Ostrova (Arnissa)	4	1	-	5
Yenişehir (Larissa)	5	-	-	5
Sakız (Chios Island)	5	-	-	5
Kavak	5	-	-	5
Belgrad	3	1	-	4
Tepedelen (Tepelene)	-	3	-	3
Kazanlık/Kazanlık (Kazanlık)	3	-	-	3
Niğbolu	3	-	-	3
Cuma (Ptolemaida)	3	-	-	3
Katranıçe	3	-	-	3
Malatya	3	-	-	3
Neveşehir	3	-	-	3
Avlonya (Vlore)	-	2	-	2
Elbasan	1	1	-	2
Korçe/Görice (Korçe)	2	-	-	2
Çirpan	2	-	-	2
Sofya (Sofia)	2	-	-	2
Uzuncaabad (Haskova)	2	-	-	2
Karakilise (Mavrooklisi)	2	-	-	2
Florine (Florina)	2	-	-	2
Köprü	2	-	-	2
Hamza	2	-	-	2
Narde/Narta (Narta in Vlore)	1	-	-	1
Bosna (Bosnia)	1	-	-	1
Bergos/Burgaz (Burgas)	1	-	-	1
Gabrova (Gabrovo)	1	-	-	1
Kalofer (Kalofer)	1	-	-	1
Köstendil (Küstendil)	-	1	-	1
Plevne (Pleven)	1	-	-	1
Yanbolu (Yambol)	1	-	-	1
Çakal (Komotini)	1	-	-	1
Karlıli (Arta in Epir)	1	-	-	1
Mora (Peloponneso)	1	-	-	1
Selanik (Thessaloniki)	1	-	-	1
Yanya (Ioannina)	1	-	-	1
Zeytün (Lamia)	1	-	-	1
Andre (Szentendre)	1	-	-	1
Kumanova (Kumanoovo)	1	-	-	1
Bükreş (Bucureşti)	1	-	-	1
Eflak (Wallachia)	1	-	-	1
Gabroviç (Gabrovac)	1	-	-	1
Topçular (in Kırklareli)	1	-	-	1
Yenice (in Kırklareli)	1	-	-	1
Midilli	1	-	-	1
Kefke (Kefken)	1	-	-	1
Konya	1	-	-	1
İnebolu (in Kastamonu)	1	-	-	1
Bartın	-	1	-	1
Kuruabad	1	-	-	1
Yonca	1	-	-	1
Unknown	15	1	-	16
TOTAL	856	76	6	938

	Proprietor (gedik sahibi)	Lease-holder (müstecir)	TOTAL
Gardeners	258	45	303
	85%	15%	

Family Patterns	Father-Son	Father - 2 sons	2 brothers	3 brothers	Father-Uncle-Son	TOTAL
Numbers of pattern	24 (x2)	3 (x3)	14 (x2)	1 (x3)	1 (x3)	43 family
Number of persons	48	9	28	3	3	91 persons



This map was prepared based on register no BOA.NFS.4 by the author

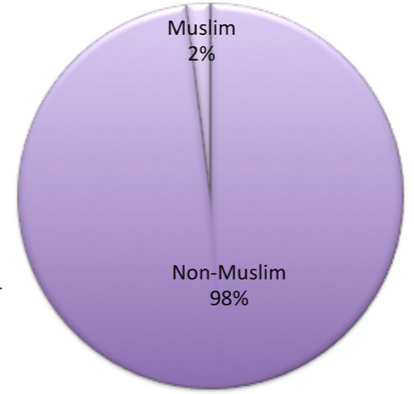
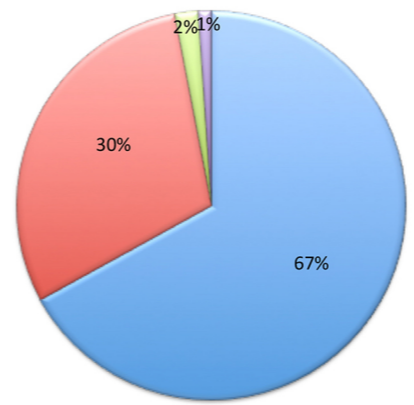
Appendix I: Hometowns of Gardeners Working inside the City Walls in 1827



Origins of Gardeners Working inside the City Walls in 1827



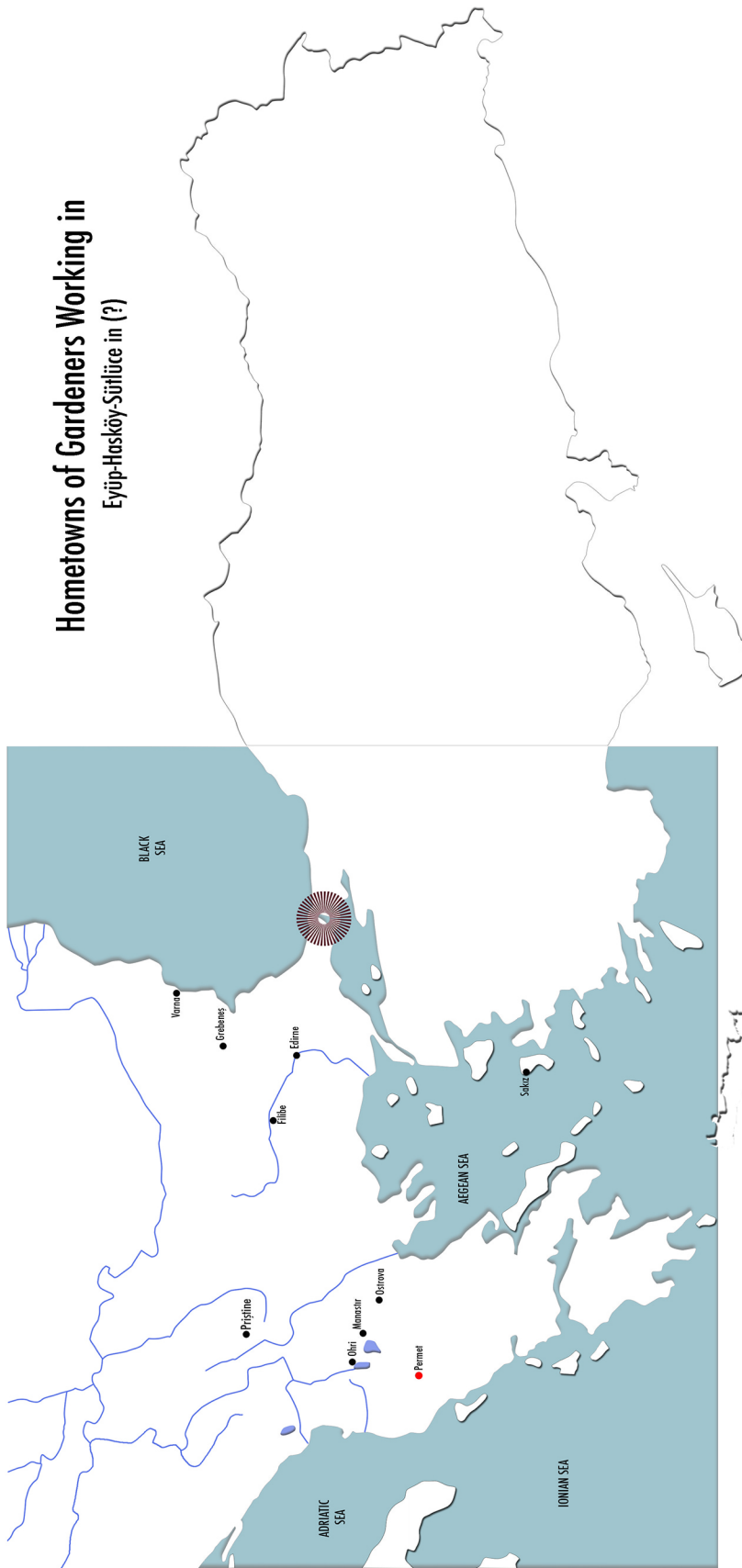
Hometown	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Unknow	Total
Asitane (İstanbul)	273	13	-	286
Manastır (Bitola)	152	-	-	152
Ohri (Ohrid)	144	-	-	144
Florine (Florina)	97	-	-	97
Sargöl (EllisPontos)?	90	-	-	90
Foça/Fotcha (Fotcha)	37	-	-	37
Permet/Premedi (Përmet)	33	-	-	33
Kırkkilise (Kırklareli)	14	-	-	14
Gölü Kesre (Kastoria)	12	-	-	12
Maden (in Niğde)	10	-	-	10
Eksisu (in Florina)	9	-	-	9
Resne (Resen)	8	1	-	9
Dermeson (in Niğde)	6	-	-	6
Sakız (Chios Island)	6	-	-	6
Selanik (Thessaloniki)	5	-	-	5
Filibe (Plovdiv)	4	-	-	4
Girne (Kyrenia)	4	-	-	4
Serez/Siroz (Serres)	4	-	-	4
Edirne	3	-	-	3
Hurşide(?)	3	-	-	3
Köprü	3	-	-	3
Niğde	3	-	-	3
Ostrova (Arnisia)	3	-	-	3
Vidin	3	-	-	3
Cumapazar (Ptolemaida)	2	-	-	2
İncemai	-	1	1	2
Korçe/Görice (Korçe)	2	-	-	2
Lofça (Lovech)	2	-	-	2
Petersko (Peshtersko in Burgas)	2	-	-	2
Tirnovi (Veliko Tärново)	1	-	-	1
Aydos (Aydos in Burgas)	1	-	-	1
Bosna (Bosnia)	1	-	-	1
Çekmece	1	-	-	1
Çırpan (Chirpan)	1	-	-	1
Dereköy (in Kırklareli)	1	-	-	1
Dimetoka (Didimoticho)	1	-	-	1
Diyarbakır	1	-	-	1
Girit (Crete)	1	-	-	1
Kadıköy	1	-	-	1
Kastamonu	-	1	-	1
Keşan (in Edirne)	1	-	-	1
Kızancık	1	-	-	1
Köstence (Costanta)	1	-	-	1
Pazarcık (Pazardjik)	1	-	-	1
Pirlepe (Prilep)	1	-	-	1
Semya(?)	1	-	-	1
Şarköy (in Tekirdağ)	1	-	-	1
Tekfurdağı (Tekirdağ)	1	-	-	1
Tuzla	1	-	-	1
Uzunlu (in Yozgat)	1	-	-	1
Üsküp (Skopje)	1	-	-	1
Van	1	-	-	1
Diraçe/Draç (Durrës)	1	-	-	1
Yanya (Ioannina)	1	-	-	1
Zağra (Zagora)	1	-	-	1
Yenişehir (Larissa)	1	-	-	1
Unknown	10	-	-	10
TOTAL	969	15	2	986



	No data	Married	Single	TOTAL
Number of Gardeners	834	144	8	986
Proportion of Marital status	84%	15%	1%	

This map was prepared based on register no BOA.NFS.15 by the author

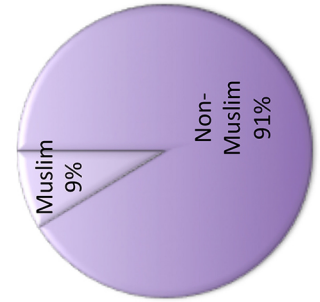
Appendix J: Hometowns of Gardeners Working in Eyüp-Hasköy-Sütlüce in (?)



Hometowns of Gardeners Working in Eyüp-Hasköy-Sütlüce in (?)

Hometown	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Total
Prennedi/Permet	94	6	100
Manastir (Bitola)	37	9	46
Ohri (Ohrid)	31	-	31
Istanbul	8	-	8
Prishtinë (Prishtinë)	8	-	8
Filibe (Plovdiv)	5	-	5
Edirne	4	-	4
Florya	3	-	3
Karaköy	3	-	3
Ostrova (Armissa)	2	-	2
Grebenets (Grebenets)	1	-	1
Sakız (Chios Island)	1	-	1
Varna	1	-	1
Unknown	14	5	19
TOTAL	212	20	232

Number of Patterns	Father-Son (x2)	2 brothers (x2)	3 brothers (x3)	TOTAL
5	5	3	1	9 families
10	10	6	3	19 persons



This map prepared based on the register no DBŞM. 42648 by the author

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BEO (*Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası*)

Cevdet Tasnifi (*Belediye*)

D.7263 (*Bab-ı Defteri*)

D.BŞM (*Bab-ı Defteri Baş Muhasebe Kalemi*)

D.DRB (*Bab-ı Defteri Darphane-i Amire Evrakı*)

DH-HMŞ (*Dahiliye Nezareti Hukuk Müşavirliği Belgeleri*)

D.M.d (*Bab-ı Defteri Müteferrik*)

Ebniye Kanunu (*Building Code*)

HAT (*Hatt-ı Hümayun Tasnifi*)

İ.DH (*İrade Dahiliye Nezareti Evrakı*)

İ.HR (*İrade Hariciye Nezareti Evrakı*)

NFS (*Nüfus Defteri*)

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