

A MATTER OF BELONGING:
PLACE ATTACHMENT OF ORDINARY PEOPLE
IN THE 18TH CENTURY OTTOMAN SOCIETY

A Ph.D. Dissertation

by
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Ankara
December 2022

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Bilkent University 2022

To my mum, dad and Caner



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The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
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by

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By Handan Karakaş Demir

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

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ABSTRACT

A MATTER OF BELONGING: PLACE ATTACHMENT OF ORDINARY PEOPLE IN THE 18TH CENTURY OTTOMAN SOCIETY

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This dissertation is a quest to discover the bonds established between ordinary Ottoman people and places by engaging with the concept of place attachment, an instrument of environmental psychology. It seeks to answer how place attachment affected relevant phenomena such as identity formation, collective actions, and the idea of *vatan* by questioning how the Ottoman people's daily practices and use of space shaped the place attachment under the 18th century atmosphere of transformations. In order to provide a holistic framework, all main elements of the place attachment are presented, including socio-economic factors, communal ties, residential conditions, occupations, life experiences, symbolic and ancestral connections, emotional tendencies, and the role of "unattached" ones. In this context, the embedded meanings of Ottoman space and the forms of place attachments developed by ordinary people in different spatial planes ranging from houses to Ottoman *mahalles* and cities, are examined through textual and linguistic analysis of primary sources. This study has revealed that ordinary Ottoman people, similar to their professional or religious

communities, formed “spatial communities” at different scales, transcending their other affiliations and ties. Place attachment developed at various scales, such as among those who share the same cul-de-sac (*tarîk-i hâss*), among those registered to the same *avârızhanes*, among the guests of inns (*hans*), or among those who settled in the *tehnâ* corners of a city, paved the way for the formation of spatial communities. Sometimes everyday responsibilities, economic interests, symbolic ties, or sometimes efforts to protect the environment have been influential in shaping these ties between people and space. Within this framework, this study points to the decisive importance of “spatial communities” formed based on place attachment rather than the policy of tolerance, which was commonly used to explain the possibility of coexistence in Ottoman society. This thesis also discusses that place attachments were not strong enough to transform the practice of coexistence in Ottoman society into a higher identity after the 18th century. Therefore, the traditional forms of place attachments may have transformed into other forms of affiliations influenced by modernity, as Ottoman people’s place identity changed during the nation-based disintegration process of the Ottoman State.

Keywords: History from below, ordinary people, Ottoman history, Ottoman society, Ottoman space, place attachment, 18th century

ÖZET

BİR AİDİYET MESELESİ: 18. YÜZYIL OSMANLI TOPLUMUNDA SIRADAN İNSANLARIN MEKÂNSAL AİDİYETİ

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Aralık 2022

Bu tez, Osmanlı Devleti'nin sıradan insanları ile mekânlar arasında kurulan bağları, çevre psikolojisinin bir enstrümanı olan mekânsal aidiyet kavramı aracılığı ile anlama ve açıklama arayışıdır. Çalışmada, mekânsal aidiyetin, 18. yüzyılın değişim ve dönüşüm atmosferi altında Osmanlı insanının günlük pratikleri ve mekân kullanımı vasıtasıyla nasıl şekillendiğine dair sorular sorularak mekânsal aidiyetin kimlik oluşumu, kolektif eylemler ve vatan fikri gibi meseleleri nasıl etkilediği araştırılmaktadır. Bütüncül bir çerçeve sunabilmek için sosyo-ekonomik faktörler, toplumsal bağlar, yerleşim koşulları, meslekler, yaşam deneyimleri, sembolik ve soya ait bağlantılar, duygusal eğilimler ve “bağısız” olanların rolü dâhil olmak üzere mekânsal aidiyetin tüm ana unsurları incelenmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu bağlamda Osmanlı mekânının gömülü anlamları ve sıradan insanların evlerden mahallelere ve şehirlere kadar uzanan farklı mekânsal düzlemlerde geliştirdikleri aidiyet biçimleri, kaynakların metinsel ve dilbilimsel çözümlemesi yoluyla irdelenmektedir. Çalışmada, sıradan Osmanlı insanının, profesyonel veya dinî topluluklara benzer şekilde, diğer aidiyet ve bağlarını aşan, farklı ölçeklerde “mekânsal topluluklar” oluşturduğu tespit edilmiştir.

Aynı çıkmaz sokağı (*tarîk-i hâss*) paylaşanlar arasında, aynı *avârizhanelere* kayıtlı olanlar arasında, bir hanın misafirleri arasında veya bir şehrin *tehnâ* köşelerine yerleşenler arasında çeşitli ölçeklerde var olan mekânsal aidiyet ilişkileri mekânsal toplulukların oluşmasına zemin hazırlamıştır. Bazen gündelik sorumluluklar, ekonomik çıkarlar, sembolik bağlar bazen de çevrenin korunması çabaları, insanlar ve mekân arasındaki bu bağların biçimlenmesinde etkili olmuştur. Bu çerçevede içinde çalışma, Osmanlı toplumundaki birlikte yaşama biçimlerini açıklamak için yaygın olarak kullanılan hoşgörü politikası yerine, mekânsal aidiyet temelinde oluşan mekânsal toplulukların belirleyici önemine işaret etmektedir. Bu tez aynı zamanda mekânsal aidiyetlerin Osmanlı toplumundaki bir arada yaşama pratiğini 18. yüzyıl sonrasında daha yüksek bir kimliğe dönüştürmek için yeterince güçlü olmadığını da tartışmaktadır. Bu nedenle, Osmanlı Devleti'nin ulus temelli çözülme sürecinde, Osmanlı toplumunun mekân kimliğinin değişmesiyle birlikte geleneksel mekânsal aidiyet biçimlerinin modernitenin etkilediği yeni aidiyet biçimlerine dönüşmüş olduğu ileri sürülebilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Aşağıdan tarih, mekânsal aidiyet, Osmanlı mekânı, Osmanlı tarihi, Osmanlı toplumu, sıradan insanlar, 18. yüzyıl

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Throughout the long journey of writing this dissertation, I have endeavored to understand affective, behavioral, and cognitive bonds between ordinary people and places. As someone whose scholarly roots were fed by political science and urban policy, what I would like to contribute to Ottoman history was always a work lying at the intersection of social sciences and history. I knew that this kind of journey would not be uncomplicated, which from time to time was interrupted by long contemplations as to how to find my way out of all the intricateness.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

An old Turkish proverb says that “the lone sheep is in danger of the wolf.” Turkish Language Society explains it as “the person who leaves the community they with and goes alone on her own will be without solidarity, without protection, without the support, and she will suffer.”¹ This proverb indicates the importance of complying with social norms and rules, belonging to a place, and acting with one’s belonging throughout history. This was also relevant for Ottoman society in the 18th century, where social mobility was still highly restricted, yet migration into urban areas was about to challenge some of the conventional social norms. It was also a period when modern ideas and principles such as individualism and individual freedoms were not yet infused into society.

It is true that as long as we belong to a community or as long as we live in a familiar place, we tend to feel safe and comfortable. We know that as long as we live by the rules of our community, our comfort zone will not be disturbed. This comfort zone is inherent in time and space. In other words, the time we spend in different layers of space, such as the workplace, the city, the neighborhood, or the marketplace, creates a bond between the place and the person. Day by day, through experiences built over, enhanced by beliefs and emotions based on what is told and experienced, one starts to feel an attachment towards certain places. That is precisely

¹ Türk Dil Kurumu Sözlükleri, s.v. “sürüden ayrılanı kurt kapar,” accessed March, 5, 2022, <https://sozluk.gov.tr>

why we would think twice before accepting a better-paid job offer if it requires relocation.

The journey of this dissertation is precisely about this relationship, the bond created between ordinary people and space in the Ottoman world. I was always curious about the impact of space on human lives and how people valued their living space. Today, grasping this relationship is easier since numerous methods of social sciences can be applied to measure or understand it. However, things get complicated when one wants to learn how this relationship formed in the distant past. When I began my journey, I did not imagine this dissertation would be full of handicaps and difficulties. At times, I thought I was lost in my long contemplations over the subject. Luckily, in due course, the inherent meaning of the Ottoman space in the perception of Ottoman people, hidden in the archives of the Ottoman world, started to reveal itself. I hope my findings and my working method will be helpful for future curious minds who would like to get a deeper insight into this subject.

A colossal genre focuses on space in historical research. Obviously, space is the primary determinant of history, together with the time dimension. That is why the first two questions of history are when and where. However, what motivated me among them was the more intimate, hidden, and less recorded relationship of the space dimension, namely the bonds established between people and places in history. The feeling of attachment or belonging triggered me to write this dissertation. Therefore, this dissertation discusses the determining constituents of place attachment in the Ottoman space in the 18th century by trying to understand whether one may speak of spatial scale communities in early modern Ottoman society.

Since I have my hands tied to ask Ottoman people's feelings towards the place they lived in, grew up, worked, or battled for, I spent a great deal of time trying

to figure out how I can find clues about this aspect of Ottoman history. Throughout my readings concerning the bond established with places, I came across the theory of place attachment. This theory deals with the relationship established between people and places and specifically dedicates itself to understanding this emotion, which is sometimes visible in behaviors and actions or sometimes reveals itself through words.

Since this subject mainly falls under the umbrella of environmental psychology, and there has yet to be any study focusing on this aspect of space in the Ottoman realm, I was initially hesitant to apply the theory of place attachment. However, over time, through reading, re-reading, and re-evaluating the Ottoman primary sources and secondary materials with a holistic approach by using the main determinants of place attachment theory, I have arrived at some fruitful conclusions which may provide new avenues for the Ottoman studies, especially from the bottom-up perspective.

Born out of interest in understanding the bond between people and places, this dissertation was written with some concrete objectives. In the following part, I will explain this study's objectives with the research questions employed. Then, I will delve into the working definitions and scope of the dissertation, namely the period in question and the concept of ordinary people. When I looked for spatial aspects of Ottoman society, I preferred to focus on the people who did not have enough channels to reveal themselves in Ottoman historiography. I believe that ordinary Ottoman people deserve a particular heading to tell themselves to the readers. I will conclude this chapter by first discussing the Ottoman concept of space and then the methodology I applied in this dissertation, briefly focusing on primary sources. Although primary sources (*sicils*) were not uncommon in terms of the high

density of their usage in Ottoman studies, it is vital to clarify how I re-read these materials from a specific perspective of place attachment theory. I will discuss the Ottoman understanding of space, mainly from the imperial aspect, to locate the importance of space in Ottoman studies. Lastly, I will explain the methodology applied in this dissertation by defining the main methodological pathways.

1.1. Research Questions and Objectives of the Dissertation

For a long time, Ottoman urban historiography has stayed in the shadow of the Islamic city paradigm, as theorized by Weber, arguing that civic identity, civic culture, collective identity, political consciousness, self-management and municipal organizations are missing in Islamic cities.² The Ottoman urban historians have long debated such claims of Islamic city paradigm. Later, many studies put an end to the so-called dichotomy between the Eastern and Western cities by revealing the features that have been considered missing in the Islamic city.³ However, the majority of these studies have analyzed Ottoman cities either by focusing on the role of groups such as notables, guilds or communities or the nature of Ottoman city, or cities' relations with the central state had been explained through the role of these groups.⁴ Especially the 18th century, defined as “the age of *ayans*,”⁵ centered around the role

² Max Weber, *Şehir: Modern Kentin Oluşumu* (İstanbul: Yarı Yayınları, 2015); Özer Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehir Tarihi Araştırmalarının Kuramsal Çerçevesi Nasıl Oluşturulabilir?” in *Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları: Şehir, Toplumi Devlet*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 28.

³ Albert Hourani and Samuel M. Stern, ed., *The Islamic City: A Colloquium* (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer Ltd., 1970); Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, *Ottoman City Between East and West: Aleppo, İzmir and İstanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁴ Ira Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), Suraiya Faroqhi, *Orta Halli Osmanlılar*, trans. Hamit Çalışkan (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2007), Özer Ergenç, *Osmanlı Klasik Dönemi Kent Tarihçiliğine Katkı: XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya* (Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı, 1995), Hülya Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town: Ayntab in the 17th Century* (Leiden, Brill, 2007).

⁵ *Ayans* “was not a fixed category in terms of status or numbers, but rather a generic, negotiable term referring to the community’s natural leaders. Strongmen, wealthy or respected individuals, religious leaders, some title and officeholders, members of prominent families, and representatives of craftsmen and tradesmen all belonged to the category of notables of the community.” Ali Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions* (Stanford: Stanford University

of notables on Ottoman urban society.⁶ Very few studies focused on the role of ordinary people with a “bottom-up perspective”⁷ to explain urban dynamics of Ottoman Empire. Only in recent years there has been growing scholarly attention to the history of ordinary people.⁸

Secondly, the Ottoman space in the classical sense began to change in many ways in the 18th century in parallel with the structural changes of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman space had initially been an environment encoded by social norms and supervised by political rules, from the nucleus of families to its quarters and its components such *hans*, *hamams*, mosques, *meydans*. In parallel to increased transportation and communication opportunities both within and outside the Ottoman world, the mental universe of ordinary people widened and spaces, mainly the cities, became more cosmopolitan due to increased migration and mobility. Relations established between the city and its inhabitants through rules and norms started to transform through the increasing mobility of city dwellers. The increasing frequency and types of encounters between people in the city led to changes in the maintained order, practices, and habits. Primary solidarity networks such as neighborhoods were affected by these changes and their nature of being closed units within themselves started to change due to the flow of people and information. Hence the start of the disintegration of traditional forms of relations that existed for a long-time in Ottoman

Press, 2016. Ayans “were seen as the upholders of local interest against ‘predatory’ imperial demands.” Dina Rizk Khoury, “Relations Between City and State in the Middle East,” in *Urban Social History of the Middle East*, ed. Peter Sluglett (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2011), 67.

⁶ Kemal Karpat, “Osmanlı Tarihinin Dönemleri: Yapısal Bir Karşılaştırmalı Yaklaşım,” in *Osmanlı Devleti ve Dünya*, ed. Kemal Karpat (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2016).

⁷ These bottom-up studies of the political processes, which reintroduce the subjects of the Ottoman State as having an active role on their own destiny, brought a new vision in urban history. See as instances Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1994); Suraiya Faroqhi, “Political Activity among Ottoman Taxpayers and the Problem of Sultanate Legitimation (1570-1650),” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 35, no. 1 (1992).

⁸ See title “Ordinary People and the History from Below”

spaces in the 18th century, such as intra-communal relations, paved the way for forming new kinds of urban identities.

In short, on the one hand, there are neglected actors of Ottoman society concerning the space they live in and their connection with the locality. On the other hand, there was an observed physical and social change within Ottoman space in the 18th century. Therefore, as a first objective, this dissertation embraces these two elements, namely ordinary actors of the Ottoman world and the change they witnessed in the space of the 18th century, and aims to understand how these elements can make a valuable contribution to the historiography of ordinary people. This dissertation is, in a way, a quest to explore place attachments of the Ottomans amid changing environment.

There had been long-practiced rituals and established patterns – physical and symbolic – in Ottoman urban space under the centuries of the long tradition of the Ottoman State. However, with the gradual establishment of the modern city accompanied by capitalism, the spaces had started to turn into social spaces to be consumed. It was a gradual annihilation of physical space⁹ while capitalism produced its own geography.¹⁰ Much has been said about these new urban spaces as a creation of national and global capitalism. However, my interest in this regard lies in the antecedents of these developments. How was the reciprocal relationship between urban spaces and people formed just before the emergence of so-called modern cities?

Many scholars of Ottoman urban history have observed that the Ottoman space is conditioned by social and temporal features. According to the classical

⁹ Henry Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 31

¹⁰ David Harvey, *The Urban Experience* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1989), 57-58.

structure of Ottoman society, each inhabitant may simultaneously have been part of different social groups or communities (*tâife*) at different levels. The expected behaviors and commitments varied according to these groups; and memberships to different groups sometimes partially overlapped with each other. On the other hand, these semi-formal groups formed the urban institutions in the Ottoman city, which also fulfilled political, social, and economic functions. This meant that each community in the city became a part of internal governance.

However, the Ottoman space underwent severe transformations in the 19th century. With the introduction of political reforms and new regulations, the order and responsibilities attributed to city dwellers changed, or previous habits vanished. Newly established formal organizations took over the functions exercised by the semi-formal groups and communities in the city.¹¹

Moreover, the dividing line between public and private spaces changed or sometimes blurred. The public space used by different communities gained new meanings and features, indicating a shift between city centers.¹² Hence all these changes in the spatial organization followed by the changing urban practices transformed the relationship between people and places. The previous meanings attributed to places and the ties established with the places did not exist anymore, and new patterns of behaviors and relations were formed.

So, another objective here is to understand the roots of this process of dissolving traditional communal structures in Ottoman cities. Before all those changes occurred, what was the current state of play between people and places?

¹¹ Ulrike Freitag, “‘Cosmopolitanism’ and ‘Conviviality’? Some Conceptual Considerations Concerning the Late Ottoman Empire,” *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 17, no. 4 (2013): 375 – 391.

¹² Ahmet Karaçavuş, “Toplumsal Mekanın Merkezinin Değişimi Üzerine Bir Deneme: XIX. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Trabzon’da Geleneksel Yaşamın Hükünsüzleşmesi,” *Karadeniz İncelemeleri Dergisi* 10, 10 (2011): 71 – 99.

Understanding the nature of ties people established with places in the 18th century will enhance our understanding of spatial transformations of the 19th century.

In terms of the physical layout, the classical Ottoman space and its architectural forms mainly remained the same in the 18th century. However, continuity of the classical city in terms of physical layout does not mean that the form of relationship between people and place did not change. There were some obvious developments, such as changes in the demographic composition of cities due to wars, rebellions, migration or economic backsliding. Accompanying these demographic shifts, there were changes in people's perception of symbolic attachments such as attachment to the empire or to the religion. In this context, I believe this theoretical and historical discussion can also relate to the research, especially regarding values and beliefs brought by the modernity of the 19th century in a broader context. For instance, the rising nationalism of the 19th century is, in a sense, a form of attachment developed by people who feel they belong to themselves to a specific nation. Many historians who study national movements remind us in their works that national identity is not only an ideological choice but also a sociability preference. Shared spaces, friendships, family ties, neighborliness, and social structure affect this choice as much as the ideological ideas followed.¹³ So, what was the role of attachments to cities or specific localities in this transition? In the 19th century, the unity and devotion provided by the empires were no longer sustained. Could we argue that attachment to the empires were first converted to localities and then turned to national passions? I believe that this question deserves an attempt to answer.

¹³ François Georgeon, "Sunuş", in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nde Yaşamak Toplumsallık Biçimleri ve Cemaatlerarası İlişkiler*, ed. François Georgeon & Paul Dumont (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2008), 22.

From a different viewpoint, the meaning of *vatan* referring to an individual's birthplace in the early modern Ottoman world, has embarked a new definition, which is the territorialization "of the national identity by creating a sense of belonging to the sacred soil and turning the imagined boundaries into physical ones."¹⁴ For the Ottoman State, on the other hand, the perception of space as *cihan* referring to an imaginary universal sovereignty has narrowed down to *vatan*.¹⁵ So, another objective of this dissertation is to try to grasp this changed perception of imperial space in terms of ordinary people of the Ottoman State as well.

Having laid down the core objectives of this dissertation, I would like to deliberate on my overarching aims. One of them is to be a part of the growing scholarship which challenges the Islamic city cliché attributed to Ottoman cities. The first studies on cities flourished in the West, where non-Western ones were subjected to assessments by using the standards of Western cities.¹⁶ This Non-Western, or so-called Islamic cities,¹⁷ had been defined as lacking the civic identity arising from dwellers' action for common civic good.¹⁸ This Islamic city notion had been the dominant paradigm in urban studies until it had been challenged in the 1960s.¹⁹ Özer Ergenç, as one of the first scholars challenging this paradigm, questioned the claims of an Islamic city specific to the Ottoman space. The advocates of the Islamic city claim that political unconsciousness and the lack of self-government are the reasons

¹⁴ Behlül Özkan, "Making a National *Vatan* in Turkey: Geography Education in the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Periods," Abstract, *Middle Eastern Studies* 50, no. 3 (2014): 457.

¹⁵ Özer Ergenç, "Individual's Perception of Space in the Early Modern Ottoman World" (Paper presented at the Ottoman Topologies: Spatial Experience in an Early Modern Empire and Beyond, Stanford University, May 2014).

¹⁶ Ergenç, "Osmanlı Şehir Tarihi Araştırmalarının Kuramsal Çerçevesi Nasıl Oluşturulabilir?" 27.

¹⁷ Theories on Islamic cities, which have been affected by Weberian discourse on cities, were mostly utilized by French historians to analyze North African cities. Gülay Yılmaz, "Küreselleşme Öncesi ve Sonrası Osmanlı Kent Tarihçiliği," *Çağdaş Yerel Yönetimler* 26, 2 (April 2017): 107.

¹⁸ Weber, *Şehir: Modern Kentin Oluşumu*, 93-97.

¹⁹ The first serious criticism to the Islamic city theory was expressed in the colloquium held at Oxford in 1965, which was turned into a book in 1970 by Hourani and Stern. Albert Hourani and Samuel M. Stern, ed., *The Islamic City: A Colloquium*.

for physical disorder observed in Islamic cities. Ergenç challenges this argument by discussing that physical disorder does not mean that there is no urban consciousness or common will of city dwellers by providing proofs from the archives as the sign of the common will of dwellers.²⁰ Later on, specifically for the last 30 years, with the aroused interest on urban history of different disciplines ranging from sociology to architecture has resulted in accumulation of methodology, archival material, and data from various fields. The emergence of new micro topics of urban history such as power, use of space, everyday life, social identity has also opened new paths to discover for historians.²¹ These new paths have negated the claims of the Islamic city once again from different angles although they were not specifically aiming to challenge the claims of the Islamic city. Similarly, I will be challenging the Islamic city paradigm as a side-result of delving into the place attachment of ordinary people in the 18th century Ottoman city. So, it is unlikely to say that this thesis will not be a part of Islamic city discussions.

Another overall objective of this dissertation is to contribute to Ottoman studies by focusing on the space aspect of history. In the last 20 years, global historiography has witnessed the rediscovery of space. Such interest in studies of space has blossomed first with the publication of the English translation of Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* in 1991.²² Lefebvre offers a new perspective and understanding of space by freeing space from being an abstract concept. He comes up with three dimensions of space, which are "lived space," "perceived space" and "conceived space." Foucault and Certeau's contributions²³ to the field have also

²⁰ Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Bursa* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2006).

²¹ Nancy Stieber, "Microhistory of Modern City: Urban Space, Its Use and Representation," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59, no. 3 (September 1999): 384.

²² Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

²³ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (California: University of California Press, 1984). Michel Foucault, "Of other Spaces," *Diacritics* 16, 1 (Spring 1986): 22-27.

advanced the theoretical debates, accumulated the interests of scholars, and ended up with a culmination of works published on the spatial question. Hence, various symposiums have been held, and many scholarly articles have been published focusing on the spatial question as one of the issues of social history.²⁴ Obviously, this was not the first-time historians dealt with space. Nevertheless, with the emergence of new research fields, such as environmental history, and new technologies such as Geographical Information Systems (GIS)²⁵ to track changes over time and space, “the spatial turn” has been witnessed in historiography.²⁶

This spatial turn was “a response to a longstanding ontological and epistemological bias that privileged time over space in all the human sciences.”²⁷ This new understanding has brought a change in the most defining feature of history, which is the time. “History is not an account of ‘change over time,’ as the cliché goes, but rather, change through space.”²⁸ Following this turn, space has become the subject of research not only as a static physical area but also as a dynamic and

Not only Michel de Certeau, Henri Lefebvre and Michel Foucault but also David Harvey, Pierre Bourdieu, Edward Said and Edward Soja influenced the research and following scholars.

²⁴ For example, the symposium on the “Spatial Turn in History” held in London in 2004. The special issue on space published in French History in 2006. The Social History Society broadened its focus on the space in its 2006 conference. The Journal of Social History defined the “spatial question” as one of major issues of social history in 2006. American Historical Association meeting in 2008 directly involved in the issue of space in history. Ralph Kingston, “Mind Over Matter? History and the Spatial Turn,” *Cultural and Social History* 7, 1 (2010): 111, 118.

²⁵ “GIS are used to store, display and represent, interpret, and analyze geospatial data. In other words, GIS are a group of information systems that store and represent data that are associated with specific places in the real world.” Brendan Cantwell and Jeffrey Milem, “Locating Space and Place in the College Access Debate: New Tools for Mapping and Understanding Educational Inequity and Stratification,” in *International Encyclopedia of Education (Third Edition)*, ed. Penelope Peterson, Eva Baker, Barry McGaw (Elsevier, 2010): 637.

²⁶ Kingston, “Mind Over Matter? History and the Spatial Turn,” 111-112.

²⁷ Edward Soja, “Taking Space Personally,” in *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Santa Arias and Barbara Warf (London: Taylor and Francis, 2008), 11.

²⁸ Philip J. Ethington, “Placing the Past: ‘Groundwork’ for a Spatial Theory of History,” *Rethinking History* 11, no. 4 (2011): 466

heterogeneous one, having different forms such as lived, perceived and conceived spaces.²⁹

“The spatial turn” also refers to the enhanced propensity of historians to the spatial aspects in their works, with closer links to the geohistory and cultural history.³⁰ Under the influence of new cultural history, the space and its symbolism as the repository of social meaning has taken attention of historians. According to cultural history, places find their meanings under cultural contexts and discourses surrounding them. It is necessary to consider that aspect of the space as constantly negotiating the human element of history. What is more, the spatial question is not only unveiling those meanings and symbols inherent in the space but also how and why those meanings and symbols are used and by whom.³¹ Because there is a reciprocal interplay between the embedded meanings that exist in space and the human aspect dynamically interacting with it.

The question of *where* has a central role for historians of the spatial turn. It is a fact that perceptions attributed to spaces and their meanings vary according to where they are learned. So, to unbound this *where* the question, in other words, the “physicality of space, historians must turn to theories that explore the interaction of people within specific spaces and places.”³² In that context I will utilize the place attachment theory in this dissertation since it specifically explores this interaction of people within spaces.

²⁹ Michael A. Peteras and Fabian Kessl, “Space, Time, History: The Reasserting of Space in Social Theory,” *Policy Futures in Education* 7, no. 1 (2000): 20-30.

³⁰ Angelo Torre, “A ‘Spatial Turn’ in History? Landscapes, Visions, Resources,” *Histories, Sciences Sociales* 63, 5 (2008): 1127.

³¹ Kingston, “Mind Over Matter? History and the Spatial Turn,” 112-114.

³² Kingston, 116.

This spatial turn has also affected Ottoman historiography by introducing new concepts concerning Ottoman space.³³ Yet, the embedded symbolic values of places and the attachment that people formed with them remain under-explored. This dissertation will be analyzing the space³⁴ as perceived and formed through people's social interactions by focusing on the relationship between Ottoman people and place in terms of attachments. This dissertation will query the attachment patterns formed via understanding the relationship between the mode of living of ordinary Ottomans having different identities simultaneously and the space.

While doing this, this dissertation aims to situate the place attachment from a historical perspective by asking questions on how the place attachment came into being and changed in the 18th century within the minds of ordinary Ottomans. This journey aims to contribute to interdisciplinary methods in Ottoman historiography. As a concept of environmental psychology, the place attachment theory will be borrowed as a methodological tool and used in the query of this dissertation. The linguistic or cultural turn has recently affected the Middle East's historiography by necessitating "the methodological borrowings from anthropology, linguistics, literature, and psychoanalysis."³⁵ However, according to Kırılı, engagement with other disciplines in Ottoman history is still relatively lacking, and historians of the

³³ For example, see Shirine Hamadeh, "The City's Pleasures: Architectural Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century İstanbul" (PhD diss., American University of Beirut, 1984). Cengiz Kırılı, "The Struggle over Space: Coffehouses of Ottoman İstanbul" (PhD diss., State University of New York, 2001). Nina Ergin, "Mapping İstanbul's Hamams of 1752 and their Employees," in *Bread from the Lion's Mouth: Artisans Struggling for a Livelihood in Ottoman Cities*, ed. Suraiya Faruqi (New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2015).

³⁴ It is important to use the term "space" much more cautiously especially in historical analysis where the word "space" did not originally not exist. There is a risk of making sense of the word "space" much more modern than it really is, especially in writing the conceptual history. Yair Mintzker, "Between the Linguistic and the Spatial Turns: A Reconsideration of the Concept of Space and Its Role in Early Modern Period," *Historical Reflections* 35, 3 (2009): 37-51.

³⁵ Cengiz Kırılı, "From Economic History to Cultural History in Ottoman Studies," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46 (2014): 377.

Ottoman Empire should benefit more from the interdisciplinary path, a path opened by the cultural turn. I hope this dissertation will offer contributions in this regard.

“A familiar environment provides an individual with protection and satisfies their basic needs, which in turn leads to the development of an attachment to that environment in much the same, automatic way as it develops with regards to the people.”³⁶

This very brief definition of place attachment by itself tells so much about the possible scenarios of belonging that could exist in the Ottoman spatial context.

According to Maslow’s hierarchy of needs too, physiological and safety needs are followed by the needs for love and belonging. This includes feeling loved, having ties to friends and families, and belonging to a group or place.³⁷ In this sense, the need for belonging is closely related to definitions such as who the person is, to which group they belong to, and where they are from. And it is part of people’s forming an identity in terms of positioning themselves in society and space.

Therefore, spatial belonging is a subject that deserves to be discussed and understood not only in terms of the relationship of ordinary Ottoman people established with the space but also as a part of their identity formation. Numerous studies have focused on the identity formation of the Ottoman people; however, the spatial aspect of identity formation, from the theoretical aspects, is missing. Accordingly, one of my aims is to reveal the spatial side of the Ottoman people’s identity formation independent of ethnicity and religion.

Regardless of different identities, ethnicities, and religions, the city to which everyone belongs at the spatial level, and the sense of belonging associated with it,

³⁶ Anna Stefaniak, Michal Bilewicz and Maria Lewicka, “The merits of teaching local history: Increased place attachment enhances civic engagement and social trust,” *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 51 (2017): 218.

³⁷ Abraham Maslow, “A Theory of Human Motivation,” *Psychological Review* 50, 4 (1943): 370-396.

may reveal a consciousness of urbanity.³⁸ Therefore, this dissertation also seeks to explore the interrelation (causal or cyclical) between ordinary people's urban consciousness and place attachment in the context of 18th century Ottoman cities. There are several studies within close proximity of it. For example, some studies have focused on Ottoman city dwellers and how they act in city life. And many of them, in one way or another, touch upon the consciousness of these dwellers or their common will and collective actions in favor of the space they live in.³⁹ But a specific focus on place attachment is mainly missing in the literature. After realizing that so many scholars have touched upon this subject but have yet to study it comprehensively or just dropped it as a question for future researchers, I decided to pick this question up.

This much said this thesis will look into details of the way of living formed in the spatial context of the Ottoman world to understand how people's attachment formed towards Ottoman places and how it affected the relevant subjects such as civic engagement, urban consciousness, identity formation, or the idea of vatan or at least will question whether or not there had been a connection between these subjects with reference to space aspect.

In a nutshell, to achieve this dissertation's objectives, as discussed above in detail, the primary research questions that this thesis seeks to answer are as follows: What were patterns of place attachment in the Ottoman context which held together

³⁸ Urban consciousness is a term regarding comprehending and adapting the conditions of a city by its inhabitants. It is a bilateral process on how residents apprehend the urban environment and how this apprehension affects their behaviours. Thus, the feeling of belonging or establishing bonds with the city plays important role in this process. Sanjukta Bhaduri and Arathy Gopal, "Urban Consciousness for Sustainable Development," *Conscious Cities Journal* 3 (2017), <https://doi.org/10.33797/CCJ.04.01>

³⁹ Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, *Ottoman City Between East and West*; Boğaç Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Çankırı and Kastamonu* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Andre Raymond, *Osmanlı Döneminde Arap Kentleri* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995); Abdul Karim Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus, 1723-1783* (Beirut: Khyats, 1970); Charles L. Wilkins, *Forging Urban Solidarities: Ottoman Aleppo 1640-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

diverse identities and ethnic groups as “nations before nationalism” in the 18th century? How did the Ottoman space transformation impact ordinary people’s place attachments? During these transformations, what did happen to previously established place attachments at different levels, such as home, street, or neighborhood? Did they transform and continue to exist in another form, or were new kinds of place attachments established? How did attachments to places - whether or not they changed - affect the so-called private vs. public realms of Ottoman space? Such questions will be at the center of this dissertation, and by examining attachments to the different spatial levels within Ottoman cities more thoroughly, this historical research can be linked with the present-day attachment of people to the space they live in.

1.2. Plan of the Dissertation

This dissertation is a trial of an application of the place attachment theory in a historical setting which bound the author to discuss place attachment theory in detail for its own sake to clarify the presentation of the idea in the Ottoman context. Also, multiple featured issues in this thesis need to be discussed, such as the actors of this dissertation, the time, the theory, the emotions, etc. So, the structural forming of this dissertation aims to ease the reading process for even those unfamiliar with the subject by following a pattern from first definitions to theory, then the methodology, and lastly, the application of the approach to specific historical circumstances. Hereafter in this part, the brief outline has been presented to show how this structural formula was realized in this study.

This thesis consists of four chapters, including a long and detailed introduction and a conclusion.

The first chapter covers more than a general introduction. It covers not only objectives and research questions but also working definitions and the scope of the study that needed to be clarified in the first section. Since this dissertation aims to fulfill a history writing from below, the concept of ordinary people and how to possibly write Ottoman history from below are explained. The first chapter sheds light on the period under question revealing the importance of the 18th century in terms of people-place studies. This chapter also discusses the importance of careful re-reading of *sicils* (primary sources utilized in this study) in comprehending people's bonding with places.

Next, I tackle the Ottoman concept of space to engage further with how Ottoman State perceived the space around it since the attachment, after all, is related to the meaning attributed to places. To grasp the relationship between ordinary people and space, it is essential to understand the mentality of Ottoman society and the individuals in particular. For this reason, it is an inevitable part of this thesis to try to understand the concept of space by looking at the world of mentality. Finally, the general methodological approach of the study is explained below in this section, not going into details of the place attachment theory.

After a detailed long introductory chapter, the second chapter is devoted to discussing the place attachment theory. Although this thesis is a study in the field of Ottoman history, since it includes a kind of testing of place attachment, the idea has been comprehensively discussed in the context of the studies produced in its field and its emergence. Examining the theoretical approach in detail in this dissertation is necessary. Because no similar work has been done before, and place attachment theory is closely related to different but similar concepts in its field, it is essential to clarify how the theory handles the subject before adapting it to the historical context.

The approach adopted to analyze Ottoman space within the context of place attachment and the relevant variables foreseen based on the theoretical discussion is listed in this section. Lastly, the literature in Ottoman history having a similar perspective in grasping the Ottoman place is presented to demonstrate other possible approaches.

The third chapter mainly analyzes the spatial belonging of ordinary people of the Ottoman realm based on the approach and methodology presented in the previous chapter. It is a long chapter constituting the main body of the dissertation under ten main sub-headings. Ten sub-titles emerged from evaluating the indicators of spatial belonging in the context of Ottoman space, based on the theoretical discussion presented in the second chapter. Since this thesis aims to cover all aspects of spatial belonging as much as possible, the subject has been discussed from every angle. First of all, this section, following the detailed examination of the physical structure in the Ottoman space and its effects on belonging, respectively discusses the convivial spaces, the relationship of time and attachment, the engagement of spatial belonging with economic factors, collective actions, the emotional aspect of attachment, the effect of security and survival motivations on belonging, social control mechanisms, the practical use of spatial belonging by the Ottoman State and finally those unattached ones of the Ottoman realm.

The fourth and last chapter presents the findings of this dissertation by evaluating how possible contributions in this field may provide new avenues for comprehending Ottoman space.

1.3. Working Definitions and Scope of the Dissertation

Here I will explain some working definitions and will define the scope of the study in terms of time span. There are two aspects that I would like to present in detail: One is the leading actor of this study, the ordinary people of the Ottoman realm. As history's main actors, ordinary people have started to be in the nucleus of Ottoman studies lately, and there are already plenty of working definitions regarding it. Therefore, it is better to give a brief overview of what the ordinary people in this dissertation mean or which description will be in use since, as the place attachment theory puts it, sometimes a person will be the hero of this study while sometimes a bunch of ordinary people acting collectively will be the primary concern of the issue.

Secondly, I will discuss the historical period elaborated in this dissertation, roughly the 18th century, as the least studied period in Ottoman studies. The reason for choosing the 18th century needs to be clarified before going into the essence of the subject.

1.3.1. Ordinary People and The History from Below

“Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances already existing, given, and transmitted from the past.”⁴⁰

Although this famous quotation by Karl Marx, written in 1852, belittles the role of people in making history, many historians have been devoted to revealing the people in history for a long time. This dissertation, too, aims to contribute to the field of those historians, if they may.

⁴⁰ Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (New York: International Publishers, 1963), 15.

This dissertation analyzes ordinary people, whether as a group or as an individual, as a focal point. By definition, I mean ordinary people who are part of urban life, except the notables of the city and those who gain power due to their political, economic, and religious positions. As put it by Donald Quataert, “it is not history from above – the history of the state, or of state elites, of policy or war makers.”⁴¹ In other words, it is “the sort of people whose names are usually unknown to anyone except their family and neighbours”⁴² as put by Hobsbawm.

Besides this practical working definition which I come up with for this dissertation, inquiring about ordinary people in history involves a methodological approach and it belongs to a different genre of history. Moreover, this dissertation aims to reveal the bond or the attachment established between ordinary people and the place, and it is the people’s history dealing with this bond. So, in this section, I briefly discuss the historiography dealing with the ordinary people of history, the way it approaches the actors of history, and the possible shortcomings of this genre.

The history of ordinary people, in other words as it is called as “the history from below,” “microhistory,” “the history of everyday life” or “people’s history” academically, focuses on the individual agency as the main unit in historical studies.⁴³ Internationally, it was the Annales School first interested in daily experiences of ordinary people and inspired the pioneers of this field. Following First World War, a shift happened in traditional historiography towards understanding

⁴¹ Donald Quataert, “History from Below and the Writing of Ottoman History,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 34, no. 1(2014): 129.

⁴² Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Uncommon People: Resistance, Rebellion and Jazz* (New York: New York Press, 1998), vii.

⁴³ The history from below, microhistory, the people’s history, and the history of everyday life are different and vary in methodologies and traditions. However, they all have some common aspects that culminated in the atmosphere of the 1980s. Moreover, I observed that many academic writings utilize these forms of historical inquiry together. For this reason, considering the limits of this dissertation, in this section, I will be discussing the standard features of these concepts without going into further details about each of them.

social dynamics through focusing on social groups, ideas, everyday activities, or protests.⁴⁴ Scholars like Marc Bloch and Fernand Braudel turned the traditional focus of history from politics and wars to the daily activity and private life of individuals. Those were the first attempts to write history from the “bottom up.”⁴⁵ The term specifically denoted for this kind of study, “the history from below,” became widespread in the political atmosphere of the 1960s, considering that political and social sensibilities of the times are directly affecting the types of history.⁴⁶ Thompson, among the historians having the greatest influence on this new kind of historiography, aimed to save ordinary people of the history “from the enormous condescension of posterity”⁴⁷ in his pioneering work *The Making of the English Working Class*.

From this tradition, new kinds were born, such as the history of everyday life (*Alltagsgeschichte* in Germany) and micro history (*microstoria* in Italy) in the 1970s and the 1980s. Those kinds, similar to “the history from below,” focus on the daily experiences of ordinary people ranging from their habits and practices to beliefs and feelings. This new kind of historiography was also a departure from social, economic, or demographic history, treating people as the objects of history.⁴⁸ Those new subjects of history had been silent, anonymous, and not heard for a long time until the attention of historiography turned to them. It is important to note that these ordinary people of history are neither the sole victims of the impersonal forces nor

⁴⁴ Andrew Port, “History from Below, the History of Everyday Life, and Microhistory,” *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* 11(2015): 108.

⁴⁵ Susan J. Matt, “Current Emotion Research in History: or, Doing History from the Inside Out,” *Emotion Review* 3, no. 1 (2011): 117-118, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1754073910384416>.

⁴⁶ Steege et al., “The History of Everyday Life: A Second Chapter,” *The Journal of Modern History* 80, no. 2 (2008): 359.

⁴⁷ Edward Palmer Thompson, *The Making of English Working Class* (New York: Pelican Book, 1979), 13.

⁴⁸ John Brewer, “Microhistory and Histories of Everyday Life,” *Cultural and Social History* 7, 1 (2010): 90.

the passive, obedient subjects as had been fictionalized for a long time. Their ability to engage, cooperate, bargain or decide individually or as a group changes the dynamics in societies. Thus, the scholars engaging in writing the “people’s history” now question the way of portraying societies through quantification and claim that it is not possible to understand societies over aggregate categories or large-scale processes since there is a great complexity behind those overarching categories rooted in the individual experiences, behaviors or identities. So, one may argue that amid the complexity of lived experiences, looking at the daily lives of ordinary people provide historians to revive the power relations or social dynamics and how they were produced and reproduced in everyday interactions.⁴⁹ According to some historians studying “the history from below” made it possible to reveal unofficial power relations forming the structural processes, where individuals were usually assumed to be unimportant.⁵⁰

In terms of methodology, other than being critical of the qualitative and macro approaches in social sciences, historians of people’s history also disagree with the modernization theory which contemplates a progressive and linear path in societies. That is why, they are specifically interested in individual experiences failing to follow the so-called progress of history. Since they also usually criticize the progressive nature of history, they mostly turn their attention to the early modern period.⁵¹

Concerning the sources, it is argued that the historians writing the “history from below” should move beyond sources used by classical historians, such as state

⁴⁹ Port, “History from Below,” 108 – 109.

⁵⁰ Steege et al., “The History of Everyday Life: A Second Chapter,” 359.

⁵¹ Port, “History from Below,” 109-110.

documents, and include those outside the state realm, such as diaries and memories.⁵² However, although the people's history targets the voice of the oppressed, marginalized or poor in historiography, in terms of the sources, it may still rely on documents left by the powerful or state agents. This is especially true for the sources of Ottoman history, which will be discussed in the coming sections. Those documents may have been produced to distort reality or their original intention to be created may have been different from the intention of the historian that will be using it. When a source is not produced to leave the marks of oppressed or marginal ones, then what a historian does becomes digging for the underlying meanings or looking for hidden clues regarding ordinary actors of history. However, historians, aware of this potential misinterpretation, examined the archives with careful re-reading, accompanied by the new archival sources not used before.⁵³ It is a matter of asking the right questions about the sources at hand.⁵⁴ Moreover, these potential risks are leading to misinterpretation in sources not only for historians of people's history but also for all historians. Another risk standing for the micro historians is the being anachronistic in interpretations. Using modern terms or categories to describe past behaviors of ordinary people or explaining previous experiences with today's discourses is a serious risk for historians.⁵⁵

When a historian involves in writing people's history, one of the other challenges s/he faces is making claims at larger frameworks since it is hard to make comprehensive suggestions when the subject in question is the individualities or specific localities.⁵⁶ In fact, the political, social or cultural structures of macro history

⁵² Selim Karahasanoğlu and Deniz Cenk Demir, eds., *History from Below: A Tribute in Memory of Donald Quataer* (İstanbul: Bilgi University Press, 2016), 18.

⁵³ Brewer, "Microhistory and Histories of Everyday Life," 100.

⁵⁴ Karahasanoğlu and Deniz Cenk Demir, eds., *History from Below*, 19.

⁵⁵ Port, "History from Below," 110-111.

⁵⁶ Port, 111.

are embedded in everyday life of ordinary actors of history, and it is possible to combine macro and micro-scale studies. “The systems that presumably govern the world are not alien to everyday life but immanent in it.”⁵⁷ And looking at the experience of the people helps to portray “big questions” of history without making a deterministic reduction.⁵⁸ For example, within the complexity and subjectivity of everyday experiences, it is possible to observe how ruling discourses of a particular society maneuvered.⁵⁹ In a similar vein, Donald Quataert emphasizes that the history from below does not have to “be a narrow study of that community but a total history of a society” by giving the example of coal miners of Zonguldak.⁶⁰ Other than this, I think that it is also not a necessity for a historian to make assumptions with regard to larger historical trends. Micro-level studies, incapable of being representative of general historical developments, do not lose value in themselves.

Although looking at a decision or feeling of just one person cannot provide an overall picture; however, certain factors are playing behind the decisions, feelings, or actions taken, and those factors may possibly arise from more general outcomes that affect other people as well. Hence the gist of the meaning of one action or story can present an understanding for more general deductions. Especially, if the issue is space, considering that individuals shape and are shaped by their living environment, single events can provide more clues than a historian may think.

Those above-mentioned potential risks and challenges are not exclusively for the people’s history. Whether it is a grand narrative or a micro-narrative, since all narratives of the history “involve choice, inclusion and exclusion”⁶¹ to some extent.

⁵⁷ Steege et al., “The History of Everyday Life: A Second Chapter,” 367.

⁵⁸ Brewer, “Microhistory and Histories of Everyday Life,” 97.

⁵⁹ Steege et al., “The History of Everyday Life: A Second Chapter,” 367; Port, “History from Below,” 109.

⁶⁰ Quataert, “History from Below and the Writing of Ottoman History,” 133.

⁶¹ Brewer, “Microhistory and Histories of Everyday Life,” 97.

Therefore, the scale and point of view of historians with the methodology applied will always have some sort of shortcomings.

In terms of Ottoman historiography, for a long time, there was a widespread notion depicting Ottoman subjects as passive (*muti*) and obedient in Ottoman historiography.⁶² With the increasing attention to social history and urban history, as a sub-field of social history, starting in the 1960s notables, guilds or groups as in the form of communities entered the agenda of Ottoman historians.⁶³ The nature of Ottoman city and its relations with the central state examined through the role of these groups within society. Particularly the studies of the 18th century centered on the role of notables, which “were seen as the upholders of local interest against ‘predatory’ imperial demands.”⁶⁴ However, very few studies focused on the role of ordinary people with a “bottom-up” perspective⁶⁵ while explaining the urban dynamics of Ottoman Empire. Only in recent years, has there been growing scholarly attention to the history of ordinary people as following the general trends in historiography.⁶⁶ The excerpt below stresses the importance of role played by non-elites in making history:

“To view the population as putty in the hands of the notability is just as misleading as viewing the bonds of patronage as the only option available to non-elites in a society habituated to horizontal as well as vertical linkages. It also flies in the face of evidence. Non-elites played an active and often

⁶² Antonis Anastasopoulos, ed., *Political initiatives 'from the bottom up' in the Ottoman Empire: Halcyon Days in Crete VII* (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2012).

⁶³ Özer Ergenç, “Şehir Tarihi Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler,” *Belleten* LII, 203 (1988): 12-13; Oktay Özel, Gökhan Çetinsaya, “Türkiye’de Osmanlı Tarihçiliğinin Son Çeyrek Yüzyılı: Bir Bilanço Denemesi,” *Toplum ve Bilim* 92 (Kış, 2001-2002): 3.

⁶⁴ Khoury, “Relations Between City and State in the Middle East,” 67.

⁶⁵ Bottom-up studies brought a new vision to Ottoman urban history by reintroducing the subjects of the Ottoman State as having an active role on their own destiny. See Suraiya Faroqhi, “Political Initiatives ‘From the Bottom Up’ in the Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire: Some Evidence for their Existence,” in *Osmanistische Studien zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte In memoriam Vančo Boškov*, ed. Hans Georg Majer (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986); Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*.

⁶⁶ See Suraiya Faroqhi, “Political Activity,” Amy Singer, *Palestinian Peasants and ottoman Officials: Rural Administration Around Sixteenth-Century Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*.

autonomous role in [...] mobilizations in Greater Syria since the first decades of the twentieth century.”⁶⁷

There have been some reasons for this reluctance to write the history from below: “The nature of the documents and the powerful historiographical tradition from Ottoman times of using state sources and writing from the state’s point of view.”⁶⁸ In addition to this, the republican Turkish tradition of history writing led to a state-centered approach among historians. Although modernization theory changed the focus of studies to some extent, it stayed still in the realm of institutional and administrative changes launched by the elites of the Ottoman State.⁶⁹

The first attention given to the history of ordinary people was mainly driven by the curiosity to understand political nature of the Ottoman State. As a response to the dominant Ottoman historiography of the time, which considered the Ottoman State as an Oriental despotism, hence there was no independent and organized society vis-à-vis the state, historians turned their faces to the Ottoman society.⁷⁰ Initially, Ottoman subjects, especially in the form of groups, such as guilds, provincial notables or religious leaders were studied to understand the political initiatives coming from the bottom. Thus, their unit of analysis remained as groups with some power within the Ottoman society, and these groups had common economic, political or religious interests. According to the Quataert, “nearly all of Ottoman history written in the ‘from below’ mode so far has been the history of the producers of wealth in the act of the production of that wealth.”⁷¹ However, the history from below is not only about when they are producing, but also “when they

⁶⁷ James L. Gelvin, “The ‘Politics of Notables’ Forty Years After,” *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 40, no. 1 (2006): 29.

⁶⁸ Quataert, “History from Below and the Writing of Ottoman History,” 129.

⁶⁹ Quataert, 129.

⁷⁰ Faroghi, “Political Initiatives ‘From the Bottom Up’ in the Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire,” 24-25.

⁷¹ Quataert, “History from Below and the Writing of Ottoman History,” 130.

are not producing, but are going about their daily lives having families, consuming goods, and interacting with the state - or not interacting with the state, such as when they avoid conscription or the paying of taxes.”⁷² As put by Kırılı, “if ottoman historians noticed the great movement of “history from below,” it hardly found any place in their writings.”⁷³

However, later in the 1980s, the changing focus of studies from institutions and elites to lower classes, and from empire-wide generalizations to regional and communal studies, accelerated by the postcolonial theory featuring the fluidity of identities, born first fruits beginning of the 1990s. Ottoman historiography has started to tackle the question of “history from below” within its own limits.⁷⁴ The intellectual engagement to the history of ordinary people also developed in parallel with the Ottoman historians to distance themselves from the paradigms such as “the golden age,” or “decline.” Additionally, the examination of the ordinary people as the primary agents of the Ottoman space also allows us to re-question the so-called decline paradigm in the historiography of the Ottoman State, which has already lost its validity with the academic challenges since the 1980s.⁷⁵

As many historians state, the role of ordinary people in Ottoman urban life is still not adequately addressed. According to Canbakal, who writes on the 17th century Ayntâp based on the relationship between the notables and the ordinary people, the influence of ordinary people on daily politics deserves to be evaluated independently from the notables of the city.⁷⁶ Those ordinary people, when they are in a collective form, their actions and tendencies become even more critical since it allows a

⁷² Quataert, 130.

⁷³ Kırılı, “From Economic History to Cultural History in Ottoman Studies,” 376.

⁷⁴ Kırılı, 376- 377.

⁷⁵ Suraiya Faruqi, “Introduction,” *New Approaches to State and Peasant in the Ottoman History*, ed. Halil Berktaş and Suraiya Faruqi (London: Frank Cass, 1992).

⁷⁶ Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town: Ayntab in the 17th Century*.

historian to reveal dominant mentality of a place and to find the problems of city life.⁷⁷ Moreover, studies on the daily lives of so-called “weak” ordinary people helps to analyze processes that form the urban space.⁷⁸ At this juncture, one needs to avoid anachronism about the daily lives of ordinary Ottoman people. Their everyday experiences should not be imagined from today’s perspectives.⁷⁹

After this brief touch upon the genre of “history from below” and how it deals with ordinary people, I would now like to focus on the ordinary people of this dissertation. In this dissertation, I will study ordinary urban dwellers, not just groups with common political, economic, or religious interests. I will delve into the story of ordinary people within Ottoman urban space as individuals, to search for whether or not they feel some kind of consciousness, attachment or belonging towards the place they live in. Those ordinary urban dwellers might have formed some sort of cooperation by informal means or been a part of a joint interest group. Still, the motivation, the drive, or the interest which led them to get together will be any concern regarding the space. Ordinary people of the 18th century is at the center of my argument and this dissertation will seek to analyze how they actually feel about the space they live in.

I put a concrete definition regarding ordinary people; however, probably elites may also fall under the scope of this dissertation specific to her/his situation within urban space since collective phenomena is “the result of individual agency and all people – including the elite – as ordinary individuals contributing to the topography

⁷⁷ Nahide Işık Demirakın, “The City as a Reflecting Mirror: Being an Urbanite in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire” (PhD diss., Bilkent University, 2015), 14.

⁷⁸ Till Grallert, “To whom Belong the Streets? Investment in Public Space and Popular Contentions in Late Ottoman Damascus,” *Bulletin d’études orientales* 61 (2012), 328.

⁷⁹ Uğur Tanyeli and Engin Gerçek, *İstanbul’da Konut Mekanında Mahremiyetin İhlal ve Teşhiri: Gerilimli Bir Tarihçe: 16 – 21. Yüzyıl* (İstanbul: Akın Nalça Kitapları, 2012), 7.

of everyday life in their capacity as members of their collective world.”⁸⁰ In this manner, the perspective of Cemal Kafadar with regard to the ordinary people is quite eye-opening:

“There is something about deceptive about ordinary people. It is obvious that it is meant other than elites, other than people making history but when we deal with ordinary, s/he already becomes extraordinary. When we look at closely, is there anyone ordinary? Besides, can we understand extraordinary without looking her/his ordinariness?”⁸¹

Agreeing to Kafadar, I believe that writing history of ordinary people is definitely intricate and it requires understanding both the extraordinary and the ordinary people. Especially, when subject is urban dwellers, it is a fact that they have multiple identities and belong to different social, economic or religious groups.⁸²

In a nutshell, purpose here is not to determine whether or not ordinary people “hold the lion’s share of responsibility for making that collective world.”⁸³ I am not eager to debate on this chicken and egg situation between the actors of the history and the circumstances. That would be the subject of another research and falls off-site of this dissertation.

I am interested in the experiences of ordinary people to further elaborate the relationship established between them and places. The history of everyday life, in other words the people’s history or the microhistory, yield the path to discuss the place dimension in history. “The appropriation of places”⁸⁴ by human agent such as the way “humans adapt, engage, shape and experience these places”⁸⁵ helps historians to determine meanings attributed to places and functioning of communities

⁸⁰ Steege et al., “The History of Everyday Life: A Second Chapter,” 368.

⁸¹ Cemal Kafadar, *Kim var imiş biz burada yoğ iken* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2017), s. 7.

⁸² Gürer Karagedikli, “Overlapping Boundaries in the City: Mahalle and Kahal in the Early Modern Ottoman Urban Context” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 61 (2018): 650-692.

⁸³ Steege et al., “The History of Everyday Life: A Second Chapter,” 372.

⁸⁴ Steege et al., 363.

⁸⁵ Steege et al., 363.

in the past.⁸⁶ Hence, it is not a coincidence that urban studies or spatial approaches in history have flourished around same time with the people's history. There is an intrinsic relationship between the space and people, and it is not possible to reveal the role of ordinary people without considering the meanings attributed spaces. The physical space provides avenues for historians to picture everyday practices. However, the historians of this genre "treat place not in terms of spatial proximity but in terms of historical actors' unique ability to access and stage multiple frames of reference (both symbolic and material) within and across the particular location of a historical event."⁸⁷

1.3.2. Periodization: The 18th Century

The period of this dissertation roughly covers the 18th century. While periodization in historiography and its necessity is a separate topic of discussion,⁸⁸ it is helpful to study the space aspect of Ottoman history in periods to be determined based on specific criteria. Otherwise it would not methodologically possible to follow the developments of a long past without making a distinction.⁸⁹

18th century, which lies between pre-modern and modern times, provides possibilities to observe changes and transformations both in Ottoman society and urban space. Unfortunately, most Ottoman historians have neglected it compared to other centuries. The 18th century is a crucial time-span especially in terms of "the destiny of empires and on the characteristics of the societies to which they have

⁸⁶ Steege et al., 364.

⁸⁷ Steege et al., 366.

⁸⁸ See Jane Hathaway, "Problems of Periodization in Ottoman History : The Fifteenth through the Eighteenth Centuries, " *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 20, 2 (Fall 1996) : 25-31. Linda T. Darling, "Another Look at Periodization in Ottoman History," *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 26, 2 (Fall 2002) : 19-28.

⁸⁹ Özer Ergenç, "Şehir Tarihi Çalışmaları Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler," *Belleten* 203 (1998): 672.

given birth”⁹⁰ and deserves attention in its own regard. There are two dominant views on evaluating developments in Ottoman history in the 18th century. One sees the 18th century as the decadence of the classical period, while the other considers it a trial of the modern and Westernized 19th century.⁹¹ This century is also a period of “multifaceted transformation that introduced new actors, institutions, and relationships.”⁹²

According to the modernization paradigm, the path in history is progressive, so time evolves as such. However, in this dissertation, I do not claim that there is a pattern of change following a progressive path in the 18th century, or I am not eager to follow the mainstream argument that revolutionary changes arrived in the Ottoman Empire following American and French revolutions.⁹³ Many scholars have already disputed the dominant notion about modernization, which defines it as a Western European project, and there is only one path to modernity.⁹⁴ The “locally generated modernity” rather than the Western-led modernization has become the dominant notion giving a pathway to more research on the “long 18th century.”⁹⁵ Modernization is not the focus of this study. Still the 18th century would be a good starting point considering that “the process of modernization was based on the

⁹⁰ Nora Lafi, “The Eighteenth Century in the Arab Provinces of the Ottoman Empire: Perspectives for a Global History,” in *Cultural Transfers, Encounters and Connections in the Global 18th Century*, ed. Matthias Middell (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2014), 231.

⁹¹ Edhem Eldem, “French Trade and Commercial Policy in the Levant in the Eighteenth Century,” *First Skilliter Library Colloquium on Ottoman History (abstract)*, Cambridge, Turkish Studies Association. Bulletin 16, no. 2 (1992): 196.

⁹² Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order*, 10.

⁹³ Alternative views has flourished regarding revolutionary changes spreading from West to east has flourished, followed by the idea of plural age of revolutions. Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order*, 5-9.

⁹⁴ Omri Paz, “Documenting Justice: New Recording Practices and the Establishment of an Activist Criminal Court System in the Ottoman Provinces (1840-late 1860s),” *Islamic Law and Society* 21 (2014): 112. Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions*, 1-15.

⁹⁵ Walter Feldman, *Music of the Ottoman Court: Makam, Composition and the Early Ottoman Instrumental Repertoire* (Berlin: F. Noetzel, 1996), 61.

internal historical dynamic of relations between the state and urban society that had been in the making at least since the beginning of the 18th century.”⁹⁶

On the other hand, focusing on the 18th century as a “pre-modern” world rather than on the continuities and similarities between the 18th and 19th centuries builds artificial boundaries.⁹⁷ So, new studies have to establish a stronger connection between the 18th century and the early 19th century since there exist continuities between two centuries more than what Ottoman historiography has assumed so far.⁹⁸ So indeed, contrary to the so-called ‘decline’ paradigm depicting the Ottoman State as going down after the 16th century, “Ottoman state and society were able to adapt to changing circumstances during the early modern era, well before the nineteenth-century reforms known as *Tanzimat*⁹⁹ or ‘reordering.’”¹⁰⁰

The 18th century also provides new opportunities to study history from a bottom-up perspective. Increased communication with the outside world in the 18th century widened the mental universe of ordinary people, and cities, with increasing migration,¹⁰¹ turned into more cosmopolitan places. According to Kasaba, “for the first time, in the 18th and 19th centuries, it becomes possible to write the history of

⁹⁶ Dina Rizk Khoury, “Relations Between City and State in the Middle East,” 90.

⁹⁷ Abraham Marcus, *Modernliğin Eşiğinde Bir Osmanlı Şehri: Halep* (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2013), 19.

⁹⁸ Nora Lafi, “The Ottoman Municipal Reform Between Old Regime and Modernity: Towards a New Interpretive Paradigm,” *First Eminönü International Symposium*, İstanbul (2007): 355. Christoph K. Neuman, “Ottoman Provincial Towns from the Eighteenth to Nineteenth Century: A Re-Assessment of Their Place in the Transformation of the Empire,” in *Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Thomas Philipp et. al. (Beirut: Orient-Institut der DMG), 131-144.

⁹⁹ It was the period of reforms took place between 1839 and 1876 in the Ottoman State, aiming to modernize the imperial institutions.

¹⁰⁰ Şevket Pamuk, “Institutional Change and the Longevity of the Ottoman Empire, 1500-1800,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XXXV, no. 2(2004): 228.

¹⁰¹ See Eyal Ginio, “Migrants and Workers in an Ottoman Port: Ottoman Salonica in the 18th Century,” in *Outside in: On the Margins of the Modern Middle East*, ed. Eugene Rogan, 126-148 (London: Tauris, 2002). Reşat Kasaba, “Migrant Labor in Western Anatolia,” in *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in Middle East*, ed. Çağlar Keyder and Faruk Tabak (Albany: State University of New York, 1991).

Ottoman society as separate from the history of Ottoman state”¹⁰² The disintegration of basic solidarity networks such as family, tribes, villages or neighborhoods and the increased migration to the cities led to neighborhoods stopped being closed units within itself and became mixed structures in the 18th century.¹⁰³ As the lines are more blurred between private and public spaces, one may witness that the opening of personal to the outside world leads to a possible change in how people feel about private and public spaces.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, the traditional form of relations that existed in cities of the 18th century, such as intra-communal relations or the nature of private and public spaces changed in the 19th century allowing the formation of a new kind of urban identity. Thus, one can understand the contemporary city’s latest profound transformation by examining the 18th century.

Following the developments mentioned above in the studies of the 18th century, now more studies are now dealing with the internal dynamics and the change coming from the society itself. However, most of them examine those internal dynamics of the 18th century from the perspective of elites’ dominancy in urban life.¹⁰⁵ Hence, if there is an attempt to write the history of ordinary people, doing this in the 18th century becomes more meaningful.

Moreover, Ottoman State experienced rapid urban growth between 1600 and 1800,¹⁰⁶ leading to significant changes in urban structure. As had happened in

¹⁰² Reşat Kasaba, “Ottoman Court Records as a Source for Late Ottoman Social History,” in *III Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey*, ed. Heath Lowry and Ralph Hattox (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 1990), 115.

¹⁰³ Sami Zubaida, “Urban Social Movements, 1750-1950” in *the Urban Social History of the Middle East, 1750-1950*, ed. Peter Sluglett (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2011), 240-241.

¹⁰⁴ There are various studies on the blurring of social and spatial boundaries in the Ottoman realm, especially in the 18th century, which suggest birth of a new urban culture. See Hamadeh, “The City’s Pleasures: Architectural Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century İstanbul.” Deniz Çalış-Kural, *Şehrengiz, Urban Rituals and Deviant Sufi Mysticism in Ottoman İstanbul* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014).

¹⁰⁵ For a detailed discussion see Yılmaz, “Küreselleşme Öncesi ve Sonrası Osmanlı Kent Tarihçiliği.”

¹⁰⁶ Rhoads Murphey, “Communal Living in Ottoman İstanbul: Searching for the Foundations of Urban Tradition,” *Journal of Urban History* 16, no. 2 (1990): 115.

London or Paris, there had been a migration flow towards cities of the Ottoman State such as İstanbul. Mobility of population is enhanced with the settlement of European merchants and artisans to the Ottoman port cities around the Mediterranean in the 18th century.¹⁰⁷ According to Pamuk, in the 17th and 18th centuries, the population of the Ottoman State surpassed 30 million.¹⁰⁸ “Especially throughout the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century, there had been a constant influx of people into the Ottoman capital.”¹⁰⁹ Not only towards İstanbul but also an influx of people towards other cities of the Empire happened.¹¹⁰ However, “the share of the population living in urban areas is estimated to have increased from around 12–13 percent in 1700 to about 17–18 percent in 1870.”¹¹¹ Another reason for the increase in population during the 18th century was the unsuccessful Siege of Vienna plus Russian expansionism, which both led to the immigration of Muslim people to the Empire.¹¹² For example, as said by Faroqhi, while the number of cities with a population of 10,000 and above was two in the 1500s, this number reached ten towards the end of the same century.¹¹³ According to Raymond, from the 16th to the 18th centuries, the population of Aleppo increased from 80,000 to 120,000, Damascus from 52,000 to 90,000, and Cairo from 150,000 to 263,000.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁷ Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, “İzmir’de Avrupalı Koloniler ve Etnik-Dini Cemaatler, Birlikte Var Olma ve Toplumsal Ağları,” ed. François Georgeon & Paul Dumont (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2008), 211.

¹⁰⁸ Pamuk, “Institutional Change and the Longevity of the Ottoman Empire, 1500-1800,” 226.

¹⁰⁹ Nadir Özbek, “Beggars and Vagrants in Ottoman State Policy and Public Discourse, 1876-1914,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 45, no. 5 (2009): 784.

¹¹⁰ For example, according to the work of Husić, Jewish dwellings in Sarajevo increased in the 18th century compared to the 16th and 17th centuries. Aladin Husić, “Jews of Sarajevo and Their Place in the Ottoman Society of Bosnia,” *Belleten* 84, 301 (Aralık 2020): 1097-1114.

¹¹¹ Şevket Pamuk, “The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1870,” in *The Modern World Volume I*, ed. Stephen Broadberry and Kyoji Fukao (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 169.

¹¹² Yücel Özkaya, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda XVIII. Yüzyılda Göç Sorunu,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 14 (1983): 171-203.

¹¹³ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı’da Kent ve Kentliler*, trans. Neyyir Kalaycıoğlu (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2004), 250.

¹¹⁴ Raymond, *Osmanlı Döneminde Arap Kentleri*, 28-29.

This migration, coupled with population increase, had changed the urban scenery not only in terms of the increase in density but also necessitated the different groups started to intermingle with each other.¹¹⁵ In addition to increasing immigration and population, the rise of ayans in the 17th and 18th centuries also changed the structure and functioning of space in the Ottoman Empire.¹¹⁶ While cities were growing, the use of urban areas also changed with increasing mobility and migration from different nationalities.¹¹⁷ The old system began to be questioned in every way in its own balance.

Urban growth brought new problems to the agenda regarding urban space. According to Bairoch, urban transition in Ottoman Empire that began earlier than Europe, meant “discontent with rapid growth, overcrowding, pollution, crime and other urban disamenities appearing at a correspondingly earlier date.”¹¹⁸ Military defeats and territorial losses, coupled with the scarcity of economic resources to meet the demand of population had accelerated the urban transformation in the 18th century.¹¹⁹ Accordingly, people’s perceptions and feelings about the space they live in also started to change. This change in perception was also facilitated by the transformation of the central power. The ruler’s absolute power had started to erode in the Ottoman realm, and in parallel with this, cities, as the micro-climates of central power, had witnessed a change.

¹¹⁵ Tülay Artan, “Mahremiyet: Mahrumiyetin Resmi,” *Defter* 20 (1993): 97.

¹¹⁶ Doğan Yörük and Ömer Faruk Çakır, “Sivil Toplum Bağlamında Osmanlı Kent Yapısı: Kayseri Örneği,” in *Milletlerarası Şehir Tarihi Yazarları Kongresi*, ed. Mehmet Doğan (Türkiye Yazarlar Birliği Yayınları: Ankara, 2015): 174.

¹¹⁷ For a detailed literature review on the urban settlement and demography of the Ottoman Empire see Yunus Koç, “Osmanlı’da Kent İskanı ve Demografisi (XV. ve XIII. Yüzyıllar),” *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 3, 6 (2005): 161-210.

¹¹⁸ Paul Bairoch, “De Jericho á Mexico: villes et économie dans l’histoire (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1985)” Quoted from Rhoads Murphey, “Communal Living in Ottoman İstanbul: Searching for the Foundations of Urban Tradition,” *Journal of Urban History* 16, no. 2 (1990): 116.

¹¹⁹ Yörük and Ömer Faruk Çakır, “Sivil Toplum Bağlamında Osmanlı Kent Yapısı,” 175.

It is also important to note that changes occurred at different speeds across geographic areas of the Ottoman State. Despite the ongoing wars, economic changes, and administrative problems, it was still possible to observe the continuities in Ottoman society. Therefore, it is wrong to assume that deep-rooted values, beliefs, social institutions, or demographic order changed utterly in the 18th century.¹²⁰ In line with the changes, there were ongoing continuities, and these continuities deserve an analysis amidst changes to better grasp the people-place relationships.

Despite those possibilities and new avenues of research provided by the 18th century Ottoman history, more than comprehensive studies based on primary sources is needed, and the distribution of studies according to the subject is not even. The Ottoman State's cultural, social, and economic history in the 18th century has long been stuck between studies of the better-documented classical period and studies of 19th century modernization, which has yet to yield enough attention.¹²¹ Only recently, studies focusing on the 18th century have gradually accumulated in the literature.¹²² One of my aims is also to contribute to this genre of studies.

In addition to all these, perhaps most importantly, the mobility experienced in the 18th century is worth examining. A period of increased spatial mobility may provide essential clues about the belongingness of people to the places they have been or gone to as a result of leaving the areas where they were born and raised due to social, economic, or war reasons. Therefore, I believe that choosing the 18th century to study place attachment, a new perspective amongst urban studies, can

¹²⁰ Marcus, *Modernliğin Eşiğinde Bir Osmanlı Şehri: Halep*, 22-23. Hamadeh, "The City's Pleasures: Architectural Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century İstanbul," 34.

¹²¹ Marcus, *Modernliğin Eşiğinde Bir Osmanlı Şehri: Halep*, 19.

¹²² Jane Hathaway, "Rewriting Eighteenth-Century Ottoman History," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 19, 1 (2004): 29-53. Lafi, "The Eighteenth Century in the Arab Provinces of the Ottoman Empire: Perspectives for a Global History."

open new doors to understanding changing repertoires of daily dynamics and concerns of Ottoman urban society.

However, it is also important to note that this study, which may be the first of its kind to a greater extent,¹²³ is based on a theoretical perspective, so it was impossible to follow a strict pattern regarding primary sources. I had to extend my research to previous and following centuries to a limited extent since a spatial analysis of the Ottoman world with a specific focus on attachment can only be meaningful when it spans a long time. A long time of period may provide us an opportunity to understand phenomena according to their continuities and changes.¹²⁴

In lieu of a conclusion, examining Ottoman cities of 18th century contributes to the researchers in two ways. First, one can observe the latest state of play before the transformation of traditional forms of relations in cities. Those forms of relations may have lost their validity today, but had influenced the character of cities for centuries. Secondly, studying the 18th century makes it easy to understand the transformation processes that make up the substructure of contemporary cities¹²⁵ since the Ottoman State of the 18th century is more linked to the contemporary world than one can assume.¹²⁶

1.4. The Ottoman Concept of Space

Studies on the interaction of space and people are examined by many different fields, including psychological, phenomenological, cultural, behavioral,

¹²³ During the research process of this dissertation, I have not encountered any Ottoman study specifically on the issue of place attachment.

¹²⁴ Georgeon, "Sunuş," 10.

¹²⁵ Demirakin, "The City as a Reflecting Mirror," 14.

¹²⁶ For a detailed study with regard to importance of 18th century in Ottoman studies see. Nora Lafi, "The Eighteenth Century in the Arab Provinces of the Ottoman Empire: Perspectives for a Global History."

anthropological, and historical. According to some approaches, while space is a symbolic production, the psychological approach considers space together with identity formation. In the process of identity formation, while people ask who I am, they also seek an answer to the question of where I belong. Space for Marxist-based studies is evaluated as part of social production.¹²⁷ I think that the only thing common to all of these is that understanding space, no matter what angle, helps answer many questions about historical facts.

Since this dissertation aims to understand the attachment of Ottoman ordinary people at the spatial level, it is necessary to briefly touch upon the conception of space in the Ottoman world. Attachment, after all, is related to the meaning attributed to places, and the conception of space within Ottoman people's minds is essential to understand those meanings. Also, Ottoman history research based on original sources necessitates comprehending the cosmos of ideas. The cosmos of ideas and rhetorical elements determine the perception of events, ideas, and spaces.¹²⁸

The cosmological hierarchy in Ottoman classical culture, from 1517 onwards, was mainly based on the Orthodox Islamic Law attributing individual existence to the Universal World and the imperial authority. Cosmology was composed of different world levels and each level has its interior and exterior. The interior is invisible and superior to the exterior.¹²⁹

“The interior of the Universal World embodied the True Reality whose knowledge was invisible and inaccessible to human beings. The exterior of True Reality was the World where the visible human world was located.

¹²⁷ Sevcan Güleç Solak, “Mekân-Kimlik Etkileşimi: Kavramsal ve Kuramsal Bir Bakış,” *MANAS Journal of Social Studies* 6, 1 (2017): 14-15.

¹²⁸ Gottfried Hagen, “Ottoman Understanding of the World in the Seventeenth Century,” in *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi*, ed. Robert Dankoff (Leiden: The Netherlands Brill, 2004), 215.

¹²⁹ B. Deniz Çalış-Kural, *Şehrengiz, Urban Rituals and Deviant Sufi Mysticism in Ottoman İstanbul*, 5-6.

The World also had an interior and an exterior. The Typal World was its interior, and the Phenomenal World its exterior.”¹³⁰

The Phenomenal World also had its exterior and interior, and according to the cosmology, while the House of Islam (*dârüislâm*) was the interior, the House of war (*dârülharb*) was the exterior. According to classical Islam theory, a permanent state of war exists between *dârüislâm* and *dârülharb* except for the situations in favor of Muslims.¹³¹ Accordingly, Ottoman State was ruled by Sultans, aiming to “spread Islamic sovereignty to the largest possible area.”¹³²

Muslim states were being in the House of Islam. In this regard, İstanbul was the center of this interior House of Islam and other cities were exterior to İstanbul. The imperial palace was its interior, while the rest of the city was its exterior. So, the participants of each realm were identified according to this division. In the interior, there were the residents of the palace, namely the Sultan, the court and the *askerî*. In the exterior, there were *re’âyâ*. The main body of the *re’âyâ* was composed of guilds, specified according to their crafts and arts, and each having its own static place in the city. Guilds also had their own cosmological hierarchy, similar to Ottoman cosmology. In a similar manner, the imperial palace had its own interior, which was the private garden, and its exterior, which was the semi-public administrative spaces. Shortly, according to this classical understanding, all the spaces of different layers comprised of an interior and exterior, and the concept of space is hierarchically ordered. In this hierarchical order, public spaces of the cities could not be compared to any of the interiors such as gardens. ¹³³

¹³⁰ Çalış-Kural, 6.

¹³¹ Colin Heywood, “The Frontiers in Ottoman History: Old Ideas and New Myths,” in *Frontiers in Question Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700*, eds., Daniel Power and Naomi Standen, (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), 234.

¹³² Yaşar Yücel and Özer Ergenç, “General Characteristics of the Ottoman State Policy During the XVIIIth and XIXth Centuries,” Twelfth International Colloquium on Military History, 1987, 236.

¹³³ Heywood, “The Frontiers in Ottoman History: Old Ideas and New Myths,” 6, 213.

Another dominant tradition in Ottoman culture was Sufism which “developed outside the mainstream conventions of orthodox faith and practices.”¹³⁴ Although there are different schools of Sufism, Ottoman Sufism was influenced by the ideas of Ibn al-’Arabî. Other than Orthodox cosmology, the philosophy of Ibn al-’Arabî mentions about third kind of space, the intermediary space, which is between the interior and exterior spaces, called *barzakh*. *Barzakh* is a domain where ontology and epistemology meet, is a space of encounter where the act of imagination happens. According to Ibn al-’Arabî, this intermediary space, where the mystic love would take place, “the process of the separation of divine from worldly took place in the intermediary spaces of imagination.”¹³⁵ Contrary to Orthodox Islam, the human attainment of the knowledge of God is possible in this philosophy. So, some aspects of Sufism, such as equating the love for human beings to the love of God, suggesting the supremacy of the intermediary space, and emphasizing individuality were, stand out differently from the classical Ottoman cosmology and seen as a threat to it.

In a nutshell, there were two conflicting views concerning the Ottoman concept of space. One is Orthodox tradition, while the other is Sufi philosophy based on the doctrine of Ibn al-’Arabî, and their spatial expressions differed. In the classical concept of space, the interior is the domain of God and superior to the exterior, while the exterior is the domain of the material world. Ibn al-’Arabî definition of space, on the other hand, provides an encounter between interior and exterior, which is the intermediary space.

The reflection of two different understandings mentioned above with regard to the space has been studied by Çalış-Kural in her book *Şehrengiz*,

¹³⁴ Heywood, 7.

¹³⁵ Heywood, 9, 29-35.

Urban Rituals and Deviant Sufi Mysticism in Ottoman İstanbul. According to Çalış-Kural, *şehrengiz* poetry developed as a consequence of the above-mentioned Sufi philosophy and the invention of realism. *The Şehrengiz* genre is non-metaphysical poetry about the beauty of cities written in simple Turkish and understandable to all inhabitants of the cities. Although it gains official acceptance at the very beginning of the 18th century, this genre, taking its root from the early 16th century, contrary to Ottoman orthodox understanding, asserts the primacy of the individual and reconciles the exterior and interior in the intermediary space. So, a detailed study on the *şehrengiz*s would possibly reveal urban rituals and new perspectives on urban life.¹³⁶

In terms of meanings attributed to spaces, especially when physically defining, Ottomans used different terms to distinguish between the spaces belonging to themselves and others. Besides the dichotomy between *dârüislâm* and *dârülharp*, there were also distinctions between spaces such as “the spaces of believers and unbelievers, orthodox and heterodox, loyal and rebellious.”¹³⁷ When Ottomans defined the territories they were governing, the narratives focused on imperial or sacred associations. “There was also a category of space that was ‘ours’ but not quite ‘us.’”¹³⁸ For example, since the reign of Süleyman I, for Wallachian and Moldavian principalities, defined as the sultan’s patrimony (*mülk-i mevrûs*) and *dârüislâm*, terms such as privileged provinces (*eyalet-i mümtaze*), The Abode of Tributary Protection (*dar al-zimmet*) were also in use. Evliya Çelebi, in his travel account, were describing the town of Zveçan in Bosnia as “the utmost frontier” (*ahirü’l-*

¹³⁶ Çalış-Kural, *Şehrengiz, Urban Rituals and Deviant Sufi Mysticism in Ottoman İstanbul*, 1-25.

¹³⁷ Palmira Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans: Sovereignty, Territoriality and the Identity in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 77.

¹³⁸ Brummett, 79.

hudud).¹³⁹ Frontiers were spaces where various interactions happened among empires through negotiation, legislation, or battle.¹⁴⁰ “It was a line on the map, a demarcation marking, at least in Europe, the abrupt transition between Christendom and Islam, a point of transfer for one culture-world to another.”¹⁴¹ Using these different terminologies and meanings to delineate spaces indicates that Ottoman space is more than an area that Ottoman armies physically deployed.

“It included lands claimed by the sultan. It comprised those adjacent places where the threat of Ottoman arms held (or seemed to hold) sway. ... The notion of Ottoman space then presumes the sultan’s domains as a complex form of possession and identity, dependent not entirely on what was actually there but also on what was imagined, remembered, depicted, hoped for, and then visualized in textual and pictorial sources such as maps and travel accounts.”¹⁴²

The Ottoman frontier was comprised of *hudûd* (as a line) and *uj* (as a zone). The *uj* was located on the borderlands of *dârüislâm* and beyond it there were the lands of unbelief, *bilâd al-kufr*.¹⁴³

I briefly mentioned the cosmological understanding of space since the way of perceiving, approaching and bonding towards the living spaces at different layers, the performances, rituals, the code of behaviors are all affected by this conception of space. The deployment of different terms to define, differ or demarcate the space, whether for all Ottoman territory or for frontiers, unveil the imaginary meanings attributed to places within the minds of Ottomans. Although this dissertation is a journey to seek attachments of ordinary people to their spaces; the state-centric terminology with regard to the space affect the people’s way of conceiving spaces

¹³⁹ Brummett, 77-82.

¹⁴⁰ There is a whole genre of discussions on the subject of frontiers in Ottoman History. However, the issue is not directly related with the subject of this dissertation. For a detailed discussion on the issue see Heywood, “The Frontiers in Ottoman History: Old Ideas and New Myths.”

¹⁴¹ Heywood, “The Frontiers in Ottoman History: Old Ideas and New Myths,” 233.

¹⁴² Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans: Sovereignty, Territority and the Identity in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, 8.

¹⁴³ Heywood, “The Frontiers in Ottoman History: Old Ideas and New Myths,” 233-234.

and developing a sense of attachments. In a similar manner, the religious attainments and widespread philosophies of the times may also have a role in the relationship established between people and places. Especially when the beliefs and philosophies of societies divert from the state-centric approaches and practices, meanings endowed to spaces may be re-defined or re-shaped. So, before evaluating ordinary Ottoman people's spatial attachments, grasping the concept of space will help scholarly research.

In brief, in the journey of this dissertation, the conception of space in Ottoman cosmology will be considered in the analysis of place attachment to evaluate ordinary people's mentality better.

1.5. Sources: Ottoman Court Records (*Sicils*) As a Historical Source for the History of Ordinary People

The main focal point of primary sources in this dissertation is Ottoman court records, aka “*şer’iyye sicilleri/sicils*.”¹⁴⁴ Thereof, a section evaluating *sicils* in terms of efficacy and methodological constraints is an indispensable part of this dissertation.¹⁴⁵

Courts were central institutions of the provincial order in the Ottoman Empire in terms of implementing justice throughout the *memâlik-i mahrûse*,¹⁴⁶ headed by judges (*qadis*).¹⁴⁷ They were working as courts in the sense that resolving civil and criminal disputes, but also working as “a notarial office in which the townspeople drew up deeds and contracts, and a busy administrative agency which handled all

¹⁴⁴ To ensure the unity in expression, *sicils* will be used in this thesis.

¹⁴⁵ Other than Ottoman archival sources, other sources such as travel notes, chronicles and some visual materials like drawings will also be utilized during the course of the dissertation.

¹⁴⁶ Ottoman state defined its lands as “*memâlik-i mahruse*,” meaning protected domains. See Ergenç, *Osmanlı Klasik Dönemi Kent Tarihçiliğine Katkı: XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*

¹⁴⁷ Yayıcıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order*, 124.

sorts of official business.”¹⁴⁸ So, *sicils* were the records of these courts kept by *qadis* involving topics such as credit transactions, pious foundations, marriage, divorce, criminal acts, rent, loans, inheritance, property transfer, theft, murder, etc.

Qadis, the prominent responsible people for keeping records of courts, were the central executive of the Empire’s functions of their assigned locality, and being other than a judge, they were also notaries and mayors, in a sense.¹⁴⁹ Briefly, leading roles and responsibilities of *qadis* were hearing every kind of cases brought by dwellers, performing marriage ceremonies, dealing with municipal services such as regulation of the prices of goods in bazaar, registration and controlling of waqfs, dividing the inheritance of decedents, recording buying and selling of properties.¹⁵⁰ Considering all proceedings regarding duties of *qadis* were recorded in *sicils*, it is evident that *sicils* are among the most essential, useful and valuable historical sources for Ottoman social and economic history since they provide information different aspects of Ottoman life ranging from political to legal and cultural life.¹⁵¹

Sicils included not only the summaries of the legal proceedings but also imperial decrees and appointments.¹⁵²

“When an imperial edict arrives from the state, the kadi summons the notables and dignitaries, the hajjis, the leading merchants, the imams, and the preachers to the district court, as they are the representatives of the community, the edict was read before them. They expressed their loyalty with due ceremony and did the sultan’s will.”¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 10.

¹⁴⁹ A. Refik Gür, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Kadılık Müessesesi* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2017), 16 – 17.

¹⁵⁰ Gür, 82 – 87.

¹⁵¹ Dror Ze’evi, “The Use of Ottoman Shari’a Court Records as a Source for Middle Eastern Social History: A Reappraisal”, *Islamic Law and Society* 5, 1 (1998): 35 – 56.

¹⁵² Iris Agmon, “Women’s History and Ottoman Sharia Court Records: Shifting Perspectives in Social History,” *Hawwa* 2, 2 (2004): 175.

¹⁵³ Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı Teşkilatına Aid Küçük Bir Risale, Risâle-i Terceme* (Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1969), 45. Quoted from Yayıcıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order*, 124.

Communication channels created through courts were not unidirectional.

Courts also provided opportunities for local communities to reach out to central authorities. When an issue was not solved in local courts or one submitted a petition (*arzuhal*), *qadis* were directing them to the central authority. This means that *qadis*, viz courts, were mediators between the local and the center. Submitting a petition to the sultan was one of the main legitimate channels open to all segments of society in the Ottoman State and *sicils* contained registration of petitions sent to the sultan in order to redress grievances and followed by a sultanic decree (*ferman*) issued by the Imperial Council (*divan-ı hümayun*).

In the 18th century, in addition to courts functioning mainly as judicial and notary bodies in provinces, they started to serve “as public spaces where representatives of the communities congregated to settle public expenditures, as well as to deliberate, negotiate, vote, register, and pronounce on other public affairs.”¹⁵⁴ This new function, or the aspect, of courts is significant for this study since arenas where deliberate actions of ordinary people may observed are valuable to assess place attachment.

Besides providing such detail regarding localities, *sicils* are valuable historical sources of Ottoman history, considering that retrieving the experiences of ordinary people is very limited for an Ottoman historian studying pre-modern times. Coupled with the low rate of literacy and the lack of a printing press, sources such as autobiographies, diaries, personal letters are relatively less in Ottoman history especially before the 19th century.¹⁵⁵ However, still, thanks to *sicils*, it is possible to get acquainted with ordinary people through their random appearance in the courts, which makes *sicils* first among others as the most important sources to be used in

¹⁵⁴ Yayıcıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order*, 124.

¹⁵⁵ Abraham Marcus, *Modernliğin Eşiğinde Bir Osmalı Şehri: Halep*, 27.

analyses of ordinary people.¹⁵⁶ *Sicils* provide unique insights into the experiences of ordinary people.¹⁵⁷ “Women and ordinary people, who barely figure in most other sources, appear on virtually every page of records.”¹⁵⁸ According to Suraiya Faroqhi, petitions and applications of people could be regarded as the political activity of ordinary subjects of Ottoman State, where historians may meet the silent masses of pre-modern societies.¹⁵⁹ “Ottoman court records abound in practical manifestations of collective identity, whether at the all comprehensive town level or neighborhood level.”¹⁶⁰ With the creative use of *sicils*, it would be possible to re-write social history of Middle Eastern societies.¹⁶¹ Moreover, *sicils* come as the first and most important source to be used, considering previous studies for Ottoman urban history made use of waqf documents and *tapu tahrir registers*, which gave only a static picture of Ottoman urban life. Hence, considering all these aspects of court records, they were also local archives of their districts.¹⁶²

Although the courts were Muslim courts run by qadis, there was no obstacle for non-Muslims to apply to handle their issues. Considering the vast geography of the Empire and the different religious and ethnic communities living under the umbrella of the Ottoman State, some people did not speak Turkish. These non-Muslims and Muslims who did not speak Turkish could also apply to the court in their own language. Qadi used an interpreter for languages he did not know. The documents

¹⁵⁶ Yasemin Avcı, Vincent Lemire and Ömür Yazıcı Özdemir, “Collective Petitions (Arz-ı Mahzar) as a Reflective Archival Source for Jerusalem’s Networks of Citadine in the Late 19th Century,” in *Ordinary Jerusalem 1840-1940*, ed. Angelos Dalachais and Vincent Lemire (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018), 161-162. Eyal Ginio, “Coping with the State’s Agents “from below”: Petitions, Legal Appeal and the Sultan’s Justice in Ottoman Legal Practice,” in *Popular Protest and Political Participation in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Eleni Gara – M. Erdem Kabadayı (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University Press, 2011), 42. Abraham Marcus, *Modernliğin Eşiğinde Bir Osmalı Şehri: Halep*, 28.

¹⁵⁷ Ginio, “Coping with the State’s Agents “from below”: Petitions,” 41-43.

¹⁵⁸ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 11.

¹⁵⁹ Faroqhi, “Political Activity among Ottoman Taxpayers and the Problem of Sultanic Legitimation.”

¹⁶⁰ Hülya Canbakal, “Some Questions on the Legal Identity of Neighborhoods in the Ottoman Empire”, *Anatolia Moderna* X, (2004), 131.

¹⁶¹ Abraham Marcus, *Modernliğin Eşiğinde Bir Osmalı Şehri: Halep*, 29.

¹⁶² Yayıcıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order*, 124.

prepared in the court were written in Turkish, and those related to waqfs and inheritance law were written in Arabic and Turkish. The same procedure was followed for collective applications.¹⁶³ Although this interpretation opportunity was good for the Ottoman people, it may work as a constraint for historians who study court records because mediation by interpreters and translation of claims into Turkish may have a potential risk of changing words in colloquial language into the court language. So, this change of language may distort the meanings of words.¹⁶⁴ On the other hand, although the *sicils* appear with similar narrative patterns throughout the Empire, a detailed and careful reading will contribute to the more efficient use of the records. According to Araz, aspects such as the nature of the cases, the religious affiliation of the plaintiffs, and their status or prestige in society affected the way the language and words used were reflected in the registers.¹⁶⁵

Sicils are probably the only archival material to analyze how particular spaces were perceived or to what extent ordinary people believed they belonged to specific places. For example, since they include plenty of spatial references, one may trace the change in perceptions concerning safety in the streets of Ottoman cities through court records. Additionally, court cases naturally involved objections for those who did not follow the rules and norms within the community. The examples regarding divergences from established practices sometimes included the Ottoman space, allowing historians to understand rules, regulations, and expected behaviors in localities.

¹⁶³ Personal communication with Özer Ergenç, dated October 21, 2022.

¹⁶⁴ Nil Tekgül, "A Gate to the Emotional World of Pre-modern Ottoman Society: An Attempt to Write Ottoman History From 'the Inside Out'" (PhD diss., Bilkent University, 2016), 59.

¹⁶⁵ Yahya Araz, "XVI. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumunda Kişiler ve Cemaatler Arası İlişkilerin Dil, Söylem ve Sembolleri," *Doğu Batı* 51 (2009-2010): 162.

In terms of Ottoman historiography, although the beginning of the use of *sicils* dates back to the 1930s, they have been started to use extensively with the flourishing of social history since the 1960s.¹⁶⁶ However, their use as a first-hand source for bottom-up studies has increasingly become popular mainly after the 1980s. It is a fact that the popularity of *sicils* as a historical source parallels the recent trends in Ottoman historiography towards micro-history.¹⁶⁷ *Sicils*, which have been already read in the 1960s and 1970s from a political economy perspective, have been re-read from a micro-history perspective to uncover the life of individuals and communities.¹⁶⁸ Today, thanks to recent studies on *sicils*, many of the commonly held belief regarding Ottoman social, economic and cultural life has been revisited and reshaped.¹⁶⁹ I think that the proper use of *sicils*, enriched with other kind of primary sources would be highly useful to situate social and physical dynamics exist in Ottoman urban space.

After having articulated the importance and value of *sicils*, briefly evaluating the shortcomings of this source is also necessary. The frequent use of *sicils*, especially after the 1980s in Ottoman studies, has also flared up the debates concerning methodological limits and their problems. The most well-known of them is Ze'evi's article on using *sicils*. According to Ze'evi, *sicils* are not immune from the general deficiencies of written historical sources such as "biases, styles and tropes of writing, interventions of editors."¹⁷⁰ It is vital not to forget that, in a way,

¹⁶⁶ Agmon, "Women's History and Ottoman Sharia Court Records: Shifting Perspectives in Social History," 176.

¹⁶⁷ Yunus Uğur, "The Ottoman Court Records and the Making of Urban History with Special Reference to Mudanya Sicils (1645 – 1800)" (PhD diss., Boğaziçi University, 2001), iv.

¹⁶⁸ Kırılı, "From Economic History to Cultural History in Ottoman Studies," 377.

¹⁶⁹ For example, the work of Jennings on Ottoman women based on the Kayseri *sicils* is "a challenge to popular belief on the debased position of Muslim women." Ronald Jennings, "Women in the 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records: The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 1, no. 1(1975): 112, doi: 10.2307/3632221169.

¹⁷⁰ Ze'evi, "The Use of Ottoman Shari'a Court Records," 37.

these court records are stylized summaries written in a standardized form. It is important to question “*sicils*’ ability to reflect ‘fact or truth’ of the information they gave.”¹⁷¹ To do this, a multidimensional perspective and approach to the text with caution are musts. Following this critical essay, studies basing their arguments on *sicils* have further discussed their approaches deeply while being cautious.¹⁷² Since each study based on *sicils* requires a different methodology, problems and shortcomings also differ. However, within the limitation of this thesis, here I will only talk about methodological shortcomings of *sicils* specific to this thesis.

First of all, there is a potential for selection bias, as it exists in every court record. For example, since there is a possibility to conduct things without going to court, there may be more appearances of a particular group of people in court records. The incentive to register sales or inheritances was mainly due to making things official before witnesses.¹⁷³

While examining the court records, it should also be considered that in some cases, the complaints reflected in the documents were indicated only for apparent reasons. In some cases, it would not be wrong to say that other concerns are hidden behind the complaints. For example, when Muslims complain about non-Muslims’ way of life, other economic or social gains would be behind the complaints. Still, they would have preferred to use religious reasons to solve since this would be far

¹⁷¹ Uğur, “The Ottoman Court Records and the Making of Urban History,” iv.

¹⁷² For a few of them see Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2003); Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Çankırı and Kastamonu (1652-1744)*; Agmon, “Women’s History and Ottoman Sharia Court Records: Shifting Perspectives in Social History,” 172-209.

¹⁷³ Güner Karagedikli and Ali Coşkun Tunçer, “House prices in the Ottoman Empire: evidence from eighteenth-century Edirne,” *The Economic History Review* 74, 1 (2021): 13.

more accessible. For this reason, it is essential to make a more accurate historical assessment by always considering beyond the text in the registry readings.¹⁷⁴

Although it was primarily studied on a large sample, since it is possible to observe clues such as spatial belonging only in specific cases recorded in the court records, there were not enough examples to make “generalizations.” However, since the purpose of this study is not to generalize about the entire Ottoman geography, this situation did not pose a problem for the completion of the thesis. Secondly, as Ze’evi warns, when I looked at the underlying meanings of texts, there was always a danger of looking for evidence to substantiate my arguments.¹⁷⁵ So, to refrain from this, I have tried to multiply my examples by extending my sources and combining or strengthening them with secondary sources.

Of course, court records are the most important and most used sources in writing such a dissertation. However, in this thesis, different sources other than the registries also used during the research process. The most important of these can be listed as travelogues, central administration records of the Ottoman Empire, and the record book of complaints (*mühimme* registers).

In short, without forgetting the potential shortcomings of sicils, this dissertation will use them as a primary source in the quest for spatial belonging in the Ottoman realm. Since it will be a re-reading and a re-analyzing of sources with a specific focus, mostly already transcribed sicils will be utilized to reach out and read more cases within the limits of the dissertation by trying to free them from their prosaic nature.

¹⁷⁴ Araz, “XVI. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumunda Kişiler ve Cemaatler Arası İlişkilerin Dil, Söylem ve Sembolleri,” 161 – 165.

¹⁷⁵ Ze’evi, “The Use of Ottoman Shari’a Court Records,” 45.

1.6. Methodology

In this last sub-part of the first chapter, I will explain the general methodological approach of this dissertation. The details regarding the methodological application of the place attachment theory to the Ottoman context will be reviewed in the next chapter, following the clarification of the place-attachment theory. This dissertation builds upon a specific theoretical approach, namely the theory of place attachment, borrowed from mainly environmental psychology but also a subject of other social disciplines. Therefore, a chapter devoted to the theory and methodology could offer how a historian could use the concept of place attachment as a spatial approach. Besides, since this theory has never been utilized in Ottoman studies, it first needs a detailed elaboration of the theory before discussing its particular application to the dissertation.

First of all, this dissertation aims to draw a typology on the subject of place attachment within an Ottoman historical context. Typology is a systematic concept that includes abstraction, diagramming, and degradation to make the phenomenon in question more understandable and identifiable. There are two reasons for aiming to draw a typology. First, drawing on typology is a good start for such research considering that the theory of place attachment has never been utilized in any Ottoman studies. Plus, since it is the principal descriptive tool that enhances the understanding of the research question. Secondly, typologies help researchers to build upon theories by enabling improved understanding and modeling.¹⁷⁶

So, since this dissertation aims to contribute to theoretical discussions by drawing a typology and putting a general picture of the place attachment of the 18th century Ottoman people, documents will be evaluated in terms of their content rather

¹⁷⁶ Harold Doty, "Typologies as a Unique form of Theory Building: Toward Improved Understanding and Modeling," *The Academy of Management Review* 19, no. 2 (1994): 230-232.

than figures and numerical data. Content of primary sources will be subjected to textual and linguistic analysis.

There are different methods applied in historical studies to answer research questions. While digging into archives, different options stand in front of the historian. One may choose between the traditional close reading of sources and “big data” approach. The big data approach is relatively new in Ottoman historical studies, still they are started to be used anyway.¹⁷⁷ In this dissertation, I will choose to close reading of sources to be able to put a coherent picture between the theory and archives. I mainly did my research through case-by-case inquiry to find answers to my research questions. Besides, since the topic is quite detailed and there has been no previous study to show the lead, and I will be searching for the clues of place attachment without knowing the abundance of the data to offer a numerical analysis, a close reading to discuss the theory stands as a must to provide a sound conclusion at the end. When necessary and available, a quantitative analysis of the descriptions of space with regard to Ottoman space will also be utilized. However, it should be borne in mind that the quantitative method, which requires massive data to encapsulate the representativeness overall, is not easy for such kinds of studies.¹⁷⁸

In academia, there are different approaches to space. The way of looking at the space and defining it mainly determines the path of studies. Studies focusing on the physical structure of places illustrate them according to their physical characteristics, while studies focusing on the human aspect of places start from a more sociological definition. As mentioned in previous pages of this dissertation, the

¹⁷⁷ Yuval Ben-Bassat and Johann Buessow, “Applying Digital Methods to the Study of a Late Ottoman City: A Social and Spatial Analysis of Political Partisanship in Gaza,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 63 (2020): 550.

¹⁷⁸ Ze’evi, “The Use of Ottoman Shari’a Court Records,” 45.

very definition of place attachment involves the human element and emotion.

Thereof, the position of this dissertation concerning the space is sociological.

It is a fact that private life is as much as public life changes according to time and space. Living in the 18th century İstanbul is no doubt different from living in İzmir or Ankara. Time and space, by working together, create their own realities and ideals. Thus, there are too many variables to consider. What this dissertation could do beneath these variables is to give a rough but detailed, as much as possible, sketch of the place attachment in the 18th century Ottoman space.

So, to achieve the objective of this dissertation given above and the under the methodological limits, court records involving different geography of the 18th century Ottoman realm were chosen. In order to be comprehensive, different cities from different regions were taken into consideration by using a random sampling method. To list these cities, Adana (1770-1171), Ankara (1721-1722, 1787-1791 and 1787-1791), Ayntab (1698-1700), Bursa (1725), Edirne (1707-1748), Halep (1720-1725), Konya (1740-1742), Manastır (1778-1782), Saraybosna (1752-1762 and 1783-1786), Sofya (1757-1758 and 1772-1773)), Tekirdağ (1721-1724) and lastly Trabzon (1748-1750). Besides these court records of cities, İstanbul court records were widely used in this dissertation. I am not going to list all İstanbul court records utilized in this dissertation since I have used many of them, thanks to the project of Türkiye Diyanet Foundation Centre for Islamic Studies (ISAM), 40 record books from İstanbul, Galata, Eyüp, and Üsküdar transliterated into Turkish plus the website that these books are published provides very detailed search opportunity. I will include a comprehensive list of these books in the bibliography. It should also be noted that the number of cases used from each record book listed above was not

evenly distributed. While some cases provided traces of place attachment, there were relatively few in some of them.

Although the sample of the primary sources is extensive, the cases will be examined at a singular level since it is necessary to thoroughly each case to analyze the established theoretical framework. Two crucial aspects of the Ottoman space were taken into consideration to acquire high representativeness and broaden the inclusiveness of the sample. Firstly, despite the vast geography, since all were gathered under the umbrella of the Ottoman Empire, there are standard features established by the Ottoman State administration in almost all of the spaces. The second one is the unique local characteristics of the cities that continue to exist under the umbrella of the Ottoman State. In this context, the examples of İstanbul are determinative for both this general structure and the specific structure of the cities. İstanbul is the center of the mentioned umbrella and carries the effects and characteristics of different geographies. On the other side, other cities listed above were chosen to represent the research question in the vast Ottoman terrain and understand the aforementioned local characteristics.

In order to ensure the representation of the century on an exemplary plane, court records from different years spanning throughout the century were selected periodically to coincide with the beginning, middle, and end of the century.

In this thesis, my goal is to understand the general functioning of the concept of spatial belonging in the Ottoman Empire rather than trying to define a regional temperament gap. Therefore, the selected sample belongs to different parts of the vast Ottoman geography. By considering different cities in my analysis of place attachment, I will offer a sketch regarding Ottoman urban space in the 18th century without forgetting that there would be a high degree of regional diversity. However,

this does not mean that this dissertation seeks to generalize and draw a picture of what prevailed throughout the Ottoman Empire. Instead, it offers possible scenarios that affect people's attachment to places at different layers by not arguing that it was a general pattern.

In the chapter where I analyzed the cases to reveal the people's feelings developed to places, I generally tried to include the related, or sometimes full text of the sources¹⁷⁹ because, as it was evaluated substantially by Nil Tekgöl, "a simple translation of court records into Turkish or English or providing a summary of them may hinder one to understand its essence."¹⁸⁰ Having explained the difficulties (searching and finding the source, etc.) she experienced while reading the works that did not include the original texts in her research process and stated that this led to difficulty in the testability of historians' arguments, Tekgöl noted that it is crucial to allow the researchers to test the author's arguments.¹⁸¹ That is why, from this point of view, I also used a similar method to ensure the testability of the analyzes I made in this study for future readers and researchers.

Another methodological issue that must be cleared is the composition of the population encountered in *sicils*, especially concerning some law cases. Qadi court was established to implement sharia law in the Ottoman State. Thus, most cases belonged to people from the Muslim community in this dissertation because the authority was given to religious and ethnic communities in the practice of law in the Ottoman Empire, and they carried out their internal affairs within the communities. Therefore, the weight of the examples found in the registers belongs to Muslims. However, this does not mean that non-Muslims were outside of social control in

¹⁷⁹ I corrected spelling errors in sources that I used transcribed versions.

¹⁸⁰ Nil Tekgöl, "A Gate to the Emotional World of Pre-modern Ottoman Society," 62.

¹⁸¹ Tekgöl, 62-64.

Ottoman society or that non-Muslims did not apply to the qadi court. While there are various examples where Muslims and non-Muslims apply to the court collectively, there are also many examples where non-Muslims individually apply to the qadi court for their complaints and demands. Hence, in this dissertation, qadi courts have been evaluated as an inclusive application mechanism, and the combination of religious and ethnic identities has been ignored. In addition, Muslim communities and non-Muslims had the right to resolve their private issues with the mediation of their community leaders. The qadi court also encouraged people to settle disputes through *mutavassit* (mediator). In this respect, Ottoman historians' opportunity to determine the representative value of cases regarding Muslims in terms of social relations is limited. And it is challenging to extract statistical data from Ottoman documents. However still, findings from sicils are apparently the only primary evidence for analyzing spatial belonging.¹⁸²

Lastly, while searching for clues about where people feel attached to in terms of spatial belonging, sometimes it is important to go through the clues of where they don't belong because when you define the place you belong, you define the place where you don't actually belong, or vice versa. Therefore, in examining the sense of spatial belonging methodologically and analytically, those who do not belong or places that not been belonged by people were also examined.

¹⁸² Personal communication with Özer Ergenç, dated May 12, 2022.

CHAPTER II

ATTACHMENT TO PLACE:

A CONCEPTUAL DISCUSSION

Throughout this chapter, I will give an overview of the concept of place attachment, starting from its development as a concept frequently used in environmental psychology and then other fields of social sciences. Different approaches to the theory will be introduced with specific attention to cultural and emotional aspects of the idea to offer a method to use it in a historical study. Lastly, I will briefly present the approach adopted in this dissertation and close this chapter with a literature review of Ottoman History under the scope of place attachment.

2.1. Place Attachment: An Emotional Bond or a Cultural Construct?

By definition, place attachment mainly refers to the emotional attachment of people to the physical environment they live in or relate to. It is “an affective bond or link between people and specific places.”¹⁸³ So; this attachment is a positive link established between people and place, where people feel safe and comfortable, leading tendency to remain in a specific place.¹⁸⁴ In this context, “place” can be a house, a recreational place, a neighborhood, a city, or a larger space,¹⁸⁵ and “people

¹⁸³ M. Carmen Hidalgo and Bernardo Hernandez, “Place Attachment: Conceptual and Empirical Questions”, *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 21 (2001): 274.

¹⁸⁴ Bernardo Hernández et al., “Place Attachment and Place Identity in Natives and Non-Natives,” *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 27 (2007): 310.

¹⁸⁵ David M. Hummon, “Community Attachment: Local Sentiment and Sense of Place,” in *Place Attachment*, ed. Irwin Altman and Setha M. Low (New York: Plenum, 1992), 701-773, iBooks.

can form attachments to places ranging from specific locations to regions.”¹⁸⁶

Attachment, or you may call it as appropriation, is a process that people invest places with meaning and behave in ways that indicate the bonding with places.¹⁸⁷

“Place attachment involves positively experienced bonds, sometimes occurring without awareness, that are developed over time from the behavioral, affective, and cognitive ties between individuals and/or groups and their sociophysical environment. These bonds provide a framework for both individual and communal aspects of identity and have both stabilizing and dynamic features. The environments may include home or communities, places that are important and directly experienced but which may not have easily specified boundaries.”¹⁸⁸

As the abovementioned definitions indicate, the place attachment is mainly a relation established between people, generally defined as a positive link and treated as an integral part of human identity.¹⁸⁹ However, these “people” and “place” factors are multi-dimensional,¹⁹⁰ and the relationship between them are complicated since there are different forms of relations established between people and place; and this led to interest of scholars from vast array of disciplines in time.

Historically, at first, place attachment was in the sphere of interest of phenomenological scholars since environment-behavior studies had a positivist approach while the phenomenological approach was featuring subjective experiences such as emotional experiences of people with places. For many social scientists, except the geographers, the place was not even a category to study until the late 1970s.¹⁹¹ Another reason for the lack of interest in place attachment was the primary

¹⁸⁶ Fahriye Hazer Sancar, “City, Music and Place Attachment: Beloved İstanbul,” *Journal of Urban Design* 8, no. 3 (2003): 272.

¹⁸⁷ Clare C. Marcus, “Environmental Memories,” in Altman and Low, *Place Attachment*, 217.

¹⁸⁸ Barbara B. Brown and Douglas D. Perkins, “Disruptions in Place Attachment,” in *Place Attachment*, Altman and Low, 284.

¹⁸⁹ Maria Lewicka, “Ways to make people more active: The role of place attachment, cultural capital and neighborhood ties,” *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 25 (2005): 381.

¹⁹⁰ Kathleen Gerson, C. Ann Stueve and Claude S. Fischer, “Attachment to Place,” in *Networks and Places Social Relations in the Urban Setting*, Claude S. Fischer et al. (New York: Free Press, 1977): 139 – 161.

¹⁹¹ Setha M. Low and Irwin Altman, “Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry,” in Altman and Low, *Place Attachment*, 1-3.

importance of studying the cognitive and behavioral aspects of this relationship rather than focusing on the emotional side. At first, to define the affective bond between people and place, or to refer to people's feelings about the place, it had been used variety of concepts such as rootedness, sense of place, belongingness, place dependence, embeddedness, community attachment, affiliation, appropriation, commitment, investment, dependence, place identity etc.¹⁹² Although there are crucial similarities between these concepts methodologically and theoretically, there are substantial differences as well, and using that much variety of terms indicates the diversity and complexity of the issue. Towards the end of the 90s, the term "attachment" has been chosen as a technical term amongst others, whilst others are still in the scope of discussions and are being studied.¹⁹³ It is important to mention here that the place attachment is the most widely accepted term to refer the bond between people and place, but still not a common term.¹⁹⁴

Psychologists and sociologists started to be interested in personal spacing, group use of space, territoriality, etc., following the interest of phenomenological scholars. This development is coupled with anthropologists' studies of childhood environments and sacred places. In this research environment, the bonding of people to place, the place attachment, started to fall under the radar of researchers genuinely.¹⁹⁵ Currently, there are a remarkable amount of studies written on the

¹⁹² Maria V. Giuliani, "Theory of Attachment and Place Attachment," in *Psychological Theories for Environmental Issues*, ed. M. Bonnes et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003): 138. Ralph B. Taylor et al., "Attachment to Place: Discriminant Validity, and Impacts of Diversity," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 13, no. 5 (1985): 526. Maria Lewicka, "What Makes Neighborhood Different from Home and City? Effects of Place Scale on Place Attachment," *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 30 (2010): 36. Chiaro Rollero and Norma de Piccoli, "Place Attachment, Identification and Environment Perception," *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 30 (2010): 198.

¹⁹³ Especially place-identity, rootedness and sense of place. There are many studies on these concepts, trying to make a distinction or mark similarities both in terms of theory and methodology. However, these discussions are way beyond the limits of this dissertation.

¹⁹⁴ Bernardo Hernández et al., "Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of Research on Place Attachment," in *Place Attachment: Advances in Theory, Methods and Applications*, ed. Lynne C. Marzo and Patrick Devine Wright (New York: Routledge, 2013), Pdf e-book edition, 128 – 129.

¹⁹⁵ Low and Altman, "Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry," 1-3.

subject thanks to scholars from different disciplines and increasing interest to the subject.

The very first reference to the emotional/affective bond, in other words, attachment, has been encountered in the work of Marc Fried, studying the forced dislocation of the population of West End, Boston, in 1962. According to Fried, spatial identity and group identity have affective qualities, which are disrupted by the forced dislocation, leading to fragmentation in the sense of security and continuity as well.¹⁹⁶ However, this study did not nourish possible theoretical studies on place attachment even though it has potential. Fried himself used the term attachment to mean only satisfaction with one's own neighborhood. After 20 years, attachment to the place becomes an object of study, especially attachment to the neighborhood. However, it was still not a psychological phenomenon; it was somewhat elaborated as a complex of attitudes and behaviors from the perspective of sociological studies theorized by the Chicago School. Studies focusing on emotional/affective aspects between people and place from the perspective of environmental psychology has started in the 90s.¹⁹⁷

Since then, place attachment has been studied generally as a theme of environmental psychology.¹⁹⁸ However, as it is obvious from the historical development of the concept, it is an integrating and multifaceted concept that has different dimensions, origins, or types that many scholars from various disciplines such as urban planning, folklorists, sociology, anthropology, architecture have been interested in the subject. Therefore, I will try to briefly evaluate place attachment,

¹⁹⁶ Marc Fried, "Grieving for a Lost Home," in *Urban Condition*, ed. Leonard Duhl (New York: Basic Books, 1963), 167-168.

¹⁹⁷ Giuliani, "Theory of Attachment and Place Attachment," 144-148.

¹⁹⁸ See Altman and Low, *Place Attachment*, Barbara Brown et al., "Place Attachment in a Revitalizing Neighbourhood: Individual and Block Levels of Analysis," *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 23 (2003): 259-271; Giuliani, "Theory of Attachment and Place Attachment," 137-170.

mainly with a literature review of theoretical discussions to give a notion of how a historian could use this concept amongst the complexity of the term in the next section.

2.2. Literature Overview of the Place Attachment

As has been briefly noted above, the very first explicit reference to the emotional bond between people and place was found in the work of Marc Fried in 1963. However, further studies have not been done in this period, especially regarding environmental psychology.

In the 70s, under the influence of the Chicago school of urban sociology,¹⁹⁹ place attachment discussions was structured according to the type of social relations people have in particular place, primarily in neighborhoods. Their definitions of and approaches to place attachment were mainly community-based. Community researchers argued that communal bonds rising from local relations such as employment, recreation, friendship ties, kinship, etc., result in psychological attachment.²⁰⁰ According to community psychologists and sociologists, attachment to one's own neighborhood or community provides motivations to share concerns about local problems and to show efforts for the protection and improvement of the place, meaning that commitment and engagement to the community may have substantially increased.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ "The Chicago School of Urban Sociology refers to work of faculty and graduate students from the University of Chicago during the period 1915 to 1945 and, more directly, to the work of students who studied under Robert Park and Ernest Burgess." Hutchison, Ray. "Chicago School of Urban Sociology," in *Encyclopedia of Urban Studies*, edited by Hutchison, Ray, 127-30 (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2010), <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412971973.n46.xml>

²⁰⁰ Gerson, C. Ann Stueve and Claude S. Fischer, "Attachment to Place," 140.

²⁰¹ Nikolay Mihaylov and Douglas D. Perkins, "Community Place Attachment and Its Role in Social Capital Development," in Manzo and Devine-Wright, *Place Attachment: Advances in Theory, Methods and Applications*, 61.

In 1974, Janowitz and Kasarda studied community attachment using variables of population size and density versus length of residence, aiming to examine sociological factors affecting local community participation and attachment. They found that length of residence is a better predictor in terms of community attachment, and crucial in the development of social bonds such as kinship and friendship.²⁰²

In what follows, in 1977, Gerson, Stueve, and Fischer defined attachment to place as “individuals’ commitments to their neighborhoods and neighbors.”²⁰³ They determined, specific to a neighborhood, seven measures of neighborhood attachment composed of institutional ties, sociable neighboring, organizational involvement, kin in the neighborhood, friends in the neighborhood, happy with the neighborhood and unhappy to leave. Finally, they came up with a conclusion that there are two general forms of attachment which are social involvement, composed of institutional ties, social activity and local intimates; and affective feeling. Their findings show that social ties are modestly related to emotions more than institutional ties, different from community-based approaches.²⁰⁴

In the 70s, place attachment has also taken the attention of human geographers. They maintained that the bond established between people and place is universal fulfilling human needs.²⁰⁵ Tuan, in his works, especially in *Topophilia*,²⁰⁶ a coined term for the love of place, studied the affective ties of humans with the environment by taking into consideration different human groups and cultural differences. He then introduced the distinction between rootedness and a sense of

²⁰² John D. Kasarda and Morris Janowitz, “Community Attachment in Mass Society,” *American Sociological Review* 39 no. 3 (1974): 328-339.

²⁰³ Gerson, Stueve and Fischer, “Attachment to Place,” 139.

²⁰⁴ Gerson, Stueve and Fischer *ibid.*, 143, 144, 157.

²⁰⁵ Leila Scannell and Robert Gifford, “Defining Place Attachment: A Tripartite Organizing Framework,” *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 30 (2010): 1.

²⁰⁶ Yi-fu Tuan, *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990).

place. According to Tuan, it is possible to have a sense of place through deliberate actions and thoughtful steps. At the same time, rootedness is a taken-for-granted state of being which one cannot attain through deliberate actions.²⁰⁷ Contribution of human geographers stimulated interest in place attachment by focusing on individual experience, different from a sociological perspective and using alternative quantitative approaches.²⁰⁸

This increasing interest in the concept of place attachment is also the result of the coincidence of two disciplines on the subject: sociology and environmental psychology. As a result of cumulated works of sociology and psychology, which have different aspects and methodologies, enhanced by the contribution of human geographers and phenomenological scholars, the first definitions and typologies of place attachment were introduced in the 80s.²⁰⁹

Shumaker and Taylor defined attachment as “a positive bond or association between individuals and their residential environment”²¹⁰ and set out a model of attachment depending on the compatibility (and positive correlation) between needs and physical and social sources of the place.²¹¹

In terms of human territoriality,²¹² Brower defined attachment as “the feeling of possessiveness that an occupant has towards a particular territory because of its

²⁰⁷ Yi-fu Tuan, “Rootedness versus Sense of Place,” *Landscape*, 24 (1980): 3-8.

²⁰⁸ Giuliani, “Theory of Attachment and Place Attachment,” 147.

²⁰⁹ Stephanie Riger and Paul Lavrakas, “Community Ties: Patterns of Attachment and Social Interaction in Urban Neighborhoods,” *American Journal of Community Psychology* 9, no. 1(1981): 55-66.

²¹⁰ Sally A. Shumaker and Ralph B. Taylor, “Toward a Clarification of People-place Relationships: A Model of Attachment to Place” in *Environmental Psychology: Directions and Perspectives*, ed. Nickolaus R. Feimer and E. Scott Geller (New York: Praeger, 1983): 233

²¹¹ Shumaker and Taylor, 219-251.

²¹² “Human territoriality is the attempt to affect, influence or control actions and interactions (of people, things and relationships) by asserting and attempting to enforce control over a geographic area.” Robert D. Sack, “Human Territoriality: A Theory,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 73, no. 1(1983): 55. Since theories on human territoriality are closely related to place attachment discussions, briefly touching upon the subject would benefit the theoretical debate on place attachment.

associations with self-image or social identity.”²¹³ Attachment, as one of the elements of appropriation of space, identified with attitudes and behavior rather than emotional involvement. Brown, on the other hand, focusing on affective aspects of human territoriality, explained the primary function of human territoriality as the expression of individual and group identity; meaning that identifying the function of attachment is the personalization of space rather than occupancy and behavior.²¹⁴

One of the main discussions within the literature is the relationship between place attachment and place-identity, which deserves mentioning here. The concept of place-identity was first introduced by Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff in 1983. They identified it “a sub-structure of the self-identity of the person consisting of, broadly conceived, cognitions about the physical world in which the individual lives.”²¹⁵ Cognitions constituting the identity depend on the quality of physical place, social features of it and individual’s ability to adopt the place. Cognitions here include “memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, meanings and conceptions of behaviors and experience”²¹⁶ indicating the close relationship of the concept with the emotions. Indeed, grasping the emotional link between people and place is amongst the main approaches in place-identity studies, making the place-identity a close relative of the place attachment.²¹⁷ However, this intrinsic relationship between the two continues to be blurred, considering that both of the

²¹³ Sidney Brower, “Territory in Urban Settings,” in *Environment and Culture*, ed. Irwin Altman et al. (New York: Plenum Press, 1980), 179-207.

²¹⁴ Barbara B. Brown, “Territoriality,” in *Handbook of Environmental Psychology*, ed. Daniel Stokols and Irwin Altman (New York: Wiley, 1987): 505-531.

²¹⁵ Harold M. Proshansky, Abbe K. Fabian and Robert Kaminoff, “Place-Identity: Physical World Socialization of the Self,” *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 3 (1983): 59.

²¹⁶ Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff, 59.

²¹⁷ Fátima Bernardo and José Manuel Palma-Oliveira, “Place Identity: A Central Concept in Understanding Intergroup Relationships in the Urban Context,” in *The Role of Place Identity in the Perception, Understanding, and Design of Built Environments*, ed. Hernan Casakin and Fátima Bernardo (Bentham Science Publishers, 2012), 36.

concepts are pretty new in the literature, are still a part of an ongoing debate.²¹⁸

Some scholars use both concepts interchangeably, while others evaluate them as multidimensional concepts associated with the sense of place. For some others, identity as a concept involves place attachment.²¹⁹

As evident from the abovementioned discussions, the concept has intrinsically multidimensional aspects and is part of broad theoretical debates differing from each other. In terms of logical structure, explanations for place attachment differ from each other as well. While functional descriptions emphasize that place attachment fulfills social and psychic needs, causal models set their arguments based on casual links, such as the more time one spends in a place, the more one feels attachment. Decision-making models, on the other hand, consider it as an outcome of decisions such as people choosing whether or not to be attached according to costs and benefits stemming from a place.²²⁰

Scholars also questioned the role, or the possible functioning, of place attachment. Believing people develop or form an attachment to specific places implicitly refers to an underlying function. Then, what would it be this function of place attachment? Scholars have answers for that as well. "Place attachment may provide a sense of daily and ongoing security"²²¹ or "may bond people to others symbolically"²²² or "to religion, nation or culture by means of abstract symbols associated with places, values and beliefs."²²³ Another important function of the place attachment arises from the identification of people with the place. It stimulates

²¹⁸ For a detailed discussion and comparison of the concepts see Bernardo Hernández et al., "Place Attachment and Place Identity in Natives and Non-Natives."

²¹⁹ Hernan Casakin et al., "Place Attachment and Place Identity in Israeli Cities: The Influence of City," *Cities* 42 (2015): 226.

²²⁰ Kathleen Gerson, C. Ann Stueve and Claude S. Fischer, "Attachment to Place," 141.

²²¹ Low and Altman, "Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry," 46

²²² Low and Altman, 46.

²²³ Low and Altman, 46.

“social and political involvement in the preservation of the physical and social features that characterize a neighborhood.”²²⁴ It is possible to extend this list of functions; however, the important thing is to be aware that the place does not have to be central. Attachment may be affective, and the place may be an environmental setting inseparable from experiences creating attachment to ideas, people, culture, or religion. That is why the place attachment is closely related to the construction of identity, whether self-identity or group identity.²²⁵ While place attachment is fostering the formation of group/community/cultural or self-identity; those forms of identity may also enhance the value attached to a place.

Accumulation of the interest of different arrays of scholarship to the subject bore its first fruit in 1992. Altman and Low published “Place Attachment,” the first edited comprehensive book on the subject.²²⁶ This book is the first promising book specifically on place attachment not only because it is directly discussing place attachment, not the other close relatives of the concept, but also studies place attachment from the perspective of several disciplines, presenting an overall eyeshot to the subject. In this book, place attachment has been evaluated from its different aspects, such as emotional, cultural and social, which set the way for subsequent studies in the field.

Another and last comprehensive book on the concept of place attachment, published in 2014, which is “Place Attachment: Advances in Theory, Methods and Applications,”²²⁷ deserves attention here. This book is the second book which comprehensively discusses different theoretical approaches to the place attachment

²²⁴ Gustavo S. Mesch and Orit Manor, “Social Ties, Environmental Perception, and Local Attachment,” *Environment and Behavior* 30, no. 4 (1998): 505.

²²⁵ Low and Altman, “Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry,” 39-50.

²²⁶ Low and Altman, *Place Attachment*.

²²⁷ Manzo and Devine-Wright, *Place Attachment: Advances in Theory, Methods and Applications*.

with contemporary advancements. It also presents the methods applied so far to study place attachment and its applications.

So far mentioned literature with regard to place attachment is a picture of overall theoretical and definitive discussions. It is evident that this concept, feeding from different fields, competing for theoretical approaches and being a close relative of similar concepts, still far from reconciled and unified definitions, is very complex and interwoven in nature. After all, since it is a multidimensional and integrating concept attracting the interest of different disciplines, it would be wrong to expect clear-cut definitions or methodologies. Accordingly, my aim was also limited to introducing the idea of place attachment and different approaches together with methodological discussions to make the concept more precise and usable for historical work. In the following section, from this point of view, I will assess the constituent elements of place attachment, in other words, aspects of it, namely emotions (or psychological process), place and people.

2.3. Aspects of the Place Attachment: An Overall Framework

As the previous section indicates, approaches of different disciplines to place attachment have resulted in definitional diversity. This may also be seen as progress in terms of the theoretical development of the concept. “Given the post-modern, post-structuralist turn in the social sciences in the past several decades, scholarship seems more comfortable embracing multidimensionality and taking a pluralistic perspective on people-place relationships.”²²⁸ However, considering that place attachment is an umbrella term connecting different types of bonds between people and place, an organized structure putting order this definitional diversity would be

²²⁸ Lynne C. Manzo and Patrick Devine-Wright, “Introduction,” 2-3.

helpful. Hence, to present a more organized portrait of place attachment amongst this definitional and theoretical diversity, aspects of place attachment will be discussed based on the frameworks introduced by two prominent works on this subject.

One is from the first comprehensive book published in 1992, in which Low and Altman discuss the aspects of place attachment. The second one is a tripartite model²²⁹ has been developed by Scannell and Gifford,²³⁰ which “builds upon previous frameworks and models by incorporating classic and recent empirical findings from a variety of theoretical perspectives.”²³¹ Tripartite model is an all-encompassing framework amongst the plethora of definitions and coherent with both qualitative and quantitative studies.²³² Since the way they elaborate the aspects of place attachment are similar, I will present them together.

One of the primary identifications of place attachment is *the emotion*, in other words, the feeling or the affect. More precisely, this emotion could be a feeling associated with one’s own home, emotional embeddedness in a neighborhood, belonging associated with places, feeling of security, emotional investments in places, etc. Together with the emotional side, cognition (thought, knowledge and belief) and practice (action and behavior) may also be identified as an aspect of place attachment. Believing the sacredness of a place or practicing annual rituals of a place can be such examples. Therefore, the concept of place attachment is an interaction of emotion, cognition, and practice about the place.²³³ And this interaction may work in two directions by reinforcing each other.

²²⁹ According to the model proposed by Scannell and Gifford, place attachment has three dimensions which are person, psychological process and place.

²³⁰ Scannell and Gifford, “Defining Place Attachment: A Tripartite Organizing Framework,” 1-10.

²³¹ Scannell and Gifford, 7.

²³² Bernardo Hernández et al., “Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of Research on Place Attachment,” 127.

²³³ Low and Altman, “Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry,” 5.

“The emotional bonds that people establish with place play an important role in the way that it is perceived and interpreted. But, at the same time, the perception and cognitive representation of a place can also affect the bonds established between an individual and that place.”²³⁴

Similarly, according to the model proposed by Scannell and Gifford, one of the dimensions of the model they proposed, is the *psychological process*, in other words, “the way that individuals and groups relate to a place.”²³⁵ It has three components which are affect, cognition and behavior. Place attachment as affect refers to the emotional connection between people and place, as discussed mainly by human geographers and environmental psychologists in the literature. Another component of the psychological process, cognition, is associated with memories, beliefs, knowledge or meaning. Through memories or beliefs, people may invest meaning in a place connecting it to the self. The third aspect is the behavioral one, referring to attachment through actions. For example, maintaining closeness to a place, a religious pilgrimage or reconstruction of a place are behavioral actions indicating place attachment.²³⁶

The second aspect is the “place,” referring to a space, an environmental setting, which may vary in size, shape and scope. Theoretically in place attachment studies, the scale of the place can be a house, a neighborhood, a community, a city, or a larger space such as a universe.²³⁷ For Scannell and Gifford, although there are various scales of place aspect such as room, house, neighborhood or city geographically; in terms of another level, it is possible to divide the place aspect as physical and social as well. Social elements refer to the symbols, social interactions, and meanings of the place, while physical characteristics refer to build-

²³⁴ Casakin et al., “Place Attachment and Place Identity in Israeli Cities.”

²³⁵ Scannell and Gifford, “Defining Place Attachment: A Tripartite Organizing Framework,” 3.

²³⁶ Scannell and Gifford, 3-4.

²³⁷ Low and Altman, “Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry,” 5; Lewicka, “What Makes Neighborhood Different from Home and City?” 36.

environment.²³⁸ For example, according to Low and Altman, “places are, therefore, repositories and contexts within which interpersonal, community, and cultural relationships occur, and it is to those social relationships, not just to place qua place, to which people are attached.”²³⁹ On the other hand, according to Mesch and Manor physical features of the environment such as open spaces or the lack of noise are characteristics that bonds people to a particular place.²⁴⁰

So far, the social aspect of place has been studied widely,²⁴¹ especially by urban sociologists concentrating on neighborhood or community scale studies. It has been assumed that attachment to a neighborhood is greater than city²⁴² and neighborhood is taken as the fundamental category of analysis.²⁴³ Concentration on the neighborhood (or community) as the scale of the place, both physical and social, is widespread amongst not only urban sociologists but also environmental psychologists.²⁴⁴ It has been assumed that there is a positive link between involvement in local affairs and place attachment, thus place attachment turns out be favorable for the neighborhood. Some studies found that place attachment motivates people to participate in civic actions in their locality through neighborhood ties. However, in terms of whether or not place attachment is solely enough for civic activity or civic engagement in a given locality is still part of discussions.²⁴⁵

²³⁸ M. Carmen Hidalgo and Bernardo Hernández, “Attachment to the Physical Dimension of Places,” *Psychological Reports* 91 (2002): 1177 – 1182.

²³⁹ Low and Altman, “Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry,” Apple e-book edition, 43.

²⁴⁰ Mesch and Manor, “Social Ties, Environmental Perception, and Local Attachment,” 504 – 519.

²⁴¹ According to Lewicka, nearly 70% of studies on place attachment focus on the neighborhood. Lewicka, “What Makes Neighborhood Different from Home and City?” 36-38.

²⁴² However, there are studies indicating a higher level of attachment to cities than to neighborhoods. See Hernan Casakin et al., “Place Attachment and Place Identity in Israeli Cities.”

²⁴³ Bernardo Hernández et al., “Place Attachment and Place Identity in Natives and Non-Natives,” 310-311; Scannell and Gifford, “Defining Place Attachment: A Tripartite Organizing Framework,” 4-5.

²⁴⁴ Lewicka, “What Makes Neighborhood Different from Home and City?” 36.

²⁴⁵ Irwin Altman and Setha M. Low, *Place Attachment*; Lewicka, “Ways to make people more active: The role of place attachment, cultural capital and neighborhood ties,” 381 – 395.

However, there are now more studies on different scales, such as houses and cities²⁴⁶ and not only physical spaces but also symbolic places have been studied. Whatever the scale is, all attachments are made up of the association of experience with the place.²⁴⁷ Actually, a place does not have to exist. People can develop an attachment to a mythical place, or citizenship itself may embed symbolical attachment. Or, the meaning of physical space may derive from its symbolic or mythical associations.²⁴⁸ Hence, this symbolic relation or bond between the people and the place is obviously complicated and essential²⁴⁹ and will be dealt with in detail in the following sections.

The last aspect of the place attachment is the human. The human aspect, like the scale aspect of the place, may vary. In literature, some scholars analyze individuals, while others study communities or groups such as families and neighborhood collectivities. It is also possible to look at both units of analysis together, such as the work of Brown and Perkins,²⁵⁰ which focuses on both individual attachments and bonds of families and neighbors to communities. For Scannell and Gifford, the human aspect deals with who maintains the attachment that happens at the individual or collective (or group) level. At the individual level, the connection established is personal. In contrast, at the group level (authors call it cultural as well), symbolic meanings shared among group members may become significant. For instance, urban sociologists' approach, studying attachment as a community process, has this perspective. Indeed, individual and cultural levels are

²⁴⁶ Maria Giuliani, "Towards an Analysis of Mental Representations of Attachment to Home," *The Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 8 (1991): 133-146. Hernan Casakin et al., "Place Attachment and Place Identity in Israeli Cities."

²⁴⁷ Robert L. Rubinstein and Patricia A. Parmelee, "Attachment to Place and the Representation of the Life Course by the Elderly," in Altman and Low, *Place Attachment*, 149.

²⁴⁸ Sidney N. Brower, "Territory in Urban Settings," in *Human Behavior and Environment Advances in Theory and Research Volume 4*, ed. Irwin Altman et al. (New York: Plenum Press, 1980), 179-194.

²⁴⁹ Setha M. Low, "Symbolic Ties That Bind," in Altman and Low, *Place Attachment*, 166.

²⁵⁰ Brown and Perkins, "Disruptions in Place Attachment," 279-301.

not mutually exclusive, they reinforce each other.²⁵¹ Human aspect also varies according to social class, age and gender. The attachment of elderly, poor, women or children may be unit of analysis in its own respect and different dynamics play role for place attachment of each.²⁵²

The model briefly presented above is significant since it is an inclusive model, which considers the multidimensionality of the concept and does not leave out any aspect of the definition accumulated over the years by different scholars. It is an eye shot from a distance to review sub-dimensions of the aspects that compose place attachment.

In brief, whether they are individuals or groups, people may develop some kind of attachment (involves emotion, cognition, or practice) to a specific place, which could range from a house to a country or a symbolic location. This attachment develops since places please people by providing privacy and security or letting them control, create, or change. However, not only the physical characteristics of a place but also the social relations that a place represents, such as experiences in a place or a relationship with others in a place and the symbolic meaning of a place derived from culture or history²⁵³ are equally crucial for the attachment.²⁵⁴

According to Pellow, space is a cultural creation, and spatial attachment comes forth through social action. In her study, she analyzes the attachment to Adabraka, an African compound in Ghana. She argues that the activities, and social practices, that people engage in the compound create the place attachment. Activities of people or their daily routines in Adabraka reflect their collectivist cultural values, which gives an order to the space, and it is this socio-spatial order, which also has

²⁵¹ Scannell and Gifford, "Defining Place Attachment: A Tripartite Organizing Framework," 2-3.

²⁵² Kathleen Gerson, C. Ann Stueve and Claude S. Fischer, "Attachment to Place," 158.

²⁵³ Low, "Symbolic Ties That Bind," 166.

²⁵⁴ Low and Altman, "Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry," 5-7.

symbolic meaning in itself, that leads to the place attachment.²⁵⁵ The level of attachment may be also affected from different factors such as environmental disasters or upheavals may lead to collective social attachments.²⁵⁶

The abovementioned discussions bring me to the point that place attachment is an integrating concept that may carry out different functions. For example, it may provide a sense of security and privacy at the level of physical space. In terms of social relations, it may connect people with communities or create symbolic bonds to link people with a religion, a culture, or a nation. The crucial aspect here is to comprehend that the reason for feeling attached is not only the function of place but also the embedded meaning that place carries formed through different ways, such as daily routines or cultural practices. In other words, the physical place is the primary medium and central for attachment but what the place embeds in it socially, culturally, or historically is also decisive.²⁵⁷

So far, what has been said about the theory of place attachment highlights a point that there is a divide between approaches to understanding relations between people and place. One argues that the relationship between people and place is profoundly symbolic and social (or cultural), which can be revealed through qualitative studies. On the other hand, another approach alleges that the relationship is mainly emotional/affective and could be quantified. From another perspective, this is not really a divide. Actually, all of the models of attachment to place are both concerned with the psychological (or emotional) and the social meaning of the place. While the ones focusing on symbolic and social aspects believes that social transactions between people and place precede the development of emotional

²⁵⁵ Deborah Pellow, "Spaces that Teach: Attachment to the African Compound," in Altman and Low, *Place Attachment*, 187-208.

²⁵⁶ Low and Altman, "Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry," 37.

²⁵⁷ Low and Altman, "Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry," 10.

meaning, others mainly focus on the psychological meaning of place for people.²⁵⁸

Departing from this divide (or a link), in the following sections, I will discuss the cultural aspect of place attachment and try to draw a coherent picture of how a historian could possibly make use of it.

2.4. Towards a Cultural Definition of the Place Attachment

“Place attachment is the symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional/affective meanings to a particular space or piece of land that provides the basis for individual’s and group’s understanding of and relation to the environment.”²⁵⁹

In this dissertation, I will use this definition of place attachment in my query to reveal the place attachment in Ottoman cities. This definition takes an approach that place attachment is not just an emotional experience but involves cultural beliefs and practices which link people to a place. The critical point here is that this relationship between people and place is symbolic, and it embeds cultural experience as well as sociopolitical and historical.²⁶⁰ For example, the idea of “Promised Land” in Jewish culture forms an attachment to unite physically scattered Jewish people. In this case, physical interaction between people and places does not exist, and intense emotions may possibly be formed with mentally representative places.²⁶¹

Cultural aspect of place attachment has taken attention of various scholars, which eventually led to a theoretical typology resulted from various qualitative studies. According to this typology, there are six kinds of symbolic linkage between people and place:

“(1) genealogical linkage to the land through history or family lineage; (2) linkage through loss of land or destruction of

²⁵⁸ Ralph B. Taylor et al., “Attachment to Place: Discriminant Validity, and Impacts of Diversity,” 526.

²⁵⁹ Low, “Symbolic Ties That Bind,” 165.

²⁶⁰ Low, “Symbolic Ties That Bind,” Apple Book Edition, 429-430.

²⁶¹ Mina Najafi and Mustafa Kamal M. S., “The Concept of Place Attachment in Environmental Psychology,” *Elixir Sustain. Arc.* 45 (2012): 7638.

community; (3) economic linkage to land through ownership, inheritance, and politics; (4) cosmological linkage through religious, spiritual, or mythological relationship; (5) linkage through both religious and secular pilgrimage and celebratory, cultural events; and (6) narrative linkage through storytelling and place naming.”²⁶²

To explain in detail, genealogical place attachment is a relationship established between people and place “through historical identification of place and family or community”²⁶³ such as “by being born or marrying into a household or staying in a location for a period of time.”²⁶⁴ This form of attachment is more visible in traditional peasant communities.²⁶⁵ In terms of urban settlement, neighborhoods are places of genealogical attachment, as shown by community sociologists’ studies.²⁶⁶

Linkage established through loss or destruction is closely related to the genealogical one. It reveals itself when a place is destroyed, or a community becomes inaccessible, such as exile, resettlement, or disaster. It is a re-creation of a place through memory. The desire of communities or groups for continuity in place and resistance to moving even in the face of disasters indicates the level of symbolic attachment to a place.²⁶⁷

Contrary to previous ones, economical place attachment is produced through ownership or working. While ownership is the most potent version of economic place attachment, working in a place is a reinforcer since it becomes the means of economic survival. Considering that being an owner of a land is closely related to having rights and the capacity to negotiate with the rulers, especially in pre-modern times, economical place attachment also has political aspect.²⁶⁸

²⁶² Low, “Symbolic Ties That Bind,” Apple Book Edition, 431.

²⁶³ Low and Altman, 434.

²⁶⁴ Low and Altman, 432.

²⁶⁵ Low and Altman, 434-436.

²⁶⁶ Kasarda and Janowitz, “Community Attachment in Mass Society,” 328-339.

²⁶⁷ Low, “Symbolic Ties That Bind,” in *Place Attachment*, Apple Book Edition, 437-49.

²⁶⁸ Low, 439-441.

Cosmological linkage is the experience of the physical presence of cosmological or religious beliefs, such as the structural correspondence of religious or mythological ideas with the place. More precisely, religious rituals or practices may form an attachment between people/groups or communities and sacred places.²⁶⁹

Linkage through pilgrimage, similar to cosmological one, creates attachment through belief; however, this kind of attachment may be maintained just simply by wanting to visit particular religiously sacred places such as Mecca.²⁷⁰ “Pilgrimage as a type of place attachment can evoke social, moral, and cosmological meanings through dreaming of, traveling to, and experiencing of, a place.”²⁷¹

Lastly, the narrative linkage is the creation of place attachment through storytelling or place naming. For example, family histories and political accounts may play a role in enhancing the cultural place attachment of people to the land. Through narratives or place naming, the reproduction of moral standards and social behaviors related to the place reinforces the linkage between people and place.²⁷²

It is important to note that these abovementioned linkages are not mutually exclusive and sometimes overlap. So, while the place in question does not have to show signs of all these categories, it is not required to classify a place only into one category. And these six types of typology of cultural place attachment may further be grouped into three main categories, which have previously been mentioned by other scholars as well:

“1) social aspects of place attachment through family or kinship ties, (2) material aspects of place attachment through loss or destruction of land or ownership of land, and (3) ideological

²⁶⁹ Low, 432 – 442.

²⁷⁰ Low, 443.

²⁷¹ Low, 449.

²⁷² Low, 449 – 452.

aspects of place attachment through cosmological correspondence, pilgrimage, or narrative.”²⁷³

After summarizing cultural place attachment theoretically together with a typology, the next step is applying the concept and typology to an Ottoman urban setting. The above discussions are mainly theoretical, so during application, it is unavoidable that there would be no modifications. Since this dissertation adopts a cultural approach to place attachment, the academic discussion will be widened or narrowed according to Ottoman cultural context. Scholars working on this area have already welcomed modifications of the concept and its typology to open up new discussions.²⁷⁴

Another point that needs to be considered that the psychological dimension of place attachment. As noted above, place attachment is also an emotional process that involves psychological dimensions. The emotional/affective bond established between people (whether it is a group or community) and place will also be the query of this dissertation, together with the cultural aspect since the influence of culture (including social and political factors) over the emotional bond to place (or vice versa) cannot be overlooked in this attempt to study place attachment. Moreover, all these aspects are part of a conceptual whole, requiring articulation of them together.²⁷⁵

2.5. The Approach Adopted for the Dissertation

Many studies focus on Ottoman space by using sicils as the primary source, and their methods vary. However, the methodology to pursue traces of place attachment of ordinary people is quite challenging since it has never been studied in

²⁷³ Low, 453.

²⁷⁴ Low, 472.

²⁷⁵ Low, 471-473.

the context of Ottoman studies. Even I have yet to come across any work of Ottoman history on specific place attachment. So, I will construct the methodological path while borrowing from similar studies and theoretical studies on place attachment. Since it will be a first of its kind, any further contributions and improvements in the future are already welcomed.

First of all, it is pretty significant to mention that I aim to build a historical study not only based on primary empirical evidence but also with a theoretical aspect. Therefore, this dissertation will consist of both evaluations of theory and primary sources within a historical overlook. In other words, place attachment is a concept I choose to use theoretically. However, I will use place attachment, not by the mere transportation of its methodology; instead, I will use it as a theoretical tool to understand people's sense of belonging to a place. Since there exist only a limited number of historical studies focusing on place attachment, the works of other fields of science such as anthropology, sociology, and psychology, which have produced so many valuable theoretical and applied studies so far, would be in use for drawing the frame of this dissertation. Although their methodologies are hard to apply to historical research, the approach and the way of looking at the relationship between people and place may help to construct a historical study on this topic. For example, the development of a sense of belonging to the "ward," the local neighborhood in Japan, is studied. It happened through children's gaining group identity from their ward by engaging in fights or through adults' participation in the formal associations in a ward for support and help. So, is this example not reminding the similarity between those wards in Japan and the mahalles in the Ottoman State? There are already many studies on the Ottoman mahalle and its elements of it, such as *avarız waqfs*, *müteselsil kefalet*, control mechanisms of the mahalle, and responsibilities

expected from a resident of the mahalle, but what is missing is the analyzing those elements by taking into consideration the place aspect from the perspective of sense of belonging.

After debating the place attachment literature, one may identify the main views convenient for an Ottoman historical study focusing on place attachment. So, place attachment in this study will be studied within a historical context by looking at any place attachment indicators through reading court records.

Secondly, I am proposing “a method which could encompass the existence of ordinary people.” I am interested in ordinary Ottoman people, both as individuals and as a group. So, this dissertation aims to understand the relationship established between ordinary people and places concerning the daily life of the Ottoman people. Hence, the primary unit of analysis will be ordinary Ottoman people that I come across in court records. That does not mean that Ottoman elites or high-ranking officials such as şeyhs and kethüdas will be totally excluded. If the question is about the bond established between people and places, then everybody is a part of this discussion. However, since the motivation is to analyze daily life, most of it will be ordinary people.²⁷⁶

Thirdly, this dissertation is built on a relational approach since I will try to understand the relationship established between people and place. “Relational approach defines the city as being made up and reproduced by interrelationships between units.”²⁷⁷ My units here are ordinary people and cities or sometimes other scales of place. The change in the Ottoman city can be derived from an analysis of the interaction between people and place. Or it may be the result of the changing

²⁷⁶ For a detailed discussion concerning what is meant by ordinary people, see Chapter 1, title “Ordinary People and The History from Below.”

²⁷⁷ Yunus Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles: Ottoman Edirne in Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries,” (PhD diss., Boğaziçi University, 2014), 3.

relationship between the city and its neighborhoods. Under all circumstances, I will try to figure out the connection between subjects using a relational approach.

And lastly, since there are similarities in terms of the subjects, I will be borrowing from Nil Tekgöl's methodology. Nil Tekgöl's Ph.D. dissertation,²⁷⁸ which is almost unique in the field, explored the emotional world of the Ottoman State and shed light on the emotion of individuals, social groups and the state in the Ottoman Empire. She traced "how" people of the past felt. At some point, my dissertation will also examine ordinary people's emotions regarding the place. Curiosities, concerns and worries of ordinary people regarding the city fall under the scope of this dissertation since place attachment is an emotional bond of people towards the place they relate to.

At first sight, it seems challenging to document ordinary people or find clues of place attachment in traditional Ottoman archives. However, according to Donald Quataert, there is enough material in archives but what is missing is the desire to work in the field of ordinary people.²⁷⁹ Studying ordinary people requires a creative reading or a re-reading of resources to find unnoticed details about the perspective of ordinary people.²⁸⁰ So, I will be dealing with the traditional archival sources, but I will re-read them from a different perspective, as some have been done in other studies.²⁸¹ I will adopt a critical analysis of the data utilized, revealing not only their potential but also their limits.

²⁷⁸ Nil Tekgöl, "A Gate to the Emotional World of Pre-modern Ottoman Society."

²⁷⁹ *History from Below A Tribute in Memory of Donald Quataert*, ed. Selim Karahasanoğlu and Deniz Cenk Demir (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University Press, 2016).

²⁸⁰ Stephanie Cronin, *Subalterns and Social Protest: History from Below in the Middle East and North Africa* (London: Taylor&Francis, 2012).

²⁸¹ For a similar study offering an alternative perspective/perspective of oppressed and the excluded to the history of Middle East see Cronin, *Subalterns and Social Protest: History from Below in the Middle East and North Africa*.

In terms of the formation of place attachment, scholarly writings focus on different processes, such as biological, environmental, psychological, and sociocultural. For a historical study, since it is not easy to analyze the biological or psychological processes due to methodological constraints, the analysis will focus on mainly sociocultural, political or economic processes such as cultural meanings, symbols, practices, rules, or rituals without forgetting that these processes are interrelated. It will be mostly a qualitative content analysis of data extracted from archives to “systematically transform a large amount of text into highly organized and concise summary of key results.”²⁸²

To find the traces of place attachment in line with the information provided by the cases, I will be searching for clues based on the deduction I made through the literature on place attachment. In the following sub-section, I will identify specific indicators I will be looking at in this dissertation.

2.5.1. Variables of the Place Attachment

As this overview of the place attachment reveals, there are multiple adopted and re-researched variables about place attachment. I choose the word “variables;” however, it is possible to call them factors or indicators affecting the level of place attachment as well. Variables listed in this section are widely expressed variables used in place attachment studies as methodological determinants.

First, the length of residence is among the most studied indicators to measure or understand the level of attachment.²⁸³ According to the study of Gerson, Stueve, and Fischer, the stage of the life cycle and social class also affect the place

²⁸² Christen Erlingsson and Petra Bryiewicz, “A Hands-on Guide to Doing Content Analysis,” *African Journal of Emergency Medicine* 7 (2017): 93.

²⁸³ Kasarda and Janowitz, “Community Attachment in Mass Society,” 328-339.

attachment. Social involvement of people in a given locality, in other words, institutional ties, organizational involvement, and friendly neighboring are indicators of place attachment as well.²⁸⁴ Showing efforts to protect or improve the environment, similar to engaging in civic actions, personalization of space may be listed as signs of place attachment.²⁸⁵

Six kinds of symbolic attachment, grouped into three, namely, social aspects, material aspects, and ideological aspects, offered by Low for the cultural definition of attachment could also be listed as clues in search of a sign of place attachment.²⁸⁶

Riger and Lavrakas utilized ownership vs. renter status of dwellers and length of the address in the neighborhood as a measure of attachment.²⁸⁷ Taylor, Gottfredson, and Brower used ownership vs. renter status, as Riger and Lavrakas did; and territorial cognitions, which are composed of home and near-home variables, in terms of access control and responsibility; and perceived conflicts such as neighbors not getting along, property damage, trespassing, street hassle, crime or fear of crime, as the measure of attachment in their study.²⁸⁸ They have found that home ownership and local commitment, such as organizational membership, increase the involvement to local collective efforts. In terms of perceived conflicts, a more perceived disorder with regard to place decreases the level of attachment.²⁸⁹

So far, studies have shown that the length of residency, housing quality, home ownership, proximity to local landmarks, subjective fear of crime, residents' perceptions regarding the physical quality of the neighborhood, social integration

²⁸⁴ Kathleen Gerson, C. Ann Stueve and Claude S. Fischer, "Attachment to Place," 139 – 161.

²⁸⁵ Barbara B. Brown, "Territoriality," 505-531.

²⁸⁶ Low, "Symbolic Ties That Bind," Apple e-book, 472 – 473.

²⁸⁷ Riger and Lavrakas, "Community Ties: Patterns of Attachment and Social Interaction in Urban Neighborhoods."

²⁸⁸ Taylor et al., "Attachment to Place: Discriminant Validity, and Impacts of Diversity," 529 – 532.

²⁸⁹ Taylor et al., 535, 538.

such as the existence of friends and kin play important roles in the community attachment.²⁹⁰ Satisfaction with the physical and social characteristics of the local environment has also been mentioned as the reason for a higher level of attachment.²⁹¹

Above, I have mentioned some variables used in prominent studies in the field of place attachment to give clues about the possible place attachment variables that a historian may come across in their primary source readings. Here, I am not maintaining that the abovementioned variables are complete and exhaustive lists of variables. However, these variables will help my journey in searching for clues concerning place attachment in the daily lives of ordinary people of Ottoman cities.

Hence, it is possible to offer a list of indicators based on the literature mentioned above to lead historical research. To sum up, the length of stay, physical features of the place (physical characteristics satisfying human needs such as providing a sense of security), communal bonds (or social ties – kinship or friendship ties), institutional ties, organizational or non-organizational involvement in local affairs, economic activities, staying rather than fleeing in the face of dangers, resisting to relocations, actions taken in the face of disasters, collective behaviors to protect or defend the place, socio-demographic variables are some featured factors of place attachment. I believe that all these variables deserve detailed questioning to determine the place attachment of Ottoman ordinary people in a given environmental setting.

Departing from this wide array of lists pertaining to place attachment, I determined some pioneer sub-topics to follow in grouping my primary sources.

²⁹⁰ Hummon, "Community Attachment: Local Sentiment and Sense of Place," 256-258.

²⁹¹ Mesch and Manor, "Social Ties, Environmental Perception, and Local Attachment," 506.

First, in my query to understand place attachment in the Ottoman context, I will be digging into the common will (or sometimes in the form of collective action) of ordinary people. “Geographic areas provide convenient units of organization for pursuing collective goals,”²⁹² and collective actions or common wills have potentially born out or related of the place attachment, as it has been argued by many scholars.²⁹³

“The cognitive and emotional links that individuals have for their residential environment has been shown to affect the extent of involvement in keeping up the neighborhood, individuals’ willingness to organize in collective action, and exercise of social control to decrease signs of disorder and incivilities perceived as indicators of crime.”²⁹⁴

According to Tilly, “collective action consists of people’s acting together in pursuit of common interests,”²⁹⁵ and those common interests may possibly involve place aspects, whether physical or symbolic. Within this context, the motives or interests behind the common wills or collective actions will be dealt with people’s occupational, religious, ethnic, or spatial affiliations to reveal if there are any connections between those common wills and the place attachment. In this regard, collective appeals to the Ottoman courts will be analyzed in detail as signs of collective intentions or actions.²⁹⁶ I believe this query is necessary to tease out the relationship between ordinary people of the 18th century and the place.

Secondly, as one of the social predictors of place attachment, community ties, in other words, social ties, will be studied. As already noted, social ties and the sense

²⁹² Gerson, Stueve and Fischer, “Attachment to Place,” 140.

²⁹³ Michał Jaśkiewicz and Tomasz Besta, “Place Attachment and Collective Action Tendency,” *Social Psychological Bulletin* 13, 4 (2018).

²⁹⁴ Mesch and Manor, “Social Ties, Environmental Perception, and Local Attachment,” 514.

²⁹⁵ Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1978), 7.

²⁹⁶ For a similar study see Yuval Ben-Bassat, “Mass Petitions as a way to evaluate ‘public opinion’ in the late nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire? The case of internal strife among Gaza’s elite,” *Turkish Historical Review* vol. 4, issue 2 (2013).

of security are among the two most often looked at predictors of place attachment.²⁹⁷ Namely, the strength and extensiveness of neighborhood ties, happiness with the neighborhood, unhappiness to leave, and involvement in the activities will be some focal points of this sub-heading. In terms of the Ottoman context, studies have shown that informal social ties at the local level stemming from daily interactions such as kinship, friendship, and neighborhood are a virtual channel through which actions are coordinated.²⁹⁸ However, studying social ties in relation to place is generally overlooked in Ottoman studies.

To reveal material aspects of place attachment,²⁹⁹ such as ownership, tenancy, occupation, economic interest, etc., the activities of financial groups in relation to place will also be the focus of this dissertation. Guilds are essential not only in terms of the economic activities that satisfy the financial needs of members but also in terms of an occupational group that forms emotional bonds between members.

In terms of behaviors that may be evaluated as the expression of place attachment through actions,³⁰⁰ social control over space, environmental concerns of city dwellers, collective claim-making over space, defending rights pertaining to place, sustaining the order in the area, solidarity networks, and everyday responsibilities would also be indicators of place attachment together with other indicators listed in above paragraphs.

Lastly, I will look at ordinary people's role in daily politics through civic engagement. There is a positive link between civic engagement and place

²⁹⁷ Gustavo S. Mesch and Orit Manor, "Social Ties, Environmental Perception, and Local Attachment." Lewicka, "What Makes Neighborhood Different from Home and City? Effects of Place Scale on Place Attachment."

²⁹⁸ Karen Barkey and Ronan Van Rossem, "Networks of Contention: Villages and Regional Structure in the Seventeenth-Century," *American Journal of Sociology* 102, 5 (1997): 1350-1351.

²⁹⁹ Low, "Symbolic Ties That Bind," Apple Book Edition, 437-441.

³⁰⁰ Scannell and Gifford, "Defining Place Attachment: A Tripartite Organizing Framework," 1-10.

attachment,³⁰¹ and I believe that in a historical study, one may find traces of this link. The involvement in daily political matters signifies both the competence of ordinary people in the city regarding issues related to them, and this involvement, whether or not they succeeded, may show the place bond of people. Those who actively participate in daily matters and on what issues they raise their voices in a city can provide meaningful results. We may assume that a person, who has no sense of attachment to the place, would not be interested in the daily politics of the city s/he lives in. So, involvement in everyday politics and the nature and way of this involvement may tell us something about place attachment.

Asking questions regarding daily matters of ordinary people will possibly reveal some aspects of this relationship. What were their everyday political concerns? Did they join any form of an organizational network concerning their problems? If so, what were these, and did these networks relate to place? What was the relation between daily political concerns and place? How many years was enough to say for a city dweller to say that s/he is a local? What was the geographical limit of ordinary people in terms of urban problems? It is possible to extend these questions; however, the critical point is the set forth the bond established between place and daily political concerns or civic engagement. In this regard, civic engagements of ordinary people and political situations or activities will also be at stake in this dissertation.

It is clear that more or less every answer to all these questions will give us important clues about the level of place attachment of ordinary people concerning the place. However, it is essential to note that the sub-topics mentioned above are closely related to each other, and sometimes it may be impossible to make separate

³⁰¹ Altman and Low, *Place Attachment*; Maria Lewicka, "Ways to make people more active: The role of place attachment, cultural capital and neighborhood ties," 381-395.

categorizations for each of them. For example, civic engagement may arise from neighborhood ties or social bonds established within a community and obviously has a collective aspect. Fortunately, it is not necessary to analyze them as separate categories since all the factors mentioned here are solely guides to evaluate the concept of place attachment.

2.5.2. Emotional Approach

As it has been discussed in detail, place attachment is an “emotional bond” between people and place, and this bond is one of the main aspects of the concept. This section will clarify how to apply this emotional aspect to historical work.

I would like to discuss this link starting from a higher frame, which is emotions, to offer a methodology for this dissertation. The emotions or the feelings of the Ottoman people have been little studied so far as being thought that they have “minor importance compared to ‘hard facts’”³⁰² in Ottoman history. Luckily, very recently, it has been studied comprehensively by Nil Tekgöl.³⁰³ Methodologically, I will be borrowing from her work and approach to emotions in Ottoman history to some extent. Her dissertation, almost unique in the field, explored the emotional world of the Ottoman State and shed light on the emotion of individuals, social groups, and the state of the Ottoman State. So, while delving more into the emotional aspect of place attachment in the Ottoman realm, her study will be my guide.

In her dissertation, Tekgöl outlines the history of emotions from their birth to the development of the field with a detailed and extensive review of the literature.³⁰⁴

³⁰² Suraiya Faroqhi, “Fear, Hatred, Suspicion, and Attempts to Protect the Legitimacy of the Sultan: İstanbul Fires as Reflected in Şâni-zâde’s Chronicle,” in *History from Below A Tribute in Memory of Donald Quataert*, eds. Selim Karahasanoğlu and Deniz Cenk Demir (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University Press, 2016), 517.

³⁰³ Tekgöl, “A Gate to the Emotional World of Pre-modern Ottoman Society.”

³⁰⁴ Please see Tekgöl, “A Gate to the Emotional World of Pre-modern Ottoman Society,” 16 – 30.

She explores the emotions in Ottoman society in three different layers: first, emotions between State/Sultan and its subjects, secondly intra-communal relations; and thirdly, affective ties between husband and wife. In terms of methodology, based on the works of Peter and Carol Stearns, Barbara Rosenwein, and William Reddy,³⁰⁵ she first explored the prescriptions of emotions, then the descriptions of the established norms or the actual experience of the people, and finally studied how people conformed or deviated from these established norms and expressed their feelings.³⁰⁶ In my journey to seek clues on place attachment, especially in terms of understanding verbal expressions referring to any emotional bond between people and place, I will follow her methodology besides my cultural perspective on place attachment.

Studying emotions in Ottoman history is not an easy task and involves difficulties, especially regarding sources. So, it is vital to be aware of the challenges during the research process. First of all, most of the sources are products of officialdom. When considered, the primary sources of this dissertation, namely the *sicils*, are written by qadis, and those are, after all, the formulation of concerns or requests of Ottoman ordinary subjects. Considering that *sicils* have to conform to bureaucratic jargon and the standards of officialdom, it is hard to assume that words in *sicils* are untouched speeches of ordinary people. Even the verbatim citations may be the words of the writer.³⁰⁷ So, knowing the feelings of ordinary Ottoman subjects, such as women and enslaved people, in the face of events, changes, and disasters is challenging. Still, I think that this quest for emotions deserves at least given a try.

³⁰⁵ For a detailed discussion of their studies, see Nil Tekgöl, "A Gate to the Emotional World of Pre-modern Ottoman Society," 43-50.

³⁰⁶ Tekgöl, "A Gate to the Emotional World of Pre-modern Ottoman Society," 51-52.

³⁰⁷ Faroqhi, "Fear, Hatred, Suspicion, and Attempts to Protect the Legitimacy of the Sultan: İstanbul Fires as Reflected in Şânî-zâde's Chronicle," 517.

Sometimes, findings have been just a feeling of a single individual, far from representative of the general picture, but they may still present essential clues about the subject in question.³⁰⁸ After all, this is what the history from below aims for.

Some specific indicators or predictors of place attachment are summarized in the previous section. Taking them as my lead clues, I will delve into Ottoman texts to search for indications of place attachment. Indicators mentioned in an earlier section are generally behaviors, in other words, actions in which attachment is expressed, according to the tripartite model offered by Scannell and Gifford.³⁰⁹ However, concerning emotional processes involving cognitions as well, I believe that my search for behavioral signs will potentially reveal the emotional aspect of place attachment. Searching Ottoman courts record for indicators of place attachment provides the possibility of studying verbal expressions of underlying texts. Methodologically, place attachment studies in current literature, especially ones focusing on emotions, are based on in-depth interviews. Since I cannot ask about the feelings of Ottoman people towards places they live in, a verbal search of emotional expressions and linguistic analysis of them throughout sources will likely provide clues on the subject in question.

2.6. Review of Relevant Literature in the Ottoman History

Throughout this topic of the dissertation, I will establish a connection between the concept of place attachment and Ottoman urban history through a review of literature touching upon place attachment discussions. First, it is essential to note that only a few studies are directly interested in this subject. However, there

³⁰⁸ Faroqhi, 521.

³⁰⁹ Scannell and Gifford, "Defining Place Attachment: A Tripartite Organizing Framework," 1-10.

are studies touching upon the issue within a broader discussion, which I will also briefly discuss.

Similar to the discussion of place attachment, over recent years, Ottoman urban history received increasing attention. After the first studies on Ottoman social and economic history led by Halil İnalcık,³¹⁰ Ömer Lütü Barkan,³¹¹ Ronald Jennings, and Mustafa Akdağ³¹² in the 60s, Ottoman cities had entered the agenda of historians.³¹³ The idea that the true form of cities only exists in Europe and that Islamic cities do not have this form was amongst the main debates of Ottoman urban historians at that time.³¹⁴ However, in terms of content, these first Ottoman city studies were rather in the form of city monographs written in a descriptive manner. They did not have the necessary comparative approach, and they rather analyzed cities as independent units. In real terms, Ottoman urban historiography started with the studies on cadastral surveys (*tahrir defters*), which helped to reconstruct Ottoman cities demographically, socially, and economically.³¹⁵ Studies based on cadastral surveys do not talk much about the daily life of ordinary people or the internal structure of cities. Still, they provide a great deal of general information concerning

³¹⁰ Halil İnalcık, "Bursa XVI. Asır Sanayi ve Ticaret Tarihine Dair Vesikalar," *Belleten* XXVI 93 (1960): 45-102.

³¹¹ Ömer Lütü Barkan, "Edirne Kassamına Ait Tereke Defterleri," *Belgeler* III (1966):1-479.

³¹² Mustafa Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 1959).

³¹³ Kayoko Hayashi approach the studies on Ottoman urban history under four sub-categories: 1) Studies about the development of Anatolian cities and their networks 2) Studies about the internal structure of cities 3) Studies about the spatial structure of cities 4) Studies about the transformation of cities in the 19th century. Current paper falls under the sub-category 2, which deals with the urban administration, guilds, merchants, quarters, waqf endowments and social groups as internal structure of cities. Therefore, the literature reviewed in this paper is limited to studies on the internal structure of the Ottoman cities and Ottoman socio-economic history. Kayoko Hayashi, "Turkey," in *Islamic Urban Studies: Historical Review and Perspectives*, ed. Masashi Haneda and Toru Miura (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1994), 192-215.

³¹⁴ Ergenç, "Osmanlı Şehir Tarihi Araştırmalarının Kuramsal Çerçevesi Nasıl Oluşturulabilir?" 25.

³¹⁵ For a detailed bibliography on studies based on cadastral surveys see Erhan Afyoncu, "Türkiye'de Tahrir Defterlerine Dayalı Olarak Hazırlanmış Çalışmalar Hakkında Bazı Görüşler," *Türkiye Literatür Dergisi* 1, no. 1 (2003): 267-286.

Ottoman cities in general, such as demographic composition, occupations, and economic activities.³¹⁶

In the following period, the trend in Ottoman urban history shifted towards using court records since the series of cadastral surveys available for the 15th and 16th centuries did not exist for the following centuries. In line with that, historians began to pay more attention to the relationship between the Ottoman State and society by making use of court records.³¹⁷ Scholars such as Özer Ergenç, Suraiya Faroqhi and Haim Gerber used sources in a different fashion, and they produced more analytical and multi-dimensional studies framing cities in more extensive networks of relationships.³¹⁸ These studies have analyzed the cities more elaborately to understand the gist of meaning lying under the texts instead of descriptive analysis.³¹⁹ Özer Ergenç's works on the Ottoman cities of Ankara, Konya, and Bursa were the first in their kind, and subsequent studies have benefited from the methodology of Ergenç's works.³²⁰ Towards the end of the 80s, Zeynep Çelik, Edhem Eldem, and Daniel Goffman have made valuable contributions to the field.³²¹

Studies with approaches and perspectives similar to this dissertation, namely bottom-up studies, became popular in the 90s. Ottoman subjects' use of complaint mechanisms through courts was taken as bottom-up political processes by some scholars such as Faroqhi and analyzed accordingly.³²² These bottom-up studies of the

³¹⁶ Hayashi, "Turkey," 198; Eldem, Goffman, and Masters, *The Ottoman City Between East and West*, 10.

³¹⁷ Wilkins, *Forging Urban Solidarities: Ottoman Aleppo 1640-1700*, 4.

³¹⁸ See Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*. Suraiya Faroqhi, *Orta Halli Osmanlılar*; Haim Gerber, *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City: Bursa, 1600-1700* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1988). Eldem, Goffman, and Masters, *the Ottoman City Between East and West*, 11.

³¹⁹ Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles," 39-41.

³²⁰ See as instance Hülya Taş, *XVII. Yüzyılda Ankara* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006).

³²¹ Zeynep Çelik, *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti Değişen İstanbul*, trans. Selim Deringil (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2019). Eldem, Goffman, and Masters, *the Ottoman City Between East and West*.

³²² Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town: Ayntab in the 17th Century*, 7 – 8. Faroqhi, "Political Initiatives 'From the Bottom Up' in the Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire."

political processes, by reintroducing the subjects of the Ottoman State as having an active role in their destiny, brought a new vision to Ottoman urban history. The contributions of Suraiya Faroqhi, Amy Singer, and Karen Barker are significant since revealing the social dynamics between the ordinary people and the state from the perspective of the former.³²³

As this brief overview of Ottoman urban historiography indicates, the interest in scholarship has shifted towards micro studies by focusing on the daily lives of ordinary people within the local context. When the ordinary actors become the star of the story, it is unavoidable that the place they live in and the relationship established between them will be the supporting actor. For this reason, this brief overview of Ottoman urban historiography is presented to help establish a vital link between urban history and the concepts of place attachment and ordinary people of cities.

In general terms, the relationship established between people and place is relatively well studied in scholarly literature. In Ottoman urban historiography as well, there are, for sure, studies focusing on the relationship established between people and place; however, studies directly analyze the concept of place attachment, with a broader theoretical framework, with regard to Ottoman cities, neighborhoods, or communities are scarcely any. Moreover, general urban studies on Anatolian cities in the 18th century are rare in the literature. Although I find it a rather overstated claim, Peter Sluglett explains the reasons for not covering Anatolian cities in the book of “The Urban Social History of the Middle East (1750 – 1950)” by claiming that “there do not appear to be any substantial studies of Turkish cities for the period on which this volume is focused.”³²⁴ However, my own digging of the literature has

³²³ See Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*; Faroqhi, “Political Activity among Ottoman Taxpayers,” Singer, *Palestinian Peasants and Ottoman Officials*.

³²⁴ Peter Sluglett, *The Urban Social History of the Middle East (1750-1950)* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2011), 3.

ended up finding studies in at least a similar fashion, though the literature review still points a gap in the field in terms of place attachment. Hence, I will briefly touch upon the literature which I find it relevant in terms of place attachment discussions. It should be here noted that Ottoman literature, related to the indicators determined as the sign of place attachment in this dissertation, will be presented briefly because of their relevance to the subject.

Isin and Üstündağ, in their article, analyzed the Ottoman women and *waqfs* beyond their ostensible motives, by interpreting *waqfs* as institutions (organized spaces) in which women could raise civic identities and civic solidarities.³²⁵ They elaborated on how Ottoman women utilized acts of piety, outwardly a religious norm, to become political. They claim that while the founding of *külliyes* – *the waqf* complexes - by Ottoman women is shaping Ottoman urban space, these acts, by endowing their property in the formation of public spaces, were creating a sense of belonging for women in the city.³²⁶ I think that this study is quite different and brings a new perspective to *waqf* studies by looking at the relationship between Ottoman women and the foundation of *waqfs*. The articulation of space, namely *külliyes*, as a vehicle to constitute civic identity and a sense of belonging to the city is precious in terms of people-place studies. However, in terms of the content, I found that detailed and substantial examples proofing this identity formation or sense of belonging are missing in this piece of work.

The work of Boğaç Ergene scrutinizes the function of courts with a specific emphasis on dispute resolution in Çankırı and Kastamonu between the years 1652 and 1744. Ergene maintains that appealing to the court as a group was an essential

³²⁵ Engin Isin and Ebru Üstündağ, “Wills, deeds, acts: Women’s civic gift-giving in Ottoman İstanbul,” *Gender, Place and Culture* 15, no. 5 (2008): 519-532.

³²⁶ Isin and Üstündağ, 525.

indicator of the collective competency of communities in Ottoman society by backing up his argument with examples from court records indicating the power of community over the cases.³²⁷ According to Ergene, “the agency of the community, rather than the agency of the court, dominated the judicial processes when cases involved serious criminal disputes, violations of public rights, or threats to local security.”³²⁸ Obviously, place attachment is not a study question for Ergene; however, his remarks with regard to collective efforts of the community are inspiring, especially in terms of the reasons leading communities to act together. In such cases, security and criminality are variables affecting place attachment, and community dominancy may be an indicator of bonds established between people and place in Ottoman society.

In his book that analyzes the impact of social and political changes in the Ottoman Empire by focusing on adaptations of urban institutions in Aleppo, Charles Wilkins argues that guilds or neighborhoods have gained the ability to move collectively in the face of the transformation of state authority. In response to the growing financial demands of the Ottoman State in the 17th century, he talks about joint initiatives established by neighborhoods and guilds.³²⁹ Although Wilkins does not have such an approach, those joint initiatives would have been reevaluated as forms of organizational involvement or voluntary institutional ties, which may maintain an attachment to the place.

Tahsin Yücel, in his article taking neighborhood as the central unit of analysis, focuses on the fundamental principles regulating relations between people of the same neighborhood. He maintains that “the unity and solidarity formed by the

³²⁷ Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire*,” 151 – 168.

³²⁸ Ergene, 152.

³²⁹ Wilkins, *Forging Urban Solidarities: Ottoman Aleppo 1640 – 1700*.

people of neighborhood turns into a collective consciousness and it constitutes an important control mechanism on the common spaces of the neighborhood and on individuals.”³³⁰ In this regard, he examines *şuf’a hakkı*, the role of waqfs and *kefalet sistemi* (suretyship system) in Ottoman neighborhoods with case examples from court records. The social control system established in Ottoman neighborhoods turns people responsible for each others’ actions, making people conscious dwellers regarding the place they live. Here, I consider that the social control mechanism in Ottoman cities requires specific attention regarding place attachment. Viewing being within the same neighborhood as the determining criteria to be responsible for each other may form an attachment to the determined place because responsibilities presumably enhance social ties. Moreover, suppose we are talking about the existence of collective consciousness as a provider of social control. In that case, it inherently contains an emotional bond regarding place since this consciousness is specific to a neighborhood. So indeed, studies reveal positive relation between higher neighborhood attachment and the development of a set of norms and social control mechanisms that result in crime reduction.³³¹

The comprehensive work of Abraham Marcus on the city of Aleppo in the 18th century provides a great deal of insight with regard to the place attachment of ordinary people. Discussing local consciousness, urban experience, and perception of place in separate topics indicate his specific attention to the case. According to Marcus, Aleppo had a special place in the eyes of its dwellers of local experiences and its particular culture, leading to a local consciousness among its people. On the other hand, societal diversity had increased due to in-and-out migrations in the city

³³⁰ Tahsin Özcan, “Osmanlı Mahallesi: Sosyal Kontrol ve Kefalet Sistemi,” *Marife* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 141.

³³¹ Robert J. Sampson and W. Byron Grove, “Community Structure and Crime: Testing Social-Disorganization Theory,” *The American Journal of Sociology* 94, no. 4 (1989): 774 – 802.

of Aleppo in the 18th century. Especially economic problems or religious-based oppressions were leading people to migrate. Marcus notes that mothers forced their boys to marry as early as possible to prevent them from leaving Aleppo. Considering that family ties are variables affecting place attachment, this move of the mothers of Aleppo stands as a striking example.³³²

The bond between dwellers of Aleppo and the city is emphasized explicitly as such:

“Yet on a plane distinct from the actual conditions the repertoire of local sentiments and attitudes mirrored the sort of collective self-images that could stir in the residents of a place a sense of community and local pride. It elevated Aleppo above a mere aggregate of insignificant people who happened to share a common space. The city stood for a set of worthy ideals, primarily civility, urbanity, culture and piety. Superiority in ethics and aesthetics, in the spiritual and the material, defined its essence and goals as a community. In a society divided along many lines the shared local loyalties and sentiments added an important ingredient to the bases of social cohesion.”³³³

The dwellers of Aleppo called “*vatan*”³³⁴ (not in the sense of the national homeland of the 19th century) to tell that they belonged to Aleppo. As mentioned in place attachment literature as well, to develop this kind of attachment to the city, being born there was not a precondition. Aleppo is mentioned as the original *vatan* in a draft autobiography of someone, who was born and raised in Damascus, but his family is originally from Aleppo. This kind of attachment probably results from the narrative linkage established through family narratives. According to Marcus, the strengthening of this kind of local attachment was also the result of the weakening of wider regional attachments in the 18th century, which I find rather interesting. I would have assumed that increased mobility and migrations would lead to a decrease

³³² Marcus, *Modernliğin Eşiğinde Bir Osmanlı Şehri: Halep*, 33 – 50.

³³³ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 36.

³³⁴ According to Lewis, the Word *vatan* did not have any political meaning or indicate loyalty to a territory. Bernard Lewis, “Watan,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 26 (1991): 523-533.

in the level of place attachment combined with the adverse conditions of the 18th century. Marcus also makes a point of my assumption by arguing that this feeling of belonging was not powerful enough, especially for those who left the city.³³⁵ On the other hand, it would be right to think that people turned their loyalties to their narrower regions in the face of a collapsing empire. This complexity indicates that multiple factors overriding and competing with each other possibly affected people's attachment in the 18th century.

Özer Ergenç, as one of the pioneering Ottoman urban historians, has always dealt with the relationship established between people and places from different angles in his studies.³³⁶ Here, I would like to mention his deliberations concerning the individual perception of space in the early modern Ottoman world.

According to Ergenç, *mekan* (space) as a socially constructed symbolic space or a part of people's identity has not been studied extensively yet. Approaching space in terms of its symbolic or socially embedded meanings or evaluating how an ordinary Ottoman individual would have perceived it provides new variables to understand the Ottoman realm. By emphasizing the extensive vocabulary referring to space in Ottoman texts such as *mekan*, *mahal*, *mevki*, *menzil*, *vatan*, *cihan*, *dünya*, *arz*, *memleket*, *yurt*, *hitta*, *safha*, etc., Ergenç maintains that space perceived differently by the State and the individual. For example, Ottoman state defined its lands as “*memalik-i mahruse*” while the world beyond its borders termed as “*diyar-Acem*” or “*vilayet-i Acem*”. The universe defined as “*cihan*” or “*alem*” indicates an imaginary scope of sovereignty that Ottoman policy aims to fulfill, while “*memalik-i mahruse*” is a definite and real place. On the other hand, the scope of perceived space and definitions differ for individuals. Place as perceived was one of the main

³³⁵ Marcus, *Modernliğin Eşiğinde Bir Osmanlı Şehri: Halep*, 53-55.

³³⁶ See Ergenç, *Şehir Toplum Devlet: Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları*.

determinants of people's identity in the early modern world and the place where someone was born and used to live was termed as "*vatan*" as it is pronounced by Marcus's work on Aleppo as well. So, while the term "*diyar-i aher*" was referring to places outside of individual's "*vatan*;" for the State, it was referring to the places outside of "*memalik-i mahruse*." According to Ergenç, Ottoman individuals' perceptions of space varied based on their mobility. Considering that most ordinary people do not have the chance to travel, their perception of space is formed primarily based on hearsays³³⁷ that transform spaces into imaginary or fantastic lands. Hence, the most valid perception of place is "*vatan*" for the Ottoman individual and as the distance increases, the perception of it is getting imaginary.³³⁸ From this viewpoint, it would not be wrong to deduce that the Ottoman people's perception of space was affected by multiple variables, and in line with that, the level of people's attachment would probably vary as well.

Ergenç concludes his paper by arguing that the change in the meaning of "*vatan*" from "one's birthplace" to "the territory of national identity" starting from the end of the 18th century deserves particular query since it points a change in the perception of Ottoman people with regard to place. Indeed, studies focusing on nationalism in the Ottoman State and the Republic of Turkey miss out on this aspect and generally carry out discussions at the ideological level, by not adding the space dimension.³³⁹ In this regard, I believe that the perception of space and people's level

³³⁷ The role of hearsays in the perception of place is significant. Hearsays, narratives, and family memories are among the variables forming place attachment, as previously mentioned in the literature on place attachment. The same idea was sustained similarly in the work of Abraham Marcus on Aleppo.

³³⁸ Özer Ergenç, "Individual's Perception of Space in the Early Modern Ottoman World."

³³⁹ The book of Behlül Özkan needs to be distinguished from others in terms of taking this issue from a different perspective. He analyzes the perception of space as the realm of sovereignty in the Ottoman State and the Turkish Republic through the concept of *vatan*. Behlül Özkan traces the change in the meaning of *vatan* by focusing on how *vatan* is spatially reconstructed through the formation of Turkish nationalism. He considers the space aspect of *vatan* in his search for Turkish nationalism, contrary to the notion that believes *vatan* is an ahistorical and timeless natural symbol of the reality of

of attachment to place or its change are closely related to ideological discussions of nationalism, and contributions are necessary.

The work of Shirine Hamadeh, focusing on the parameters of Ottoman architectural sensibility in the 18th century, presents a different approach to understanding the relationship between people and place. By looking at the architectural and urban transformations of the 18th century, she tried to answer popular sensibilities' role in shaping aesthetic values. According to Hamadeh, the 18th century witnessed the rising power of certain social groups and the wearing of social distinction between groups. This led to the more visible presence of a middling urban society in the public arena of İstanbul. In the midst of these social changes, while the Ottoman State tried to regulate urban space, this middling urban society put its mark on the landscape of the city of Istanbul.³⁴⁰ Hamadeh explains the increase in the number of fountains built in the 18th century and the wider spectrum of fountain endowers, most of them holding the title of *ağa*, as the “growing practice of building patronage and pious endowments by individuals from the middle economic strata of the urban society.”³⁴¹

Although this study of Hamadeh seems architectural analysis of İstanbul at first, she specifically focuses on the growing consciousness of public life, and she does this from a different angle. She tries to reveal the public life of ordinary people through an analysis of cultural expressions based on the fact that urban life infiltrated visual and literary representations. According to her, life in İstanbul had started to be

the Turkish nation. In this regard, his book is a valuable contribution; however, since his focus and area of expertise is rather Turkish politics, his evaluation of *vatan* is state-centric, primarily focused on the late-Ottoman period to evaluate the transition amid rising nationalism of 19th century. Behlül Özkan, *From the Abode of Islam to the Turkish Vatan The Making of National Homeland in Turkey* (New Have and London: Yale University Press, 2012).

³⁴⁰ Hamadeh, “The City’s Pleasures: Architectural Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century İstanbul”, 56-71.

³⁴¹ Hamadeh, 98.

lived more outdoors, and the expansion of public spaces in the 18th century could be evaluated as a response to new needs of this transformation and configuration of urban life.³⁴² She, through her dissertation, establishes a connection between the change in the way of living and the visual representations of urban life. This direct relationship between the two is obviously a sign of people's attachment to the place. Although the space had transformed, people continued their engagements through adaptations.

Grehan's work on street violence in Damascus³⁴³ draws attention to the fact that it is pretty common to organize at the spatial level as much as mobilization based on the ethnic, religious, or occupational affiliation in 18th century Damascus. There are many cases where urban dwellers act together based on their spatial association other than social solidarity networks. Considering the importance of *mahalles* as a central living unit in the Ottoman Empire, affiliation at the spatial level is undoubtedly understandable. However, considering the increasing heterogeneity of mahalles in the 18th century, the driving forces leading people to act together remains an essential question.

By focusing on the crowd's action, Grehan admits that it is not easy to find common motives leading them to act, considering the tacit silence of sources in this regard. Similar to the work of Abraham Marcus on Aleppo, Grehan argues that Damascus was a city of immigrants from throughout the Middle East, such as Kurds, Turks, North Africans, and Persians. Still, whatever their background was, people protected their original identity to some extent and formed attachments in their search for protection and support when needed.

³⁴² Hamadeh, 114-116, 121

³⁴³ James Grehan, "Street Violence and Social Imagination in Late-Mamluk and Ottoman Damascus (1500-1800)," in *History from Below in the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Stephanie Cronin (London: Taylor&Francis, 2012), 215-236.

However, beyond the ethnicity-based affiliations bounding people, “the sense of local attachment, of belonging to a particular quarter within the city”³⁴⁴ was no less critical. Residential quarters formed through cul-de-sacs as self-contained spaces closed by gates at night had particular forms of loyalties that manifested themselves as the neighborhood gangs. Those gangs existed before the Ottoman conquest of Syria; however, they continued to be important features of neighborhoods during the 18th century as well. Unlike other works of similar scope, Grehan maintains that there was also a spontaneous sporadic rise up of crowds leading widespread protests except for the bonds of religion, work, ethnicity or/and quarter as the social solidarity networks. Chroniclers termed this kind of protest, which has no link with factions or organizations, as people (*‘amma*, *‘awamm*, *nâs*). Interestingly, most of those sporadic popular protests were still predominantly from the same neighborhood.³⁴⁵

The dissertation of Nahide Işık Demirakın sheds light on the perception of Ottomans concerning cities by taking urban scenery both in terms of physical and social transformations in the 19th century. Similar to post-structuralist agendas having a bottom-up perspective, part of her dissertation deals with themes shaping urban perceptions and a sense of belonging in Ottoman cities. She argues that increasing state regulation and the modernizing reforms of the *Tanzimat* era led to the loss of city dwellers of their claim over their spaces. Before the 19th century, they were bound by shared responsibilities and interests forming an allegiance to the neighborhood stronger than to the city. In the 19th century, In the 19th century, city dwellers were freed from their collective or personal responsibilities regarding their living space, such as cleaning and security. Hence former ties that knit communities

³⁴⁴ Grehan, 219.

³⁴⁵ Grehan, 219-220.

together had become loose.³⁴⁶ Although this argument alone is not enough for ordinary people to give up their rights and responsibilities regarding space, it can be interpreted that 19th century regulations and reforms influenced the change of spatial ties by institutionalizing some duties.

The work of Yerolympos, who searched for urban consciousness in 19th century Thessaloniki through content analysis of *Hermès* newspaper, finds a bunch of clues of urban consciousness that are closely related to the themes of attachment to the city. In the article, there are various examples referring to people's belonging to the city space who fight for an effective municipality. For example, the below excerpt is an example of this:

“(...) The City Council (...) promised to take measures to rectify this terrible disaster called water shortage, but until now, nothing had been done (...). Adjacent to the Church of St. Nicholas promised to demolish the donkey barn and hay barn, but nothing had been done (...). They promised to take drastic action against those who threw the filthy water and other rubbish out the window, but he did absolutely nothing (...).”³⁴⁷ (*Hermès*, 503/1880)

In another example, author of the *Pharos* newspaper complains about the storage of the gas oil: “Gas oil is stored everywhere (...) down to the many groceries in narrow streets (...) taking into account the lack of fire extinguishers and the scarcity of water; a general disaster is imminent in the city (...).”

The examples presented in the article show that classical city patterns and behaviors still exist at least in the 19th century Thessaloniki. Still, people are more concerned about regulations since they expect some duties from the municipality. The author, based on the inferences she made from the newspaper content, comments that “an urban consciousness has emerged as a place where everyone can express

³⁴⁶ Demirakın, “The City as a Reflecting Mirror,” 24.

³⁴⁷ Alexandra Yerolympos, “XIX. Yüzyıl Sonunda Selanik’te Kentlilik Bilinci ve Belediyeye İlgi,” in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Yaşamak*, ed. François Geogron & Paul Dumont (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2008), 167. (My translation.)

their existence and ethnic origin, where everyone can live in harmony with others, and where everyone can communicate with foreigners and individuals belonging to other religions and ethnic origins.”³⁴⁸ The author is not wrong when she states that in an age where various currents towards the disintegration of the Empire were developing, news pushing the city to unite was published in the newspaper. The newspaper invites all dwellers to join the city’s management by adopting a locality mentality, which aims to collaborate with different groups and communities from different strata. Adopting such an attitude guarantees the newspaper’s existence and is proof of the emergence of urban consciousness and a sense of belonging to the city.

As many of the examples from the literature presented above entail, there was a common culture and shared lifestyles that Muslims and non-Muslims established through daily relations in the Ottoman space. This culture transcended religion-based tensions and created unity among the city dwellers. Attachment to the city positively influenced the unity that overcame these tensions. We see these comments on related subjects in many works of Özer Ergenç, Suraiya Faroqhi, and Abraham Marcus.³⁴⁹ However, I think these phenomena, which are primarily explained in the literature with the tolerance of both the Ottoman Empire and the subjects, clearly point to unity and belonging beyond tolerance. The tolerance literature pairs with the nostalgia seen in the official Turkish versions of the history, which posits that differences were well-tolerated in the Ottoman State and argues that it deteriorated with the homogenization of nation-states. There are studies elaborating on this nostalgia. For example, the work of Doumanis maintains that Greeks displaced from Anatolia had a

³⁴⁸ Yerolympos, 173. (My translation.)

³⁴⁹ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Orta Halli Osmanlılar*; Özer Ergenç, *Şehir Toplum Devlet: Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları*, Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of the Modernity*.

good life before feeling the effect of the nation-state ideology.³⁵⁰ However, Duru argues that this is, instead of a nostalgic eyeshot, it is a recall “for a place to which one belonged that was created out of shared ways of living that encompassed and enjoyed diversity.”³⁵¹

After briefly reviewing the literature that I found related to this dissertation, it is obvious that there are relevant studies discussing or touching upon the issue of spatial belonging from different angles. I hope that these works mentioned above will help me in my search to understand place attachment in the Ottoman space. The following section will be an exhaustive analysis of place attachment based on primary sources.

³⁵⁰ Nicholas Doumanis, *Before the Nation: Muslim-Christian Coexistence and its Destruction in Late-Ottoman Anatolia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

³⁵¹ Deniz Neriman Duru, “Memory, Conviviality, and Coexistence” in *Post-Ottoman Coexistence Sharing Space in the Shadow of Conflict*, ed. Rebecca Bryant (Berghahn Books, 2016), 159-160.

CHAPTER III

A HOLISTIC ANALYSIS OF PLACE ATTACHMENT IN THE OTTOMAN SOCIETY

“ ...
Ne kadar ‘alemi devr itse sipihr
Bulmaz İstanbulla benzer bir şehir
Hüsn ilê görmek ilê müstesnâ
Anı agûşuna çekmiş deryâ
Ne kadar vâir ise aksâm-ı hüner
Heb Sıtanbulda bulur revank-ü fer
Nakş ü tasvî ü hutût ü tezhin
Heb Sıtabulda bulur zînet ü zîb
Mâhasal cümle sinâ‘ât ü hıref
Heb Sıtanbulda bulur ‘izz ü şeref
Dahi vardır nîce envâ-ı hüner
Taşradâ nâmını dâ bilmezler
Ne bilür hânedekin hâric-i dâr
...”³⁵²

The role of ordinary people in 18th century Ottoman society largely depended on where they were born, where they belonged, and their affiliations to professional associations such as guilds. While all these determine the identity and belonging of ordinary people in traditional societies, it is clear that space is the single most important common component of these three aspects. People had to attach themselves to somewhere, as it has been today, since it is a basic instinct of all people. Yet, the meaning and the impact of such attachments varied across time depending on certain factors.

³⁵² The part of *Hayrriye* poem of Nâbi³⁵² (a Turkish Divân poet who lived between 1642 and 1712.) about İstanbul. Quoted from Asaf Halet Çelebi, *Divan Şi‘rinde İstanbul (Antoloji)* (İstanbul: Halk Basımevi, 1953), 61.

In the previous chapters, the departure points of this thesis, the definitions referenced, and the link established with the Ottoman space within the methodological limits, the pillars of the theory, and the approach of the relevant literature in the Ottoman historical narrative were summarized. In this chapter, I will apply the theory in Ottoman space, which will form the main body of the thesis.

To that end, this long chapter is comprised of various headings, each of which constitutes a central aspect of the place attachment theory in relation to the Ottoman space. It was possible to extend sub-headings or narrow them. However, since this dissertation is the first of its kind, I wanted to be as comprehensive as possible to provide clues on how an Ottoman historian could approach the issue in the future. Some sub-headings are shorter than others since after I started this journey I realized that they required comprehensive quantitative data to analyze. Because this dissertation aims to provide a general framework and to draw a typology, I could not work with such comprehensive quantitative data. The wide geographic scope was also a challenge in that sense. Therefore, sub-headings are different in length, or some contain more primary sources, while others are more based on analysis and evaluation through secondary sources.

3.1. Attachment to the Ottoman Built Environment

In this sub-section, I will discuss the impact of the Ottoman space's physical structure and architectural form over people's place attachment by looking at several factors and variables. As discussed in detail in the second chapter, place attachment, by definition, is a bond between people and the physical environment. Accordingly, the place aspect of the theory comprises social and physical components. As explained by Mesch and Manor, physical features of the built environment, such as

cleanliness, noise, accessibility to daily requirements, and the way it is formed are amongst the things that change or affect the bonds between people and place.³⁵³

The symbolic meanings attributed to places and the relationship formed around those meanings have been extensively discussed by historians dealing with the concept of space, leading to a spatial turn in history. Still, the physical is also vital in its own terms and requires a discussion to understand the bond established between ordinary people and place.

The physicality of space is essential because there is a relationship between the transformation of physical spaces and how people deploy meanings to them, be it a street, a city, or a house. For example, following the French Revolution, the ministries' way of working changed to become more transparent. Public employees moved from Versailles to Paris and started working in new ministry buildings, aiming to make the government affairs more transparent. However, in time, it became apparent that physically and technically, it is impossible to have a whole transparent bureaucracy. Employees converted buildings by creating corridors and opening new windows to protect their jobs. When taken individually, those changes in physical layout may not mean much. However, it has been found that those material changes, while redefining the buildings, changed the meaning of space.³⁵⁴

What we know about the physical layout of Ottoman cities, with regard to the forms of houses, streets, quarters and cities, has recently been immersed with detailed studies on each of those forms. The interest in the living space of the Ottomans goes back to the 19th century; however, it was mainly about after the II.

³⁵³ Mesch and Manor, "Social Ties, Environmental Perception, and Local Attachment," 504-519.

³⁵⁴ Ralph Kingston, "The Bricks and Mortar of Revolutionary Administration," *French History* 20, 4 (2006): 405-423.

World War that scholarly attention shifted to areas used by ordinary people of the Ottoman State.³⁵⁵

In this section, I will briefly delve into the physical structure and architectural form of Ottoman cities at different layers to determine whether or not those forms defined or re-defined the established relations between people and places. This sub-heading is particularly relevant for research that involves environmental settings, such as houses, housewares in some contexts, streets, the formation of the neighborhood, and finally, cities; since the physical appearance or the change of the environment may provide clues regarding people's deployed meanings to the place.

3.1.1. Formation of the Ottoman Space: The Grape Bunch Model³⁵⁶

Written Ottoman sources, mainly *sicils*, contain massive data regarding the physical structure of the Ottoman city, including house forms,³⁵⁷ streets, the shape and formation of quarters, and the city in general. All this big data helps us understand the city's spatial order and the bond established in the mindset of ordinary people of the Ottoman State concerning space

In order to observe the characteristics of Ottoman houses and streets, *sicils* in question were systematically scanned as those registries "containing descriptions

³⁵⁵ Those were mainly architects interested in architectural history. The interest of Ottoman historians to the living space or housing forms mainly aroused in the 70s except Ahmet Refik Altınay, Reşat Ekrem Koçu, İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı. The research on Ottoman houses and their forms was predominantly carried by architects until the 70s. See Suraiya Faroqhi, "Giriş," in *Soframız Nur Hanemiz Mamur*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006), 9-12.

³⁵⁶ The analogy made about the grape bunch shape of the physical structure belongs to Özer Ergenç. Özer Ergenç, "Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Toplumunda Mekân, Mahremiyet ve Cinsiyet İlişkileri," in *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Cinsiyet Mahremiyet ve Mekan*, ed. Bedriye Yılmaz (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2015), 17.

³⁵⁷ For example, in registers one may find information about the sale and rental prices of houses, the repairing cost of homes, ownership and inheritance rights, and most importantly, the physical form and architectural layout of the houses and streets.

about the residences of ordinary Ottomans.”³⁵⁸ The most appropriate way to describe any property at that time was to mention the names of its surrounding neighbors. These neighbors could sometimes be a street or a public building, such as a mosque or church. In addition, the number of floors, rooms, and many related details concerning houses were included in house sales or inheritance records. For this reason, *sicils* provide a very comprehensive and rich material to reveal a physical panorama of the Ottoman space.

In my analysis of the structure of houses in the Ottoman Empire, I preferred to stay in the qualitative field and make a discussion based on the information I have because no matter how large my sample is, it is hard to make logical comparisons by using court records, which differ each other both numerically and in terms of content. Moreover, differences arising from nature, climate, and geographical conditions of the space will render the numerical comparison meaningless in such a matter. For example, when we look at the analysis Faroqhi did for the houses of Ankara and Kayseri in the 17th century, the kitchen ratio, which was 6.8% at the beginning of the century, decreased to 1.8% at the end of the century. From this point of view, since it would not be correct to deduce that the number of kitchens decreased in Kayseri at the beginning of the 18th century,³⁵⁹ it is a fact that it would be more accurate to examine the reasons behind the numerical statistics.

In this section, in addition to *sicils*, I utilized traveler notes as an historical source for the Ottoman space. Travels to the Ottoman realm span around the 15th to the 19th century; however, the centuries differ in terms of the quantity and quality of the travel notes. Diplomats, pilgrims, returned captives, merchants missionaries may

³⁵⁸ Hatice Gökçen Özkaya, “Living Conditions in Houses of İstanbul During the 17th Century: A Reading of Kadi Registries,” *TÜBA-KED* 19 (2019): 86.

³⁵⁹ Faroqhi, *Orta Halli Osmanlılar*, 121.

be listed as the travel writers visiting the Ottoman State.³⁶⁰ With the economic developments accompanied by the ease of travel, and a need to know more about the geography of the Ottoman lands, more people had started to visit the Ottoman realm in the 18th century onwards resulting in more travel notes. However, in terms of objectivity, travel notes from the 16th and 17th centuries are considered to be more factual.

Using travel notes as a source for a historical inquiry is a separate topic of discussion. However, I use the observations of travelers to accompany my findings since, with a careful examination, travelogues may be an alternative source for Ottoman social and cultural history by filling the existing gaps.³⁶¹ According to Faroqhi, some Ottoman studies, such as tax assignments requiring in-depth knowledge, may rely solely on local sources. However, travelers' notes cannot be ignored in some other fields.³⁶² Preconceptions, perspectives, and orientalist views of travelers are among the main obstacles to be overcome in analyzing travel notes.³⁶³ For example, European visitors to Ottoman cities "expected a major city to possess buildings several stories high"³⁶⁴ or city walls, yet what they found in Ottoman cities was quite different. Especially the social aspects of space they had in mind affected how they perceived the Ottoman realm. Understanding private and public transitions in the Ottoman space and privacy conception was somewhat puzzling for them. So, what visitors had found in Ottoman cities was less of a city for them affecting their perceptions of portrayal.³⁶⁵ Religious and ethnic biases of the travelers, combined

³⁶⁰ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History an Introduction to the Sources* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999), 112-122.

³⁶¹ Özgür Yılmaz, "Osmanlı Şehir Tarihler Açısından Yabancı Seyahatnamelerin Kaynak Değeri," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* XXVIII, 2 (2013): 587-592.

³⁶² Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History an Introduction to the Sources*, 110.

³⁶³ Yılmaz, "Osmanlı Şehir Tarihler Açısından Yabancı Seyahatnamelerin Kaynak Değeri," 587-597.

³⁶⁴ Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History an Introduction to the Sources*, 129.

³⁶⁵ Faroqhi, 130.

with the lack of information on Islam posed another problem. Their limited or no knowledge of Turkish was also restraining their flow of information.³⁶⁶

Some of those travelers also added city-view paintings to their travel notes. From the 16th century onwards, not only the city of İstanbul but multiple Ottoman cities were depicted in history books and travelogues.³⁶⁷ Being careful about how much they reflect reality, these engravings and pictures drawn by travelers can offer at least limited clues about the physical appearance of many Ottoman cities.³⁶⁸ According to Ebel, towns and city views, becoming popular in the 15th century, reflected the reality rather than a distorted representation in the 16th century. However, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, images of the cities were having orientalist reflections. Although these images' portrayal of the Ottoman urban landscape is questionable, they may provide understanding with regard to perceptions of Europeans towards Ottoman cities.

Not only travelers' drawings but also other kinds of visual representations of the Ottoman city deserve attention from those studying Ottoman urban history, such as topographic miniatures. Ottoman town views and topographic miniature paintings are "among the most important visual sources for the study of the urban landscape in the Ottoman Empire."³⁶⁹ The limitation for them is that they were produced mainly for military purposes to reflect conquests and expansions of the Empire. Consequently, the cities they painted were the ones on the conquest routes or the frontier zones. So, Anatolian and Balkan cities were rarely illustrated in these town

³⁶⁶ Faroqhi, 141.

³⁶⁷ Kathryn A. Ebel, "Visual Sources for Urban History of the Ottoman Empire," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 3, 6 (2005): 473-474.

³⁶⁸ İbrahim Çoban and Nurcan Sert, "Batılıların Yazdığı Seyahatnamelerdeki Gravürlere Yansıyan Şekliyle Anadolu Geleneksel Mimarisi," *İdil* 7, 52 (2018): 1531 – 1538.

³⁶⁹ Ebel, "Visual Sources for Urban History of the Ottoman Empire," 458.

views and paintings.³⁷⁰ Visual reflections may have been practiced for different purposes, such as scientific or artistic; however, whatever the purpose is, it is significant to know that those imageries are inherent in being urban and among the constituent parts of cities. So, Ottoman town views, topographic paintings, and architectural plans should also be considered with the European city views.³⁷¹

Overall, the reliability of visual sources will remain a question mark, as has been in other archival materials. Limitations and inaccuracies will always be on the agenda of historians; however, focusing on the images and what they could tell us would provide historians with more clues. To achieve this, it is essential to “query these images not on our own terms but rather on the terms of the people and places that first gave rise to the images.”³⁷²

Having briefly outlined the potential shortcomings of travelers’ notes and visual sources, I will now present an overview of the Ottoman physical landscape based on them. In the classical sense, the physical layout of Ottoman cities, together with their quarters and streets, has an order,³⁷³ although it was not perceived in this way by outsiders such as travelers. General observation of travelers visiting different parts of the Ottoman State highlights the intricate order in cities weaved with narrow streets with no pavement. For example, Dernschwam, a merchant visiting Ottoman Anatolia in the 16th century, writes that houses were built randomly, indicating no plan in Ankara. He also stresses that streets are narrow, short and have no pavement.³⁷⁴ Tournefort, a French botanist, during his voyage just the beginning of

³⁷⁰ Ebel, 460 – 466.

³⁷¹ Ebel, 457-478.

³⁷² Ebel, 484.

³⁷³ Ergenç, *Şehir, Toplum, Devlet: Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları*.

³⁷⁴ Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı Kentleri ve Yabancı Gezginler* (İstanbul: Sanat Matbaacılık, 1996), 102. Sevim Karabela Şermet, “Hans Dernschwam’ın ‘İstanbul ve Anadolu’ya Seyahat Günlüğü’nde Amasya’da Osmanlı Kültürel Dokusu ve İnsan Algısı,” *Bartın Üniversitesi Çeşm-i Cihan: Tarih, Kültür ve Sanat Araştırmaları E-Dergisi* 4, 2 (2017): 68.

the 18th century from the islands of the Aegean Sea to İstanbul and then Georgia, kept travelogues, which covers a detailed description of cities and people of Ottoman realm. His records define the cities and quarters as being irregular like his predecessors.³⁷⁵ In the 19th century, similar observations were made by Texier for İzmir and Amasya. He describes İzmir as there is no order in the buildings of the city, which consists of streets where only a loaded camel can pass.³⁷⁶ Another traveler, Moltke, makes the following comment about the 19th century İzmir: “If one were to scatter a handful of red houses, a few mosques and fountains from the sky, the plan formed could be no more confused than at present! One is astonished to find streets among the clusters of houses.”³⁷⁷ According to Doctor William Wittman, who traveled to İstanbul in 1799, nothing was as beautiful and magnificent as the exterior of İstanbul and its surroundings, but the interior of İstanbul was not as attractive because of the haphazardly built houses and narrow streets.³⁷⁸

Above-mentioned common observation among travelers is understandable considering that they were just passing by the Ottoman cities without enough time to understand the architectural layout.³⁷⁹ Another reason for this observation may be the difference between their accustomed urban pattern in Western cities and Ottoman cities. This does not mean that their statements were not reflecting the original appearance of towns and cities of the Ottoman State. Nevertheless, the intricateness and irregularity of Ottoman cities were actually inholding a pattern in itself.³⁸⁰ My

³⁷⁵ Joseph de Tournefort, *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi II. Cilt*, ed. Stefanos Yerasimos, trans. Teoman Tunçdoğan (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2013), 17, 158.

³⁷⁶ Charles Texier, *Küçük Asya Coğrafyası Tarihi ve Arkeolojisi II*, trans. Ali Suat (Ankara: Enformasyon ve Dokümantasyon Hizmetleri Vakfı, 2002), 148. Similar arguments are widespread in his travel notes with regard to different cities in Anatolia. For example, see pages 381, 476.

³⁷⁷ Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı Kentleri ve Yabancı Gezginler*, 89.

³⁷⁸ Melda Kaptana, “Bir İngiliz Hekiminin 18. Yüzyıl Sonundaki Türkiye İzlenimleri,” *Tarih ve Toplum*, Ağustos (1984): 65.

³⁷⁹ Yılmaz, “Osmanlı Şehir Tarihler Açısından Yabancı Seyahatnamelerin Kaynak Değeri,” 598.

³⁸⁰ Personal Communication with Özer Ergenç, dated September 27, 2023.

purpose is to understand this pattern and then how it possibly affected the people's relationship with the places both physically and emotionally.

This sub-part focuses mainly on the houses and street patterns around them. There are many more constituents of the Ottoman space, such as the lodges, *meydans*, bazaars, and inns in the Ottoman city. In terms of the physical structure, these were also essential components of the built environment. However, the frame should be limited to be able to make an analysis of the physical aspect of place attachment for the ordinary Ottoman people. Besides, in the following sections, other physical components, such as inns and bazaars, will be dealt with from different angles.

The traditional Ottoman houses mirror the characteristics of lifestyle of ordinary Ottoman subjects imbued with traditions and religious beliefs. The Ottoman house in *sicils* was termed as *menzil* or *mülk menzil*, *hane*, *mesken*. The *menzil* is defined as a family living space, consisting of *büyut-i müteaddide* in a courtyard (*avlu*) surrounded by walls.³⁸¹ In many of the court records examined within the context of this dissertation, the main form of the Ottoman houses was *büyut-i müteaddide*, or *büyût-ı 'adîde*. Considering that the *büyut* is the plural form of *beyt* (house) and *müteaddit/adîde* means many – more than one, *büyut-i müteaddide* thus signifies a number of houses, which consists of separate and independent functional structures and includes different units such as a cellar, kitchen.³⁸² The widespread conception of privacy, primarily the religious concerns, led to the building of such kind of houses. For example, according to *sicils* of Adana dating from 1703 to

³⁸¹ Personal Communication with Özer Ergenç dated May 5, 2022.

³⁸² The analysis of Roxana Coman regarding the 18th-century Ottoman residential structure and the Romanian provinces indicate that the housing form of *büyût-ı 'adîde* existed in Bucharest in the 18th-century. Roxana Coman, "Ottoman Residential Architecture of the 18th and 19th Centuries and the Romanian Provinces. From Cosmopolitanism to Nationalism," in *Rev. Études Sud-Est Europ* LIX (Bucarest, 2021), 217-243.

1757,³⁸³ I have encountered 44 cases giving details about the Ottoman houses. Most of the houses recorded in this *sicil* are in the form of *büyut-i müteaddide*. One of the *hüccet* record in the *sicil* of Adana identifies the *mülk menzil* as such

“...mahalle-i Paşanebi’de vâki‘ kıbleten ‘Âyişe Hatun menzili ve garben tarîk-i âmm ve şarken Kôr Ali menzili ve şimâlen tarîk-i âmm ile mahdûd dört bâb büyüti adîde tahtânî menzil bir örtme ve bi’r-i mâ ve eşcâr-ı müsmire ve kenîf ve bir mikdar havlu ve kapuyı müştemil mülk menzili...”³⁸⁴

Another record, although it does not specifically mention the word of *büyut-i müteaddide*, signifies that the house is composed of multiple structures such as “... ile mahdûd iki bâb tahtânî ve iki bâb fevkânî beyt ve bir sofa ve kenîf ve bir mikdâr havluyu müştemil mezilimi...”³⁸⁵

In similar vein, in the *sicils* of Bursa dating 1763, I have found numerous examples of the form of *büyut-i müteaddide*.³⁸⁶ Although the terminology differs, the composition of housing units was similar:

“... ile mahdûd iki beyt-i ‘ulvî ve bir sundurma ve iki beyt-i süflî ve bir sofa ve sokak kapusu üzerine dört beyt-i ulvî ve bir sundurma ve bir firun ve bir şirahane ve iki zîr-i zemin ve bir baz ocağı ve iki mâ-i câri ve bir mikdar havluyu müştemil bir bâb mülk-ü menzilimi...”³⁸⁷

In another example, the housing unit was defined as follows: “...iki beyt-i süflî ve bir sofa ve bir mahzen ve bir sûtire hane ve firun ve bir mâ-i cârî ve bir mikdar havluyu müştemil bir bâb mülk-ü menzilimi...”³⁸⁸ In the *sicil* of Gaziantep dating 1742-1743, the most of the house structures mentioned are also indicating the form of *büyut-i müteaddide*: “... ile mahdud dört tahtani ve dört fevkani beyt ve bir

³⁸³ This *sicil* of Adana is probably among the *sicils* covering the longest period of time. The records are clustered around three different time periods and in terms of its physical characteristics and pagination, it seems like a record book of collection. This book allowed me to read records from different time spans. Mehmet Zahit Yıldırım, “30 Numaralı Adana Şer‘iye Sicil Defteri” (master’s thesis, İnönü Üniversitesi, 1996), XXXVII.

³⁸⁴ Yıldırım, “30 Numaralı Adana Şer‘iye Sicil Defteri,” 107.

³⁸⁵ Yıldırım, 303.

³⁸⁶ Hatice Altın, “B 180 Numaralı (1763) Tarihli Bursa Mahkemesi Defteri (Analiz ve Metin)” (master’s thesis, Uludağ Üniversitesi, 2004), 143, 146, 155, 156, 157.

³⁸⁷ Altın, 157.

³⁸⁸ Altın, 155.

matbah ve bir hazine ve bir mâra ve bir bîkr-i ma ve avluyu müştemil menzil-i murisimiz...”³⁸⁹ Another example is as such “... ile mahdud dâhiliye iki sekili bir fevkani beyt ve bir tahtani beyt ve bir sağır kiler önü ve bir matbah ve bîkr-i ma avlu-yi muayyene-i müştemiş menzilimi ve menzilmi...”³⁹⁰

Below, there is similar example from Ankara court records dating to 1721.

“...silk-i mülkimde münselik olub mahalle-i mezbûrede vâki‘ bir taraftan Artûn ve bir taraftan Serkiz nâm zımmîler mülkleri ve bir taraftan ekmekci dükkânı ve bir taraftan tarîk-i ‘âmm ile mahdûd büyü-tü ‘adîdeyi müştemil menzilimden bir bâb tâbhâne ve nısf hayâtımı...”³⁹¹

This *büyut-i müteaddide* house form were also noticed by travelers visiting the Ottoman realm from different times. Dernschwan, in his visit to İznik in 1554, mentions that the side of the houses looking to the streets are walled.³⁹² He made similar observations for Amasya, too.³⁹³ Raczynski, visiting Gelibolu in the 19th century, correlates the Islamic rules, forbidding women to show her faces to strangers, with the architectural layout of cities.³⁹⁴ According to Bartkett, streets in Alexandria in 1838 are comprised of walls without windows resembling prisons.³⁹⁵ Similar observations were also made for Baghdad by various foreign travelers.³⁹⁶ The walls without windows that they mentioned in their notes were actually the walls of *büyut-i müteaddide*.

³⁸⁹ Zemzem Yüçetürk, “98/3 Numaralı Gaziantep Şer’iyye Sicili (H. 1155/M. 1743-1743) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirme” (master’s thesis, Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2009) 89.

³⁹⁰ Yüçetürk, 199.

³⁹¹ Şeyma Yapıcı, “H.1133-1134 (M.1721-1722) Tarihli 97 Numaralı Ankara Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi” (master’s Thesis, Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi, 2021), 63.

³⁹² Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı Kentleri ve Yabancı Gezginler*, 71.

³⁹³ Karabela Şermet, “Hans Dernschwan’ın ‘İstanbul ve Anadolu’ya Seyahat Günlüğü’nde Amasya’da Osmanlı Kültürel Dokusu ve İnsan Algısı,” 68.

³⁹⁴ Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı Kentleri ve Yabancı Gezginler*, 51.

³⁹⁵ Sakaoğlu, 161.

³⁹⁶ Sakaoğlu, 120.

As the above-mentioned housing structure examples from different cities of the Ottoman Empire indicate and emphasized by other scholars³⁹⁷ as well, the housing structure in the 18th century was not simple as it has been in previous centuries. Numerous studies on the formation of Ottoman houses in the 17th century have also underlined changes in physical structure, but these changes were limited. For example, while the word *matbah*, the equivalent of the word kitchen, is rarely encountered in the 17th century court registers,³⁹⁸ In the 18th century registers ones giving details about houses had explicit references to *matbah*.³⁹⁹ This situation, of course, was not indicating that there were no *matbahs* in houses in the 17th century; however, it may indicate that, in the records of the 17th century, *matbah* was not a specialized place worth mentioning separately.

Hence, it is possible to argue that the housing pattern inside the *avlu* gained the shape of *büyük-i müteaddide*. The *avlu*, a kind of transition element between the street and the house, is an area where both domestic and various economic activities outside the home (weaving loom, *sabunhane*, etc.) can be done.⁴⁰⁰ As the detailed analysis of the selected court registers manifested, the *avlu* was very common in the 18th century Ottoman house formation.⁴⁰¹ According to Faroqhi, while the term “*muhavvata*” came to the fore in Kayseri at the beginning of the 17th century instead of *avlu*, references to a place called *hayat* stand out in the records of Ankara.

³⁹⁷ Tanyeli and Gerçek, *İstanbul'da Konut Mekânında Mahremiyetin İhlal ve Teşhiri*, 19.

³⁹⁸ Faroqhi, *Orta Halli Osmanlılar*, 95.

³⁹⁹ My reading of court records from the 18th century indicates that nearly all records giving details about the *menzils* have references to *matbahs*.

⁴⁰⁰ Fikret Yılmaz, “XVI. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahremiyetin Sınırlarına Dair,” *Toplum ve Bilim* 83 (1999/2000): 104.

⁴⁰¹ “...menzil ve iki tarîk-i ‘âmm ile mahdûd dâhiliyyesinde iki bâb tahtânî ota ve iki sofa ve bir kılâr ve havlu hâriciyyesinde iki bâb fevkânî atalara bir matbah ve tahtında ahuru ve kenîfi müştemil mülk-i mezilini...”, “...bir taraftan vakf-ı mezbûrdan Hayyât Hızır hânesi ve bir taraftan yine vakf-ı mezbûrdan Dedo nâm Ermeni menzili ve bir taraftan ‘imâret havlîsi ve taraf râbi’i tarîk-i hâss ile mahdûd iki bâb tahtânî ve bir bâb fevkânî ve bir sofa ve bir kağıd-hâne ve kenîf ve bir mikdâr havluyı müştemil...” Oğuzhan Samıkıran, “138 Numaralı Edirne Şer’iyye Sicilli H.119-1161/M.1707-1748” (master’s thesis, Fırat Üniversitesi, 2006), 129, 101-102. For more examples, see pages 351, 374, 375, 400, 428, 436, 474, 479, 519, 523.

According to Faroqhi's interpretation, the expression *hayat*, which is used for veranda in modern Turkish, was actually equivalent to the word *avlu* for the 17th century Ankara.⁴⁰² However, my findings concerning Ankara suggest that *avlu* (or *havlu*) was used in defining for *büyut-i müteaddide* in Ankara as well.⁴⁰³ Even, I rarely encountered the term *hayat* in the court records of Ankara. It is hard to determine whether this change in vocabulary points to a change in physical formation or just a difference in the wording. However, regardless of the terminology preference, the widespread physical layout of the 18th century was *büyut-i müteaddide*, consisting of separate and independent functional structures surrounded by walls.

The house was the primary unit forming the space in the Ottoman world, providing not only privacy to its household but also an environment for socialization to some extent, at least until the 18th century.⁴⁰⁴ For example, keeping in mind that there had been numerous forms of houses; the exterior of homes, the courtyard (*hariciye/avlu*), was among those socialization places for gatherings until the coffeehouses spread. However, it should not be forgotten that this socialization within the range is a socialization to a certain extent among close relatives who are respectful to each other (*birbirleri arasında hürmet olan kişiler*).⁴⁰⁵

This house formation has been evaluated as a hindrance to an integrated lifestyle in Ottoman cities in the following centuries. The below excerpt of a newspaper published in Thessaloniki in the 19th century is an indication of this:

⁴⁰² Faroqhi, *Orta Halli Osmanlılar*, 83-84.

⁴⁰³ "...taraf-ı rabi'i tarîk-i âmm ile mahdûd bir bâb tabhâne ve bir oda ve bir kârhâne ve fevkânî bir oda ve bir mikdâr havluyu müştemil mülk-i menzîlim...", "...ve taraf-ı rabi'i tarîk-i âmm ile mahdûd fevkânî bir bâb oda ve bir sayegâh ve tahtânî bir oda ve bir tabhâne ve kiler ve havlu ve bir mikdâr eşcârî hâvî bahçeyi müştemil mülk-i menzîl..." Zehra Taşcan, "173 Numaralı Ankara Şer'iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirmesi (H. 1198/M. 1783-1784)" (master's Thesis, Bitlis Eren Üniversitesi, 2021), 112, 46. For more examples, see pages 89, 100, 111, 112, 113.

⁴⁰⁴ The role of houses in providing socialization for women continued much longer.

⁴⁰⁵ Personal communication with Özer Ergenç, dated October 22, 2022.

“The number of houses in the city where two or three trees were planted for ornamental purposes in front of the courtyards is not less. These gardens are found in all mediocre cities of the Ottoman Empire. It is a remnant of the past, which property and the individual take advantage of for their own safety when shutting away in are necessary. Today, however, their *raison d'être* has vanished, and if all the inhabitants of the city agree to demolish the walls surrounding their courtyards, in our opinion, the city will gain a lot in terms of space and health as well as aesthetics. As soon as these useless obstacles made for those who live in a more primitive style than for the inhabitants of the city, on which civilization stretches its benevolent wings day by day, are removed; a newly beautified city will be born, where its inhabitants will trust each other more and be more social.”⁴⁰⁶ (*Hermès*, 28/1875)

The author of this article proposes a new form of housing structure for the city of Thessaloniki by arguing that the classical housing structure of the Ottoman cities prevents trust and social cohesion among inhabitants. It is hard to know whether city dwellers supported this idea or whether or not this kind of physical city form negatively affected their trust. Still, one may infer from the passage above that classical house style continued its existence until the late 19th century, at least in Thessaloniki. Another fact that one may infer from the quote above is that the walls surrounding homes used for safety were considered useless in the 19th century. It is also interesting that removing these walls was thought to enhance the trust among neighbors. In the classical city, regarding place attachment, walls providing security increased the sense of attachment since there is a positive correlation between the two. As time went by, the increase in city security overall decreased the importance of walls as a security measure, and people's attachment shifted from more specific condensed areas to more general broad regions of the living space.

In terms of the number of rooms of houses, according to the oldest data belong to İstanbul, at the end of the 15th century, 66% percent of the houses had one room. This percentage was around 38% for the middle of the 16th century. The

⁴⁰⁶ Yerolympos, “XIX. Yüzyıl Sonunda Selanik'te Kentlilik Bilinci ve Belediyeye İlgi,” 154. (my translation)

percentage of rooms having two rooms was 37% at the same period. This indicates that the considerable number of people were living in houses having just one room, which means a low level of privacy and hence low level of attachment. Tanyeli calculates that around 40% of people lived in one room houses at the middle of the 16th century in Bursa. According to the work of Faroqhi, at the end of 17th century, 42,5% of houses had two rooms in Kayseri, while 33,8% of houses had two room ins Ankara.⁴⁰⁷ In such a shared space, it would not be wrong to assume that personal belongings gained more importance such as a duvet providing privacy or bed curtains, that first appeared as to provide privacy.⁴⁰⁸ As for the 18th century, some previous studies found that the number of rooms in houses had increased in Ottoman cities.⁴⁰⁹ According to the study on house prices in Edirne, “the configuration of houses did not change significantly across the eighteenth century, yet there seems to have been a slight increase in the reported number of rooms, storage spaces, kitchen and wells.”⁴¹⁰ To some extent, this may mean an increase in privacy provided in houses, hence an increasing attachment with regard to living space.

Based on the analysis of the physical structure of Ottoman houses, it can be said that Ottoman people had a higher level of place attachment to their homes as the primary living space. This is parallel to the findings of other studies⁴¹¹ conducted within the scope of place attachment theory. The Ottoman house form provided privacy and security through walls and it also enhanced the people's level of attachment.

⁴⁰⁷ Faroqhi, *Orta Halli Osmanlılar*, 113.

⁴⁰⁸ Tanyeli and Gerçek, *İstanbul'da Konut Mekanında Mahremiyetin İhlal ve Teşhiri*, 25 – 27.

⁴⁰⁹ Hatice Gökçen Özkaya, “18. Yüzyıl İstanbul’unda Barınma Kültürü ve Yaşam Koşulları” (PhD diss., Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 2011).

⁴¹⁰ Karagedikli and Tunçer, “House prices in the Ottoman Empire,” 16.

⁴¹¹ M. Carmen Hidalgo and Bernardo Hernandez, “Place Attachment: Conceptual and Empirical Questions”, 273-281.

Beside the Ottoman house formation, it is crucial to physically understand the surrounding area of houses to look at the physical structure from a broader perspective. For example, according to the work of Karagedikli and Tuncer, “prices were mainly driven by their proximity to the commercial centre of the city and their size measured by several physical attributes of the houses, including the number of rooms, storeys, and storage spaces.”⁴¹² Moreover, they also found that conditions of surroundings, such as the existence of flood risk or the safety of the neighborhood, affected the price of houses.⁴¹³ Thus, understanding this surrounding physical structure, mainly knitted by streets, becomes vital.⁴¹⁴

As a step between quarters and houses connecting them in Ottoman space, there were mainly two types of streets/roads. One was *tarîk-i hâss* and the other one was *tarîk-i âmm*. *Tarîk-i âmm* was used for streets open to the public, meaning that everyone could use it. *Tarîk-i hâss* was meant for streets reserved for one or some houses. So, the right to use only belonged to the occupants of these houses, and these streets were considered their joint property.⁴¹⁵ *Cul-de-sacs (tarîk-i hâss)*, were amongst the general urban pattern of the Ottoman city. “Islamic law recognized the dead-end street as a private way belonging jointly to the abutters, who could by common consent even close it off to outsiders.”⁴¹⁶ Access control is one of the elements of place attachment playing a role in enhancing belonging. So, the attachment was expected to be higher for people living in dead-end streets, knowing

⁴¹² Karagedikli and Tuncer, “House prices in the Ottoman Empire,” 7.

⁴¹³ Karagedikli and Tuncer, 30-31.

⁴¹⁴ The findings of Karagedikli and Tuncer are also vital in understanding people’s level of attachment since they show a positive correlation with the variables of place attachment, such as proximity to local landmarks, safety, and housing quality. As the physical features develop or the environmental risks are reduced, people’s attachment to their properties increases. In such a situation, we may expect higher prices for such properties.

⁴¹⁵ Hatice Gökçen Özkaya, “Osmanlı Evleri Üzerine Yeniden Düşünmek: 18. Yüzyıldan Dahiliyeli Hariciyeli Beş İstanbul Evi Örneği,” *METU JFA* 35 (2018/1): 246.

⁴¹⁶ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 282.

that dead-ends provide strict access control and enable those living in these streets to control passersby.

Responsibility distributed by the Ottoman State regarding roads and streets was also organized in this manner. According to an edict from the late 17th century, there was an order repair the pavements of roads amongst neighborhoods and shops by people (“*herkes menzilleri önünde ve dekâkînleri önünde vâki‘ olan yolların kaldırımlarını ta‘mîr ve termîm eyleyip*”) while the main roads (*ulu yol*) were repaired by the State (“*İstanbul’da vâki‘ ulu yolların kaldırımları cânib-i mîrîden ta‘mîr olunub*”).⁴¹⁷ Delegation of the responsibility regarding protection or improvement also increased the place attachment of the community due to direct involvement in the management of the physical environment plus being affected by any deterioration in the material conditions of the nearby environment. Furthermore, dead-ends were streets that brought together *menzils* whose gates opened to that streets. The irregularity mentioned in the travelers’ notes was based on this dead-end street structure, which at first glance creates a sense of confusion. However, these dead-end streets had an order of their own and were serving more than one function such as security, privacy and more importantly attachment. Dead-end streets formed living spaces leading to *menzils* surrounded by courtyards.

In other words, dead-end streets were like the common property of those with houses opening up to that street, even if not on paper. Joint ownership and usage rights increased spatial belonging based on responsibility. Those dwellers of a dead-end street had responsibilities towards each other. The following case is a good example of this:

⁴¹⁷ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 18 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1086-1087/M. 1675-1676)*, Salih Kahrıman et al., ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İSAM, 2010), 622, verdict no: 689, 198b-3.

“Havva Hâtun... câr-ı mulâsıkı Ümmügülsüm... mahzarında... da‘vâ ve takrîr-i kelâm edip... işbu mu‘âyene olunan mülk menzil ile... Ümmügülsüm Hâtun’un mülk menzili beynlerinde vâki‘ işbu sokak kapısından benim mülk menzilimin seddi duvarına varınca mi‘mâr-ı mezbûr mesâhasıyla tûlen otuz dört buçuk ve arzen seddi-i duvarı tarafında olan bir başı iki zirâ‘ ve sokak tarafında vâki‘ bir başı beş buçuk zirâ‘ işbu mu‘âyene olunan tarîk-i kadîmden benim menzilim ile müvekkile-i mezbûrenin menzili beynlerinde müşterek olup ve benim menzilimin tarîk-i âm tarafına kapısı olmağla tarîk-i hâss-ı mezbûrda olan kapısını bundan akdem mâliki olan kimesne kapayıp lâkin benim menzilimin râh-ı âbı ve çirkâb ve abdest suyunu bu âna gelince tarîk-i hâss-ı mezbûrdan cereyân edegelmiş iken müvekkile-i mezbûre Ümmügülsüm tarîk-i hâss-ı mezbûru mülkü olmak üzere müstakillen zabt ve tasarruf etmeğın... kadîmi üzere iştirâken isti‘mâline tenbîh olunmak matlûbumdur dedikde...mezbûr cevâbında...zabt ve tasarruf eylediğini ikrâr lâkin...tarîk-i hâs olduğunu inkâr edecek evvelen vekîl-i mezbûrun yedinde olan mübâya‘a hüccetlerinde tahrîr olunan hudûda nazar eyledikde bir tarafı tarîk-i hâs olduğu mastûr ve mukayyed olup... müdde‘âsını mübeyyine beyyine talep olundukda... mahalle-i mezbûre sükkânından Mehmed Çelebi... nâm kimesneler... işbu mu‘âyene olunan tarîk-i hâs kadîmden...Havva Hâtun menzili ile... Ümmügülsüm’ün menzili beynlerinde müşterekdir...”⁴¹⁸

According to the above case, Havva Hatun and Ümmügülsüm jointly share a *tarîk-i hâss*. Still, since Havva Hatun’s door to the *tarîk-i hâss* was closed beforehand, Ümmügülsüm captured this street as her own property. When the court investigated the case, it was revealed that the *tarîk-i hâss* between their menzils was shared (*beynlerinde müşterekdir*).

Having mentioned the type of streets connecting houses to living areas, it is also essential to understand the relation between the façades of houses and streets. So, first of all, windows and gates gained more importance since they had become the defining components of houses as being visible by others. Since *büyut-i müteaddides* were walled, the gates gained prominent as the only channel opening directly to the streets. Of course, the prominence of gates and windows as the defining structures of houses was more of a concern of notables of cities and affected

⁴¹⁸ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Galata Mahkemesi 259 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1137-1138 / 1724-1725), Hüseyin Kılıç and Salih Kahriman, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 100, verdict no 66, 8a-5.

their sense of belonging towards their houses. For example, some people's houses were known and described by the beauty of their doors. On the other hand, the facades of houses opening to streets had an impact on the sense of belonging concerning streets for all, including the ordinary. To be able to make a more concrete assumptions on this, it is important to evaluate prevalence of facades opening to *tarîk-i âmm*.

While researching what kind of streets which walls of *menzils* were facing have from the selected court records, I came across many examples that could draw meaningful conclusions in the court records of Antep, Bursa, Edirne, Konya and Tekirdağ.⁴¹⁹ In all of these, I noticed that one side of the *menzils* had predominantly faced the *tarîk-i âmm* and that very few homes had sides to both types of streets and *tarîk-i hâss*. Özkaya, in her dissertation about the domestic culture and living conditions of the 18th century İstanbul, provides a detailed analysis of houses and surrounding streets around the houses. According to her data, neighboring of houses with the *tarîk-i âmm* was around 75% while neighboring with the *tarîk-i hâss* was 25% in İstanbul at that time. So, this more direct relationship with the less private, more common spaces may indicate a less gradual relationship was established with the city in the 18th century.

Considering the issues discussed so far together, it is visible that the organization of the Ottoman cities in streets and houses followed a path from public to private. This gradual transition from public spaces to private spaces has its own

⁴¹⁹ See Kenan Demirtaş, “B/157 Numaralı Bursa Şer’iyye Siciline Göre Bursa’da Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayat” (master’s thesis, Batman Üniversitesi, 2021), 55,66, 67-68, 70. Samıkıran, “138 Numaralı Edirne Şer’iyye Sicilli,” 327, 339, 375. Yüçetürk, “98/3 Numaralı Gaziantep Şer’iyye Sicili (H. 1155/M. 1743-1743) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirme,” 125, 153, 164. Ahmet Necati Özdoğan. “55 Numaralı Konya Şer’iyye Sicili’nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu” (master’s thesis, Selçuk Üniversitesi, 2021), 160, 162, 169, 171, 172, 176, 178. Ebru Muslu, “1647 Nr. Şer’iyye Sicilinin Işığında Lale Devri’nin İlk Yıllarında Tekirdağ (1721-1724)” (master’s thesis, Tekirdağ Namık Kemal Üniversitesi, 2021), 157, 164, 173, 180.

transitory nature in each phase. Streets are more public than houses, but streets have different kinds that are more private than others, such as *tarîk-i hâss*. In the same vein, houses have spaces providing different levels of privacy, and there are passages in houses providing a transition from more public areas to private spaces.⁴²⁰ Most of the houses were situated on the side of *tarîk-i âmm*s or had at least one facade situating on that side, indicating a more intimate relationship with the common areas for the 18th century. However, one should remember that the above data belong to Anatolian cities. Balkans or Arab regions of the Empire had variations. For example, in the 17th century, dwellers of Aleppo, if there were *tarîk-i hâss*, would never open their houses' doors to *tarîk-i âmm*s.⁴²¹

Hence, if one would like to visualize the formation of the Ottoman space, it looks like “a bunch of grapes” clustered around the main road (*uluyol/ tarîk-i âmm*). *Tarîk-i hâss*, i.e., cul-de-sacs were connected to the main roads. The Ottoman houses were formed around mainly *cul-de-sacs* but not always. In this layout, the attachment of people to places starts from a nucleus form which is the houses and then the *cul-de-sacs*, followed by the neighborhood and the city. So, the analysis of physical layout and its level of attachment should start from this nucleus which is the Ottoman house.

Considering the relationship between the homes and streets in the Ottoman Empire, there was a steady relationship between the two. The use of urban space is ruled not only by the necessities of the physical landscape but also by the rules of social relations and norms. Hence, the link between spatial patterns and social relations was very much intrinsic and complex. For example, the fact that dead-end streets function as common areas has turned them into an ongoing element of the

⁴²⁰ Hatice Gökçen Özkaya, “18. Yüzyıl İstanbul’unda Barınma Kültürü ve Yaşam Koşulları,” 267.

⁴²¹ Faroqhi, *Orta Halli Osmanlılar*, 268.

houses both physically and socially. The ties between those who share the cul-de-sac are greater than those between neighbors. Even if dead-end streets have disappeared over time, sitting in front of the houses, chatting with the dwellers of the adjacent house, or socializing in front of the door are the last traces of this settled physical and social structure.

Following the house form as the central unit of analysis in Ottoman cities and the formation of the streets concerning houses, quarters should be reasonably understood to evaluate the place attachment. As it is today, the house was the most private realm for the Ottoman people. As the opening gate to shared areas and social spaces, the streets also had specific characteristics and nature. Streets and houses formed *mahalles* (neighborhoods), which was another main focus point for the place attachment.

I will discuss in detail how social characteristics of the Ottoman neighborhood, such as responsibility, cooperation, and social control, affected spatial belonging in other parts of this thesis. Thus, my assessment here will be confined to the physical structure of the neighborhoods in the Ottoman State in terms of the central sub-physical units that make up the city space. There are plenty of studies elaborating on the Ottoman neighborhoods from different angles. So, instead of repeating these well-known and widely studied facts, I want to analyze how these physical establishments formed the bond between people and places.

Ottoman cities were composed of neighborhoods called *mahalle*, and they were integral parts of cities with their physical and social structures. Each mahalle had its own character. Understanding space requires understanding the characteristics of the mahalle. According to Özer Ergenç, “*mahalle* is an urban settlement unit that consists of dwellings built around a mosque, a lodge, or the houses of the same

professional groups or people of the same beliefs and traditions who want to live together.”⁴²² *Mahalle* is an undivided unit where people live together, know each other, and are responsible for each other’s behavior. Generally, people belonging to the same community lived in the same mahalle, although it was not a rule or obligation.⁴²³ Behar indicates that “the mahalle was essentially a basic urban community defined by a dense web of relationships, before being a local administrative unit.”⁴²⁴ It was more than just being a physical unit of the city.⁴²⁵ This definition is very important because, unlike today’s *mahalle*, the emphasis is on the social aspect of the mahalle as the determining factor. Today, while the physical borders of the *mahalle* are defined by the state, the primary element that determines the physical boundaries of the *mahalle* in the Ottoman city was social relations.⁴²⁶ In Ottoman court records, if the physical boundaries of a neighborhood, any building or land in the were to be mentioned, the expression “*beyne’l-ahâlî ve’l-cîrân ma’lûmü’l-hudûd*” was frequently encountered. This expression means that the community and neighbors know the borders of the land in question. So, if a conflict arose, the court generally asked the neighborhood community or resorted their witnessing since this knowledge of boundaries was transmitted by generations. As argued by Tanyeli “all boundaries are hidden in the collective mind of the neighborhood, which is handed down from generation to generation,”⁴²⁷ which enhances the place attachment.

⁴²² Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Bursa*, 102.

⁴²³ Özer Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehrindeki “Mahalle’nin İşlevleri ve Nitelikleri Üzerine,” in *Şehir Toplum Devlet: Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları*, 75-80.

⁴²⁴ Cem Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman İstanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle* (New York: SUNY Press, 2003), 9.

⁴²⁵ Doğan Kuban, “Anadolu-Türk Şehri: Tarihi Gelişmesi, Sosyal ve Fiziki Özellikleri Üzerinde Bazı Gelişmeler,” *Vakıflar Dergisi* 7 (1968): 66.

⁴²⁶ Uğur, “The Historical Interaction of the City with its Mahalles,” 46.

⁴²⁷ Tanyeli and Gerçek, *İstanbul’da Konut Mekanında Mahremiyetin İhlal ve Teşhiri*, 52. (My translation)

Mahalle, or the neighborhood, was the main unit in Ottoman cities administratively, fiscally, physically and socially. So, “Ottoman cities were comprised of eclectic combination of mahalles.”⁴²⁸ In the Ottoman State, authorities were identifying people according to their residential affiliation, which was based on *mahalle*.⁴²⁹ In most of the court registers, the name of the *mahalle* was indicated for each relevant person named in cases.⁴³⁰ This is also true for surveys in which everyone was registered based on the *mahalle* where s/he resided. *Mahalle* was mainly a smallest and basic fiscal and administrative unit in a city. However, “the term also refers to a smaller sub-unit within a larger *mahalle*”⁴³¹ in some Ottoman Arab provinces. For example, the basic administrative unit was the *hara* in 18th century Damascus and several of them constituted the *mahalle*. The urban logic was different from Anatolia and Balkans in Ottoman Arab cities⁴³² and it is important to keep this in mind while dealing with the sources.

For a long time, Ottoman *mahalles* were considered homogenous, both ethnoreligious and socio-economical terms. However, studies conducted later on found that mahalles were more heterogeneous than they were thought to be. According to Uğur, whether or not it is homogenous or heterogeneous, social ties and solidarity are the two crucial characteristics of the Ottoman mahalle. There was a sense of community within the Ottoman mahalle, which was constructed beyond ethnic, religious, and racial differences.⁴³³ According to Faroqhi, different religious

⁴²⁸ Nil Tekgöl, “Modernite Öncesi Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahremiyet Halkaları,” in Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç’e Armağan edited Ümit Ekin (İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2013), 425.

⁴²⁹ Karagedikli, “Overlapping Boundaries in the City: Mahalle and Kahal in the Early Modern Ottoman Urban Context,” 651.

⁴³⁰ For example, “...Medine-i Adana muhitinde Hızmalı mahallesi sâkinlerinden...” Mehmet Ali Ekinci, “5 Numaralı Adana Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlenirmesi (1770-1771)” (master’s thesis, Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam Üniversitesi, 2020), 68. City dwellers were also identified according to their religious or occupational affinities depending on the case registered.

⁴³¹ Karagedikli, “Overlapping Boundaries in the City,” 662.

⁴³² Karagedikli, 662.

⁴³³ Uğur, “Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles”, 48-50.

communities shared common urban culture based on daily relations. Although some religion-driven tensions existed, attachment to the city or mahalle exceeded these tensions.⁴³⁴ People in *mahalles* “willingly cooperated with a system that favored the known, familiar, the traceable faces,”⁴³⁵ which helped form a neighborhood community. This sense of community is vital since it allows us to understand collective actions at the neighborhood level. In Ottoman cities, a neighborhood was where people felt they belonged.⁴³⁶

As the place attachment theory asserts that there is a positive correlation between human needs and physical and social sources of the place.⁴³⁷ Moreover, as it is understood from the deductions mentioned above regarding Ottoman *mahalles*, they were precisely formed to satisfy the needs of inhabitants, which even did not require people to leave their neighborhoods for their life. The neighborhood, as the basic unit of living space, physically and socially, was a compound where basic needs were organized at an arm’s distance for its dwellers. So, one might expect a high level of attachment for people towards their neighborhoods, and so far as the court records of the 18th century considered, this assumption seems to be validated.

However, the negative changes in the accustomed order, such as increasing migration and tenancy, which directly affect the conditions of the physical environment, such as an increase in density, have also accompanied it. The neighborhood structure, which existed in classical Ottoman cities and where the ongoing strict control and control mechanisms worked, gained a new dimension in the 18th century with the increasing mobility, migrations, and especially the opening

⁴³⁴ Faroqhi, *Orta Halli Osmanlılar*, 272.

⁴³⁵ Ehud R. Toledano, *State and Society in Mid-Nineteenth Century Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 201-202.

⁴³⁶ Özer Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehrindeki “Mahalle”nin İşlevleri ve Nitelikleri Üzerine,” 79.

⁴³⁷ Shumaker and Taylor, “Toward a Clarification of People-place Relationships,” 233.

of the peripheries of the cities. In the classical period, when the area of movement was subject to spatial limitations and under strict state control, an ordinary Ottoman city dweller did not even need to leave his neighborhood throughout his life. In contrast, the boundaries of the city and its usage area began to change in the 18th century.

Broadly speaking, *sicils* belonging to various geographic areas in the Ottoman realm examined within the scope of this dissertation, indicate that the physical layout of the Ottoman city does not change much in the 18th century. The changes in the physical layout and planning of the cities' fabric, starting with İstanbul, took place after the second half of the 19th century, following the *Tanzimat* reforms.

Various regulations were issued to arrange the urban space with modern thinking characteristics. The rules issued to widen streets, arrange paving and lighting, and parcel the lands were aimed at organizing and ordering the physical layout of cities.⁴³⁸ After the *İlmühaber*, which is the first document including the planning principles with Western values in 1839, *Ebniyye Nizannamesi* in 1848⁴³⁹ were issued to organize the layout of streets and buildings, followed by the *Turuk ve Ebniyye Nizannamesi* and *Rıhtımlar Nizannamesi* dated 1863. With this law, *cul-de-sacs*, considered as the reason for fire danger, were forbidden, and straight streets were proposed. In 1854, *İstanbul Şehremaneti*, the first modern municipality of the Ottoman State, was established. However, since *İstanbul Şehremaneti* became dysfunctional, *İntizâm-ı Şehir Komisyonu* was established in 1855, and it was decided to divide the city of İstanbul into fourteen municipal districts. One of the fourteen bureaus liable for *Beyoğlu* and *Galata*, namely the *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye*,

⁴³⁸ Shrine Hamadeh, "Mean Streets: Space and Moral Order in Early Modern İstanbul," *Turcica* 44 (2012-2013): 250.

⁴³⁹ It is defined as the first planning law of the Ottoman period.

issued a directory on the regulation of streets in 1859 (*Zokaklara Dair Nizâmnâme*). The regulation consisted of 103 detailed articles on the spatial arrangement, including widening streets, standardizing pavements, cleaning and lighting of roads, and standards for new buildings.⁴⁴⁰

In 1877, The Municipality Law (*Vilayât Belediye Kanunu*) was introduced. Within the institutional framework brought by this law, it was decreed that municipal organizations should be established in settlements that exceeded the population threshold of forty thousand.⁴⁴¹ *Ebniyye Nizannamesi* dated 1882 was somewhat different from previous ones, imposed obligations to the landowner such as sparing areas for school and police stations, making sewages and pavements.⁴⁴²

Over time, these regulations led to the *cul-de-sacs*, the widespread feature of the Ottoman city, which is also a line delineating public space and private, losing their functions and the dead ends were destroyed, and streets were connected.⁴⁴³ In short, the planning experiences of the Ottoman cities in the 19th century mainly focused on problems related to planning activities such as preventing fires, arranging the urban road network to allow the passage of new vehicles, and articulating immigrants to urban spaces.⁴⁴⁴

It may be argued that those regulations and the need for re-planning and re-arrangement, feeding on the modernization attempts in general, are results of

⁴⁴⁰ Mehmet Seyitdanlioğlu, “Yerel Yönetim Metinleri II: Zokaklara Dair Nizâmnâme,” *Çağdaş Yerel Yönetimler* 5, 1 (Ocak 1996): 59-61.

⁴⁴¹ İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimatdan Cumhuriyete Yerel Yönetim Geleneği* (İstanbul: Hil Yayınları, 1985) 170–173.

⁴⁴² For more information see Stefanos Yerasimos, “Tanzimat’ın Kent Reformları Üzerine,” in *Tanzimat-Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, ed. Halil İnalcık and Mehmet Seyitdanlioğlu (Ankara: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2006), 505-524. İlhan Tekeli, “19. Yüzyılda İstanbul Metropol Alanının Dönüşümü,” in *Tanzimat-Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, ed. Halil İnalcık and Mehmet Seyitdanlioğlu (Ankara: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2006), 525-539.

⁴⁴³ Beste Nur İskender Aydın, “19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Kentlerinde Dönüşümün Üsküdar Üzerinden İncelenmesi,” *Meltem İzmir Akdeniz Akademisi Dergisi* 8 (Kış 2020): 59.

⁴⁴⁴ İlhan Tekeli, “Urban patterns in Anatolia: organization and evolution,” in *Conservation as Cultural Survival*, ed. Renata Holod (The Aga Khan Awards, 1980), 15-27.

difficulties faced in urban space with increasing population. On the flip side, one may witness that previous orders, especially the social order within urban space, were tried to be sustained. Moreover, the Westernization movements which started at the end of the 18th century in line with the various needs of urban space, and accelerated with the legal reforms and regulations in the 19th century have changed the urban fabric. However, this change and its extent varied across places. So, it is not easy to ascertain these developments for all the Ottoman geography or to make general assumptions.⁴⁴⁵ Furthermore, in the 18th century, the role of the Ottoman State in terms of spatial regulation was limited, but one cannot say that it did not exist at all. The existing mechanisms were more control-based rather than a public service. For example, if an area was blocked due to rainwater and flooding in other place, the State warned the place's owners to do what was necessary.

Or, with regard to cleanliness of the streets, one may assume that towards the end of the 18th century still there was not a well-ordered cleaning services in the city according to the travelers' notes. For example, according to the Doctor William Wittman, the cleaning management is so flawed that dogs and seagulls are İstanbul's only cleaners.⁴⁴⁶ Of course, with the increasing in density in the living environment, the physical infrastructure could no longer be organized with the joint efforts of those who shared the space under the conditions of the classical period. The infrastructure had become inoperable with the increasing population. Yet this observation of Doctor Wittmam is far from correct. This is primarily a result of people living in different cultural places being unable to understand each other. When Turkish ambassadors went to Vienna for the first time, they also found it strange that people

⁴⁴⁵ For example, to see the consequences of these developements in different spaces see İskender Aydın, "19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Kentlerinde Dönüşümün Üsküdar Üzerinden İncelenmesi," 46-69 and Karaçavuş, "Toplumsal Mekanın Merkezinin Değişimi Üzerine Bir Deneme," 71 – 99.

⁴⁴⁶ Kaptana, "Bir İngiliz Hekiminin 18. Yüzyıl Sonundaki Türkiye İzlenimleri," 67.

were sitting in cafes. This observation about cleanliness in the Ottoman space should actually be considered normal for a person who is perhaps not accustomed to seeing so many dogs on the streets. Cleaning in the Ottoman space was a collective process where everyone cleaned their own area and surroundings, and this was a phenomenon that could not be directly observed by those who looked at the city from the outside.⁴⁴⁷

For example, at the beginning of the 19th century, we see more and more the orders of the state to ensure cleanliness, order, and control in the spatial area. According to an order conveyed to the judge of İstanbul in 1805 the clothes of passers-by were dirty due to the accumulation of filth on the streets and markets (*esvâk ve pazarda mülevvesâtın terâkümü cemî‘ zamanda ve husûsan eyyâm-ı hârrede mûris-i ta‘affünât olarak ibâdullâha bâ‘is-i mazarrât olduğundan gayri geşt ü güzâr edenlerin elbisesini telvîs edip*), and it states that it is now obligatory for people to clean the front of their homes or shops. A similar order was previously sent to shop owners in bazaars. This time all neighborhood people were asked to clean the front of their doors (*kâffe-i mahallâtta mevcûd ve esvâk ve pazarda kâin büyût ve dekâkîn ashâbı kendi hâne ve dükkânları pîşgâhlarını dâimâ süpürtüp*).⁴⁴⁸

Below order is another example for the provisioning of cleaning collectively:

“Dersa‘âdet sokakları has ü hâşâk ile mülevves olarak ta‘affünât zuhûruyla ümmet-i Muhammed mütezzî olmakda olduğuna binâen aralık süpürölüp tathîr olunması lâzımeden ve nezâfet kabîlinden olup herkes hânesi ve dükkânları önlerini ve bâ-husûs çarşı derûnunu süpürüp has ü hâşâkdan tathîr ve tanzîf eylemesi lâzım gelmiş ve... herkes hâne ve dükkânları önlerini tathîr eylemesi ve her kimin hâne ve dükkânı önünde mezbele ve süpründü görülür ise tedîb olunacaklarını bi‘l-cümle esvâk ve pazar ve mahallât ahâlîsine ismâ‘ ve ihbâr ile fîmâ ba‘d çarşı ve pazar ve mahallât aralarında mezbele ve süpründü birağılmayarak götürüp bahre ilkâ ile ale‘d-devâm bu maddeye tarafınızdan nezâret ve dikkat ile on beş günde bir bu vechile esvâk ve pazarın tathîr eylemelerini iktizâ edenlere ekîden tenbîhe himmet ve hilâfî hareket

⁴⁴⁷ Personal Communication with Özer Ergenç, dated by November 2, 2022.

⁴⁴⁸ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 97 Numaralı Sicil*, (H.1217-1225 / M. 1802-1810), Mürsel Sarı et al., ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019) 114, verdict no 48, 17a-1.

edenler olur ise o makûlelerin tedîb ve gûşmâlleri icrâ olunacağını gûş-ı hûşlarına tefhîm ve ol vechile on beş günde bir kerre tathîrine dikkat eylemeleri husûsuna siz dahi bizzât nezârete mübâderet eyleyesin deyü.”⁴⁴⁹

In the above order dated by the first quarter of the 19th century, everyone was asked to clean in front of their own houses and shops, not to leave garbage between the bazaars and neighborhoods, and to throw them into the sea. Plus, the cleaning was ordered to be done every fifteen days. There were orders about the cleaning of urban space associated with the *Tanzimat* ideals regarding hygiene and sanitation in cities, yet a very similar order dating to the end of the 17th century invites historians to rethink constrained evaluations on the role of 19th century reforms of urban regulation.

“İstanbul kadısı izzetlü fazîletlü efendi hazretleri şehr-i İstanbul’un esvâk ve mahallâtı herbâr tathîr olunmak muktezî iken hükkâmın ihmâlleri sebebi ile ba‘zı mahallerde hâr u hâşâk müctemi‘ olup tathîr edilmesi lâzım olmağla subaşı ve asesbaşıya tenbîh olunmuşdur, siz dahi ahâlilere tenbîh edesiz ki mahallât arasında olan mezbeleyi kaldırıp deryâyâ ilkâ ve gereği gibi tathîr eylesinler, bundan sonra her kimin dükkânı önünde ve mahallesi arasında süprüntü ve mezbele bulunur ise ta‘zîr olunur, ona gere dikkat ve ihtimâm eyleyesin deyü buyruldu.”⁴⁵⁰

The changes in the 18th century was not reflected at the level of State regulations, but the demographical and economic changes were already starting to leave their marks on the physical environment. These changes were limited and not easy to see evenly in all geography of the Ottoman State. Even though the existing pattern, which took its roots in the classical period, became hard to sustain under new circumstances, it continued to be dominant form as a physical pattern.

⁴⁴⁹ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 154 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1237-1246 / M. 1822- 1831), Abdullah Sivridağ et al., ed. Coşkun Yılmaz, (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019) 272, verdict no 126, 47b-1.

⁴⁵⁰ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 22 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1107-1108 / M. 1695-1697), Ali Coşkun et. al, ed. By Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 639, verdict no 492, 166a-1.

The excerpt below taken from a newspaper of the 19th century published in Thessaloniki is a good example concerning people's consciousness of the joint city space, while indicating the increasing disorder in the urban area.

“What is the use of the unbearable whistle of the spinning mill located in the middle of the city, breaking the silence of people? Does the municipality have power in Thessaloniki or not? Is there a law that prohibits building factories inside the city or not? As far as we know, this is not allowed in any civilized country.

A single spinning mill in Thessaloniki makes the city restless and enough to deafen the ears of the people. Workers at dawn get up time, get ready, start work, break times, end time, breakfast time, lunchtime, dinner, etc. Is it indispensable to announce these times? Is it necessary to announce the hour, every hour, every moment, with that dreadful whistle that disturbs the common peace?”⁴⁵¹ (*Hermès*, 494/1880)

According to the passage above, one may infer those city inhabitants are concerned about their city's order and common peace and express their concerns aloud through the newspaper. Reference to the “common peace” is noteworthy in this regard since this means they did not only care about the quietness but also the commonality in the living space.

Some studies claim that the functions undertaken by cities following the *Tanzimat* period led to integrated communities feeling belonged to the same cities. It is claimed that modern cities consolidated pre-existing ethnic and religious motivations among Ottoman city dwellers.⁴⁵² However, on the other hand, it was also argued that pre-modern practices require collaboration between communities sharing space, enhancing solidarity in the urban area. If necessary to choose a side between these two views, I agree that the change in the physical layout affected the long-practiced cultures, norms, and living styles of ordinary people that had been

⁴⁵¹ Yerolympos, “XIX. Yüzyıl Sonunda Selanik'te Kentlilik Bilinci ve Belediyeye İlgi,” 168. (My translation).

⁴⁵² Meropi Anastassidou, *Tanzimat Çağında Bir Osmanlı Şehri Selanik (1830-1912)*, trans. Işık Ergüden (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001), 376.

fulfilled through the accumulation of memories. Hence, it is right to deduce that the changes in the 19th century may lead to the loosening of solidarity among different people and disconnecting of the intrinsic memories of people over time. This needs to be considered along the rise of nationalism is discussed. Sheltering to identities based on ethnicity is discussed may have accelerated due to the increase in feelings such as concern, fear, and edginess originating from the change in the accustomed living environment.

Tekgöl, who analyzes the criticism of modernity in one of Ziya Pasha's poems, also mentions this in her thesis. According to Tekgöl, the poem criticized that regulations of the *Tanzimat* "were so precisely defined that there was no room left for negotiation, which lies in contrast with the previous practices of legislation."⁴⁵³ Indeed, the rules that existed in the old order, which were not written but transmitted with the application and transfer of social memory, lost some of their internal essence while being translated into written texts and turned into a set of dry measures. Similarly, Demirakın argues that reforms caused the loss of allegiance to the place by freeing people from their collective responsibilities, which were loosened by new regulations of the *Tanzimat*.⁴⁵⁴

In conclusion, the picture concerning the physical layout in Ottoman city spaces and the ongoing lifestyle across centuries is complex and intricate, imbued with both changes and stabilities. It is also shaped by the complex relationship between the state agent and ordinary people, affected by overall political tensions and economic hardships. To wrap it up, it is worth noting that the general physical structure of the Ottoman space resembles a bunch of grapes,⁴⁵⁵ and although it is

⁴⁵³ Tekgöl, "A Gate to the Emotional World of Pre-modern Ottoman Society," 305-306.

⁴⁵⁴ Demirakın, "The City as a Reflecting Mirror," 24.

⁴⁵⁵ Tekgöl, "Modernite Öncesi Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahremiyet Halkaları."

seen as complex by travelers of that age, the complexity follows a system within itself. Moreover, this grape bunch model appeared similarly in all Ottoman spaces. The transition from more private spaces to more public neighborhoods is another element of this model. In addition, the physical plan mentioned in this part of the study was mainly preserved in the 18th century since the regulations and rules of the central government regarding the physical structure emerged only after the second half of the 19th century. Thus, this sheltered model, formed in the form of a bunch of grapes, has strengthened the people's belonging to the place, primarily to their homes.⁴⁵⁶

3.1.2. The Range of Voice: *Savt İstimâ*

Another issue I encountered in the Ottoman court records, which I find exciting and needs elaboration, is the issue of physical distance and the range of voice. In the Ottoman context, if an issue associated with a crime where the culprit was unknown was brought to the court, then the whole community of the region where the crime was committed was jointly responsible according to Ottoman law. The community had to pay the blood money (*diyet*) to the victim's relatives.⁴⁵⁷ At this very point, the issue of which neighborhood or village the crime scene (that is, the place where the body was found) belonged was the subject of a lawsuit in the courts. So, the neighborhood or village boundaries play a pivotal role here, and in the determination of boundaries, there is an intrinsic relationship between belonging and the range of voice.

⁴⁵⁶ Tekgül and Personal Communication with Özer Ergenç, dated by September 14, 2022.

⁴⁵⁷ Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 235.

For example, according to a court record of İstanbul,⁴⁵⁸ the relatives of Ali b. Bekir b. Cafer applied to the court, since he was found dead in the Kalkandere neighborhood (*Kalkandere nâm mahâlde kuzucu iken cerîhan katîl bulunan*), and they requested pay off for him (*kasâme ve diyetini talep ve da'vâ*). First of all, the community of surrounding villages (*zîkr olunan mahâllin etrâfında olan kurâdan Çilingir ve Baklalı ve Türk Aişe? ve Haraççı karyeleri ahâlîlerinden*), where the victim was found, were questioned. People indicated they did not know the murderer but pointed to Abdurrahman, who possibly knew the murderer. When Abdurrahman was questioned, he said that the place where Ali b. Bekir b. Cafer was found dead was far from the village, and the voice was not heard from there to signify that the crime was not related to them (*Ol dahi mezbûr Ali'nin kâtîlini bilmeyip ve zîkr olunan kurâ dahi mahâll-i mezkûre bâ'îd ve savt istimâ' olunmamağla*). However, probably Abdurrahman has a connection with the crime since to solve the conflict, he offers money to the relatives of Ali (*...Abdurrahman kat'â li'n-nizâ' malından bana on bir guruş verip ve da'vâsından zimmetimi ibrâ etdikde ben dahi on bir guruşu ahz u kabz edip...*).

The above-summarized murder incident is a very classical case in the sense of Ottoman court records. However, to determine which community was responsible for the crime, the argument that the voice was not heard from the village could strengthen the statement that the village is far from the crime scene; but also, this issue of range of voice gives clues about the place attachment of people.

In another example, heirs of Menteşzade Çukadarı Tophaneli Abdullah b. Süleyman b. Abdullah, was who found dead somewhere close to the *Merhaba*

⁴⁵⁸ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 25 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1179-1180 / M. 1765 – 1767), Salih Kahrıman and Mümin Yıldıztaş, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 287, verdict no 307,135-1.

Çeşmesi in which between Pendik, Dolayoba and Yayalar villages, applied to the court to request pay off for him.⁴⁵⁹ Since Abdullah died between these villages, their relatives indicated that Pendik village was the closest one and the voice was heard from there. So, the community of Pendik village should pay *diyet* (“...mahâll-i karyetân-ı mezbûretândan akreb olan nefis-i Pendik karyesine savt istimâ‘ olunmağla...”).⁴⁶⁰ However, the community of Pendik did not accept the fact that their village is close to the *Merhaba Çeşmesi*, and the voice could be heard from there (“...Abdullah’ın mahâll-i mezkûrda cerîhan katîl bulunduğunu her biri ikrâr lâkin katîl-i mezbûr Abdullah’ı biz katl etmedik, kâtîli dahi ma‘lûmumuz değildir ve mahâll-i mezkûr karyemize eb‘ad olup bir vechile savt istimâ‘ olunmaz...”).⁴⁶¹ In order to solve the conflict, a *kâtib* was appointed. When the *kâtib*, in the presence of three people from Pendik village, called loudly from the place where the victim was found dead, he determined that the sound could not be heard from Pendik village. So, the payoff did not fall on Pendik community.

“...istikşâf-ı hâl için meclis-i şer‘den meb‘ûs kâtib Ahmed Hayreddin Efendi ümenâ-i şer‘le zikr olunan mahâll-i maktele ve Pendik karyesine varıp maktûl-i mezkûrun vereseleri ve zikr olunan üç aded kurâ ahâlîleri mevcûd oldukları hâlde mahâll-i maktele savt-ı a‘lâ ile nidâ etdirilip zikr olunan Pendik karyesinden bir vechile savt istimâ‘ olunmadığını...”⁴⁶²

This case is novel since someone was appointed to determine the boundaries when the problem could not be solved. This appointed man shouted loudly to determine whether or not the voice was heard. The range of voice was not only an argument used to support the long distance where the crime was committed; it was

⁴⁵⁹ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Rumeli Sadâreti Mahkemesi 272 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1171-1172 / M. 1758)*, Salih Kahrıman and Mümin Yıldıztaş, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 427, verdict no 549, 112a-1.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

also an actual practice used to determine the boundaries and people who were responsible for a murder.

There is a similar case in the records of Edirne *sicils*. According to the incident in 1741, Türkman Ali, who was in charge of the vineyards of *Umur Big* village, was murdered, and the culprit was unknown by the village community. Hence, the heirs of Türkman Ali applied to the court for the payoff indicating that he was found in vineyards where the sound could reach the Umur Beg village:

“...mezbûr Türkmân Ali’yi karye-i mezbûre âhâlîleri târih-i kitâbdan bir sene mukaddem karye-i mezbûre toprağından vâki’ bağlarında Bekçi olub ol dahî mezbûrunun bağlarını hıfz ve hırâset üzere iken âhâlî-i karye-i mezbûre katlolunan mezbûr Ali’yi târîh-i merkûmde katl ve cesedini mugayyeb idub mezbûru katl iden âhâlî karye-i mezbûreden olduğu ma’lûm olmayub ve mezbûr Türkman Ali karye-i mezbûreye savt istimâ’ olunur karîb mahalde katl olunub...”⁴⁶³

In this case, the fact that the murder was committed in a place where voices can be heard is the basis for determining the responsibility. According to a recorded case in *Sofya* court records dated 1773, Kristo veled-i İlye was found dead in an empty place, which was described as such:

“...Brezník kazâsına tâbi’ Sobîçe nâm karye mütemekkinlerinden iken bundan akdem medîne-i mezbûre kazâsına tâbi’ Velkofçe nâm karyeye savt istimâ’ olunur ve kimesnenin mülkü olmayub hâlî yerde ba’d-e’l-keşf ve’l-mu’âyene cerîhen katıl bulunan...”⁴⁶⁴

In this case, crime scene was defined not only in terms of which village the voice was heard from but also as an empty area and not owned by anyone. After Kristo veled-i İlye was found dead, his heirs sued the village, which was stated to be within sound reach of İlye's body. Although the villagers admitted that the place where Kristo veled-i İlye was killed was in their own village, they said they did not know his killer (“...gıbbe’s-suâl mezkûr’l-esâmî zimmîler katıl-i mesfûrun ber-

⁴⁶³ Samıkıran, “138 Numaralı Edirne Şer’iyye Sicilli,” 183.

⁴⁶⁴ Mehtap Öztürk, “26 Numaralı Sofya Şer’iyye Sicilinin Değerlendirmesi ve Transkripsiyonu (H. 1186/M. 1772-1773)” (master’s thesis, Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi, 2021), 162.

minvâl-i muharrer mahall-i merkûmda katîl bulunduğunu ikrâr lakin bizler katl itmedik ve kâtîli dahi ma‘lûmumuz değildir deyü inkâr eylediklerinde...”).⁴⁶⁵ In this case, 50 people were asked to take an oath by resorting to the *kasâme* procedure,⁴⁶⁶ the perpetrator could not be determined and still the villagers were sentenced to pay *diyet* in line with the law.

“...zeyd bir karyeye istimâ‘ savt-ı istimâ‘ olunub kimesnenin mülkü olmayan hâlî yerde katîl bulunub kâtîli ma‘lûm olmasa karye-i mezbûre ahâlîsine kassâme ve diyet lâzım olur mu el-cevâb olur deyü müzmâ fetvâ-yı şerîfesi mücebince... meblağ-i mezbûru karye-i mezbûre ahâlîleri üzerlerine ba‘de’l-hükm mâ vak‘a bi’t-taleb ketb olundu.”⁴⁶⁷

In a court record from *Saraybosna* dating 1755, heirs of Sâlih Beşe applied to the court to ask for his murderer. The community of *Tirnova* defended themselves by arguing that he was murdered somewhere away from their village, where human sound cannot reach.

“...mûrisimiz Sâlih Beşe’yi cemâ‘at-i mezbûrede Rogoy nâm yaylada keşf olunduğu üzere katl olunub anlardan kâtîli taleb ederiz suâl cevâblarında karyemizden irak yerde katl olunmuşdur karyemize savt istimâ‘ (...)olan fetvâ-yı şerîf mücebince bizden taleb olunmaz deyü...”⁴⁶⁸

The examples presented above are also examples of the *kasâme* and *diyet* procedures in Islamic and Ottoman law. It needs more elaborate reconsideration while discussing the relationship between the range of voice and belonging (i.e., responsibility). While *kasâme* is the method of taking the oath of the people of the region where the murder was committed to determining the criminal and financial responsibility in murders with unknown perpetrators, *diyet* means the goods or money paid in Islamic law in case a person is killed, maimed or injured unjustly, as

⁴⁶⁵ Öztürk, 162.

⁴⁶⁶ The fiqh term expresses the method of swearing by the people of the region where the murder was committed or the relatives of the victim to determine the criminal and financial responsibility in unsolved murders. Ali Bardakoğlu, “Kasâme,” TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, accessed August 2, 2022, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kasame>.

⁴⁶⁷ Öztürk, “26 Numaralı Sofya Şer’iyye Sicilinin Değerlendirmesi ve Transkripsiyonu,” 162-163.

⁴⁶⁸ Şeyda Mısırlıoğlu, “6 Numaralı Saraybosna Şer’iyye Sicilinin Değerlendirilmesi ve Transkripsiyonu” (master’s thesis, Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi, 2021) 125.

punishment and blood.⁴⁶⁹ However, if the culprit was unknown or not possible to find him/her, this *diyet* procedure requires a collective compensation of damages caused by a crime with an unidentified culprit. In this sense, it is not only a legal application of the Ottoman State in resolving crimes but also includes practices of collective responsibility arising from sharing common spaces. Since the culprit is unknown, paying a ransom falls under the community's responsibility where the crime was committed. Hence, the place of crime gains utmost importance to determine the community to be held responsible.⁴⁷⁰ Although there is only one crime, the sanction foreseen here is collective, and the primary motivation is to protect the social structure. So, the *kasâme* and *diyet* procedures were related to the order and security of a particular settled place, and it is an exception to the individual responsibility.

Typically, the penalty for killing someone is reprisal in Ottoman law. However, when the culprit cannot be identified, the requirement to pay it off is a kind of compensation because the community could not meet the expectation to prevent crime in the region. Living in a place in the Ottoman State has come with responsibilities related to that place. This situation actually points to society's self-regulation on a spatial basis and emerges as a reflection of the idea of collective public responsibility.⁴⁷¹ With this method, the Ottoman State claims that those under its rule should maintain order in the places they live in, watch for each other and be aware of the deeds and actions or crimes committed; otherwise, they will be under collective responsibility. This spatial aspect of common responsibilities in the

⁴⁶⁹ Ali Bardakoğlu, "Kasâme," TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, accessed August 2, 2022, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kasame>. Ali Bardakoğlu, "Diyet," TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, accessed August 2, 2022, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/diyet>.

⁴⁷⁰ Eren Paydaş, "Hukuk Sosyolojisi Açısından Kasâme Kurumu," *Marmara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Hukuk Araştırmaları Dergisi* 21, no. 2 (2015): 597.

⁴⁷¹ Paydaş, 607 – 609.

Ottoman space is a three-legged structure which Hülya Canbakal spells out as follows:

“In privately owned spaces such as real estate and its appurtenances, owners are expected to be in control, and they are legally liable. In public spaces that are no one’s property and utilized by an uncertain number of people, such as central markets, main roads and interregional routes or bridges, the state is in control and liable. Finally, in intermediate spaces utilized by a defined group of people, such as neighborhood lanes, neighborhood mosques or village commons, the community of users is legally liable.”⁴⁷²

Within the context of this dissertation, this collective responsibility for crimes and living within the range of voice, tells a lot about the place attachment in Ottoman society. First of all, although the ransom payment fell to those living in the area where the murder was committed, at times when the borders were not clear as today, it was not always easy to determine the people responsible for crimes. In deciding the accountable community, someone shouted out loud from where the crime was committed, and if people lived within range to hear this sound, these people were held responsible for the murder. Responsibilities based on location occur over certain defined areas such as villages and neighborhoods. However, for the particular cases mentioned above, the important thing is also being in the range that makes it possible to provide public order. While determining the collective responsibility here, the focus is to include the neighborhood or village in an area of influence so that people can fulfill the obligation to provide more public order. This is defined as being or living in an area shouting out loud is heard (*savt istimâ‘ olunmağla*). People were responsible for their places of living. Hence, this responsibility probably led to the arousal of attachment to the living area. Moreover, although covered under Islamic law, this collective requirement was also valid for non-Muslims, indicating that it was free from religious identity and is more related to spatial belonging, in other

⁴⁷² Hülya Canbakal, “Vows as Contract in Ottoman Public Life (17th-18th Centuries),” *Islamic Law and Society* 18 (2011): 91.

words, attachment. Another condition necessary for applying this rule is being settled in a specific living space. For example, this rule did not apply to people being in the place temporarily or entered the Ottoman land with permission.⁴⁷³

Here in these cases, one may conclude that the voice in terms of its range was used as one of the indicators of collective responsibility. There are different indicators in the determination of proximity, such as seeing or hearing. Here, it is essential to underline that these indicators are not subjective to people. Sound determines the near and far field. It does not vary from person to person. Sound is used as a scale to make the unity of space necessary to determine belonging in the Ottoman space. Hence, it is an element used to define the scope of collective responsibility.

Why is this range of voice substantial concerning the place attachment? I think this example gives vital clues about the place attachment both in the mind of the Ottoman State and, accordingly, the people. To be in charge both in the eyes of the Ottoman State and the others, it has to be within the sound reach of people. For example, when an incident occurs and it cannot be determined which village or neighborhood is responsible for it, measuring the place where the sound reaches is an essential indicator of this. Such practice encodes the areas in their minds in which people feel responsible as areas where they can hear and see. When someone calls for help when a crime was committed, people, within the range of voice should have either committed the crime or did not go to help even though they heard the help call. In any case, it is their responsibility. In other words, the range where they can actually hear the sound has thus been left under the direct responsibility of the people. Hence, they eventually become more attached to those areas as they become

⁴⁷³ Paydaş, “Hukuk Sosyolojisi Açısından Kasâme Kurumu,” 597 – 603.

more accountable. Remembering that for the place attachment, the place may be an environmental setting that is inseparable from experiences; repetitive experiences regarding the responsibility and its borders enhance the bond between people and places. Plus, considering that the boundaries of the space are defined by the places adjacent to or by the knowledge of community transmitting by generations (*sınırları inde'l-ciran ma'lum olan*), *savt* (sound) is also added to this equation as a boundary.

3.1.3. Preservation of the Physical Structure

Reconstruction of a place, or protecting it, independent from its status of ownership, is a behavioral action that indicates place attachment or at least provides clues regarding the established relationship between people and place. This may be in the form of improving the place, protecting the existing structure, or rebuilding it as it was before.

For example, in the record dated 1765 in the İstanbul Court,⁴⁷⁴ *Şeyh Hasan*, the representative of *Akile Hanım*, who was the trustee of a mosque and a fountain in the vicinity, became the plaintiff against Mehmed, who had a smithy. Allegedly, Mehmed tied his horses to a place inside the fountain area adjacent to the blacksmith shop and turned it into a barn (*dükkân-ı merkûmun ittisâlinde olup mezkûr çeşmenin hazînesi içine binâ olunan Hisar kulesini müstecir-i merkûm ahır ittihâzıyla*). For this reason, this place's dirty water and dirt had flown into the fountain's water basin (*müstecir-i merkûm telvîsden hâlî olmayıp*). He also built two toilets in the same place. Thirty people gave testimonies about the situation, which was clearly evident to contaminate the water and spoiling the water's color and taste (*otuz nefer Müslimîn dahi... alâ-tarîkı 'ş-şehâde haber verip*). Mehmed, who accepted his action,

⁴⁷⁴ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 25 Numaralı Sicil*, 106, verdict no 52, 26-2.

was instructed not to do anything that would affect the taste of the fountain's water by polluting the surroundings and to clean his mess (*mahâlleyin-i mezkûreyin telvîs ile mâ-i mezbûrun ta'mı tagayyür etmeyip tathîr ve tanzîf eylemek üzere tenbîh*).

Remembering that the physical quality of the place (be it neighborhood or street) is an indicator of attachment, protecting the existing quality of the environment or improving it reveals the people's bond with places. Environmental concerns such as cleaning, preventing pollution, or controlling its use may be considered in this manner. Hence, the above example (In this case, a person, but there are plenty of examples that neighborhood communities applied collectively.) points at importance given to the cleanliness of the environment. It is normal to expect people to be annoyed by the dirt meddling into the water, but the action taken not only for the dirt but also for the area adjacent to the fountain used as a barn explains the concern for the place.

In another court record, it is stated that the Çeşme town's people suffer due to the foul smell emitted by the slaughtered animals in the four butcher shops in the town bazaar of two different foundations belonging to two mosques in Çeşme (...*dört bâb dükkânları kasaba-i mezbûre çarşısı derûnunda olmağla zebh olunan hayvanâtın ta'affünü sebebiyle râyîha-i kerîhesinden ahâli-i kasaba müte'ezzî olduklarından...*). In addition, the shops mentioned are old, but the relevant foundation does not have enough income to repair them. Thereupon, people named Mustafa and Memiş, who had one of the mosques built, built four new shops in their places by the sea, where no one lived around them (...*kendi mallarından bir kimesnenin mülkü olmayan mahâlde leb-i deryâda müceddeden dört bâb kasab dükkânları inşâ...*). By replacing two of the shops in the bazaar with the newly built ones, two others were registered to the other foundation, and two were registered to the mosque foundation they had

built (...*çarşı derûnunda harâb dükkân-ı merkûmları müceddeden binâ eyledikleri dört bâb dükkânları... nakl ve dekâkin-i mezbûrenin iki bâbını...câmi'ine ve iki bâbını kendileri ihyâ eyledikleri câmi'-i şerîfe îrâd-ı vakıf kayd ve ta'yîn eylediklerinde...*)⁴⁷⁵

In another case recorded by the Eyüp Mahkemesi, Hanife Hatun wanted to connect the dirty water of her horse mill to the sewer (“...*bargirlerin çirkâbı kurbünde vâki' Hacı Murad Vakfı'nın mütevellî temessükü mantûku üzere ayak çeşmeleri kârîzine ilhâka me'zûn olmağla ilhâk murâd etdikde...*”⁴⁷⁶). However, the residents of the neighborhood objected to this situation (...*Ahiçeşme'ye cârî olan suyoluna zararı vardır deyü ahâlî-i mahalleden bazıları mümâna'at etmeleriyle...*). Thereupon, Hanife applied to the court for the discovery of the problem by an expert and for a decision to be made (...*keşfolunup vâki'-i hâl mütebeyyin olsun deyü mezbûre Hanife taleb etmeğın...*).

There are two important points that this example points out. First, environmental factors such as the cleanliness of the environment, access to water, and being away from areas causing the bad smell were influential in forming and shaping the physical structure. Then the discomfort of those who share the space due to the change of the accustomed environmental situation followed. Hence the experiencing various changes were formed based on the common agreement of protecting environmental conditions in favor of the neighbors. Secondly, since one of the critical indicators of spatial belonging is the protection and development of the environment, every action taken by the neighborhood or those who share the problem

⁴⁷⁵ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 94 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1222-1223 / M. 1807-1809)*, Salih Kahrıman and Yılmaz Karaca, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 318, verdict no 292, 39b-2.

⁴⁷⁶ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Eyüp Mahkemesi 182 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1154-1161 / M. 1741-1748)*, Abdulkadir Altın and Salih Kahrıman, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019) 588, verdict no 946, 108a-4.

in the relevant place indicates their commitment to where they live. In other words, several moves, requests, and demands arising from spatial belonging play a role in shaping the physical space.

These cases were not always related to cleaning the environment. For example, in a case found in Ankara sicils, *İsmâ'îl Çelebi* grumbled about *Lefter veled Kırakoz* on the grounds that *Lefter* demolished the wall of his *menzil* facing *tarîk-i 'amm* and rebuilt it by occupying some part of the street (...*mülk menzilinein zokâk dîvârını hedm ve müceddeden binâ eyledikde tarîk-i 'âmmadan tahmînen nîm kerpîc mikdârı yeri menziline idhâl itmekle...*)⁴⁷⁷ *İsmâ'îl Çelebi* argued that *Lefter* narrowed down the street and blocked passage by doing this. In order to address these allegations, architects were mobilized by the court to inspect the wall. However, they could not find sufficient evidence to conclude that the rebuilt wall occupied a part of the *tarîk-i 'amm*, neither blocked passage through it (...*ilkâ-i nazar eylediklerinde mesfûr Lefterin tarîk-i 'âmmda nısf kerpîc mikdârı yer alub menziline idhâl itdiği ma'lûm olmayub ve müdde'î-i mezbûr dahi müdde'âsını bir vech ile isbâta kâdir olmadığından gayri mârrîne dahi zararı olmadığın...*).⁴⁷⁸ Although *İsmail*'s claim was not validated, his aim, as documented in the record, seems to preserve existing borders in their neighborhoods' physical structure to prevent any harm to people's passage.

Here, *İsmail* resorted to the court for an area that is not his property is and it is an excellent example of preserving the existing structure of the common areas. It indicates the bond that *İsmail* established with the place where he lived. He is aware

⁴⁷⁷ Yapıcı, "H.1133-1134 (M.1721-1722) Tarihli 97 Numaralı Ankara Şer'iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi," 122.

⁴⁷⁸ Yapıcı, 122.

of his living environment's order and boundaries and wants to preserve the existing width of the street.

The examples provided by Canbakal in the article, where she evaluated *nezirs*⁴⁷⁹ as collective contracts having a public nature, are sound in assessing people's concerns regarding the physical structure. The coppersmiths of Ayntab made a contract among themselves promising that no one would buy copper beforehand and if one of them broke the promise, they accepted paying 50 *guruş* in repairing the court building. The second example was again from 18th century Ayntab. In this example, "the craftsmen pledged not to put oxen wool in the felt they produced,"⁴⁸⁰ and if any broke the deal, they promised to pay 50 *guruş* for cleaning the Sacur river.⁴⁸¹

Furthermore, all these concerns, cares, and efforts to protect and improve the built environment of ordinary people are signs of urban consciousness. At times when there were no municipal services or state-level urban restructuring, dwellers' actions or their demands from the other parties are the clues that they cared about the environment they lived in, which was assumed not to exist in Islamic cities for a long time. The case above or other cases such as donations to *avârız akçası fonu*, people's allocation of inheritance for neighborhood works, or donating their properties to their neighborhoods are some basic examples that point to urban consciousness. These will be discussed under different headings in the following sections of this study.

⁴⁷⁹ For a specific assessment and discussion on *nezirs* especially concerning security matters see the sub-chapter 3.7.

⁴⁸⁰ Canbakal, "Vows as Contract in Ottoman Public Life (17th-18th Centuries)," 86.

⁴⁸¹ Canbakal, 86.

3.2. Place Attachment in Convivial Spaces

To identify the level of belonging of the ordinary Ottoman people to places at different scales in their living environment, it is necessary to understand the formation of space. To that end, it is significant to elaborate on the transition from people's most private realms, namely their properties, to the common areas where they encountered each other. The role of shared space in people's identification process is higher than one may assume when there are no municipal services, limited traveling opportunities, and mobility. The meaning attributed to such shared encounter areas in those times differed from today, and the meaning of places in people's minds, in other words, the way they perceived and utilized those shared spaces, directly affected or re-establish the bond people established with the places. Hence, in this sub-section, I will discuss the nature of these spaces, which I chose to borrow the term *convivial* spaces, developed by Ulrike Freitag, and their potential effects on spatial belonging.

Before explaining the term *convivial*, I will briefly discuss the public vs. private spaces dichotomy⁴⁸² within the Ottoman context to enunciate why I chose the term *convivial*, which I believe fits more to the 18th century Ottoman world, instead of public spaces.

A cleavage based on the private and public existed in nearly every society. At the same time, the boundaries of them, where one ends and the other begins, or the transitory nature of concepts, have always been subject to questioning.⁴⁸³ In terms of

⁴⁸² Utilizing the private vs. public space dichotomy would be misleading for pre-modern Ottoman cities considering the elusiveness of the boundaries and inherently multiple meanings of places changing according to different population segments. I would like to discuss the attachment to space without positioning this dissertation as taking any side in private vs. public space discussions. Since the attachment on its own deals with the nature of space, the evaluation will be specific to place attachment by transpassing the boundary of thinking under the dichotomy of private vs. public space.

⁴⁸³ Yaron Ayalon, "Ottoman Urban Privacy in Light of Disaster Recovery," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* vol. 43, no. 3 (August 2011):514.

the Ottoman world, it is essential to understand that there had not been an environment defined clearly by the terms of public and private spaces since both the societal space and the physical space had been more complicated than this cleavage up until the middle of the 19th century. In its most general definition, it would not be wrong to define public spaces as areas with no privacy based on publicity and traceability.⁴⁸⁴ In the Ottoman context, the public space was as private as much as it had been public. For example, until the 18th century, the palace of Ottoman grand viziers was where they served their public duties. The same was true for qadi in cities. Ottoman inns (*hans*) had a semi-private/semi-public nature as well.⁴⁸⁵ Similarly, propriety rights were not working along the lines of the public vs. private dichotomy. Properties had limitations that make it impossible to characterize them as solely “private.” Hence it is not easy to define or mark the lines between public and private spaces of the Ottoman world. However, this does not mean there was a monolithic structure in Ottoman cities, and people felt the same attachment to different places.

Furthermore, numerous spaces different in nature transformed each other in a complicated manner, so there had been a delicate equilibrium between public and private spaces.⁴⁸⁶ For this reason, beyond the private and public dichotomy in the Ottoman Empire, it would be better to define spaces by taking into account its transitive structure. For example, Ottoman mosques were considered public spaces. According to Tanyeli, they were primarily for the use of people living there. Hence, they were socialization places rather than public spaces.⁴⁸⁷ According to Tanyeli, the

⁴⁸⁴ Yılmaz, “XVI. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahremiyetin Sınırlarına Dair,” 93.

⁴⁸⁵ Ahmet Yaşar, “A convivial space: the urban khan in Ottoman Istanbul from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, DOI: [10.1080/00263206.2022.2097660](https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2022.2097660), 2.

⁴⁸⁶ Tanyeli and Gerçek, *İstanbul’da Konut Mekanında Mahremiyetin İhlal ve Teşhiri*, 15-18.

⁴⁸⁷ Tanyeli and Gerçek, 19.

Ottoman space should be understood not from the dichotomy of public vs. private but from the concept of privacy and its transition in space, such as from house to street, or street to quarters.⁴⁸⁸

Most of the spaces in the Ottoman world belong to specific communities whose members are specific instead of hypothetical public spaces belonging to everyone. The mosque of each quarter is an example to it.⁴⁸⁹ Men were going to coffeehouses after dinner in their pyjamas and slippers, indicating these socialization spaces continued to function as an extension of houses.⁴⁹⁰ The concept of privacy and its extension or dwindling define the Ottoman private and public space. The prominence of this privacy issue in the Ottoman space makes the discussion of place attachment more critical. As the privacy and personal use of the space increase, it could be assumed that the bond and connection that people establish with the space will increase, albeit not to the same degree.

These discussions on the nature of space are also vital because it is closely associated with civil society and urban consciousness. Similar to the debate on private and public space, discussions on the existence of civil society in the Ottoman realm have mainly taken their roots from Western examples leading to misunderstandings or claims on the absence of civil society. To avoid this misunderstanding, one needs to recognize the formation of sui generis civil society in the Ottoman context with detailed attention to the nature of spaces beyond the dichotomy of public vs. private spaces.

⁴⁸⁸ Tanyeli and Gerçek, 18-20.

⁴⁸⁹ Tanyeli and Gerçek, 18-20.

⁴⁹⁰ Tanyeli and Gerçek, 22. François Georgeon, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Son Döneminde İstanbul Kahvehaneleri," in *Doğu'da Kahve Kahvehaneler*, ed. Helene Desment-Gregoire and F. Georgeon (İstanbul: YKY, 1999), 48-49.

Explaining the term *conviviality* would be helpful in articulating this transitive structure of the Ottoman urban spaces. Freitag, in her article, offers the term *conviviality*, as a complementary to the term cosmopolitanism, which is widely discussed especially for the Ottoman port cities, to provide a shift in focus from “the more politically and normatively inspired debate surrounding cosmopolitanism to quotidian practices of social interaction.”⁴⁹¹ Conviviality refers to people’s daily interactions while they live together in a place independent of their ethnicities, religions, and social classes. These daily interactions cover not only peaceful times but also conflictual times.⁴⁹² Freitag associates cosmopolitanism with elite interactions, while *conviviality* is the daily interactions of people from various backgrounds. It may help historians understand how all social strata lived together in the Ottoman realm. In this regard, conviviality might be a proper way of understanding the basis of urban life.⁴⁹³ So, in a quest for ordinary people’s place attachments, the term *conviviality* would be helpful to understand the sense of belonging since it is a way of “both sharing and contesting particular lifestyles in a place through daily interactions and a sense of belonging.”⁴⁹⁴ Hence, in this section, I will try to explore the convivial places of the Ottoman world as spaces covering daily exchanges of people, to assess people’s attachment to those places. Another added value of having 18th century discussion of spatial belonging through convivial spaces is the increasing presence of non-Muslims in convivial areas and increasing encounters of people from different intercommunal groups.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹¹ Freitag, “‘Cosmopolitanism’ and ‘Conviviality’?” 380.

⁴⁹² Ahmet Yaşar, “The Han in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century İstanbul: A Spatial, Topographical and Social Analysis,” (PhD diss., Boğaziçi University, 2016), 168 – 169.

⁴⁹³ Freitag, “‘Cosmopolitanism’ and ‘Conviviality’?”

⁴⁹⁴ Deniz Nerimand Duru, “Memory, Conviviality, and Coexistence,” 158.

⁴⁹⁵ Panagiotis C. Poulos, “Spaces of Intercommunal Musical Relations in Ottoman İstanbul,” *Yıllık: Annual of İstanbul Studies* 1 (2019): 184.

As said by Freitag, quarters, coffeehouses, and bathhouses were among the urban spaces where there is “strongly regulated conviviality of the more settled majority of the population.”⁴⁹⁶ By providing various types of sociability among its inhabitants and encounters with different city actors, these spaces differed from zones such as homes or streets. For example, although they belong to different organizations, merchants and artisans engaged with each other in these areas to resolve an issue about tax collection.⁴⁹⁷ Hence, one might expect different levels of attachment in these conviviality spaces as both constitute a vital part of the physical environment and is a hub of social interactions and daily life. Moreover, such areas, by providing a multiplicity of uses, “allowed the community to satisfy a variety of personal and social needs without recourse to specialized institutions requiring additional space.”⁴⁹⁸ So, due to their nature, different forms of attachment were visible in these convivial places.

A complementary study was conducted by Deniz Neriman Duru, where she tries to understand the shared ways of living and a sense of belonging to Burgazada through the prism of conviviality. She contrasts it with the main term used in Turkish literature for living with difference, which is “toleration” or “coexistence.” I believe, like her, it is vital to go beyond the classical discourse of the Ottoman policy of tolerance to explain Ottoman society composed of different ethnic and religious groups.

“Ottoman society never possessed a monolithic structure in its vast territory known as *memâlik-i mahruse*. Rather, the sub-communities, termed as either *cemaat* or *taife* constituted the Ottoman society, having different regional, climatic, geological, geographical, ethnic and cultural identities of their own.”⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁶ Freitag, “‘Cosmopolitanism’ and ‘Conviviality’?” 387.

⁴⁹⁷ Freitag, “‘Cosmopolitanism’ and ‘Conviviality’?” 382-383.

⁴⁹⁸ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 282.

⁴⁹⁹ Özer Ergenç and Nil Tekgül, “Role model” defined for the Ottoman individuals and its change throughout time,” in *New Trends in Ottoman Studies*, Papers presented at the 20th CI.PO Symposium

Despite this variation in composition, there was harmony in Ottoman society, or these variations could cohabit. However, the harmony between the Ottoman people was beyond explaining it just by the tolerance policy. Describing the common way of living through the tolerance policy conceals the possibility of grasping the reality of relations between communities. It was not just a tolerance of some groups to others. To understand harmony, one needs to look through the prism of conviviality. The Ottoman way of living is instead a convivial way of living that emerged from shared lifestyles and differences, which created a sense of place and belonging, as Duru argued.⁵⁰⁰ The various ethnic groups, such as Greeks, Serbians, Albanians, Bulgarians, Romanians, Kurds and Turks, shared a lifestyle by creating networks and exchanging ideas within different cities not only through economic activities but also through daily practices of social life. The various ethnic groups, such as Greeks, Serbians, Albanians, Bulgarians, Romanians, and Turks, shared a lifestyle by creating networks and exchanging ideas within different cities not only through economic activities but also through daily practices of social life.

First of all, convivial spaces were *hans*, public baths (*hamams*), lodges, taverns, bazaars, mosque courtyards, public squares (*meydans*), coffeehouses (*kahvehaneler*), *bozahanes*, etc as convivial spaces, where daily exchange of ordinary people occur. These places were not only a part of the physical environment but also a part of social change and everyday life. In this respect, the events manifested here can offer important clues about the bond people establish with the places.

Rethymno, 27 June – 1 July 2012, ed. Marinos Sariyannis (Rethymno: University of Crete, 2014), 768. Tekgül, “A Gate to the Emotional World of Pre-modern Ottoman Society,” 149.

⁵⁰⁰ Duru, “Memory, Conviviality, and Coexistence,” 175.

These convivial spaces of the Ottoman realm, with each having its particular aspects and functions, both physically and socially, deserve separate studies. In fact, with the “spatial turn” in historiography, these spaces have been on the radar of historians, who focused on their built, perceived, or experienced meanings, and numerous studies have been published.⁵⁰¹ Within the framework of this dissertation, I would like to discuss these public spaces of the Ottoman cities as places serving multiple uses and aims, bringing together people belonging to diverse communities and as places helping the construction of city identity hence as the loci of the people’s spatial attachments in the city space. Because inns, coffeehouses, bazaars, baths, *bozahanes*, and mosques are or will be mentioned on different levels in different parts of this study. Thus, in order to avoid repetition, I will not give specific examples regarding these encounter places of people from various segments of society. In this section, I will discuss the *mecma’-ı nâs* areas that cover all these encounters in the Ottoman realm.

Mecma’-ı nâs locales were multi-functional gathering places such as mosques, bazaars, and inns where many people came together for various reasons. These places brought together members of the same religion, as in places of worship, as well as people with different belongings.⁵⁰²

The term *mecma’-ı nâs* used in the sources is actually a general expression and does not refer to a specific place. It is used for all places with the same characteristics. For example, the lawsuit filed by *bakkâl esnâfi* (grocery artisans) in

⁵⁰¹ Kırılı, “The Struggle over Space: Coffeehouses of Ottoman İstanbul.” Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (Pennsylvania: Penn State Press, 2009). Asım M. Yediyıldız, “Osmanlı Bozahaneleri: Bursa Örneği (1550-1600)” in *Acısıyla Tatlısıyla Boza: Bir İmparatorluk Meşrûbatının Tarihi, Coğrafyası, Kimyası, Edebiyatı*, ed. Ahmet Nezihi Turan (İstanbul: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2007).

⁵⁰² Özer Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehrinde Çarşı Sistemi: Bursa Örneğinde Sûk-ı Sultânî,” in *Şehir Toplum Devlet Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları*, 174. Personal Communication with Özer Ergenç, dated October 22, 2022.

the Konya court records offers clues about spatial belonging with the fact that it took place in one of the convivial areas. Accordingly, Konya grocery shopkeepers applied to the court against various people from two different neighborhoods. According to their allegation, the people they sued were sitting in a bazaar open to the public where everyone walked by, and they sold various products belonging to the shopkeepers (*At bazarı dinmekle ma'rûf bir mahal olub etrafı erbaası dûkâkîn ve hânât ve mahalli-mezbûr kimesnenin mülkü olmayub... mürûr u ubûr edeceği ve mecma'-ı nâs olan bir mahal olub bizim esnâfımıza mahsus zehâyirden pirinç... zehâyir... mahal-i mezbûrda oturup önlerine döküb bey' ü şîrâ idüb*).⁵⁰³ The complainants stated that shops and inns surround the bazaar, that it is not the property of anyone, and that it is a public place. Although the concern was primarily economic, since others were interfering with their business by selling their products, the argument they asserted was that space did not belong to anyone and it is a place where people come and go essential to comprehend the meaning of “*mecma'-ı nâs*” places. These places, where many people come and go, are also places where people from many different belongings meet simultaneously. The example below inherently involves the definition of *mecma'-ı nâs*:

“Cemî‘ zamânda nisvân taifesinin... kıyâfet-i affe ile gezmeleri lâzımeden iken bu evânda tâife-i nisvân hadd-i i‘tidâlden hâric vaz‘-ı nâ-hemvâre cesâret ederek gâyet açık renkli ferâceler ihdâs ve etekleri ile yakalarını dürlü dürlü oymalar ve envâ‘-ı harclar ile zînet edip *mecma'-ı nâs olan esvâk ve bâzâr ve mesîrelerde* gezmekde oldukları meşhûd olup bu husûs nice fesâd ve sefâhate bâ‘is ve bâdî ve iffet ve ismete münâfî olduğuna binâen...”⁵⁰⁴

When properties such as houses, vineyards, and gardens were to be sold by auction, they were announced and sold in *mecma'-ı nâs* locales. Referring to this aspect of *mecma'-ı nâs* places, it may be said that these places were accessible by

⁵⁰³ Özdoğan, “55 Numaralı Konya Şer’iye Sicili’nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu,” 650.

⁵⁰⁴ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 154 Numaralı Sicil*, 145, verdict no 22, 19a-1.

everyone since, in auctions, it was aimed to reach as many as possible. Moreover, since announcements were made in *mecma'-ı nâs* places such as in bazaars

(“*mecma-i nas olan suk-i sultanide nida ettirilip*”⁵⁰⁵), these areas turned to places where people who come to buy a house or to hear these announcements encounter each other (...*mecma'-ı nâs olan mahallerde cümleye i'lân u işâ'at olunup*...).⁵⁰⁶

Thus, these areas become meeting places for people who come for similar purposes.

“...işbu bâb mahkemesinde hilâfeten müvellâ olan Ahmed Efendi huzurunda benden ba'de'd-da'vâ ve'l-inkâr ve'l-isbât vech-i meşrûh üzere vekâletime hüküm ve menzil-i merkûmu âhara bey' ve edâ-i deyne kıbel-i şer'den bana tenbîh olunmuş idi binâen alâ-zâlik vekâletime hüküm ve menzil-i merkûmu izn-i şer'le bey'a arz ve târih-i kitâba gelince münâdî yediyle yirmi ay mikdârı mütevâliyeten mecma'-ı nâs olan mahallerde nidâ ve müzâyede etdirdiğimde menzil-i merkûm-ımersûm Aleksi üzerinde yedi yüz elli guruşda karâr edip...”⁵⁰⁷

In addition, it is understood that when the Ottoman State wanted to reach the people collectively, it made announcements with *münâdîs* in places called *mecma'-ı nâs*.

“...sen ki mübâşir-i merkûmsun -zîde kadruhû- varıp dâhil olduğun kazâ ve kasabât ve kurâların mecma'-ı nâs olan mahallerinde vech-i meşrûh üzere münâdîler nidâ etdirdip gereği gibi tenbîh ve te'kîd ve hilâfıyla hareketden her birleri mu'âkab olunacaklarından âgâh edip hilâf-ı rızâ-yı hümâyûn tama'-ı hâmin sebebiyle nefis-i vâhidin geri kalmasına müsâmaha ve tekâsülün istimâ' olunur ise...”⁵⁰⁸

In another record, we witness that coffeehouses are described as *mecma'-ı nas* places, referring to the fact that these are places where people gather: “...nefis-i Magnisa'da vâki' kahvehâneler mecma'-ı nâs olub dâimâ fitneden hâlî olmamağla ref' olunmak...”⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁵ Abraham Marcus, “Men, Women and Property: Dealers in Real Estate in 18th Century Aleppo,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* vol. XXVI, Part II, 161.

⁵⁰⁶ Öztürk, “26 Numaralı Sofya Şer'iyye Sicilinin Değerlendirmesi,” 182

⁵⁰⁷ *Galata Mahkemesi 259 Numaralı Sicil*, 161, verdict no 135, 19b-1.

⁵⁰⁸ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Kartal Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1128-1133 / M. 1716-1721)*, Rasim Erol and Sabri Atay, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 259, verdict no 398, 75b-1.

⁵⁰⁹ Fatma Gül Karagöz, “17. Yüzyılda Mühimme Defterleri Ve Ayntâb/Antep Şer'iye Sicilleri Örneklerinde Kahvehânelerin Kapatılması Ve Tütün Yasaklarının Uygulanması,” *Hacettepe HFD* 10(2) (2020), 532.

As the examples above indicate, these *mecma'-ı nâs* places were easily accessible by different segments of Ottoman society together and, as today, were among the main constituents of urban life. However, since each had different characteristics and aspects; it is hard to argue about people's overall attachment to all these places. On the other hand, while these places, as the meeting points of the city dwellers, serve as a strengthening function for ordinary people in establishing positive bonds, the fact that the coffee houses, which is one of these *mecma-ı nâs* places, bring together different segments of the society, was not always welcomed by the Ottoman State. For example, in the order concerning not opening barber shops in place of the coffeehouses that were closed at the beginning of the 19th century, coffeehouses were defined as follows: "...me'vâ-yı gürûh-ı fesede olan kahvehânelerin..."⁵¹⁰ (place of communities who plot mischiefs).

In another 19th century record, the *ulemâ* were advised not to sit in coffeehouses or places where there was suspicion of indictment: "...ziyy-i ulemâda bulunan dâ'iyân ve ketebe vesâirenin kahvehânelerde ve mazınna-i töhmet olan mahallerde oturmamak..."⁵¹¹

Coffeehouses are defined as follows in another order sent for the conversion of coffeehouses that were closed permanently to other shops and the demolition of those that were not converted:

"Bir müddetden beri ba'zı cehele-i nâsın kâr ü nef' garaz-ı fâsidesiyle Âsitâne ve civârında îcâd ve inşâ ettirmiş oldukları kahvehâneler mecma'-ı erâzil ve eşhâs ve menba'-ı çirkâb-ı erâcîf-i evbâş olmuş ve salâh-ı hâl-i için def' ve tathîri..."⁵¹²

⁵¹⁰ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 154 Numaralı Sicil*, 306, verdict no 150.

⁵¹¹ *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, İstanbul Mahkemesi 334 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1280-1329 / M. 1863-1911)*, Rasim Erol and Sabri Atay, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 188, verdict no 186, 30-2.

⁵¹² *İstanbul Mahkemesi 154 Numaralı Sicil*, 305, verdict no 148, 53b-3.

So, according to this expression, the coffeehouses were considered gathering places of the scumbags and the areas where the lying vagrants showed up.

Sometimes the Ottoman State described coffeehouses as the home of rebellion movements, due to the fact that coffeehouses became socialization places that replaced mosques over time, gaining the feature of bringing together different people from all parts of the society. This was reflected in the prohibition of tobacco consumption in the Ottoman Empire, and orders to close coffeehouses from time to time. Ottoman coffeehouses has many aspects which were studied extensively in the literature.⁵¹³ So, there is no need to reiterate these arguments within the scope of this thesis. However, I will look at the impact of coffeehouses as the gathering points on belonging of ordinary people.

Coffeehouses, which gradually entered the daily life of ordinary Ottoman people since the middle of the 16th century, allowed going beyond the limited encounter areas of people's introverted lives in the triangle of home, bazaar, and mosque in the classical period.⁵¹⁴ Since its nature is different from other *mecma-ı nâs* places, such as bazaars and inns, in terms of its nature, it has been instrumental in the emergence of a unique relationship which people establish with the place.

“A form of relations other than the traditional neighborly ties, based on the principle of supervision and closely bound up with the social aspect of everyday life, emerges for the first time in the local coffeehouses.”⁵¹⁵

Although inns and markets are meeting places, people basically visit these places to get their work done. As such, coffeehouses were primarily places for socializing. While the baths or mosque courtyards also served this function in terms of socialization, it was their secondary function besides cleaning or religious

⁵¹³ Kırılı, “The Struggle over Space: Coffeehouses of Ottoman İstanbul.”

⁵¹⁴ Ekrem Işın, *Everyday life in İstanbul*, trans. Virginia Taylor Saçlıoğlu (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2018), 277.

⁵¹⁵ Işın, 277

worship. Along with this distinctive feature, the fact that coffeehouses were described with unfavorable terms, such as a nest of mischief and places where lies are spread by the Ottoman State, they became a contentious place in people's minds.

Not only in coffeehouses but also in other convivial areas such as inns, and bachelor rooms, the Ottoman State has applied strict regulations, especially in due time with the increase in population. Various regulations, rules, and orders for sustaining order in these places were adopted by the Ottoman State. Consequently, these places also started to have negative connotations in the minds of people. For example, in the regulation sent to the qadis of İstanbul, it is requested that no additional room be added to the existing inns, the inns should not be expanded to make bachelor rooms, and unknown people should not be placed. It is also stated that if a person who commits a crime is caught in the inn rooms, in the rooms of bachelors, coffeehouses, and the buildings built like a farrier's shop but used as an inn, their residents will be exiled.

“Ve el-yevm mevcûd olan hanların heyet-i asliyelerinden fazla içlerinde oda zamîme ve hâricden arsa ilhâk ve sâir vechile tevsî' olunmalarına zinhâr u zinhâr mesâğ gösterilmeyip o makûle mechûlû'l-ahvâl eşhâsa mebnâ ve mesken olan han ve bîkâr odaları ve kahvehâne ve nalband dükkânları sûretinde koltuk hanlar ta'bîr olunan mahâllin birinde sahib-i töhmet bir yaramaz ahz olundukda ol han ve odaların ve nalband dükkânlarının içinde sâkin olanların cümlesi ihrâc ve kapısı bend ve bir dahi bîkâr sâkin olmamak için mahallât arasında ise müteehhilîn odaları ya'nî hâne; ve çarşı ve pazarda ise iktizâsına göre esnâf dükkânları yaptırıla.”⁵¹⁶

While evaluating convivial areas in terms of spatial belonging, considering that some of these areas are places where only men can enter and exit (such as coffee houses) and move more easily, it turns out that women's relationship with these areas is limited. Considering the demarcation lines that exist on the level of men and women in the Ottoman space, not only in the context of convivial spaces but also in

⁵¹⁶ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 97 Numaralı Sicil*, 228, verdict no 134, 55b-2.

terms of other aspects of spatial belonging, making a gender-based evaluation is essential for the comprehensiveness of this thesis.

3.2.1. Women in Convivial Spaces

Studies on place attachment have found that women are more attached to their houses.⁵¹⁷ When the 18th century daily lives are considered, it would be fitting to assume that women had spent more time in their houses, developing more attachment to their homes than men. On the other hand, men felt more attachment to convivial spaces compared to women who had less direct relationships with the common areas.

Activities aimed at inclusion in social life, an important issue worth discussing in terms of spatial belonging, differed significantly for men and women in Ottoman society. Women's access to convivial areas such as mosques, dervish lodges, coffeehouses, boza shops, vineyards, and gardens, or baths was limited compared to men. These limitations and differentiations led to a differentiation in gender roles.⁵¹⁸ For example, according to the order sent to *subaşı* of Eyüp in 1655, during the Eid-al-Adha, women were asked not to walk in the bazaars and markets, and this order was requested to be announced in the *mecma'-ı nâs* ("...arife gününden İyd-i şerîfin dördüncü gününe varınca nisvân tâ'îfesi çarşı ve pazar ve salıncak önlerinde varmayıp...").⁵¹⁹ A similar order was sent in the 18th century as well:

"İyd-i şerîf eyyâmında nisvân tâîfesinin mübâhan esvâk ve bâzâr ve mahallât aralarında geşt ü güzârları bâ-emr-i âlî memnû'âtdan olmağla inşâallâhu

⁵¹⁷ Charis E. Anton and Carmen Lawrence, "Home is where the heart is: The effect of place of residence on place attachment and community participation," *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 40 (2014): 454.

⁵¹⁸ Fikret Yılmaz, "Boş Vaktiniz Var mı?" *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 1 (Bahar 2005): 11-49.

⁵¹⁹ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Eyüb Mahkemesi (Havâss-ı Refîa) 61 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1065- 1066 / M. 1655)*, Baki Çakır, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İSAM, 2011), 296, verdict no 347, 70b-2.

te‘âlâ işbu ıyd-ı adhânın ibtidâ gününden dördüncü günü akşamına dek Eyüb ve muzâfâtında vâki‘ mahallâtta sâkine nisâ tâifesi kapılarından taşra çıkmayıp hânelerinde meks ve ikamet...”⁵²⁰

As can be seen from these examples, the presence of women in convivial areas was subject to restrictions. In terms of economic activities, examples of similar restrictions can be found in court records from time to time.

“Medîne-i Eyüb’de Çömlekciler sükunda dükkânı olan Künkücü Süleyman nâm müteveffânın dört nefer evlâdlarından Emin nâm sagîrin vâlidesi sâhibe-i arzuhâl Fâtıma nâm hatun künkücü esnâfından arzuhâlde isimleri mezkûrûn Ahmed ve Yusuf ve İbrahim nâm kimesnelerden eytâma gadr için künk eşmeye mezbûrûn mâni olurlar deyü arzuhâl mücebine iştikâsını münkir olup ancak müseccelü’l-esâmî on beş neferden mütecâviz çömlekcî ustaları sagîr için künk işledeyim deyü sabahdan akşama değin sük-ı mezbûrda kârhânelerimiz arasında mezbûre Fâtıma gezip nisvân tâifesine göre vakitli vakitsiz kârhânelerimiz beyinde bulunmak fesâda mü’eddî olduğunu haber ve sagîr-i mezbûra enfa‘ vechile mezbûre Fâtıma men‘ olunmasın her biri iltimâs etdiklerinde dört hisse i‘tibârıyla her bir hisseyi beher mâh üçer yüz akçe vermek üzere kethüdâları işbu hâzır bi’l-meclis İbrahim Ağa der-uhde ve kabûl ve mezbûre Fâtıma dahi ba‘de’l-yevm sagîr hissesine müte‘ayyin olan meblâğı beher mâh alıp min-ba‘d sük-ı mezkûra varmayıp kârhâneler beynlerinde gezmemeğe müte‘ahhide vech-i meşrûh üzere tenbîh olduğu ba‘de’t-tescîl mübâşiri Hasan Çavuş kulları iltimâsıyla huzûr-ı âlîlerine i‘lâm olundu.”⁵²¹

In the event mentioned above, the pottery masters who have a shop in the bazaar oppose Fâtıma, who wants to continue her husband’s business, stating that it would cause mischief if Fatima walked around the bazaar from morning to night. Hence, departing from these examples, those restrictions applying to women regarding space also limit their connection or bond with the places since they did not engage in relationships in different venues compared to men.⁵²² They spent their life more in their houses, and accordingly, they attached to private realms.

⁵²⁰ *Eyüp Mahkemesi 182 Numaralı Sicil*, 537, verdict no 841, 98a-5.

⁵²¹ *Eyüp Mahkemesi 182 Numaralı Sicil*, 305, verdict no 468, 50a-6.

⁵²² According to Zarinebaf-Shahr, women’s acceptance to guilds were limited. Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, “The Role of Women in the Urban Economy of Istanbul, 1700-1850,” *International Labor and Working-Class History* 60 (Fall 2001): 141-152.

Among convivial spaces, *hamams* (baths) may be considered one of the few places where women spend their time more freely. Besides their private realms in their houses, *hamams* were exceptional places women from different circles encountered as if coffeehouses for men. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, in her letters, depicted *hamams* as the “a women’s coffee house where all the news regarding the city was given and gossiped. Ladies usually come here once a week and stay at least four or five hours.”⁵²³

“A typical feature of Ottoman society is that the basic institutions responsible for ensuring order in everyday life exceed their characteristic functions to become dynamic forces that pervade society as a whole.” “The Turkish public bath (*hamam*), quite independently of its original purpose also acquired the function of a virtual public forum.”⁵²⁴

In the beginning of the 19th century, Lady Hester Stanhope was describing *hamams* as such: “...when they have finished, they bind up their hair with flowers, and eat and talk for hours; ... and sit under trees till the evening.”⁵²⁵ *Hamams* were more than hygiene areas, allowing women to gaze, meet, and discuss without delineating space according to ethnicity, religion, or social class.

However, social control mechanisms or close surveillance of the neighborhood community still continued around *hamams* of women. For example, in the following incident, the neighborhood residents complained about İlyas, the bath tenant. It was seen that İlyas came out of the women’s bath door, and the locals were not pleased with İlyas, as he interfered with the women.

“Mahmiye-i İstanbul’da vâki‘ İbrahim Paşa hamamının müste’cir-i olan Hızır Beşe b. İlyas nâm yeniçeri[yi] ehl-i mahalle meclis-i şer‘a ihzâr ettiklerinde, fahrü’l-cüyûş Halebli Mehmed Çavuş...ve sâir ehl-i mahalle bi’l-muvâcehe

⁵²³ Lady Montagu, *Türkiye’den Mektuplar*, trans. Bedriye Şanda (İstanbul: Yenilik Basımevi, 1994), 50 (My translation).

⁵²⁴ Işın, *Everyday life in İstanbul*, 267.

⁵²⁵ Lady Hester Stanhope, *Travels of Lady Stanhope Narrated by her Physician Vol. 1* (London: Henry Colburn, 1846), 78. I quoted from Efterpi Mitsi, “Private Rituals and Public Selves: The Turkish Bath in Women’s Travel Writing,” in *Inside out: women negotiating, subverting, appropriating public and private space*, ed. Teresa Gómez Reus and Aránzazu Usandizaga (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008), 54.

takrîr-i kelâm edip, mezbûr Hızır Beşe hevâ üzredir ehl ü iyâlimiz hamama vardıkca müte’ezzî olurlar, şahs-ı mezbûr mü’temen değildir, birkaç kere avratlar hamamı kapısında nisvân içinden çıktığını gördük, haremât-ı Müslimîn ile muhtelit olur, sâbıkan dahi Hayreddin Paşa hamamından bu töhmet ile ihrâc olunmuşdur, töhmet-i sâbıkası vardır ve bi’l-cümle mezbûrun hamamcı olduğu marzîmiz değildir dediklerinde...”⁵²⁶

In another court record, people from the *Mimar İyaz* neighborhood complained that İbrahim’s wife did not have the authority to run the women’s bath and that the prostitutes came to the bath and had a conversation in front of the door.

“Ashâb-ı arzuhâl Mimar İyaz mahâllesi ahâlîleri İmam el-Hâc Mustafa Efendi ve ... nâm kimesneler meclis-i şer‘-i şerîfde mahâlle-i mezbûrede vâki‘ İbrahim Paşa Hamamı müsteciri... İbrahim nâm kimesne mahzarında mezbûr İbrahim karılar hamamına zevcesini ikâmet edip ol dahi rü’yete kâdire olmayıp ve kendi dahi müsâmaha etmekle dâimâ fevâhiş makûlesi girip ve kapısı önünde mükâleme etmeleriyle nizâ‘a müeddî ve emniyetimiz meslûb olmuşdur deyü teşekkî ve mezbûr İbrahim’in adem-i rü’yetinden nâşî hamam-ı merkûmdan ihrâcını iltimâs eylediklerinde...”⁵²⁷

Moreover, from the 18th century onwards, the diversification of socializing spaces, opening up new avenues of sociability, created a new orientation in gender roles. For example, especially in İstanbul, one may witness more female appearance in *mesires*.⁵²⁸ *Mesires* were part of urban life where people went for outings, sometimes combined with religious activities such as visiting mosques and then resting in *mesires* around mosques. Most of the sources regarding *mesires* are from the late 18th and mainly from the 19th century, although *mesires* existed in previous centuries. The archival sources I encountered regarding *mesires*, mostly from the 19th century İstanbul, are directly related to women, but more as a restriction and regulation from the Ottoman State. For example, in the order from 1807, it was ordered that Muslim women did not have Frankish-style dresses made and tailors did not sew in this style. *Mesires* were counted among the places where women went and

⁵²⁶ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil (H.1027/ M. 1618)*, Yılmaz Karaca et al., ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul, İSAM, 2011), 430, verdict no 657, 77b-4.

⁵²⁷ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 25 Numaralı Sicil*, 238, verdict no 236, 106-1.

⁵²⁸ *Mesires* were places people went for excursion.

behaved improperly: "...tâife-i merkûmenin ba'zı bî-edebleri bu makûle ferâce ve elbise-i Efrenciyyeyi telebbüs ile esvâk ve pazar ve sâir mesîre ve cem'iyetgâhda geşt ü güzâr ederek bî-edebâne harekete ictisâr etmeleriyle.." ⁵²⁹ A few years later, another order prohibits women from wearing light-colored and ornate dresses, and those who sew such clothes will be punished. In this order, *mesires* were counted as *mecma'-ı nâs* areas:

"...gâyet açık renkli ferâceler ihdâs ve etekleri ile yakalarını dürlü dürlü oymalar ve envâ'-ı harclar ile zînet edip mecma'-ı nâs olan esvâk ve bâzâr ve mesîrelerde gezmekde oldukları meşhûd olup bu husûs nice fesâd ve sefâhate bâ'is ve bâdî ve iffet ve ismete münâfî olduğuna binâen..." ⁵³⁰

Several other orders regulate and prohibit women's wearing, especially in İstanbul, starting from the 18th century. İstanbul, as the Empire's capital, was hosting different cultures and Ottoman women were exposed to them. Moreover, orders on women's lifestyle or dress codes were encountered more in the 18th century due to increasing "violation of social and religious boundaries... in this period." ⁵³¹ Hence, one may assume that gender division of space started to be trespassed more by women, indicating more women's public appearance.

In the edict recorded in the Eyüp Court in İstanbul, the route and the neighborhoods that women were allowed to visit to were determined as such:

"...nisâ tâifesinden bazıları teferrüc ve tenezzüh için koçu ve öküz arabalarıyla Alibey karyesi ve Sâdabâd ve Beykoz'dan Tokat ve Akbaba ve Dereseki ve Üsküdar'dan dahi gerek Bulgurlu ve Nerdübanlı ve Haydarpaşa'ya gidip envâ'-ı fesâd ve şenâyî'ye ba'is ve bâdî olacakları melhûz olduğu cihetden ol makûle arabalar ile mahâll-i mezkûreye gitmekden men' ve def'leri mühim ve muktezî olmağla imdi fî-mâ ba'd ber-vech-i muharrer nisâ tâifesinden seyr ü temâşâ için öküz arabalarıyla sâlifü'z-zikr Tokat ve Akbaba ve Dereseki ve Bulgurlu ve Nerdübanlı ve Haydarpaşa'ya

⁵²⁹ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 97 Numaralı Sicil*, 323, verdict no 223, 84a-1.

⁵³⁰ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 154 Numaralı Sicil*, 145, verdict no 22, 19a-1.

⁵³¹ Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Women and the Public Eye in Eighteenth-Century İstanbul," in *Women in the Medieval Islamic*, ed. Gavin R. G. Hambly (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 308-309. Ela Çil and Ayşe Nur Şenel-Fidangenç, "Outside the house but not in the city: Promenades in İstanbul as negotiated public spaces for women in the 19th-century Ottoman novels," *ITU A|Z* 18, 3 (November 2021): 711.

gitmek sevdâsında olanları arabalarına almak için men‘ ve arabacılar alâ-vechi’t-tehdîd, tenbîh-i ekîd olunup gerek Alibey karyesi ve Sâdabâd taraflarına dahi koçu arabalarıyla mürûr ve ubûr dâ‘îyesinde olan nisâyı Taşlıburun nâm mahalden ileri azîmetlerine ruhsat ve müsâ‘ade göstermeyip def‘ ve tenbîhi iktizâ edenlere gereği gibi tenbîh ve tefhîme ihtimâm ve dikkat ve hilâfından ihtirâz ve mücânebet eylesin deyü.⁵³²

As it can be understood from the edict, it was forbidden for women to go to the places mentioned, as it would cause “*envâ‘-ı fesâd ve şenâyî‘i*” and therefore, coachmen were warned not to take women who wanted to go there. Finally, the coachmen were ordered not to take the women beyond Taşlıburun district.

Speaking of the impact of gender roles on the spatial structure, another space reserved for women was referred to as “*makarr-ı nisvân*” in court records in terms of spatial privacy and, accordingly, belonging. “*Makarr-ı nisvân*” may be defined as places that belong to women such as kitchens, wells and *avlus*,⁵³³ and no outsider men were allowed to have a direct view of such spaces from their home’s windows etc. In the *Mecelle*,⁵³⁴ the scope of the places where *makarr-ı nisvân* are likely to be seen by outsiders has been expanded (i.e., by adding neighbors across the street). So, this regulation defined spaces belonging to women while affecting the physical structure of a wide area within neighborhoods.

In the registers, a common problem among neighborhood residents was the positions of windows, such as the windows that looked towards inside the other houses (“...mezbûrenin menziline makarr-ı nisvân olan mahale pencere ihdâs külli zararı olmağla...”).⁵³⁵ The main argument behind requesting change or closure of

⁵³² *Eyüp Mahkemesi 182 Numaralı Sicil*, 309, verdict no 76, 50b-1.

⁵³³ Mehmet Ö. Alkan, “Tanzimat’tan Sonra ‘Kadın’ın Hukuksal Statüsü ve Devletin Evlilik Sürecine Müdahalesi Üzerine,” *Toplum ve Bilim* 50 (Yaz 1990): 88.

⁵³⁴ The first civil code of the Ottoman State aimed to codify a Sharia-based laws which entered into force in 1877.

⁵³⁵ Ebru Muslu, “1647 Nr. Şer‘iyye Sicilinin Işığında Lale Devri’nin İlk Yıllarında Tekirdağ (1721-1724),” (master’s thesis, Tekirdağ Namık Kemal Üniversitesi, 2021), 525-526.

windows was that these windows faced where the women sat. The case below is an example of this.

“... mezbûr es-Seyyid Ali Çelebi meclis-i ma‘kûd-ı mezbûrda yine mahalle-i mezbûre sâkinlerinden... da‘vâ ve takrîr-i kelâm edip mezbûr Yorgi’nin üç aded pencerelerinin ve mezbûr Kankar’ın bir aded penceresinin ve mezbûr Kostantin’in üç aded penceresinin ve mezbûre Parize’nin üç aded penceresinin benim işbu menzilimin makarr-ı nisvân olan mevâzi‘ına havâleleri olmağla kadîmden tahta havâle perdeleri olup mürûr-ı eyyâm ile harâb olmağla nazar olunup her birinin havâlelerini vaz‘-ı kadîmî üzere def‘a tenbîh murâd eylerim dedikde...”⁵³⁶

In this case, Ali Çelebi complains that some of the windows of Yorgi, Kankar, and Konstantin overlook the women’s residence of his own house (*menzilimin makarr-ı nisvân olan mevâzi‘ına*).

It is possible to give more examples similar to the above one.⁵³⁷ For instance, another record is as follows:

“...ashâb-ı arzuhâlden Sahaf Yusuf Efendi b. Veliyüddin ve Osman Ağa b. el-Hâc Hasan meclis-i ma‘kûd-ı mezkûrda derûmî arzuhâlde mezkûr’l-ism Çizmeçi es-Seyyid Mehmed Beşe b. Mehmed mahzarında merkûm es-Seyyid Mehmed Beşe bu esnâda menzilini hedm ve müceddeden binâ ve ihdas eylediği fevkânî sofasının üç aded direk arasından benim ve kezâlik fevkânî odasının üç aded pencerelerinden merkûm Osman Ağa’nın makarr ı nisvân olan mevâzi‘larımıza nezâreti olup zarar-ı beyti olmağla men‘ ü def‘ olunmak matlûbumuzdur deyü da‘vâ etdiklerinde...”⁵³⁸

In this dissertation, the importance of spatial regulations specific to women mentioned above is that they make women’s spatial belonging more specific at the home scale and strengthen towards certain areas.⁵³⁹ Although the house constitutes a private realm on its own as a protected area from intrusions, the design of private

⁵³⁶ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 22 Numaralı Sicil*, 515, verdict no 398, 126a-1.

⁵³⁷ In *sicils*, there are many requests for a change in the location of windows based on the fact that windows were looking to *makarr-ı nisvân*. Since the subject of this dissertation is beyond the details regarding the regulation of this rule, just a few examples are provided to clarify the matter.

⁵³⁸ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 94 Numaralı Sicil*, 112, verdict no 57, 7b-1.

⁵³⁹ Here, it is helpful to make a rural-urban distinction in terms of gender-based distinction of space. Especially in rural communities, gender-based spatial segregation was considerably less than in urban areas. One of the most important reasons for this is the necessity of women's participation in agriculture and animal husbandry. Zarinebaf-Shahr, “Women and the Public Eye in Eighteenth-Century İstanbul,” 308.

spaces strengthens the relationship that women establish with these areas, as it is an area where they feel more comfortable. Women were furthest from the social control of neighborhoods within these private spaces inside another private domain.

In conclusion, since there is an ambiguous separation of public and private spaces in the Ottoman space that does not exist today, I preferred to conduct this discussion over convivial spaces due to the multiple qualities and characteristics of each space. In this respect, places called as *mecma'-ı nâs* created a holistic encounter area due to their open structure to the public. However, the Ottoman State's view of these encounter areas was not always positive, and restrictive arrangements were made from time to time, as in the coffeehouses. On the other hand, *mecma'-ı nâs* areas, such as coffeehouses, have increased the spatial belonging of ordinary people because their primary function was to provide socialization. Finally, when one considers these encounter areas based on gender, women were restrained in a more limited area. Still, they have some social places of their own, such as the *hamam*. And in fact, these convivial spaces created a sense of belonging from a different scale for ordinary Ottoman people, as they created an area where different lifestyles were visible and coexisted in shared spaces.

3.3. The Relationship Between Time and Place Attachment

Another aspect of the spatial attachment of ordinary Ottoman people is intrinsic to the time spent. This aspect is visible in many Ottoman primary sources and needs to be considered. In this sub-chapter of the dissertation, this link will be discussed to manifest how belonging to a place changes or is measured according to the time.

Throughout my reading of primary sources, I have encountered many arguments involving reference to time. And many of them, be they years or decades, are related to the place aspect of the Ottoman world. Time played an essential role in determining such instances as resettling people or utilizing the lands that had been unattended or empty for a long time. The time dimension had played a role in the formation of spatial belonging in terms of time spent in a place or in maintaining the symbolic belonging to the past as in case of spatial mobility or migration. Therefore, discussing references to time in the court records has the potential to offer clues about spatial belonging.

For example, according to the imperial order (*ferman*) copied in the sicil of *Üsküdar*, the community of Yaycılar, Demirciler, and Halilli villages (“...Taşköprü nâhiyesine tâbi‘ erbâb-ı timâr karyelerinden Yaycılar ve Demirciler ve Halilli nâm karyeler sipâhileriyle kurâ-i merkûm ahâlîsi meclis-i şer‘a varıp...”⁵⁴⁰) resorted to the court for more than 30 people, who left their villages six or seven years before. Their request was to make these people pay their taxes to where they were registered (“...kurâ-i mezbûrenin defterde mukayyed ra‘iyyet ve ra‘iyyeti oğullarından olduđu zâhir olmuş iken mezbûrlar altı yedi seneden beri kadîmi karyelerin terk ve tekâlîflerin vermemek için taht-ı kazânızda vâki‘ kasabât ve kurâda sâkin olmalarıyla...”⁵⁴¹). The decree replies to the request by indicating that if these people live where they go for more than ten years and pay taxes there, it is impossible to resettle back these people. They could only relocate back to their previous villages if they had not lived away for more than ten years there.

“...i‘lâm olunduđu üzere evvel göçüp giden re‘âyâ-yı kurâ-i merkûmenin defterde mukayyed ra‘iyyet ve ra‘iyyeti oğullarından iken kadîmi

⁵⁴⁰ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 396 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1150-1151 / M. 1737 – 1738), Abdulkadir Altın and Nedim Pakırdağ, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 242, verdict no 269, 71a-11.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

karyelerinden kalkıp varıp hâlâ sâkin oldukları yerlerde avârizhânesine kayd olmayıp ve sâkin olalı on sene geçmiş değil ise kaldırıp kadîmi karyelerine nakl ve iskân ettirdsin ammâ sâkin oldukları yerlerde avârizhânesine kayd olup ve sâkin olalı on sene geçmiş ise ol makûle defterli re‘âyâ kaldırılmak olmaz sâkin oldukları yerlerde üzerlerine edâsı lâzım gelen rûsûm-ı ra‘iyyetlerini kânûn ve defter mücebince hükmedip...”⁵⁴²

Many similar examples are available in the court records, and the abovementioned edict shows the importance of how long ago the relocation was made, and of being registered and paying taxes after changing the place of residence. Actually, this edict is directly related to the land regime of the Ottoman Empire, which is based on the idea that if a *re‘âyâ* left their lands, s/he could be brought back within ten years. Similarly, the use of vacant houses, rooms, or lands by others or the transfer of usage rights were determined by how long they have been idle. Below are examples how the right to use pplace is determined based on time.

The trustee of *Şerife Hatun Waqf* (*Şerife Hatun nâm sâhibetü’l-hayrın mescid-i şerîfinin bi’l -fi‘il mütevellîsi olan... Hüseyin Efendi B. Mustafa*) applied to the court of Bab to request re-renting of a room that belongs to the Waqf in 1709.⁵⁴³ The room was actually rented to Osman Hoca b. Ahmed who had moved out to an other place more than fifteen years ago (“...bir bâb odaya mutasarrıf olan Osman Hoca b. Ahmed nâm kimesne on beş seneden mütecâviz diyâr-ı âhara gidip...”⁵⁴⁴). The trustee argued that the waqf was deprived of the rent revenue, and the room went ruined because of being ragged for more than fifteen years. The court first asked the situation of the room to the community of the neighborhood (*mahalle-i mezbûre ahâlisinden ve bî-garaz Müslimînden*) to confirm whether or not the argument of trustee Hüseyin Efendi is valid. Once the community approved the room’s current

⁵⁴² Ibid.

⁵⁴³ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Bab Mahkemesi 92 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1120-1121 / M.1709)*, Nedim Parkıdağ and Abdullah Sivridağ, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 203, verdict no 181, 24b-5.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

status, the court concluded to rent it out to somebody else, indicating it would be better and beneficial for the waqf.

In another case, *mutasarrıf* es-Seyyid Mustafa Ağa applied to the court of Bab, against Arnavut Mehmed Beşe and Ömer Beşe who started to use a room next to his bathhouse. According to es-Seyyid Mustafa Ağa, this room was in despair for more than ten years, and nobody stayed there (“...bir bâb bekâr odası on seneden mütecâviz harâb ve kimesne sâkin olmamış iken...”⁵⁴⁵). However, Arnavut Mehmed Beşe and Ömer Beşe, had renewed the room without taking permission, opened two new windows, and bachelors had started to use the space. Es-Seyyid Mustafa Ağa argued that new windows damaged his bathhouse, and since the bachelors occupied it, they did not feel safe in (“...zikrolunan odanın bilâ-keşf ve bilâ-izn döşeme ve etrâfını tahta ile meremmât ve tavanını tecdîd ettiklerinden mâ‘adâ hamam-ı mezkûr cânibine iki pencere ihdâs etmeleriyle benim mutasarrıf olduğum hamama zararı olup...”⁵⁴⁶). When es-Seyyid Mustafa Ağa from Hızır Bey neighborhood attempted to complain about this issue, Mehmed Beşe and Ömer Beşe agreed to close the windows and promised that nobody would stay.

In the first case, the trustee of Şerife Hatun Waqf asked to reassess the room because it had been empty and neglected for a long time (15 years). In the second case, the space was empty for a long time (10 years), but this time it was requested to prevent the person from using the room without permission. In the first case, there was an argument over the re-use of the space, which was destroyed due to the room being empty, while the second one complained about the repair. The difference in personal or economic interest between the two cases can explain the contrasting

⁵⁴⁵ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Bab Mahkemesi 197 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1162-1163 / M.1749-1750), Nedim Pakırdağı and Abdullah Sivridağ, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 366, verdict no 458, 59a-3.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid.

claims. On the other hand, if we consider the subject in terms of understanding spatial belonging, we see that the time elapsed is used as the main argument in claims.

A conflict between two villages of Üsküdar is another good example of the relationship between place and time. The community of *Başbüyük* village and Bakkallar village sued each other because of a meadow (*mer'a*) among their borders. According to the community of *Başbüyük* the meadow belonged to their village immemorially (bu hududun dahilinde olan mer 'a kadimden bizim karyemiz mer'asından iken)⁵⁴⁷ In response to this, the community of Bakkallar argued that they bought the field twenty-seven years ago from Yusuf Ağa, who previously owned it for twenty-seven years.

“...âlâ yedimizde mülkümüz ve taht-ı tasarrufumuzda olan Hamza Çelebi Çiftliği demekle ma'rûf çiftlik mukaddemâ Yusuf Ağa nâm kimesnenin mülkü ve taht-ı tasarrufunda iken yirmi yedi sene mukaddem işbu yedimizde olan ... kıt'a hüccet nâtika olduğu üzere merkûm Yusuf Ağa çiftlik-i mezkûrun emlâkini bizlere bey' u teslîm...”⁵⁴⁸

The community of Bakkallar said that they used the land for such a long time, and their usufruct was known publicly and spread by word of mouth. *Başbüyük* people accepted the fact that they remained silent in the past twenty-seven years while Bakkallar used the field. However, they indicated that they were no longer giving their consent for this usage (“...yedi sene zabt ve tasarruflarını ve kendilerinin ol müddetde sükûtlarını ikrâr edip lâkin fî-mâ ba'd zabt ve tasarruflarına rızâmız yokdur müstakil mer'amızdır deyü...”⁵⁴⁹). To resolve the conflict, the court asked the situation of the field to the forty-two people from four different villages

⁵⁴⁷ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 531 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1204 – 1207 / M. 1790-1793)*, Abdülkadir Altın and Nedim Pakırdağ, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 452-453, verdict no 658, 55a-4.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

that are close to the field (kurb ve ciarlarında olan dört added kura ahalilerinden ceridede mazbutü'l esami kırk iki nefer). They said that the field belonged to the Başbüyükli village; however, both villages used the field together for more than forty years ("...ve kebîr taş ve çamlar hudûduyla mahdûd olan mahall eğerçe mer'a-yı kadîmdir lâkin Başbüyükli karyesi ile Hamza Çelebi Çiftliği ahâlileri kırk seneden mütecâviz mahâll-i mezkûrun otundan ve suyundan bi'l-ma'iyye kadîmden beri intifâ' edegelmişlerdir"⁵⁵⁰). Hence, the court decided both villages shall continue to use the land together without meddling with each other's animals.

"...mer'a-yı mahdûd-ı mezkûr kadîmîsi üzere Başbüyükli karyesi ahâlileri ile Hamza Çelebi Çiftliği karyesi ahâlileri bi'l-ma'iyye iştirâken tasarruf eyleyip her biri mer'a-yı mahdûd-ı merkûmun gerek otundan ve gerek suyundan kadîmîsi üzere intifâ' eyleyip tarafeynden her biri âharın hayvanlarını def' ü men' etmemek üzere tenbîh olunduğu..."⁵⁵¹

The case mentioned above summarizes the issue of land belonging between communities concerning the time spent. As was underlined in the case, remaining silent is considered implicit consent. Hence in front of the court, Başbüyükli villagers did not further argue against it although they expressed that the land belonged to them. However, they said they would increase their voice against this use from now on, meaning they were no longer showing consent. Spending time in a place above the defined limits or using it, be it accommodation or benefit, entitles users to claim rights or gain ownership. So, there is an intrinsic relationship between attachment and time spent both legally and emotionally. In the eyes of the Ottoman State, especially in resolving land disputes or issues concerning the use of space, the time spent as a user or beneficiary is as vital as legal ownership. Being a legal owner of a place does not give people the right to do everything concerning space, especially not the displacement of others. If you did remain silent while others were

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid.

using your space, and if “necessary” time had passed, you would lose the land, or a new de facto situation would be declared.

Another aspect that I have noticed in the court records regarding time references in disputes is the reference to the familial or ancestral linkages, a possible sign of the genealogical aspect of place attachment.

According to Ankara court records dating 1721-1722, es-Seyyid Hüseyin Ağa (livâ-i Ankarada vâki‘ piyâde tımârı) applied to court by arguing that Mustafa bin Pîrçe was not paying taxes falling upon him. Es-Seyyid Hüseyin Ağa underlines that Mustafa was the reaya from the family (tımâr-ı mezbûrun ra‘iyyet ve ra‘iyyeti oğullarımdan olmağla). However, Mustafa replied by expressing that he was a resident of neighborhood for more than fifty years from his descendants (“...ben elli seneden mütecâviz âbâ‘an-ced mahalle-i mezbûrede sâkin olub...”⁵⁵²). He refuted that he was belonged to timar as a reaya (“...resm-i ra‘iyyet nâmında bir akçe ve bir habbe virdiğim yokdur deyü tımâr-ı mezbûr re‘âyâsından oldığımı inkâr idecek...”⁵⁵³). As this case revealed, Mustafa needed to mention both his familial linkage to the neighborhood and the years he stayed there as a resident, in order to prove that there was no tax obligation for him.

Another similar dispute took place between Ahmet Ağa, who argued that Kara Öyük ve Boz Öyük lands were inherited from his dad, and el-Hâc ‘Ali Ağa, who defended himself by arguing that the lands mentioned above were owned by his family for fifty years (“...Kara Öyük ve Boz Öyük arâzîleri elli seneden mütecâviz âbâ ‘an-ced taht-ı tasarrufumda olub...”⁵⁵⁴).

⁵⁵² Yapıcı, “H.1133-1134 (M.1721-1722) Tarihli 97 Numaralı Ankara Şer‘iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 15

⁵⁵³ Yapıcı, 15.

⁵⁵⁴ Yapıcı, 57-58.

In another case, the tax collector Hüseyn Ağa sued several non-Muslims by indicating that they were raiyyet of waqf who were dispersed and not paying their *ispençes*⁵⁵⁵ (şer‘de vakf-ı merkûmun perâkende re‘âyâlarından olub medîne-i Ankarada mütemekkin keferetâ‘ifesinden). At the same time, the defendants said that they paid the tax that fell on them and that the collector was trying to collect extra tax. Interestingly, the defendants said that they lived in Ankara for more than a hundred years by referring to their fathers and grandfathers and from which community they belonged (“...vakf-ı mezbûrın ra‘iyyet ve ra‘iyyet oğullarından olduklarını ikrâr ve lâkin bizim ba‘zımızın babası ve ba‘zımızın dedesi yüz seneden mütecâviz medîne-i mezbûrede mütemekkin sofci tâ‘ifesinden olub...”⁵⁵⁶).

These three cases mentioned above from Ankara court records provide some clues concerning the genealogical aspect of place attachment. Recalling that genealogical type of attachment is established between people and place through historical identification of place and family or community, the emphasis of people to their family, namely fathers and grandfathers to prove that they were from there or they lived there for a long time indicates the Ottoman people’s attachment to places through genealogical linkages.

In a case recorded in Rodoscuk, five people from the Greek community came to the court (Rodoscukda Rum re‘âyasından ashab’üs-sefer Tanaş veled-i Nikiti ve Yani veled-i Panalot ve Yorgi veled-i Yani ve Anton veled-i Vasîl ve Dimitri veled-i Todori nam zımmîler). They informed the court that they were residents of Rodoscuk but that the Skopje officers wanted to displace them according to their resettlement order.

⁵⁵⁵ It is a land-tax demanded from non-Muslims in the Ottoman State. TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, “ispençe,” accessed May 8, 20220, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/ispençe>.

⁵⁵⁶ Yapıcı, “H.1133-1134 (M.1721-1722) Tarihli 97 Numaralı Ankara Şer‘iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 221-222.

“...hilâf-ı kânun-ı iskân-ı tekalif ve sa’ir vücuh ile rencide olunmamak için yedimize evâmir cihân-mutâ‘ ihsân buyrulmuş iken karyetân-ı meburattan yine Üsküb zâbitleri yedimizde emrimiz vardır sizi kaldurub iskân ederiz deyü rencide üzere olmaları...”⁵⁵⁷

In order to prove that they belong to the people of Rodoscuk, they first stated that their father was originally from Skopje but that they came to Rodoscuk 40 years ago (“...bizim babalarımız fi’l-asl Bekâr Hisarı kazasına tabî‘ yine ve Üsküp nam karyelerin re‘âyasından iken kalkub gelüb kırk seneden mütecâviz işbu Rodoscuk’da sakin ve mütemekkin...”⁵⁵⁸). They wanted the Muslim and non-Muslim communities in Rodoscuk to be asked to determine the situation.

The case summarized above is self-explanatory in revealing the genealogical linkage established concerning the space. It is also an example of how people in the Ottoman State claimed their right to stay in a given area and how to express where they were from. In this case of forced relocation, the people who applied to court argued that they belonged to Rodoscuk by referring to their familial linkage and the years they passed there. They also asked the court to ask locals about their hometowns. Even in the simplest way, their unwillingness to go, by stating that their father came there years ago and that for this reason, they are also from Rodoscuk, constitutes a clear example of spatial belonging.

Another similar event dating from 1742 is in the records of Konya. According to this record, a group of villagers demanded that Derviş Mustafa be transferred to his former village, stating that he was originally from another village and yet still a resident in Konya (“Keşân reayalarından olub bir takrir ile karye mezbûreden kâlkub hâlâ Konya mahle-i mezbûre sâkin olmağla mezbûrun kadi’mi karyesine nakl

⁵⁵⁷ Muslu, “1647 Nr. Şer’iyye Sicilinin Işığında Lale Devri’nin İlk Yıllarında Tekirdağ (1721-1724),” 206-207.

⁵⁵⁸ Muslu, 206-207.

olunmak matlubumuzdur...”⁵⁵⁹). Referring to the ten-year limit and the status of avâriz households in the registry, it is stated in the record that if ten years had not passed and they had not been registered with the avâriz household, only then they could be transferred (“...marû“z-zikr sakin oldukları mahallede on sene murur itmeyüb ve hane-i avarıza kayd olunmadılar ise kadim-i yurtlarını kaldırıp nakl ittiresiz diyü buyrulmayun...”⁵⁶⁰). Derviş Mustafa also noted in his defense that they were originally from the village mentioned. Still, he said that his father was a resident of this neighborhood for more than 70 years, and he was born there and lived for more than 40 years.

“...an-asl keşan reayasından perakendesinden olduğuna ikrâr ancak yetmiş seneden mütecaviz babam Abdullah mahalle-i merkûmede hane-i avarızı mukayyed mezîlde sâkin olup avarız ve... tekalif saireyi ahali mahalle ile ma’adâ idüp ben dahî mahle-i mezbûrede tevellüd ve kırk seneden m sâkin olup vâki olan tekalifi ahali mahalle ile...”⁵⁶¹

The case was solved by people witnessing for Derviş Mustafa.⁵⁶² In this case, there is a reference to the genealogical linkage by stating that his father lived there for more than seventy years. Another important thing is that Derviş Mustafa indicates that he was born there (*mezbûrede tevellüd*). This is like contemporary Turkish saying “*Doğma büyüme buralıyım.*” (I was born and bred here.), which is told to express that s/he belongs there. At this point, the following is also essential. Derviş Mustafa also mentioned that he “originally” belonged to the place that people wanted him to send (*an-asl Keşan reayasının perakendesinden olduğuna*). Still, on the other hand, he underlined that his father came here a long time ago and that he was born

⁵⁵⁹ Özdoğan, “55 Numaralı Konya Şer’iye Sicili’nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu,” 629-630.

⁵⁶⁰ Özdoğan, 629-630.

⁵⁶¹ Özdoğan, 629-630.

⁵⁶² “...mübeyyine beyyine taleb olundukda udul-i ahâr ve ricâl-i müsliminden Hacıcemâl Mahallesinden ... Sadırlar Mahallesinden ... Sadırlar Mahallesinden ... ve sair kendisi mahallesinden...vesair cem-i gafir ve cem-i kesir...” Özdoğan, 629-630.

and raised here, and emphasized that the actual place he belonged to was where he was right now.

These discussions remind of a widespread argumentation in contemporary Türkiye regarding people's hometowns. In Türkiye, if the answer to the question of "Where are you from?" is one of the big cities receiving a lot of immigration, such as İstanbul, people usually ask next, "Where are you originally from?" This should be interpreted as "Where did your father come from?". It is also prevalent to answer these questions like: "My father/grandfather is from Antep. However, I have been born and bred here." In fact, similar debates go on about whether the origin of people's family is more important in determining where people are from, or the place where they were born and raised. For this reason, the above cases have the potential to shed light on historians in understanding and elaborating on the criteria for people to express their belonging.

Secondly, it is vital to note that many people witnessed Derviş Mustafa's belonging to the neighborhood, even from different communities. The testimony of people played a role in determining his belonging, and those people were not only from Derviş Mustafa's neighborhood but also from other neighborhoods.

Another case in the records of the Ayntâb court states that Ali and Ömer, residents of Şhreküstü Mahallesi,⁵⁶³ are registered in Uzun Kapu village and that they abstained from paying the taxes that fall under their responsibilities. In their answers, Ali and Süleyman stated that their father had lived in that neighborhood for more than 40 years and that they were born and raised there, and they denied the allegation.

⁵⁶³ As a result of the demographic growth of the cities, newly established neighborhoods were named as "şhreküstü" in some Ottoman cities (for example Bursa and Antep). Mehmet Öz, "Osmanlı Klasik Döneminde Anadolu Kentleri," *TALİD* 3, 6 (2005): 62.

“Bizim babalarımız otuz kırk seneden mütecaviz derki mahalle-i merkûmede sakın ve mütemekkin olub ve biz dahi mahalle-i mezbûrede doğub ve büyüyüb bu ana gelinceye beher sene vaki‘ olan tekâlifimizi mahalle-i merkûmede edâ ideriz babamız ve dedemiz müddei-i merkûmun tımar-ı karyesinin defter-i hâkânîde mukayyed ra‘iyyet ve ra‘iyyeti oğulları oldukları matlûbumuz değildir.”⁵⁶⁴

In another recording from Ayntâb dating 1700, Mehmed bin Mustafa stated that he was from the village of Karagöl and that his ancestors had been from that village for a long time (“...ben ve aba ecdadım fi’l-asl Maraş kazâsına tabi‘ Karagöl nâm karyenin defterde mukayyed ra‘iyyet ve ra‘iyyet oğullarından olub yigirmi otuz seneden mütevavizdir ki mahalle-i mezbûrede sakın ve mütemekin...”⁵⁶⁵).

Another example of the link between place attachment and the genealogical link is hidden in the wordings of someone caught under the suspicion of being a slave: “...ben Vilâyet-i Rumeli’nden İlbasan kazâsına tâbi‘ Nikidenli nâm karyeden Ali nâm kimesnenin sulbî oğluyum ve ismim Mehmed ismi ile müsemmâ ve maskat-ı re’sîm karye-i mezbûrede olup aslâ bana rık târî olmamışdır...”⁵⁶⁶

A record in the 17th century İstanbul Rumelia court provides more information on this subject. According to this record, two people from the district of Eğin claimed that Takis was from their village and asked him to pay the tax burden (“...Takis zimmînin babası mezbûr Kırkor karye-i mezbûre ahâlîsinden defterli ra‘iyyet ve ra‘iyyet oğlu olduğundan mâ‘adâ kendi dahi ra‘iyyet olmağla üzerine lâzım gelen cizyesini bizimle ma‘an edâ etmeden imtinâ‘ eder...”⁵⁶⁷). Takis, in his

⁵⁶⁴ Özkan Atasoy, “50 Numaralı Ayıntâb Şer’iyye Sicili’nin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi (H. 1110-1111/ M. 1698-1700),” (master’s thesis, Gaziantep Üniversitesi, 2022), 183.

⁵⁶⁵ Atasoy, 483.

⁵⁶⁶ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Beşiktaş Mahkemesi 63 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1061-1062 / M. 1651 – 1652), Nedim Pakırdağ and Yılmaz Karaca, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 201, verdict no 245, 75b-1.

⁵⁶⁷ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Rumeli Sadâreti Mahkemesi 106 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1067-1069 / M. 1656-1658), Yılmaz Karaca and Mustafa, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 499, verdict no 512, 75a-1.

reply, stated that his father was from the people of Kirkor village, but he, himself, was born in İstanbul and paid his taxes for 32 years.

“...fi’l-hakika babam mezbûr Kirkor karye-i mezbûre ahâlîsinden olup lâkin ben mahmiye-i İstanbul’da tevellüd edip mahmiye-i mezbûrede vâki’... üzere ra’iyyet kayd olunmağla otuz senedir ki üzerime lâzım cizyemi cânib-i vakf-ı mezbûra edâ edip karyemizden kat’-ı alâka etmiştir...”⁵⁶⁸

He also submitted the fatwa of the Shaykh al-Islam of the period on this issue.

According to the fatwa in the records, it is not appropriate to demand tax from people who were born in a place and registered in the book of that place based on the claim that “your father is from our village.”

“bir belde de tevellüd edip ve onda bir vakfin defterine kayd olunup her sene cânib-i vakfa cizyesini edâ eden Zeyd-i zimmîden karye ahâlîsi baban bizim karyemizden idi deyip tekrâr cizye almağa kâdir olur mu deyu istiftâ olundukda cevâb-ı bâ-savâblarında olmaz” deyu buyurulmağın.”⁵⁶⁹

This fatwa is essential in underlining that a birth in a place is more determinative than the hometown of family, father, or grandfather.

Of course, one might live in a particular neighborhood or village for a long time yet may not necessarily establish a bond of belonging there. For example, according to a transfer request case in the Konya court records, Ahmed bin Abdurrahman was originally from the village of *Kilisre*. They came to *Murâdca* village 30-40 years ago when the villagers invited his father to be a mosque preacher. But when his father passed away, Ahmed bin Abdurrahman did not feel comfortable and safe in the village and wanted to return to his original homeland, *Kilisre*.

“Murâdca Karyesi ahâlîsi... babam mezbûr karyelerine davet idüb babam mezbûr dahî otuz kırk sene câmi’i merkûmda vâ’iz olup karye-i mezbûrede sakin olmuşidin ba’dehü babam fevt olup benim dahî karye-i mezbûrede emin ve rahatım kalmamağla âbâ an-ı cedd vatan-ı asliyemiz olan ma’rû’z-zıkr Kilisre Karyesi’ne nakl irâdesiyle...”⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁰ Özdoğan, “55 Numaralı Konya Şer’iye Sicili’nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu,” 478-479.

However, Köse Mehmed state that Ahmed is from the Muradca village and he disturbs Ahmed. When Köse Mehmed was questioned, he gave up his claim and accepted that Ahmed was not from the people of Muradca village.

“...ecdâdım mezbûrlerin karyesi re’âyâsından değil iken sen bizim karyemizde otuz kırk sene sâkin olmak ile bizim karyemize nakl... Mehmed beni ta’cîz ve rencideden hâli olmamağla... Mehmed cevâbında... zikr olunan Kilisre Karyesinden olub lâkin otuz kırk seneden... bizim karyemizde sâkin olmağla... mezbûr Ahmed’in... Kilisre Karyesinden olub kendi karyelerine sonradan varub ve karyeleri re’âyâsından olmadığını ikrâr eylediğinden...”⁵⁷¹

The people of Kilisre also demanded that Ahmet be transferred to Kilisre village, his original homeland (“...zikr olunan Kilisre Karyesi ahâlisi dahî mezbûr Ahmed’in bir mücib emr-i âlî Kilisreye naklini taleb itmeleriyle mezbûr Ahmed’de vatan-ı asliyesi olan Kilisre Karyesi’ne ber mûcib emr-i âlî nakl itmek üzere tenbiye olunub...”⁵⁷²). This example is interesting, in which the parties have different claims about where Ahmed is from, in other words, where he belongs. Unlike the previous examples, belonging did not occur despite the time spent. Although he had been Murâdca for 30-40 years, Ahmed lost his comfort after his father’s death and wanted to return to his old village, indicating a symbolic bond he established with his old town.

All these examples given above belong to the 18th century; however, this fact, the relationship between belonging and the time spent plus the references to birth or ancestral linkages, are not unique to the 18th century. I have encountered various examples from the 17th century as well.

For example, in a court case, tax collectors (Vilâyet-i Rumeli’nde Delvine kazâsına tâbi‘ Kamatişe nâm karye re’âyâsının cizye ve ispençelerini cem‘a memûr

⁵⁷¹ Özdoğan, “55 Numaralı Konya Şer’iye Sicili’nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu,” 478.

⁵⁷² Özdoğan, 478.

olan Kosta v. Rine ve Taşı v. Yorgo ve Dimo v. İstoro nâm zimmîler)⁵⁷³ applied to the Galata court for an Ottoman *reâyâ* (Yorgi v. Andriye) to make him pay his taxes. Yorgi v. Andriye, in his reply to the court accepts that he belongs to the community mentioned (ben karye-i mezbûre ahâlîsinden olup lâkin); however, underlines that he has lived in Galata for more than ten years and paid his taxes there (“...ben dahi on seneden mütecâvizdir mahmiye-i mezkûrede sâkin olmağla bundan akdem voyvoda olanlar beni defter-i vakfa kayd edip cizye ve ispençe ve sâir rüsûm-ı ra’iyyetim vakıf için ahz edegelmışlerdir deyû...”⁵⁷⁴).

In another case recorded in the Galata court, the community of *Kasaba-i Sidrekapsi* applied to the court for a *reâyâ* (*Duka zimmî*) who previously lived in Sidrekapsi to request him to pay his taxes (“...mezbûr Duka zimmî kasaba-i mezbûre re’âyâsından olup târih-i kitâbdan on sene mu-kaddem celâ-yı⁵⁷⁵ vatan edip mahmiye-i Galata’da sâkin olmağla...”⁵⁷⁶). In his reply to the court, Duka did not accept the fact that he belonged to the community of Sidrekapsi, indicating he paid taxes for more than ten years in where he lived (kasaba-i mezbûr Sidrekapsi’de alâka ve medhalim olmayıp bu bâbda yedimde şeyhülislâm hazretlerinden fetvâ-yı şerîfem dahi vardır deyû). In the record, the term *celâ-yı vatan* was used to describe that Duka had left the Sidrekapsi ten years before. It means leaving the homeland and as it was discussed in this dissertation previously, the meaning deployed for the term *vatan* had a different connotation in pre-modern times.

⁵⁷³ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Galata Mahkemesi 90 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1073 – 1074 / M. 1663), Fuat Recep and Salih Kahriman, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İSAM, 2012) 240-241, verdict no 287, 39a-3.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁵ Leaving homeland, going abroad

⁵⁷⁶ *Galata Mahkemesi 90 Numaralı Sicil*, 69, verdict no 33, 5a-3, 4b-3.

In a similar case,⁵⁷⁷ this time, a person (*Virane v. Dimo*) who left his home (*Libohova*) more than ten years ago applied to the court of Eyüp. *Virane v. Dimo* argued that no relationship remains between him and his previous village, and he was registered in where he currently lived and paid taxes there.

“...bundan akdem kazâ-i mezbûr tevâbi‘inden Libohova nâm karyede çıkıp hâlâ sâkin olduğum Sinagopolos nâm karye-i merkûmede on seneden mütecâviz tavattun edip karye-i merkûmeye ra‘iyyet kayd olup beher sene üzerime lâzım gelen harâc ve ispençe ve sâir hukûk ve rûsûmumu karye-i merkûme ahâlîsi ile ma‘an edâ ve îfâ edip...”⁵⁷⁸

He wanted the community of his former village and his previous timariot not to ask him to pay taxes (“...hâlâ mukaddemâ sâkin olduğum karye ahâlîsi ve sipâhisi tekrâr benden harâc ve ispençe ve çift bozan resmi nâmına akçe taleb edip dâimâ beni rencîde ve remîde ederler...”⁵⁷⁹).

The time spent in neighborhoods or villages also plays a role in where people became guarantor for each other. For example, two people from *Zincirlikuyu* neighborhood of Konya filed a complaint alleging that Mustafa bin Mehmed from *Yediler* neighborhood had stolen something from their shop. When Mustafa denied the allegation, the neighborhood people were asked about Mustafa’s condition. While the neighborhood residents stated that they did not see a mistake of Mustafa, they did not neglect to add that he had just arrived in their neighborhood (mezbûr Mustafâ bizim mahallemize geleli az zaman olup bir şeyini görmedik).⁵⁸⁰

According to the edict copied in the Ayntâb court records, the janissary named Dede Ali was harassed by some malicious people (*ashâb-ı ağrazdan*) in his neighborhood, saying, “biz mahallemizde yeniçeri sakin olduğu istemeziz seni

⁵⁷⁷ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Eyüp Mahkemesi (Havâss-ı Refîa) 19 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1028 – 1030 / M. 1619-1620)*, Yılmaz Karaca and Rasim Erol, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İSAM, 2011), 122, verdict no 92, 15a-1.

⁵⁷⁸ *Eyüp Mahkemesi (Havâss-ı Refîa) 19 Numaralı Sicil*, 122.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁰ Özdoğan, “55 Numaralı Konya Şer’iye Sicili’nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu,” 491-492.

kaldırız.”⁵⁸¹ Thereupon, Dede Ali applied to court, and claimed that he had lived in the neighborhood for more than 30 years and did not exhibit any inappropriate behavior (“...bu mahalle-i mezbûrede otuz seneden mütecaviz sakin olub kendi kimesneye hilâfa vaz’-ı yedleri olmayub...”⁵⁸²).

The last case I would like to mention briefly here is in the Konya court records. According to the document, İbrahim, who is from the village of *Sulutaş*, went to the village of *Sille* six or seven years ago, where he worked as a servant for a fee. Hacı Ali, the *mutasarrıf* of *Sulutaş* village, wants İbrahim to return to his by law original homeland (*kanunen vatani aslisi olan*), *Sulutaş*, since he does not own any property in the village of *Sille*. İbrahim accepted the situation in his answer but argued that ten years have passed since he went to the village of *Sille* (...*nakl edeli on sene mürur etmekle...*), and he did not want to go to the village of *Sulutaş*. The court noted that as long as a person does not have property where he goes, he should still return to his original homeland even after fifteen years: “...mülk ve emlakı ve damı taşı olmadıkça on beş sene dah, mürur eylese yine vatani asline nakl etdirilmek kanun olmağla...”⁵⁸³

The above record is significant in several respects. First of all, the concept of *vatan*, which refers to the village in this case, is used with the expression “lawfully.” Here, the plaintiff also emphasizes the legal aspect of the issue. In his defense, İbrahim states that ten years have passed, not six or seven years, and tries to justify his reason for not willing to return. The property issue also comes to the fore in this case. If the person does not own any property in the place of emigration, it is clearly stated that the person can return even after fifteen years. This fact clearly points to

⁵⁸¹ “We do not want you in the neighborhood, we relocate you.”

⁵⁸² Atasoy, “50 Numaralı Ayıntâb Şer’iyye Sicili’nin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 520-521.

⁵⁸³ Özdoğan, “55 Numaralı Konya Şer’iyye Sicili’nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu,” 583-584.

the economic aspect of belonging as well as the time aspect. It is understood that if the person cannot acquire property in the place where they go, they cannot be considered a resident just because a certain time has passed. Although such a rule was developed because property acquisition was necessary for the Ottoman State in the context of taxation, we can consider this as a manifestation of the positive relationship between individuals' ownership and space, as the place attachment theory claims.

What is the significance of all these cases, which can be extended in numbers and centuries? They indicate a close relationship or at least relevance between the time passed in a place and related rights and duties concerning that space. For example, in many cases, if ten years pass, then it is not possible to relocate people to their previous homes. Ten years is the limit for the Ottoman State for their subjects to be accepted as belonging to where they are. It is not easy to interpret the emotions of Ottoman subjects in archives about their attachment to the place. However, as presented in the examples above, this intrinsic relation between time and place tells so much about it. One may assume that Ottoman subjects had established a connection or attachment with places within ten years. They settle, connect with people, develop economic relations, and build their environment within ten years. Knowing that the place attachment closely depends on the economic and social factors established with the environment makes it possible to argue that people start to feel they belong to their space after ten years.

The Ottoman State used the place indicator to consider the time spent in a specific place when conflict arose between parties, such as tax collectors and *reâyâ*. For the organizational and institutional structure of the Ottoman State, especially at

the provincial level, the time spent in places became decisive in resolving problems and handling tax problems.

The case below from Adana court records is a good example of this situation.

“Nizâ’ olunan re‘âyâyı her nerede ise sipâriş mevdi’i iskân fermânım üzre tâ’ifeden olmayub fi’l-vâki’ mukâta’a ber-vakfiyet defterlü re‘âyâsından iken kalkub varup hâlâ tavattun itdikleri yererde ‘avârız hanesine kayd olunmayub ve sâkin olalı on sene geçmiş değil ise kaldurub kadîmi yerlerine gönderüb iskân itdüresiz. Ammâ oturdukları yerlerde ‘avârızhânesine kaydolunub ve sâkin olalı on sene geçmiş ise ol makûle re‘âyâ kaldurmak olmaz...”⁵⁸⁴

The court record above shows that ten years was the time required for people to be accepted as belonging to their place. This means that if Ottoman subjects moved from their homeplaces to new settlements and if a conflict arose about this move, be it a tax or land-owning issue; the limit was ten years in the eyes of the Ottoman State. After spending ten years in a place, people were accepted as belonging there, or at least it becomes impossible to move them against their wish.

Arguing whether or not ten years are enough for people to develop a sense of belonging to places they live in is beyond the discussion of this dissertation. In any case, other parameters affect the sense of place attachment, and they need to be considered to evaluate the time aspect for developing the place attachment. Here, what is important is how the Ottoman State used the place and time to solve matters related to their subjects and how it possibly affected people’s feelings towards their living environment. Literally, the time requirement was not always ten years. It varied according to different situations, circumstances, and conflicts. There are examples of other time requirements for determining tax, right to use land, or request to ownership. However, considering the vast geography and high population that the Ottoman State ruled and the governmental bureaucracy under the technological

⁵⁸⁴ Yıldırım, “30 Numaralı Adana Şer‘iye Sicil Defteri,” 148.

conditions of the 18th century, the place as a definitive marker played a central figure in the management and identification of people. And in cases when a question arises for the determination of this place marker, the belonging to a specific village/town/neighborhood or city was measured by the time spent. For example, people became free from the tax responsibilities of their previous locations only after the required time spent passed it. The decree below recorded in Adana sicils is an example of this situation:

“...Buyurdum ki: Hükmi şerîfimle vardukda bu bâbda sâdır olan emr üzre ‘amel idüb dahî göresin bunlar karye-i mezbûrede onbeş seneden mütecâviz sâkin olub üzerlerine edâsı gelen rüsûmların kânûn ve defterleri mûcebince edâya râzılar iken karye-i mezbûrun mâlikâne mutasarrıfı ba’dehû sizler Mar’âş kurbünde sâkin idiniz deyrur kaldırmak tekâlîfî ve vâliler dahî iskân akçesi deyrur rencîde ve ta’addî eylemişler ise men’ ve def idüb hilaf-ı şer’-i şerîf rencîde ve ta’addî itdirmeyesiz...”⁵⁸⁵

According to the decree above, since people had been living in the village for more than fifteen years and paid their taxes there, it was not considered to appropriate to move people forcibly to their previous location.

The references to the past in Ottoman court records, both in terms of temporal boundaries and in terms of revealing the relationship between time and space, which provide clues about spatial belonging. The word “*kadîm*” is one of these references that one may usually encounter in Ottoman texts. It has meanings such as long-standing, old, in ancient times, from a long time ago.⁵⁸⁶ And in many records this word is used as a reference point in spatial disputes. For example, in a case of land disputes in Ankara dating to 1721, people who argued they owned the land legitimized their position as such: “...karyeteyn-i mezbûreteyn Ağcalu ve Irmak Delileri beyninde vâki’ hudûdı beynimizde ma’lûm kadîmî mer’âmızdan olub bu âna

⁵⁸⁵ Yıldırım, “30 Numaralı Adana Şer’iye Sicil Defteri”, 139.

⁵⁸⁶ The Redhouse Dictionary Turkish/Ottoman English, *namahrem* (İstanbul, Redhouse Yayınevi, 2017), 577.

gelince ‘ale’l-iştirâk devâbb ve mevâşîlerimiz ra‘y olunagelmiş iken mezbûr...”⁵⁸⁷

People of *Çukurcak nâhiyesine tâbi ‘ Ağcalı nâm karye* stated that the pasture was theirs for a long time, and their borders were known among them and demanded that someone else’s intervention be prevented.

In another example in the Ankara court records, another term, *abâ- ‘an-cedd*, was used together with the *kadîm*, this time for the proof of spatial belonging:

“...arsa-i mezkûre kadîmden âbâ-‘an-cedd müstakill mülkümüz olub sâlifü’z-zikr tarîk-i hâsdan mürûr ve ‘ubûr idegelüb kimesnenin medhali yoğiken mesfûr Asvador ‘arsa-i mezkûre ittisâlinde vâki‘ mülk menzili divârından müceddeden zokâk kapısı ihdâs idüb...”⁵⁸⁸

Here, the reference to the past time as an indicator of the property’s belonging is made through lineage. It is reinforced by expressing that the property in question is inherited from the ancestor/family/descendants (*abâ- ‘an-cedd*).

The word “*kadîm*” was used to express that the villagers were from where they left, in a case regarding the tax dispute arising in connection with the fact that approximately three or four hundred people in the Ankara records left their original villages and migrated to Ankara: “...vakfın ra‘iyyet ve ra‘iyyeti oğullarından üç dört yüz nefer zımmî re‘âyâları kadîmden sâkin oldukları karyelerinden çiftlerini bozub ve kalkub Ankarada mütemekkin olmalarıyla herbiri vakf-ı mezbûr zâbitlerine senede beşer...”⁵⁸⁹

In the edict that no one should interfere with the repair of the church belonging to the Jewish community in Ankara, it is stated that the church belongs to the Jewish community with the following words:

“...medîne-i Ankarada vâki‘ *feth-i hâkânîden berü yedlerinde terk olunmuş kadîm-i kilisâlarının* mürûr-ı eyyâm ile ba‘zı mevâzi‘i harâba müşrif olub ta‘mîre muhtâc ve bu bâbda fetevâ-yı şerîfe ve hüccet-i şer‘iyyeleri olduğın

⁵⁸⁷ Yapıcı, “H.1133-1134 (M.1721-1722) Tarihli 97 Numaralı Ankara Şer‘iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 66.

⁵⁸⁸ Yapıcı, 244.

⁵⁸⁹ Yapıcı, 359

bildirüb harâba müşrif olub ta‘mîre muhtâc olan mahalleri vaz‘-ı kadîmi üzere ta‘mîre mûmâna‘at olunmamak bâbında hükm-i hümayûnum ricâ eyledikleri ecilden kilîsâ-yı...”⁵⁹⁰

In this record, the word “*feth-i hâkânî*” was used together with the word “*kadîm*” as a reinforcer in expressing who the place belongs to. Here again, it is provided with a time-wise reference that the church has belonged to the Jewish community since the conquest.

In another case in Ankara records, after the death of a Jew named Dâvîd (Ak Oğlan demekle ma‘rûf kadîmden Ortaköy sükkânından olub), who came to Anatolia with his family for business, his family remained in Ankara. They applied to court to go back to their home (“...yalnız ve bî-kes kalub âsitânede olan kendü hânelerine gelmek murâd eylediklerini bildirüb mürûrlarına mûmâna‘at olunmamak bâbında hükm-i hümayûnum ricâ ve husûs-ı mezbûr karye-i mezbûre ahâlîsinden tefahhus ve istihbâr olundukda...”⁵⁹¹). They were allowed to return to İstanbul with the witness that they had been living in Ortaköy for a long time about David’s wife, daughter, and employee (“...Anadoluya ticâret vechi üzere gidüb...Dâvîd Ankarada mürd olmağla ‘ıyâli Ankarada kalmışdır kadîmü'l-eyyâmdan karye-i mezbûrede sâkin ve mütemekkinlerdir deyu her birisi ‘alâ târikiş-şahâde haber virdiklerin...”⁵⁹²).

In another record about those who left Ankara and migrated to İstanbul, the word *kadîm* was used to express that these people were from Ankara for a long time, and Ankara was defined as *yurd* of these people: “...bâ‘is-i ‘umrân-ı diyâr ve büldân olan zirâ‘at ve hirâseti terk ve kadîmî yerlerinden ve yurdlarından kalkub İstanbula gelüb tavattun ve ahar kâr ve kisbe iştigâl itmeleriyle...”⁵⁹³

⁵⁹⁰ Yapıcı, 392.

⁵⁹¹ Yapıcı, 392.

⁵⁹² Yapıcı, 7.

⁵⁹³ Yapıcı, 400.

By the way, it is helpful to mention the meaning of the word *yurt* and its usage. The word *yurt*, which means homeland, or country in Turkish in its current meaning, originally evolved from the old Turkish words tent, oba, dwelling, or *menzil*.⁵⁹⁴ From this point of view, the word *yurt*, which today covers a vast area and has an ideological meaning, refers to a smaller-scale living space. It is probable that in the usage of the 18th century, *yerlerinden ve yurdlarından* meant Ankara, perhaps even the neighborhood they came from. The semantic evolution of the concept of *yurt* or, similarly, *vatan* provides important clues about the spatial path of belonging.

All these temporal and ancestral references such as *mahmiye-i... tevellüd edip, kadîm, kadîmü'l-eyyamdan, ... sene mürur etmekle, feth-i hâkânîden berü, ra'ıyyet ve ra'ıyyeti oğullarından, abâ-'an-cedd, vatan-ı asli, ...seneden mütecaviz,* used in court records are vital signs to discuss the place attachment of ordinary Ottoman people. It is a fact that these references were used as argumentation for people to prove their deposition or to defend themselves. However, using these references in disputes concerning places gives clues regarding how people expressed their belonging to space and the intrinsic relationship between time and space.

Departing from the presented cases above, one may conclude that time spent is the primary indicator for ordinary people to attach themselves to places. This is true for the Ottoman State as well. Considering that the Ottoman Empire took various matters into account in determining this ten-year limit, ten years limit was calculated as necessary time to break the ties with the old place and adapt to the new one and to become economically and socially settled. Another thing is the familial linkage to the places, which is used to strengthen the time argument. Recalling that genealogical place attachment is more visible in traditional peasant communities,

⁵⁹⁴ Nişanyan Sözlük, “yurt,” accessed August 25, 2022, <https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/kelime/yurt>.

examples provided from Ottoman court records affirm this fact. However, there are also examples that although there were familial bonds, people referred to their birth to indicate their belongingness. Hence, considering that the 18th century witnessed more mobility than previous centuries, all these different references are signs of place attachment within the minds of Ottoman people to express their belonging better. For some, it is where they were born; for others, it is the familial linkage.

3.4. The Role of Economic Structure in Place Attachment

In this part of the dissertation, the role of economic relations and economic structures that affect spatial belonging or shape the relationship with space will be discussed in the context of the 18th century. “Economic structures have the quality of integrating subjects’ interaction on the axis of common benefit according to the hierarchy of needs, despite all their ethnic, religious and racial differences.”⁵⁹⁵ In the theoretical typology of the place attachment presented in this dissertation, one of the symbolic linkages established between people and place is the economic linkage established to land through ownership, inheritance, and politics. Moreover, having a role in economic life, be it as an owner or a tradesman, is closely related to having the capacity to negotiate with the State, so establishing a bond with places through economic means also has a political side.

In general, the economic policy of the Ottoman State was shaped around three pillars. The first of these pillars, called provisionism (*iâşe*), is to claim the primary purpose of production activity as meeting the needs of the people. For this reason, strict control was applied on producing goods and providing services. However, the

⁵⁹⁵ Hadiye Yılmaz Odabaşı and Deniz Ülke Arıboğan, “Psychopolitical Determinations on the Administrative and Economic Motivations of Classical Period Ottoman Identity,” *Universal Journal of History and Culture* 4, 1 (2021): 53.

rules were more comfortable and less restrictive for the merchants than the traditional industrial producers, called the *hirfet ehli*. In this system, the state tradition and economic understanding, which aim to prevent the governed from falling into trouble, have an essential role.⁵⁹⁶ Economic relations were focused on local level rather than long distances, so those who carried out economic activities knew each other. Hence, a financial relationship based on acquaintances prevailed in the Ottoman realm. The second pillar can be defined as preserving the existing balances and tendencies in economic relations and preventing the tendency to change. When Ottoman State is considered, the financial structuring of the Ottoman States was mostly based on favoring economic continuity over economic change.⁵⁹⁷ The last pillar is fiscalism, which aims to keep treasury revenues as high as possible.⁵⁹⁸ However, as changes took place in every realm of the Ottoman State, the economy was also changing in the 18th century so it was hard to sustain classical economic policies and traditions. Besides economic developments in the 18th century, trade relations between states developed further. However, in the Ottoman State, the trade volume was limited. Şevket Pamuk explains this as such:

“Even though trade and more generally economic interaction between the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe increased during the eighteenth century, its volume remained small by the standards of the nineteenth century. As a result, both urban and rural crafts and manufacturing activities in the Ottoman Empire remained mostly intact and specialization in agriculture for export was not yet strong at the end of the eighteenth century.”⁵⁹⁹

Overall, the Ottoman economic administration or system mainly depended on conservatism favoring economic continuity over change, as observed in the

⁵⁹⁶ Özer Ergenç, “XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Sanayi ve Ticaret Hayatına İlişkin Bazı Bilgiler,” *Belleten* 52, (1988): 501.

⁵⁹⁷ Seda Ünsar, “A Study on Institutional Change: Ottoman Social Structure and the Provision of Public Goods,” *Akademik Bakış* 6, no. 11 (2012): 194.

⁵⁹⁸ For further details see Mehmet Genç, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Devlet ve Ekonomi,” (İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınları) 2009.

⁵⁹⁹ Pamuk, “The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1870,” 169.

functioning of many economic structures and institutions such as guilds or waqfs. In terms of a general picture of the economic landscape of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century, Pamuk stresses that it may be divided into two periods: One is from the start of the 18th century till the 1760s as a relatively period of relative economic expansions. The second one is from the 1760s to the 1820s as a period of financial difficulties, inflation rise, and disruption of economic outputs. It was still agriculture that was providing the main economic activities of the Ottoman population, while the urban economy was in the control of the guilds.⁶⁰⁰ This relative continuity and expansion at the beginning of the 18th century enhanced stability. Hence, stability in the economic means has worked as the enhancer for the place attachment since as long as people continue to meet their basic financial needs, the need for a move out lessens, and they stay more extended periods in the given space. Contrary to this, when the economic conditions of people became hard to sustain, people started to look for new environments to move to. Therefore, this insistence on the continuation of the financial system as it happened in other aspects of life, plus a low level of international connection, enhanced people's attachment to place. However, on the flipside, the fluctuations, the change in land regime, or the financial difficulties of long-lasting wars led ordinary people to face economic challenges that directly affected their relations with the place.

Having summarized the general policy in the Ottoman economic system and the overall landscape, under the limits of this dissertation, I will analyze some aspects of economic relations and economic means that step forth in understanding place attachment. To that end, the question of ownership, guild system, commercial areas, and the *avârız* taxes will be evaluated. Ownership plays a critical role as the

⁶⁰⁰ Pamuk, "The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1870," 169-172.

most potent version of economic place attachment, while the means of economic survival, such as work opportunities or being a part of a guild system, etc., is also vital in establishing a connection with the place. Since the workplace of economic activities was limited spatially in the Ottoman State, that aspect also needs evaluation. Lastly, *avârız* tax, as a financial responsibility directly related to people's spatiality, deserves a separate heading.

3.4.1. Ownership

“Ev alma komşu al.”⁶⁰¹

Ownership is one of the most important economic factors affecting spatial belonging according to the theory. Being the owner of a place is as important as the time spent in the place in terms of the place attachment. As explained in the theoretical part of this dissertation, people who own their places, such as homes, gardens, or shops develop more attachment to these spaces as being more responsible for protecting them. This is mainly related to the economic aspect of place attachment since these assets, by becoming the property of the owner, lead to financial interest.⁶⁰² Moreover, it is not only an economical means but also a symbol of social status and a provider of daily pursuits and pleasures, considering the central place of homes in the life of dwellers of the past. So, these double-sided benefits increase the attachment felt.⁶⁰³

Although spatial ownership is the most critical issue that determines belonging economically, it is beyond the limits of this thesis to to create an

⁶⁰¹ A Turkish proverb indicates that when acquiring a property, people should first look at who the neighbors are and make the decision accordingly rather than the property itself.

⁶⁰² Low, 439-441.

⁶⁰³ Marcus, “Men, Women and Property: Dealers in Real Estate in 18th Century Aleppo,” 137.

exhaustive numerical analysis of it. Because as mentioned and analyzed in different sub-titles of the dissertation, increasing mobility in the 18th century – migrations⁶⁰⁴ due to economic or public order deterioration, lost lands, etc. - led to an increase in tenancy, especially in İstanbul. So, with the long periods and vast geography covered by this thesis, although it is possible to assume that rising mobility and tenancy led to a decrease in ownership, possibly affecting the level of attachment negatively, to verify it requires a case by case analysis at neighborhood level. Furthermore, most importantly, as Özer Ergenç points out, the relationship between land ownership and land tenure in the Ottoman Empire is quite complex and ambiguous.⁶⁰⁵ Under these limitations, in this part of the study, I will comment on the subject after giving some facts regarding the Ottoman State land regime and property rights that existed in the 18th century.

First, the property rights in the Ottoman State were designed according to Islam and the Ottoman *kanuns* (laws), whose framework was drawn by decrees and customary application through time. Mainly, there was a distinction in the Ottoman land regime based on the public lands (*mîrî*) and private lands (*mülk*). Concerning the land regime, “the Ottoman Sultan was the owner of the sole arable land across the empire, this ownership did not extend to the urban land, where private property was recognized and even encouraged.”⁶⁰⁶ So, concerning urban-rural difference, “...usufruct in most state lands remained in the hands of peasant households. In contrast, urban real estate did change hands quite easily.”⁶⁰⁷ While the State-owned

⁶⁰⁴ It was “further exacerbated by the agrarian crisis at the end of the 18th century.” Hamadeh, *Mean Streets: Space and Moral Order in Early Modern İstanbul*, 251.

⁶⁰⁵ Özer Ergenç, “XVII ve XVIII Yüzyıl Anadolu’su’nda Toprak Tasarrufu ve Mülkiyeti Üzerine Değerlendirmeler,” in *Şehir, Toplum, Devlet: Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları*, 215.

⁶⁰⁶ Gürer Karagedikli and Coşkun Tuncer, “The People next Door: Housing and Neighbourhood in Ottoman Edirne, 1734-1814,” *Economic History Society Working Paper*, <https://files.ehs.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/29060820/KaragedikliTuncerFullPaper.pdf>, accessed on 4 September 2022.

⁶⁰⁷ Pamuk, “The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1870,” 171.

mîrî lands, its usage right could be left to specific people based on the application of rules. Those lands were arable areas, and their rights of usufruct were distributed to peasants. *Mülk* lands were owned by legal or real persons. Nevertheless, these ownership statuses were not always related to the functioning of buildings; for example, privately-owned places could be used for public purposes. So, when disputes were brought to the court, one may observe that judges usually made decisions by attributing them to the functioning of places such as *hâs* (private) or *‘âm* (public).⁶⁰⁸

In the Ottoman State, peasants did not have the right of ownership of the *mîrî* lands but had only the right to use it. Until 1874, no ownership of arable land was established. However, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries, there were many cases where this right of usufruct was sometimes treated as private property. Many examples from the vast Ottoman geography in Özer Ergenç’s article indicate that the continuity of the right of usufruct of agricultural lands, which are *mîrî* lands, has evolved into the right of property,⁶⁰⁹ and it became impossible to distinguish between the right of property and the right of usufruct.⁶¹⁰

During the classical period, the *timar* system was applied to *mîrî* lands based on granting conquered lands to cavalymen in return for military service. Lands were cultivated by peasants providing revenue for the cavalymen. In terms of ownership, granting lands was limited to the right to use lands. “The standard *timar* was a relatively small holding that included one or more villages...*Timar* holders were not

⁶⁰⁸ Ayalon, “Ottoman Urban Privacy in Light of Disaster Recovery,” 515.

⁶⁰⁹ Ergenç, “XVII ve XVIII Yüzyıl Anadolu’sunda Toprak Tasarrufu ve Mülkiyeti Üzerine Değerlendirmeler,” 216-217.

⁶¹⁰ Halil İnalcık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi – I 1300-1600*, trans. Halil Berktaş (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2017), 125.

the owners of the land.”⁶¹¹ Because of the economic and military hardships faced in the following centuries, starting from the end of the 16th century,⁶¹² the *timar* system was abandoned, and *iltizam* (tax-farming) system was adopted. In the application of *iltizam*, the Ottoman State partitioned the right to collect taxes to some private individuals by auction. The range of *iltizam* contracts was generally limited three to six years. Later, due to the peasants’ unrest, the *mâlikâne* system was adopted in 1695, permitting *iltizams* contracts for a lifetime. Ottoman State by adopting this new system, hoped that “a longer lease period would encourage tax farmers to take an interest in the welfare of the taxpayers.”⁶¹³ In this new system, *mâlikâne* owner had rights such as transferring it to his heirs, selling the tax source or sub-leasing it. In short, by the 18th century, the *mâlikâne* method was applied in the land regime during the 18th century, while the *timars* and *zeamets* were not entirely extinct, and some large estates were also owned and run by imperial magnates.⁶¹⁴

Above, the arable land regime is given. In terms of administration, on the other hand, the State was composed of provinces (*eyalet*), subprovinces (*sancak/liva*), and districts (*kaza*). So, as understood, the Ottoman land regime was more like a collection of different practices and applications. And, considering all aspects of land regime and property rights together, it is clear that it is a complex and multilayered issue. “It is important to note that multilayered, shared claims to land were continuously renegotiated and redefined in the face of an ever-changing reality.”⁶¹⁵

⁶¹¹ Michael Nizri, “Defining Village Boundaries at the time of the Introduction of the Malikane System: The Struggle of the Ottoman State for Reaffirming Ownership of the Land,” *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* vol. 2, no. 1 (Spring 2015): 44.

⁶¹² Halil İnalcık, “Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980): 283-337.

⁶¹³ Nizri, “Defining Village Boundaries at the time of the Introduction of the Malikane System,” 45.

⁶¹⁴ İlias Bantekas, “Land Rights in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman State Succession Treaties,” *The European Journal of International Law* vol. 26, no. 2 (2015): 376.

⁶¹⁵ Nizri, “Defining Village Boundaries at the time of the Introduction of the Malikane System,” 39.

“Overall the administration of these units was a complex process, since multiple actors, including the central administration, the provincial governor, the elected district ayans, the holders of *tīmār* and *mālikāne* divisions (absentee or not) in the district, the waqf administration, the subcontractors of absentee holders and waqfs, and possibly neighboring magnates, as well as various natural community leaders and factions, could be all part of the same equation.”⁶¹⁶

According to Michael Nizri, who looked at the process of boundary demarcation in Ottoman villages at the beginning of the 18th century, the whole process of determination of boundaries, which took into account several actors and different sources of law such as customary practices, sharia, and *kanunnames*, reflects the complexity of the issue.⁶¹⁷ Another research has found out that, even in the 16th century, which was considered as more stable period in terms of central designation, monitoring and enforcement of land regimes, there was high level of variation regionally in the distribution of property rights over land.⁶¹⁸

Based on the Ottoman property regime summarized above and some academic analyses, evaluating the spatial belonging based on the property ownership, especially in the rural area, is a quite complex matter, even through single events. Nevertheless, considering that agricultural production and lands constitute the primary economic input in terms of the Ottoman State’s fiscal policies, the regulations that bind the peasants to the ground,⁶¹⁹ independent from the right of property, had a strengthening effect on their attachment to the lands. On the other hand, even though the sultan granted the absolute property right, it was always possible that the State could reclaim these rights, change the management system of

⁶¹⁶ Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order*,” 147.

⁶¹⁷ Nizri, “Defining Village Boundaries at the time of the Introduction of the *Malikane* System,” 56-57.

⁶¹⁸ Pinar Ceylan, “Regional Variation in the distribution of property rights over land in sixteenth-century Ottoman rural Manisa,” in *Disuguaglianza economica nelle società preindustriali: cause ed effetti / Economic inequality in pre-industrial societies: causes and effect*, ed. Giampiero Negro (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2020), 351-368.

⁶¹⁹ For example, peasants could not leave arable lands empty for three consecutive years, could not leave the land, and if they left, they could be brought back within ten years.

lands or decide to deprive people of ownership rights as seen in various examples.⁶²⁰ Hence, while these complex systems and jurisdictional differences constituted a hardship for ordinary people to develop strategies to protect their collective interests or negotiate with the State,⁶²¹ it also led to a lack of establishing concrete and explicit attachment toward lands by ordinary people. As the system and rules have changed concerning land regime and the power relations among the State, peasants, and notables, it became hard to maintain the connection with lands resulting from solely the ownership status.

The issue evaluated so far was about the rural side of the Empire. When urban lands were considered, the dynamics slightly differ. First, private property was legitimized in the urban realm, except for the properties of waqfs. Compared to the rural area, the Ottoman State “was an insignificant landowner within the city’s built-up area.”⁶²² Also, having houses as being both a symbol of social status and a kind of investment method, a primary form of wealth, attracted the attention of ordinary people to invest in the real estate market. According to Şevket Pamuk, at the beginning of the 17th century, the wealthy spent a significant portion of their wealth on the home or home-related things, such as household goods, jewelry, enslaved people, or the household itself. Although this situation fluctuates from time to time, these expenditures cover more than one-third of the wealth.⁶²³ Without necessitating any other further analysis, all these aspects reveal the connection between attachment and ownership. If a wealthy person was spending one-third of its wealth on a house

⁶²⁰ Nizri, “Defining Village Boundaries at the time of the Introduction of the Malikane System,” 56-57.

⁶²¹ Ali Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order*, 143-149.

⁶²² Marcus, “Men, Women and Property: Dealers in Real Estate in 18th Century Aleppo,” 137.

⁶²³ Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Kurumları* (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2018), 151.

and house-related matters, then it is evident that the house itself was an investment tool and something valuable in society's eyes.

Considering the increasing mobility and migration flows to cities in the 18th century, one may assume that renting became common in cities. However, previous studies on some Ottoman cities imply that it was not widespread compared to agricultural and commercial properties.⁶²⁴ In an article by Abraham Marcus, looking at the real estate transactions in the 18th century, it was found that Aleppo had a population of 130.000, and the “majority of the real estate was privately owned.”⁶²⁵ According to Ergenç, at the beginning of the 18th century, the rate of tenants in the total population in Edirne was 11.2%.⁶²⁶ According to Marcus, seasonal workers, government officials, and non-residents, such as merchants, mostly lived in rental homes. And owning a house was something that allowed people to be included in the city community.⁶²⁷ This actually increases spatial belonging in a way because being included in the community brings with it the feeling of belonging to the place. In addition, those who come to urban areas generally settle on the city's outskirts.⁶²⁸ This might also be one reason for the high level of ownership in urban centers. Moreover, it was not easy for these newcomers to have the chance to be a part of society and to be included in society as they settled in the vicinity of the cities.

Regarding property rights, urban dwellers were more protected than peasants living in *mîrî* lands. Ottoman people enjoyed the right to privacy and exception to external intrusions at houses, their interior world. Yet, as mentioned in this

⁶²⁴ Karagedikli and Tuncer, “The People next Door: Housing and Neighbourhood in Ottoman Edirne, 1734-1814,” 20. Marcus, “Men, Women and Property: Dealers in Real Estate in 18th Century Aleppo,” 142.

⁶²⁵ Marcus, “Men, Women and Property: Dealers in Real Estate in 18th Century Aleppo,” 137.

⁶²⁶ Özer Ergenç, “XVIII. Yüzyılın Başlarında Edirne'nin Demografik Durumu Hakkında Bazı Bilgiler,” in *Şehir, Toplum, Devlet: Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları*, 183.

⁶²⁷ Marcus, “Men, Women and Property: Dealers in Real Estate in 18th Century Aleppo,” 143.

⁶²⁸ Marcus, 158.

dissertation, at the neighborhood level, life was based on various strict rules, some restrictions, and regulations, which also curtailed the right of ownership. While rights were enjoyed regarding immovable property, there were obligations to be followed in public spaces.⁶²⁹ For example, one could not add windows to their house, which overlooked the neighbor's *makarr-ı nisvân*. Or someone could not prevent their neighbor's house from getting daylight by adding any new structure to their homes, such as a new wall or room. Legally speaking, this limitation of property rights was called as *zarâr-ı fâhiş*, which prohibited various range of activities such as excessive dust, smoke, odor, noise;⁶³⁰ actions that affect the durability of the walls; blocking the daylight of surrounding buildings⁶³¹ or polluting the clean water. It was the harm given by one's neighbor in a way that affects their primary interest in his property. For example, Ataullah applied to the court because some parts of the houses built by Kasım were damaging to him.

“...sâhib-i arzuhâl Ataullah... bir bâb mülk menzile mutasarrıf olup...câr-ı mülâsıkı Kasım muvâcchesinde...menzilini müceddeden binâsına şurû‘ ve tabaka-i ulyâsında ihdâs eylediği dehlizinden benim makarr-ı nisvân olan oda ve havluma nezâreti ve zarâr-ı fâhiş-i mübeyyeni olduğundan mâ‘adâ benim ile ammim Süleyman Efendi’ye mahsûs tarîk-i hâssımız üzerine bizlerin rızâsız... şehnişîn ihrâcına mübâşeret ve henüz itmâm dahi etmemekle mu‘âyene olunup...”⁶³²

⁶²⁹ Ayalon, “Ottoman Urban Privacy in Light of Disaster Recovery,” 515. Seval Kılıç, “Osmanlı Komşuluk Hukukunda Mülkiyet Haklarının Sınırlandırılması: Zarar-ı Fahiş,” *İMHFD* 7, 2 (2022): 1-33.

⁶³⁰ “...zıkr olunan ikinci odanın mevzi’-i mürûru üzerinde olan tahta döşeme vaz’-ı kadîme muhâlif olduğundan mâ‘adâ tahta döşemeden mürûr eyledikçe üzerimize toz ve toprak düşmekle zarar-ı fâhiş vardır zıkr olunan tahta döşeme bi’l-küllîye ref’ olunmak matlubumuz[dur] dediklerinde...” İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Rumeli Sadâreti Mahkemesi 40 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1033-1034 / M. 1623-1624), Hüseyin Kılıç et. al, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 189, verdict no 178, 34b-1.

⁶³¹ “...mezbûr Londari bizim mülk menzilimizin işbu ikinci tabakada vâki‘ odamızın kadîmî olan bir aded penceresini ve üç aded duvar camlarını sed edip tahta-pûşi üzerine müceddeden bir oda binâ etmek murâd edip mu‘âyene olunan işbu sakf ihdâs etmeğin bizim odamızın zıyâsını giderüp karanlıktan hiçbir amele mecâl muhâl olup zarar fâhiş olmağla...” *İstanbul Mahkemesi 22 Numaralı Sicil*, 311, verdict no 212, 69b-1.

⁶³² İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Bab Mahkemesi 172 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1152-1153 / M. 1740), Sabri Atay and Salih Kahriman, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019) 553, verdict no 760, 86b-5.

There are many similar complaints in *sicils* that people requested prevention of damage caused by their neighbors. These examples are signs of a delicate balance between property rights and neighborhood relations and played a significant role in forming the physical structure of houses.⁶³³ These examples are also vital regarding privacy discussion and boundaries of public realms that have been elaborated in different parts of this dissertation.

Regarding property rights, the neighborhood community also had a role in proving ownership. For example, when people lost their *mülknâmes*,⁶³⁴ to prove that the lands or houses were theirs, the truth was questioned from the *ahâli* of the neighborhood. For example, in the below case, when people lost their *mülknâme* because of the fire, it was renewed based on the approval of the neighborhood community of their ownership status through inheritance.

“...mutasarrıflar olup lâkin arsa-i mezkûrenin mülknâmeleri harîk-ı kebîrde muhterik olmağla hakikat-i hâl ahâlî-i mahalle-i mezbûreden istihbâr ve takrîrleri tahrîr olunup kıbel-i şer’den yedime vesîka i’tâ olunmak matlûbumdur dedikde husûs-ı mezbûr ahâlî-i mahalle-i mezbûreden hâzırûn bi’l-meclis... suâl olundukda fi’l-hakîka...mezbûrânın yedlerinde mülk-i mevrûslarıdır deyü her biri alâ-tarîkı’ş-şehâde haber vermeleriyle mûcebince...”⁶³⁵

In another case, the *vesîka* was given to *İbrahim Çelebi* after some people from the *Hoca Teberrük* neighborhood confirmed that the land in question belonged to *İbrahim*.

“...hasren vârisi olduğuma binâen... ben dahi otuz seneden mütecâvizdir ki zabt ve tasarruf üzere iken bundan akdem vâki’ olan harîk sebebiyle menzil-i mezbûrun mülknâmeleri zâyî’ olmağla... yedime vesîka i’tâ olunmak murâdımdır dedikde vâki’ hâl mahalle-i mezbûre ahâlîlerinden olmalarıyla husûs-ı mezbûra vukûf-ı tâmları olup zeyl-i vesîkada muharrerü’l-esâmî Müslimînden istihbâr olundukda...her biri ihbâr etmeleriyle mûcebince

⁶³³ See Kılıç, “Osmanlı Komşuluk Hukukunda Mülkiyet Haklarının Sınırlandırılması: Zarar-ı Fahiş,” *İMHFD* 7, 2 (2022): 1-33.

⁶³⁴ An edict showing that the ruler gives the rights of property or land to one or several persons.

⁶³⁵ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Bab Mahkemesi 151 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1143-1144 / M. 1731), Abdullah Sivridağ and Ali Coşkun, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 265 , verdict no 269, 66a-1.

menzil-i mezbûru ke'l-evvel tasarrufu'çün kibel-i şer'-i enverden
vesîka..."⁶³⁶

Before concluding this sub-part, as a short note and evaluation, it is worthwhile to mention the following: Besides the formal ownership of land – whether one's own house or a garden – there was a sense of attachment developed through informal ownership⁶³⁷ of Ottoman space, like de-facto ownership. There are spaces not owned legally but, in principle, used by a limited number of people and under their responsibility. Some scholars called these places semi-private areas as neither public nor private.⁶³⁸ For example, when one considers ordinary Ottoman people's street use, it is assumed that people who use particular areas develop attachments more than others. This would be particularly true for cul-de-sacs in Ottoman cities, considering their semi-public nature of them. They felt more passion not because these cul-de-sacs were open to only a few from the neighborhood but because those whose doors opened to these cul-de-sacs were more responsible for these streets. For example, people living in these cul-de-sacs had a right to decide who would enter these streets, and people not living in these cul-de-sacs could not enter without someone standing surety for themselves. So, in principle, informal ownerships played a role too in the formation of place attachment.

3.4.2. Ottoman Guilds in Forming Place Attachment

Another aspect that requires evaluation within the economic angle of the place attachment is the guild system, which mainly constituted the economic sphere

⁶³⁶ *Bab Mahkemesi 172 Numaralı Sicil*, 321, verdict no 318, 46b-1.

⁶³⁷ I preferred the term "informal" to simplify the explanation of the sense of ownership that arose from responsibilities and the use of places by a limited number of people.

⁶³⁸ According Yaron Ayalon the semi-private domain included "courtyards, walkways between houses, paths leading to several residences, water conduits and pipelines, and any movable property that was owned by more than one person or family." in *Ottoman Urban Privacy in Light of Disaster Recovery*, 517.

of the Ottoman State. Of course, the financial management and actors of the economy were more than the Ottoman craftsmen. However, if one would like to analyze place attachment from the economic aspect of the Ottoman State, guilds would be the main demarcation line considering their cross-functional aspects within the society.

Guilds were “organisations intended to provide a support network and protect the common interests of their members, craftsmen, traders, or members of a certain profession generally.”⁶³⁹ They were autonomous organizations to the most extent possible, of course being a channel between the central state and its members.⁶⁴⁰ The guild associations were structures that not only created an economic union but also affected its members both behaviorally and emotionally in social and institutional terms. Guilds were electing their leaders and acting as the representative of their artisans to protect their interests while internally controlling the order and maintaining that members worked accordingly to their rules. So, as in the case of neighborhoods, the guild organizations could also demand expulsion of members who violated the guild regulations or their internal practices.

Guilds mainly negotiated and determined the prices of raw materials, made quality control, set standards for the produced goods, provided fair treatment for all artisans, and protected the interests of their members.⁶⁴¹ Besides their economic activities, guilds made up an essential component of urban life. According to the work of Amnon Cohen, until the beginning of the 19th century, guilds in Jerusalem encompassed “all major and sometimes minor aspects of life of the local

⁶³⁹ Ines Aščerić-Todd, “Religious diversity and tolerance in Ottoman guilds,” in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 12. Asia, Africa and the Americas (1700-1800)*, (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2018), 29.

⁶⁴⁰ Özer Ergenç, “Osmanlılarda Esnâf ve Devlet İlişkileri,” in *Şehir, Toplum, Devlet: Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları*, 417-422.

⁶⁴¹ Ines Aščerić-Todd, “Religious diversity and tolerance in Ottoman guilds,” 30.

population.”⁶⁴² Besides being a financial unity, guilds or professional groups sometimes also constituted spatial communities. For example, Poulos, who looked at the parish registers of Beyoğlu from the beginning of the 20th century, found a pattern regarding the spatial distribution of professional musicians. In the records of which 20 musicians were registered, most of them dwelt in the same mahalle, called Hüseyin Ağa. Moreover, while 9 of them were compatriots from another region of İstanbul, seven lived on the same street, Mumhane.⁶⁴³ According to Paulos, “this account confirms a housing pattern based on the common place of origin and profession.”⁶⁴⁴

Contrary to the ethnic and religious ties generally seen in Ottoman society or other types of communities, professional organizations had more independent professional sensitivity. Members of Ottoman guilds were composed of different religions, and in many cases, people from different religious and ethnic groups acted together in the interests of the same professional organization. According to Aščerić-Todd, the religious diversity, this inter-confessionalism, of Ottoman guilds was different from their Western counterparts.⁶⁴⁵

“A Muslim, a Christian or a Jew could at the same time be a member of a specific occupational group. Throughout his daily-life, an Ottoman subject would pray in his place of worship with other members of the same faith in the morning, and work in the afternoon as a member of a specific production unit together with the members of an occupational group from different faiths. Religious identity of one did not hinder him to simultaneously have a different occupational or spatial identity. In this respect, we may regard Ottoman society as transitive allowing room for mobility within various overlapping or intertwined sub-communities.”⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴² Amnon Cohen, *The Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem* (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001), 184.

⁶⁴³ Poulos, “Spaces of Intercommunal Musical Relations in Ottoman İstanbul,” 187-188.

⁶⁴⁴ Panagiotis, 188.

⁶⁴⁵ Ines Aščerić-Todd, “Religious diversity and tolerance in Ottoman guilds,” 31.

⁶⁴⁶ Tekgül, “A Gate to the Emotional World of Pre-modern Ottoman Society,” 151.

For example, in the Ayntâb court records, in which the names of some of the baker shopkeepers (*ekmekçi hırfe*) are mentioned, it is seen that people from different religious groups are members of the same guild organization.⁶⁴⁷ It is possible to extend these kinds of examples⁶⁴⁸ from sources of this dissertation and other scholarly papers.⁶⁴⁹ There were also guilds exclusively ruled by one religious fraction, or which over time became as such. Or they were religiously mixed but allowed to split into confessional sub-divisions.

However, they were not always subdivided according to their religion. Sometimes, when it was impossible to accommodate the requests of guilds, they were re-divided according to the spatiality of their shops and even named with reference to place. For example, according to a record from 1766-1767, with the dismissal of Süleyman, who was the chief of the *tâife* who sold the goods from the Maghrib, a consensus could not be reached in selecting the new *kethüdâ* (“...Galata ve İslambol’da sâkin Tunus ve Trablus ve Cezâyirli olan fırka ile mezbûr Süleyman’ın tarafgîrleri beyninde ittihâd ile bir kethüdâ ihtiyâr etmeleri mümkün olmamağla...”⁶⁵⁰). A disagreement arose between the supporters of Süleyman and the others in the group of people living in Galata and İstanbul, consisting of Tunisians, Algerians, and Tripolitans. Thereupon, because the

⁶⁴⁷ “Medîne-i Ayıntâb’da vaki‘ Ekmekci hırfetinden Mehmed bin el-Hâc Yusuf ve Receb bin Abdullah ve el-Hâc Ahmed bin Osman ve...Narsiz veledi Elkesan ve ‘Arab veledi Karagöz ve İbrahim veledi Karagöz ve Karakaş veledi ... ve Serkin veledi Elkesan ve Hacador veledi Melkün vesayirleri...” Atasoy, “50 Numaralı Ayıntâb Şer’iyye Sicili’nin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 441-442.

⁶⁴⁸ “Attâr tâifesinin kethüdâları el-Hâc Osman ve yiğitbaşları Mustafa ve erbâbından cemm-i gafîr Müslimîn meclis-i şer‘de yine attâr tâifesinden Mahmudpaşa’da sâkin Yuda v. Yako nâm Yahûdi’yi...” İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Bab Mahkemesi 150 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1143-1144 / M. 1730-1732)*, Ali Coşkun and Abdullah Sivridağ, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019) 444, verdict no 478, 106b-3.

⁶⁴⁹ Atasoy, “50 Numaralı Ayıntâb Şer’iyye Sicili’nin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 350. Ines Aşçeriç-Todd, “Religious diversity and tolerance in Ottoman guilds,” 32. Gabriel Baer, “Monopolies and Restrictive Practices of Turkish Guilds,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 13, no. 2 (1970): 159.

⁶⁵⁰ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 25 Numaralı Sicil*, 206, verdict no 185, 87-2.

Tunisians among them were residents in Galata, the group mentioned above was divided into two as, Galata and Istanbulites, and two new *kethüdâs* were appointed (“...Tunuslular ekser Galata sükkânından olmağla Galatalı ve İstanbullu ta‘bîriyle beynleri temyîz kılınan fırkateynin Galatalı ta‘bîr ... nâm kimesneyi ihtiyâr ve İslambollu tesmiye olunan ... kethüdâlîğe ihtiyâr ve kabûl edip...”⁶⁵¹). In addition, it was stated that these two groups should not interfere in each other's affairs, and if they do, those who cause trouble will be expelled from their craftsman and sent to their original homeland to continue their order (“...hırfetlerinden ihrâc ve vatan-ı aslîlerine nefy ile...”⁶⁵²). This case is an actual example of pointing out the role of spatial settlement in solving the problems of people who have economic and commercial relations.

Since the Ottoman economic system was based on provisionism, at first, the services or products must be sufficient for the region of origin. For this reason, in the court records, there are various complaints of artisans requesting other regions’ artisans not to interfere with their business or not to buy or sell their products. Since productions and services are meant for their local people. This aspect of economic activities enforced connections with the places. For example, in an Üsküdar court record from the late 18th century, it is stated that Üsküdar tanners and Kartal tanners should not interfere in each other's affairs (Üsküdar debbağ ustaları ile Kartal debbağ ustaları) because they are separate and independent from each other.

“...debbâğhâne-i mezkûrede debâgat olunan deriler kasaba-i mezbûre ve havalisine kâfi ve vâfî olup âhar debbâğhâneye mütehammil olmadığından gayrı Kartal kasabası debbâğhânesinde müstakil usta olup herbirimiz âharın umûruna müdâhale etmeyip ve kasaba mezbûrede debbağ olan kimesne dahi Üsküdar esnâfından deri ta‘bîr olunur schm iştirâ etmemek beynlerinde mer‘î ve mu‘teber nizâmlarından olduğunu...”⁶⁵³

⁶⁵¹ Ibid.

⁶⁵² Ibid.

⁶⁵³ *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 531 Numaralı Sicil*, 784, verdict no 1305, 108a-3.

Regarding the continuation of the order within the guild system, one may witness numerous examples in the court records where guilds demanded expulsion of members or warned them to use or produce their products according to the standards determined. For example, members of the sesame oil *taife* (Muslims and non-Muslims together) complained about Mami, who was the master of the sesame oil shop, on the grounds that he did not comply with the long-standing rules (*âhar yağa karışdırmamak kadîmî nizâmımız iken*) and continued to act contrary to it (mixing sesame oil with other oils instead of pure sesame oil) despite being warned about it (*men‘iyle tenbîh olunup yine mütenebbih olmayıp*). Guild members demanded his expulsion from their guilds.⁶⁵⁴ For this reason, the fact that both institutional and social ties work together for the artisans’ organizations and that the members of the guilds group have control power at the entrance and exit, that is, a kind of access control, played a positive role in the formation of belonging. Similarly, they were also very cautious about those not from their community but practicing their artisanship. For example, a group of yarn artisans found out that the shoemaker Mustafa was selling linen, one of their own commodities, in the cellar of his shop and they complained about him (“...san‘atımızda alâka ve medhali yoğiken dükkânı mukâbilinde binâ ve ihdâs eylediği kârgir mahzende nizâmımıza muhîl metâ‘ımız olan sıva kettânını bey‘ eder men‘ olunmak murâdımızdır...”⁶⁵⁵).

Based on the examples here, it should not be thought that guilds relied only on strict control based on the continuation of the order. These organizations also strengthened social ties beyond institutional ties by supporting each other within the group, creating “a certain esprit de corps.”⁶⁵⁶ So, from the perspective of place

⁶⁵⁴ *Bab Mahkemesi 197 Numaralı Sicil*, 121, verdict no 53, 8a-4.

⁶⁵⁵ *Bab Mahkemesi 151 Numaralı Sicil*, 305, verdict no 344, 76a-3.

⁶⁵⁶ Ulrike Freitag, “‘Cosmopolitanism’ and ‘Conviviality’?” 383.

attachment theory, guilds were neither kinship-based nor purely professional networks. Although its economic and professional aspects outweigh, they were also spatially determined social networks enhancing people's unity to some extent. For example, they were "providing assistance to the poor in their community"⁶⁵⁷ or they supported each other when their collective interests were compromised.

Guilds were also constituting one of the avenues of collective actions taking place in the Ottoman context. Since they were organized as collectivities, they had bargaining power over the prices, shortages, tax collection, and monopolistic control of the market. So, the Ottoman State had to negotiate or bargain with the guilds.

These central elements of the guilds given above are examples of the structure that brings together people belonging to the same professional group who trust each other and establish close relationships in many different ways. This closeness and knit ties were also sustained by being in physical proximity, which constitutes the spatial aspect of guilds that very much affected the place attachment. So, in the following sub-heading, the spatial aspect of the guild system plus the overall spatiality of economic activities will be discussed to expose the economic aspects of the place attachment.

3.4.3. Commercial Areas and Place Attachment

The Ottoman State managed the economic and commercial activities in certain places for purposes of eased administration and receiving taxes. *Bedestens*, *çarşıs*, *hans* and *bazaars* were commercial areas in Ottoman cities where the artisans practiced their craft and sold their products.⁶⁵⁸ Ottoman State built "shops, branching

⁶⁵⁷ Ines Aščerić-Todd, "Religious diversity and tolerance in Ottoman guilds," 38.

⁶⁵⁸ According to İnalçık, "the main urban zones including the *bedestan-çarşı* or central market place were brought into existence under the waqf-imaret system. Halil İnalçık, "İstanbul: An Islamic City," *Journal of Islamic Studies* I (1990): 9.

out and lining both sides of a road, forming a single market to be occupied by the members of a single craft or by merchants selling the same type of goods.”⁶⁵⁹ For example, the spinners guilds (*iplikçiler esnafı*) were all stationed at the same place by carrying the same name with their craft such as *the iplikçiler pazarı*.⁶⁶⁰ Following court record provides example to this: “...medîne-i mezbûrede İblik Bâzârı sûkunda vâki‘ Hamâmcı Ahmed Çelebi Câmi‘i vakfında bir tarafından...babamız müteveffâyı mezbûrdan müntakıl biri biri ittisâlinde iki bâb tiftikci dükkânımız ile...”⁶⁶¹ Or another example from Konya is as such: “Medine-i Konya’da... ikrarı tam ve takriri kelim idüb At pazarı kapusu gurbunda Mıhçılar sûkunda...bir bab mihçi Dükkânı...”⁶⁶²

Because spatial convenience was essential, especially in managing and administrating economic activities, Ottoman State gathered them in certain circles.⁶⁶³ This situation contributed to forming a sense of spatial belonging in people engaged in economic activities. Also, it created an artificial and abstract spatialization through designated spaces, creating an effect that increases or reveals continuity and belonging.

Considering this enhanced spatial aggregation of Ottoman craftsmen in a certain location, such as shops or stores, the issue of ownership of these places comes to the forefront of understanding place attachment. The Ottoman artisans were generally working as tenants of waqfs. Thus, the legal relationship established between the waqfs and the artisans, which arises when they lease their shops to

⁶⁵⁹ Onur Yıldırım, “Ottoman Guilds in the Early Modern Era,” *IRSH* 53, 2008, 87.

⁶⁶⁰ “*Hallaçlar çarşısı, demirciler çarşısı*.” Baer, “Monopolies and Restrictive Practices of Turkish Guilds,” 154.

⁶⁶¹ Yapıcı, H.1133-1134 (M.1721-1722) Tarihli 97 Numaralı Ankara Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 236.

⁶⁶² Özdoğan, “55 Numaralı Konya Şer’iye Sicili’nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu,” 172.

⁶⁶³ One of the purposes was to secure tax collection. Baer, “Monopolies and Restrictive Practices of Turkish Guilds,” 154.

artisans, is vital to evaluate and understanding the economic aspect of spatial belonging. The nature of such leasing between foundations and artisans and its changing aspect over time have also significantly affected the relationship established with the space.

The tenancy practices, which initially started with a long-term lease agreement (*icâre-i tavile*), continued with the *icâreteyn* system.⁶⁶⁴ Especially in the 16th century, due to the fires in İstanbul, sufficient resources were not found to repair the waqf properties, and no tenant could be found to rent them with a standard lease agreement. Thereupon, the method of leasing the foundation property by obtaining a cash rent from the tenant, which is close to the value of the foundation property, came to the fore. This practice was called *icâre-i muaccele*, aiming to repair the foundation property or to get it done by the tenant and to lease the foundation property periodically by collecting a small rent. Although there were differences in the implementation of the *icâreteyn* system, which was introduced to maintain both the order of the artisan system and the regular income of the foundations, and especially to avoid loss in rental prices due to the decrease in the value of money, the only constant aspect was the existence of two separate rental fees, *muaccele* and *müeccele*. The cash amount paid collectively for the rented shop is called *muaccele*, and the other rent paid monthly or annually is called *müeccele*.⁶⁶⁵

Since the *icâreteyn* system enabled the shopkeepers to use the shop as their own property, it did not only work as an element that provides order and continuity

⁶⁶⁴ "...vakf-ı mezbûr müsakkafâtından mahmiyye-i mezbûrede Cîsr-i Mihal kurbında Sah Melik Mahallesi'nde vâki hâzır bi'lmeclis Bakkal Benaki nâm zimmînin icâreteyn ile taht-ı tasarrufunda olan vakf-ı dükkân önünde..." Samıkıran, "138 Numaralı Edirne Şer'îyye Sicilli," 183-184.

⁶⁶⁵ Ergenç, *Şehir, Toplum, Devlet: Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları*. Nuran Koyuncu, "Osmanlı Hukukunda Esnaf Gediği," in *II. Türk Hukuku Tarihi Kongresi Bildirileri Cilt: I*, ed. Fethi Gedikli (İstanbul: Oniki Levha Yayınları, 2016), 375 – 376. Personal Communication with Özer Ergenç, dated October 5, 2022.

in the guilds but also strengthened the bond established by the shopkeepers with the place. The right of craftsmens could continue over waqf buildings as long as they paid the *müeccele*.⁶⁶⁶

This spatial regime, together with the *icâreteyn*, was based on locating each guild in a particular bedesten or çarşı. It requires further inquiry in terms of place attachment since the Ottoman economy witnessed challenges and other hardships in the 18th century that transformed the way guilds worked. With the start of the more apparent signs of weakness in the Ottoman economy, such as decreased production and decays in the order of guilds, problems got complicated. Spatial mobility and the influx of peasant in the face of economic problems,⁶⁶⁷ which are also frequently mentioned in this thesis, also affected the relationship of artisans with the space. This was especially true for İstanbul, which were among favorable destination of migrants and fugitives searching for a work. Especially the unskilled people who migrated to İstanbul and attempted, secretly or openly, to practice guild members' work caused many disputes.⁶⁶⁸

For example, artisans of *hoşâb*, *şerbet*, *kebab* and *çörek* complained about some people who sold their products not in the shops but with the standing counter. Artisans argued that they had the necessary permissions and were serving people with the 64 shops within Galata and around.

“...Galata ve tevâbi‘inde kâin altmış dört adede mahsûs dekâkînde mevcûd hoşâbcı ve şerbetçi esnâfı ustalarından olup dekâkîn-i merkûme ibâdullâha kâfi ve vâfi [olup] dükkân ihdâsıyla ve ba‘zı pîr-perver olmayan hâm-dest

⁶⁶⁶ “İcâre-i mu‘accele ve müeccele ile bir vakf dükkana mutasarrıf olan Zeyd her re‘‘s-i şerhde ücret-i müeccele vermekte ta‘allül ve mûmâtale üzere olsa hâlâ mütevellî dükkân-ı mezburu âhara icâra kâdir olur mu? El-cevap: Tenbîh-i hâkimle muntebih olmazsa olur.” Abdülrahim, Fetâvâ-yı Abdürrahim, 517 in Eda Güçlü, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/11740012.pdf>, 26

⁶⁶⁷ According to Genç, economic crises that became unbearable started to show the first of its signs in the 1760s especially during wars. Mehmet Genç, “18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş,” *Yapıt, Toplumsal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 49, 4 (1984): 52-61.

⁶⁶⁸ Genç, “18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş,” 52-61. Zarinebaf-Shahr, “The Role of Women in the Urban Economy of Istanbul,” 43.

ecnebî makûlelerinin köşebaşlarına ayaklı şerbetçi destgâhı vaz'ıyla esnâf-ı merkûmenin umûruna müdâhalesi memnû' olup..."⁶⁶⁹

In another example, the *kethüda* of the poultry guild wants those who secretly buy and sell chicken sent from the provinces to be banned.

"...taşradan metâ'ımızı karşılayıp alanlar ve hufyeten yağhânelerde gizleyip hufyeten bey' edenler bi'd-defa'ât men' ü def' olunmuşlar iken yine ba'zıları taşradan devâbla ve denizden sefine ile gelip metâ'ımız olan tavuğu esnafımız varmaksızın ber-minvâl-i muharrer bey' ü şirâ etmeleriyle esnafımıza gadr ve nizâmımıza hâlel gelmiştir deyü takrîrleri üzere..."⁶⁷⁰

Similarly, yogurt makers and dairy shopkeepers who applied to the Üsküdar court complained that people who were not their own shopkeepers secretly transported the milk and sold it at the price they wanted in the neighborhoods.

"Medîne-i Üsküdar'da südcü ve yoğurtcu esnâfının kethudâları... Makar... nâm zimmîler muvâcehelerinde... medîne-i mezbûreye nakleylediğimiz südün bir mikdârını herbirimiz kârhanemizde yoğurt ve kaymak tabh edip ve bir mikdârını dahi narh-ı cârî üzere ibâdullâha bey' etmek ile... esnâfımızdan olmayan kimesneler metâ'ımıza müdâhale eyledikleri sûrette herbirimiz mutazarrır olacağımız zâhir iken merkûmân Makar ve Palo esnâfımızdan olmayıp... südü ashâbından iştirâ ve hufyeten nakl ve mahallât aralarında istedikleri bahâ ile âhara bey' ile... nizâmımızın ihtilâline bâdî olmalarıyla men' ü def' olunmak matlûbumuzdur..."⁶⁷¹

In another case mentioned below from Konya Court records, the *leblebici* shopkeepers complained that a person belonging to another artisan group was selling the chickpeas like they did.

"Medine-i Konya'da vâki leblebici esnafından eshâbı hazal-kitab Mustafa Beşe ibni Hacı Abdi ve...nam kimesneler... arpacı esnafından es-Seyyid Mehmed ibni Ahmed ve Mehmed bin Hacı Mustafa nam kimesneler mahzarlarında... mezburân bizim esnafımızdan olmayub esnafımıza müteallık olan nohudu mezburân bey... kıymeti ziyade olub nizamımıza hâlel verdiklerinden maada esnafı mezkûreye nazile olan tekâlifden dahi hıssalarına isabet eden meblağı vermezler..."⁶⁷²

⁶⁶⁹ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Galata Mahkemesi 580 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1221-1222 / M. 1806-1808), Yılmaz Karaca and Mümin Yıldıztaş, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 426, verdict no 706, 69b-2.

⁶⁷⁰ *Bab Mahkemesi 172 Numaralı Sicil*, 377, verdict no 388, 58a-3.

⁶⁷¹ *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 531 Numaralı Sicil*, 750, verdict no 1241, 102a-2.

⁶⁷² Özdoğan, "55 Numaralı Konya Şer'iye Sicili'nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu," 579.

Over the years, in order to prevent unskilled people interfering with the work of guilds, the policy of *gedik* was introduced. It was a system of registration in which artisans registered their tools and equipment with the *kethüda* of their own guild. So, the word *gedik* “had come to mean the right to practice a particular trade at a specific work premise equipped with the means and tools necessary to practice that trade.”⁶⁷³ The idea was based on fixing and stabilizing the number of artisans, preventing non-guild members from infiltrating the economic system.

“The most important function of *gedik* was to limit and control the location of the craft or trade and to prevent its dispersion. The second important restriction controlled by *gedik* was the limitation of the number of guild members.”⁶⁷⁴

It was not only the tools but also the place where artisans practiced their craft that was part of registration in the *gedik* system. The *gedik* owners could do their craft only in the registered places. So, in the *gedik* system, it was still essential to maintain spatial unity and attachment in this sense. Of course, when necessary or compulsory, it was possible to transfer *gediks* to somewhere else subject to the continuation of the economic activity and with the consent of guild members.⁶⁷⁵ In other words, this was also a privilege for the *gedik* owner since he/she did not only have the right to use tools and materials but also had the right of disposition on the immovable he rented. As such, the *gedik* includes three elements. The first is the place, the second is the production organization and tools, and the third is the master who does the work.⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁷³ Engin Deniz Akarlı, “Gedik: Implements, Mastership, Shop Usufruct, and Monopoly among İstanbul Artisans, 1750-1850,” *Wissenschaftskolleg Jahrbuch* (1985/86): 223.

⁶⁷⁴ Miyase Koyuncu Kaya, “The Dilemma of the Ottoman State: Establishing New Gediks or Abolishing Them,” *International Periodical for The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic* volume 8/5 (Spring 2013): 448.

⁶⁷⁵ Koyuncu, “Osmanlı Hukukunda Esnaf Gedigi,” 376.

⁶⁷⁶ Personal Communication with Özer Ergenç, dated April, 22, 2022.

Above examples were given from some of the complaints of artisans about those who do their work independently in neighborhoods or elsewhere. In order to solve this problem in the *gedik* system, two different *gediks* were introduced over time. One of them is the *müstakar gedik* which gives the owner the right to do his/her crafts in a specific place. On the other hand, *havai gediks* were not related to a particular place and gave the owner the authority to perform his/her art wherever he/she wants.

Gediks, by limiting and controlling the location of the craft in the face of the constant influx of outsiders coming to İstanbul and meddling in the work of artisans, were greatly accepted. However, this system also did not stop infiltration of non-artisans to the guild system through the selling of *gediks*. Actually, transfer of *gedik* was happening through inheritance from father to son. If the owner of *gedik* had not someone to inherit, then transferring of *gedik* was possible with the consent of artisans. The below case is the example for the transfer of *gedik* from father to son:

“Basmacı esnafının kethüdâları Mehmed Çelebi b. Ahmed ve yiğitbaşları... sâir meclis-i şer‘-i hatîr-ı lâzımü’t-tevkîrde her biri takrîr-i kelâm ve ta‘bîr anî’l-merâm edip yedimizde olan hüccetlerde tahrîr olunduğu üzere san‘atımız erbâbı Müslim ve zimmî yüz nefer hissedâr olup ziyâde ve noksân olmayıp hissedâr ustalardan biri fevt olup tasarrufunda olan hissesi mahlûl oldukda san‘atında mâhir eski ustalardan birine verilmek üzere mukaddem nizâmımız olup lâkin nizâmda dâhil olan ustanın san‘at-ı mezbûrda evlâdı kaldıkda hisse ve gediği evlâdına verilmediği halde gadr olduğu cümlemizin ma‘lûmu olmağla bundan akdem ittifâkımız ile fevt olanın hisse ve gediği san‘atımızda olan evlâdına verilip olmadığı halde kemâ-fi’l-evvel mülâzım halîfelerden birine verilmek üzere re’y olunmuş idi...”⁶⁷⁷

However, in due course when artisans started to fail his debts, they started to sell their *gediks* by auction leading to people with no experience or training becoming a member of guilds.

“Şekerci tâifesinden olup... mahallesinde sâkinler es-Seyyid... nâm kimesneler... Kostandi nâm zimmî tarafından husûs-ı âti’l-beyânı tasdîka

⁶⁷⁷ Bab Mahkemesi 172 Numaralı Sicil, 93, verdict no 31, 6a-1.

vekîl olduđu... Avram v. Mosi nâm Yahûdî muvâcehesinde... yedimizde münâsafeten mülk ve hakkımız olup mahalle-i mezbûrede vâki' ma'lûmü'l-hudûd üç kepenk bir bâb şekerçi dükkânı derûnunda... gedik ta'bîr olunur bir kazgan ve iki tencere ve bir kefçe ma'a kefgir ve iki mikrâz ve beş bâdiye ve iki kutu ve üç mühür ve sâir âlât-ı lâzîme-i ma'lûmemizi tarafeynden îcâb ve kabûlû hâvî bey'-i bâtt-ı sahîh-i şer'î ve safka-i vâhide ile müvekkil-i merkûm Rokof zimmîye bin altı yüz otuz dört guruşa bey' ve temlik ve teslim eylediğimizde..."⁶⁷⁸

However, this *gedik* system had significant implications for the place attachment of people who engaged in economic activity in the Ottoman realm. The relationship between the *gedik* owner and the property owner was different from the standard lease agreement in terms of the relationship between the tenant and the landlord. First, the rights of the owner of the *gedik* could pass to his heirs through inheritance when he died, including the property rented. In other words, the rental relationship did not end with the tenant's death but was transferred to heirs. While regular rental was for a certain period, in the *gedik* system, the long-term rental was applied. The transfer of the *gedik* from the existing shop to another place could only be done in the presence of the shopkeepers and recorded in the court registry. Hence, while the spatiality of the economic system was built upon ensuring the continuity of the place used, the broad mandate, which is close to the ownership rights provided to artisans in their rented shops, helped them to establish a connection with the places. As long as this spatial continuity element positively contributes to economic activity's stability and income-generating feature, spatial belonging has increased.

Another commercial area within the Ottoman cities was the "*sûk-ı sultanî*,"⁶⁷⁹ or the Ottoman bazaar, which is situated at the center of urban life,

⁶⁷⁸ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Davud Paşa Mahkemesi I Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1196-1197 / M. 1782-1783), Rasim Erol and Sabri Atay, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 415, verdict no 460, 66b-3.

⁶⁷⁹ *Sûk-ı sultanî* is the legal equivalent of the Ottoman bazaar. According to Ergenç, this term refers to a shopping place whose order and rules are determined by the Ottoman State. Özer Ergenç, "Osmanlı Şehrinde Çarşı Sistemi: Bursa Örneğinde Sûk-ı Sultânî," in *Şehir, Toplum, Devlet: Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları*, 170.

fulfilling more than just the commercial needs of city dwellers. When both the Ottoman central government's understanding and the lifestyle of the city dwellers are examined, it will be seen that the center of the city is the mosque and the market (*bazaar*). In fact, the social and economic life and relations of the Ottoman space were shaped and occurred around the mosque and the market.⁶⁸⁰

“*Sûk-ı sultanî*, is “an imaginary big bazaar (*muhayyel bir büyük çarşı*) where the separate places for each commodity are determined, each sale activity is regulated by tradition and the sultan's law based on it, and there are separate sultan officials who supervise this order.”⁶⁸¹ There were various shops in these bazaars as can be seen from the following example:

“...sûkkında Orta Çarşı ve bostan üstü demekle ma‘ruf mahalde vâkî‘ bir taraftan ba‘zân vakf-ı mezbûrdan olub... Abacı dükkânı ve... tasarruflarından olan bezaz dükkânı ve ba‘zân şerbetcî...dükkânı ve...tasarruflarından olan kasab dükkânı ve... tasarrufunda olan saraç dükkânı ve... tasarruflarında olan diğer saraç dükkânı ile mahdûd arsasının...”⁶⁸²

In other words, this term includes all the *bazaars* and *çarşıs* within the spatial boundaries of the city. So, when *sûk-ı sultanî* noted in sources, it generally refers to the bazaar formed in the collective memory of the Ottoman society should come to mind rather than a bazaar whose boundaries are physically defined. For example, the places where sales made by auction are listed in the registers as follows: “...*zîkr olunan bileziği, işbu hâzır bi’l-meclis münâdî Dervîş Hüseyin b. Hasan yediyle sûk-ı sultânîde ve mecma‘-ı nâsda on sekiz gün mikdârı kirâren ve mirâren nidâ ve müzâyede edip...*”⁶⁸³

⁶⁸⁰ “Cum’a kılınur, bâzâr durur.” Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehirlerindeki Yönetim Kurumlarının Niteliği Üzerine Bazı Düşünceler,” in *Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları: Şehir, Toplum, Devlet*, 94.

⁶⁸¹ Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehrinde Çarşı Sistemi: Bursa Örneğinde Sûk-ı Sultânî,” 173.

⁶⁸² Ebru Muslu, “1647 Nr. Şer’iyye Sicilinin Işığında Lale Devri’nin İlk Yıllarında Tekirdağ (1721-1724),” 253-254.

⁶⁸³ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Bab Mahkemesi 46 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1096 - 1097 / M. 1685 - 1686)*, Sabri Atay et. al, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İSAM, 2010), 90, verdict no 36, 4a-1.

Based on all the above features regarding economic and commercial spaces, it is also worth mentioning that these spaces functioned as places of encounter as being convivial areas of the Ottoman city. The city is not only a place where commercial activities and negotiations are carried out but also a place where those engaged in this activity spend their time. So, these spaces are also functioned as the points of encounter, and these encounters affected people's belonging.⁶⁸⁴ Hence, spatially, while merchants and artisans were doing their business, they were randomly encountering each other, establishing connections. These all imply an institutional link leading to social affiliation. For example, Avanos, originally from the Çakırağa neighborhood of İstanbul, probably communicated with many people in Belgrade, where he went for business (*fi'l-asl mahmiye-i İstanbul'da Çakır Ağa mahallesi sükkânından olup medîne-i Belgrad'da ticâret üzre iken...*).⁶⁸⁵ Similarly, Yusuf, who was originally from the Rüstem Paşa neighborhood, probably had contacted various people in Mısır. (*Fi'l-asl mahmiye-i İstanbul'da Rüstem Paşa mahallesi sükkânından olup bundan akdem diyâr-ı Mısır'da ticâret üzre iken...*).⁶⁸⁶ Of course, it is normal to have such encounters in these places where commercial and economic activities are carried out, and the international market operate under the conditions of that day. However, for the Ottoman society, which was organized in the form of communities and consisted of more closed structures, these places were coded differently in the minds of ordinary people. This was a world outside the immediate environment they know, but these foreign guests, merchants and artisans, who are constantly operating there, were not so foreign.

⁶⁸⁴ Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, "İzmir'de Avrupalı Koloniler ve Etnik-Dini Cemaatler, Birlikte Var Olma ve Toplumsal Ağları," 218.

⁶⁸⁵ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Bab Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1077 / M. 1666 - 1667)*, Rıfât Günelan, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İSAM, 2011), 170, verdict no 131, 17b-4.

⁶⁸⁶ *Bab Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil*, 184, verdict no 155, 20b-2.

In short, even if people belonging to the same occupational group did not share the same place, there were already motivations to act together professionally in the 18th century to pursue their interests at times when the competition was much lower than today. Besides that, maintaining this unity spatially also increased the people's attachment to the place and the guilds.

3.4.4. *Avârız* Taxes as a Collective Responsibility

Being a spatial community brings certain typical responsibilities to people in the Ottoman context. In this dissertation, some of them have already been discussed so far. In this part, I would like to emphasize a financial responsibility arising entirely from the place itself, which is the payment of the *avârız* taxes collected over taxable households called *avârızhânes*.

The *avârız* taxes, as they became the regular tax of the Ottoman Empire, were among the essential state revenue. Various sources explain the collection of *avârız* taxes and the implication of the *avârız* in terms of economic aspects.⁶⁸⁷ However, what I would like to concentrate on here is not only the economic aspect. *Avârız*, as a kind of tax, is obviously a financial responsibility. Still, besides this, since it was collected over *avârızhânes*, it also had repercussions on the collective responsibility. So, I would like to examine the collection of *avârız* taxes from the aspect of collective responsibility to understand whether it affected the Ottoman people's place attachment.

From the mid-17th century onwards, lasting inflation and devaluation of Ottoman currency, with the influx of silver from America, and the requirement to

⁶⁸⁷ See İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700." Genç, "18. Yüzyıl'da Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş," Süleyman Demirci, "Collection of *Avârız* and *Nüzul* Levies in the Ottoman Empire: A Case Study of the Province of Karaman 1620-1700," *Belleten* vol. 69, no. 256 (2005).

advance the military in the face of deteriorating military capabilities of the Ottoman State necessitated the collection of new taxes.⁶⁸⁸ In that context, the term *avârız* is a general term that includes various types of levies collected in kind or cash by the Ottoman State in such extraordinary times as an emergency tax. It was paid by everyone without differentiating between Muslims and non-Muslims. Later in the 17th and 18th centuries, it became regular taxes and started to be collected over *avârızhânes*.⁶⁸⁹

For the sake of this dissertation, the collection procedure of this tax over *avârızhânes* needs elaboration. *Avârızhânes* represent taxable or taxed households. Each *avârızhâne* was composed of several actual households responsible for paying the tax burden falling upon them. Although there have been many studies going into further details of *avârızhânes*, it is still not known how many actual households constitute one *avârızhâne*. As far as we know, it is impossible to generalize the figures since the number of actual households to form one *avârızhâne* changes from place to place, according to the research have been done in this field.⁶⁹⁰ Surveys to determine the *avârızhânes* were done in collaboration with the locals to act according to the financial circumstances of the locality. “If there was dramatic change in the economic welfare of a group of people then amendments ought to have been made prior to the actual collection.”⁶⁹¹ Accordingly, the total number of *avârızhânes* varied depending on the cities. For example, according to the imperial decree in the Aleppo court records dated 1720-1725, there are 2814 *avârızhânes*. While it was ordered to

⁶⁸⁸ Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order*, 122

⁶⁸⁹ Genç, “18. Yüzyıl’da Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş,” 58. This term refers to administratively defined tax units composed of a collection of households. One *avârızhâne* comprises of several houses, and the number of houses in an *avârızhâne* varies according to the place, time, administrative needs and the financial circumstances of the tax-payers. Demirci, “Collection of *Avârız* and *Nüzul* Levies in the Ottoman Empire: A Case Study of the Province of Karaman 1620-1700,” 906-907.

⁶⁹⁰ Ergenç, XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya, 61.

⁶⁹¹ Demirci, “Collection of *Avârız* and *Nüzul* Levies in the Ottoman Empire,” 909.

collect 400 akçes from each *avârizhâne* in Aleppo, 500 akçes per *avârizhâne* was demanded from 2041 total *avârizhâne* in Kastamonu for the year 1726. In the Trabzon sanjak, there were 389 *avârizhânes* in year 1749.⁶⁹² According to İstanbul court record dated 1780, there were 2699 *avârizhânes* and 429 akçes per *avârizhâne* was requested.⁶⁹³

Within the scope of this dissertation, what I would like to discuss regarding the *avâriz* collection procedure and *avârizhânes* is the impact of this method on the feeling of belonging to space, which has not been a topic of discussion in its own terms, to my knowledge.

Avâriz liability arising from the place owned by the people was a tax obligation placed on each house in the premodern Ottoman period. Obviously, since *avârizhânes* were composed of a group of actual households, and the tax was collected all at once, not separately, the collection procedure motivated or naturally forced people to act as a group. *Avâriz* was a financial obligation, but it also strengthened spatial belonging because it grouped those who share the same space, that is, people who live close to each other under one *avârizhâne*. Luckily, court records provide enough information regarding the collection of *avâriz* over *avârizhânes*, such as through records of imperial decrees relating to the collection. And, it is evident from these records that there had been some community

⁶⁹² Tuba Dağtekin, “Halep Vilayeti Evamir-i Sultaniye Defteri (H. 1133-1138/M. 1720-1725) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi” (master’s Thesis, Harran Üniversitesi, 2012), 85. Ömer Döşemetaş, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Avarız Vergisi: XVIII. Yüzyılın İkinci Çeyreğinde Kastamonu Örneği,” *Akademik MATBUTAT* vol. 3, no. 2 (2019): 36. Ayşegül Bayraktar, “1917 Numaralı Trabzon Şer’iyye Sicilinin Değerlendirmesi ve Transkripsiyonu” (master’s Thesis, Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi, 2020), 115.

⁶⁹³ “Hazîne-i âmire’ m defterleri mücebince İstanbul kazâsının iki bin altı yüz doksan dokuz buçuk ve bir sülüs avâriz-hânesi olup bin yüz doksan dört senesine mahsûben cem’ ve tahsîli lâzım gelmeğîn... buyurdum ki... kazâ’-i mezbûrun ol mikdâr avârizhânesi olup Tersâne-i âmire’ m ocaklığı olmağla beher hânesinden dörder yüz yirmi dokuz akçe mîrîleri irsâl olunan mühürlü ve nişanlı Mevkûfât defteri sûreti mücebince vakit ve zamanıyla yerlû yerinden cem’ ve tahsîl...” İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri İstanbul Mahkemesi 44 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1193-1194 / M.1779-1780), Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 276, verdict no 257, 80b-1.

responsibility involved in raising and handing over the tax money.⁶⁹⁴ So, it would not be wrong to assume that the collection procedure of *avârız* taxes imposed a kind of collective responsibility arising from a being in or sharing a common space. These records also show how ordinary Ottoman people acted through the tax collection process and what conflicts occurred during the collection, such as malpractice. So, such disputes over *avârızhânes* also illuminate the place attachment of people.

Concerning the *avârız* related taxes, and others in similar kind, at the level of districts, the total amount of taxes collected in a province were first apportioned to *kazâs* (districts). This apportionment required consent of the local figures such as *ayans* and *eşrafs*.⁶⁹⁵ “The apportionment system treated district people as a community with common interests, sharing collective burdens according to income or economic capacity, rather than privileges or religious identities.”⁶⁹⁶ That is why one may argue that the introduction of *avârız* taxes would contribute to collective efforts and shared urban culture. Being a spatial community has joint obligations; one of them, *avârız*, is a responsibility that depends entirely on the place. As such, it is an element that increases belonging.

Although the number of actual households in *avârızhânes* has changed from period to period, the necessity of owning real estate for *avârız* liability had caused an application to form around belonging. Furthermore, those in the same *avârızhânes* usually acted together in cases related to the *avârız* tax, such as determining the actual number of households in the *avârızhânes*. While this strengthened the bond between those in the same *avârızhânes*, it also positively affected the relationship established with the place over time. Thus, the continuity of this tax, which was

⁶⁹⁴ Demirci, “Collection of *Avârız* and *Nüzul* Levies in the Ottoman Empire,” 905

⁶⁹⁵ İnalçık, “Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire,” 335-336.

⁶⁹⁶ Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order*, 128.

initially collected only in extraordinary condition, also caused the relationship forms with the space to gain continuity.

For example, in an imperial order recorded in Halep *sicils*, a trustee from the district of *Şeyh 'ül Hadid*, applied to the Imperial Council to request exemption from *avâriz* tax for several villages, and for two other towns asked for the collection of *avâriz* tax accordingly by indicating the number of *avârizhânes*.⁶⁹⁷ And it was clearly stated in the order that the central administration accepts the demand regarding the collection of *avarız* tax from the local level:

“Buyurdum ki ... Amik nahiyesinde olan ‘avakiye kariyesinin ikibuçuk serbelu kariyesinin nısf-ı hane-i avarız kara-i mezkura ahalilerinden tahsil ettirib muaf olan nefis-i Şeyhü’l-Hadid Hadid ve Anid ma’ Tavaf ve Köce ma’ Magaracık Gündeler ve Bekraz kariyelerinden muafetlerine muğayir Hilaf-ı emr-u defteri avarız mutalebesiyle rencide ve te‘adi ettirmeyib te‘adileri men ve def‘ eyleyesin.”⁶⁹⁸

While determining the amount of *avâriz* tax, the efforts of city dwellers to act together is vital in understanding the degree of social consciousness.⁶⁹⁹ For example, according to *Yörük* and *Çakır* the people of Kayseri played a crucial role in determining the number of *avârizhânes* and acted with a group consciousness. In another example, the people of a village in Kayseri demanded that 4 *avârizhânes* be reduced to 2, due to poverty, and their demands were accepted. In yet another example, the qadi sent a petition to İstanbul and stated that the people of a neighborhood in Kayseri were economically poor and they should be exempted from tax by underlining that the neighborhood’s people would disperse if they were not exempted.⁷⁰⁰ To determine the number of *avârizhânes*, surveys were conducted by

⁶⁹⁷ Dağtekin, “Halep Vilayeti Evamir-i Sultaniye Defteri,” 103-104.

⁶⁹⁸ Dağtekin, 103-104.

⁶⁹⁹ Demirci.

⁷⁰⁰ Yörük and Çakır, “Sivil Toplum Bağlamında Osmanlı Kent Yapısı: Kayseri Örneği,” 184.

the State. According to the information in an imperial order, pollsters were advised to coordinate with locals to get accurate data.⁷⁰¹

In a similar manner, *avâriz akçası fonu* (fund) or the waqf of *avâriz akçası* need special elaboration. The fund of *avâriz akçası* was composed of the contribution of people established originally for payment of *avâriz* tax. This fund turned into a waqf in time to meet the common expenses of ahâli in Ottoman cities. Since it was possible to lend some money to those in need in the city, it also provided social solidarity.⁷⁰²

Initially, funds were established and used to meet the payments of *avâriz* taxes. In due course, spending the revenues of this fund to appropriate places with the decision of the neighborhood committees has been introduced. The money accumulated in the waqfs was used for disasters such as fire, earthquakes, diseases, the needs of the poor, or to repair waterways, pavements, schools, etc., to provide public services.⁷⁰³ In other words, this foundation was a fund collected for the expenses the neighborhood residents must meet jointly. It also helped the provision of social assistance since the money collected in this fund was given to those in need.⁷⁰⁴ The trustees of *avâriz akçası fonu* were usually someone from the village or neighborhood to which the waqf was affiliated since these waqfs had a structure that concerned everyone in that region.⁷⁰⁵

In one of the records of the *avâriz akçası fonu* in Ankara *sicils*, the detail about how the money collected was used gives us an idea on this matter. After the death of a trustee of *avâriz akçası fonu* belonging to the *Konurca* neighborhood, a

⁷⁰¹ Demirci, "Collection of Avâriz and Nüzul Levies in the Ottoman Empire," 906.

⁷⁰² Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Bursa*, 172.

⁷⁰³ Özer Ergenç, "Osmanlı Şehrindeki Mahallenin İşlev ve Nitelikleri Üzerine," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* IV (1984): 75-78.

⁷⁰⁴ Ergenç, 75-76.

⁷⁰⁵ Döşemetaş, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Avarız Vergisi," 33.

clerk was appointed to check the accounting records of the book of the fund before handing on the accounts to the new trustee, and the precise control of the clerk was recorded to the sicil. So, this record provides details about the income and expenses of the fund. According to this record, it is seen that many people contributed to the fund, and revenues were used for the repair of places such as mosques: “...cem‘ân dört yüz yetmiş dokuz guruş on beş paraya baliğ olduktan sonra mütevellî-i mezbûr mescit ta‘mirine masrafı dört guruş on paradır hâne ta‘mirine üç yirmi altı para...”⁷⁰⁶ This collective contribution to repairing such places is a sign of people’s belongingness to their neighborhood, plus the institutionalization of collaborative efforts through *avâriz akçası fonu*.

Another example from the Ankara court record dating 1783-1784 show how example of how the money accumulated in the *avâriz akçası fonu* is used for various expenses:

“...asl-ı mâl vakfın nemâsından ve dekâkîn icârâtından cem‘an dört yüz elli üç gurus otuz paraya bâliğ oldukdan sonra mütevellî ve nâzır-ı mezbûrların masrûfâtı...ve asel mumuna on guruş ve câmi‘-i şerîf hasırına on altı para ve kandîl ücreti iki gurus... ve doksan yedi senesi kandîl ücreti iki gurus... ve çeşme masârîfı yedi guruş on altı para ve Ramazan-ı Şerîfde kandîl bezîrine beş guruş bir para... ve câmi‘ kilimine masraf altı guruş ve çeşme ücreti iki guruş ve câmi‘ hâricine yigirmi yedi para ve câmi‘- şerîf masrafı bir guruş on beş para ve câmi‘- şerîf mumuna bir guruş sekiz para ve Papaş oğluna elli guruş ve minâre ve çeşme kapusuna masraf üç guruş üç para ve doksan yedi asel mumuna dokuz buçuk guruş doksan yedide kandîl masrafı dört guruş on beş para...doksan yedide çeşme ücreti iki guruş ve börekçi furununa masraf bir guruş otuz iki para ve akçe fâ‘izine virilen beş guruş ve börekçi dükkânı divârına masraf on altı guruş beş para ve...cem‘an beş yüz kırk yedi guruş on dört paraya bâliğ oldukdan sonra bâlâda mezkûr dört yüz elliüç guruş otuz para makbûzâtı ba‘de‘t-tenzîl nâzır-ı merkûmun doksan dört guruş on altı para ziyâde masrafı olub ahâlî-i mahalle-i mezbûre zimmetlerinde olmağla bi‘l-cümle muhâsebe-i mezkûreyi kabûl ve râzı olduklarını...”⁷⁰⁷

As said, these *avâriz akçası* waqfs were initially established when people had difficulties paying their taxes. Still, they continued to be used to fulfill social and

⁷⁰⁶ Taşcan, “173 Numaralı Ankara Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirmesi,” 255-256.

⁷⁰⁷ Taşcan, 128.

public services after the tax lost its importance. The excerpt above is an example of this transforming nature of *avâriz akçası fonu*, which is used for public services such as mosques and fountains. Later, these funds were transferred to municipalities according to the Municipal Law of 1930.⁷⁰⁸ Therefore, the fact that the municipalities have been chosen to transfer these funds when the time comes indicates the local and municipal nature of these funds. The fact that they were sustained for long periods reflect the capacity of people to find solutions for local problems on their own initiative.

The below record is an example of how someone endowed his property to the *avâriz akçası fonu*:

“Medîne-i Konya’da Çiftenerdüban Mahallesi sâkinlerinden İsmâil Ağa ibn-i Süleymân nâm kimesne... mahallesinin avârizına mevkûfe ve akâra tebdîl ile a’mâl olunması meşrûta olan nukûdun mütevellisi olan işbu ... Hüseyin mahzarında ikrâr-ı tâm ve takrîr-i kelâm idüb mahalle-i mezbûrede vâki... mülk-i menzilimi...îcâb ve kabûlü hâvî bey-i bât-ı sahîh-i şer’î ile vakf için mütevellî merkûm İsmâil Çelebi’ye yirmi yedi guruşa bey ve temlik ve teslim eylediğimde ol dahî minvâl-i muharrer üzere vakf için bi’t-tevliye iştirâ ve kabz ve kabûl idüb semeni olan yirmi guruşu mütevellî merkûm yedinde olan mal-ı vakfdan temâmen ahz ve kabz ve teslim-i mebî’ eyledim fîmâ ba’de menzil-i mahdûd mezkûr vakf-ı mezbûrun akarı olmak üzere mütevellî merkûm bi’t-tevliye mutasarrıf olsun didikde...”⁷⁰⁹

According to case above, İsmail Ağa sells his house to İsmail Çelebi, the trustee of the neighborhood waqf, in return for 27 *guruş*. He stipulates that his house be owned by the waqf and that the trustee rents it out or provides income to the waqf in some other way. Although this transaction is shown as a real sale transaction, İsmail Ağa probably did not receive 27 *guruş* from the trustee. In a sense, he donated to the *avâriz akçası fonu*, but he did it in the form of sales, not donations.

⁷⁰⁸ Halil Sahillioğlu, “*Avâriz*,” TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/avariz--vergi>, accessed July, 27 2022.

⁷⁰⁹ Özdoğan, “55 Numaralı Konya Şer’iye Sicili’nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu,” 407.

In places where Muslims and non-Muslims lived together, the *avâriz akçası* was spent on the needs of both groups, regardless of the religious identity of the founder of the waqf, or they together paid the tax burden falling upon them. For example, the record from Bab *sicils* dating to 1750 is an example of this. The members of the Greek community applied to the kadı about the *avâriz* tax they paid together with the Armenian community. They stated that the respective tax share had not been paid by the Armenians for two years with the claim that “every community should pay with their own community” and demanded that the Armenian community pay the tax that fell on them. Once the demand of the Greek community was examined, it was instructed that the Armenians, who owned property in the areas affiliated and registered with the Greek community, should have paid *avâriz* tax together with the Greeks.

“Mahmiye-i İstanbul’da Mirâhur mahallesinde vâki’ Kostantin Kilisesi cemâ’atleri olan Rûmiyân tâifelerinin cemâ’atbaşları vekîlleri Dimitri v. İlyâ ve Mustafa Paşa mahallesinde vâki’ Sulu Manastır Kilisesi cemâ’atleri olan Ermeni tâifesinin kezâlik cemâ’atbaşları Kigork v. Serkiz ve Serkiz v. Ermiya ve Manasfan v. Agop nâm zimmîler muvâcehelerinde işbu yedimizde olan emr-i âlîşân mücebince tahrîr-i atfık ve cedîdde Rûmiyân yedlerinde bulunan emlâke altmış sekiz ve bir sülûs avârizhânesi vaz’ ve Tersâne-i âmire ocaklığı kaydolup ba’dehû emlâk-ı mezkûreden ma’lûmü’l-aded menâzili Ermeni tâifesi iştirâ ve temellük etmeleriyle hisselerine isâbet edeni bizim cemâ’atimiz ile ma’an edâ ederler iken iki seneden beri işbu mesfûrûn iktizâ eden tekâlîfi Ermeni kendi tâifesiyle ve Rum kendi tâifesiyle vermek lâzımdır deyü mugâyir-i kadîm ve hilâf-ı emr-i âlî avârizhânelerimize mukayyed emlâk tasarruf eden Ermenileri hisselerine isâbet edeni bizim cemâ’atimiz ile ma’an edâdan men’ ve kadîme mugâyir te’addîleri men’ olunmak matlûbumuzdur dediklerinde yedlerinde olan emr-i âlîşâna nazar olundukda avârıza kaydolunan mahallere mutasarrıf olanlar hîn-i tahrîrde her kangı kilise ve cemâ’ate kaydolunmuş ise Rum ve Ermeni kangısı olur ise olsun emir ve deftere kesr ve noksan gelmemek üzere ma’rifet-i şer’le ta’dîl ve tesviye vechi üzere hisselerine isâbet edeni edâ eylemeleri musarrâh olmağın gıbbe’s-suâl mesfûrûn Kigork ve Serkiz ve Manasfan mahalle-i mezkûrede Rûmiyân cemâ’atlerine mukayyed emlâkdan ma’lûmü’l-aded menâzili iştirâ ve temellük eylediklerini ve kendileri ol makûle Ermeni tâifesini Rûmiyân ile ma’an edâdan men’ sadedinde olduklarını mukır ve mu’terif olmalarıyla mesfûrûnun hilâf-ı emr-i âlî te’addîleri men’ ve mahalle-i mezkûrda Rûmiyân cemâ’ati avârizına kaydolunan mahallere mutasarrıf olan Ermeniler ber-mûceb-i emr-i âlî kadîmîsi üzere hisselerine isâbet edeni Rûmiyân

cemâ'atiyle ma'an edâ etmelerine tenbîh olunduğu huzûr-ı âlîlerine i'lâm olundu.”⁷¹⁰

The example presented above reveals the relationship of the *avârız* tax with the place and its aspect arising from the place. Although the Armenian community wanted to make the payment as a group with single religious affiliation, the decision referred to the spatial dimension of the *avârız* tax and stated that people belonging to different communities should fulfill this common obligation together.

Most of the cases reflected in the records regarding collecting the *avârız* tax is the neighborhood residents complaining about the people who do not pay this tax. Although this complaint does not always reflect a justified demand, in some cases, the people of the neighborhood unjustly demanded the payment of *avârız* tax from military class people, the fact that the neighborhood people are so interested in the issue of *avârız* liability is closely related to the fact that this tax is a form of responsibility arising from the space. It is due to the fact that the responsibility of those who do not pay affects others, or the burden of non-payment is also placed on others, and this tax is used for everyday expenses is also a factor.

For example, according to the Kastamonu court record dating 1736, the residents of the *Kırkçeşme* Neighborhood complained about two brothers from the neighborhood for not paying the *avârız* taxes. Even though the complainants expressed they were exempt from taxation because their father was a mosque muezzin, the neighborhood residents proved that their houses were registered in the neighborhood's *avârızhâne*.⁷¹¹

In another record, from the neighborhood of *Ahi Ya 'kûb*, a group of people (Mehmed Halîfe bin Mûsâ Dedeve Mehmed bin Mustafa ve Mevlûd Beşe bin Halîl

⁷¹⁰ *Bab Mahkemesi 197 Numaralı Sicil*, 428, verdict no 562, 72b-2.

⁷¹¹ Döşemetaş, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Avarız Vergisi,” 34.

ve Hasan bin Mustafa ve el-Hâc ‘Ali bin Kara Ahmed nâm kimesneler ve sâ’irleri) again collectively applied to the court to request for an appointment of ‘Ali Beşe bin Ahmed Beşe as the trustee for the *avâriz* waqf (mahalle-i mezbûre ‘ının nukûd-ı mevkûfesinin mütevellîsi olmayub bir mütevellî lâzım ve mühimm olmağın) by indicating that this person is suitable to this job (tevlîyete mahall ve müstehakk ve her vechile vakf-ı mezbûra evlâ ve enfa‘ olmağın).⁷¹² Although this event is not directly related to the place, the neighborhood’s people decided who would be the trustee and demanded it from the court. For a job related to a shared responsibility arising from the place, they choose someone to do this job as a partner.

In another case from the Konya court records, the residents of the neighborhood requested that two people (Mollâ Süleymân ve Abdülkerim Beşe her vecihle müstakin ve dindâr...umûr-ı mahalde cümlemiz tarafından vekil ve Kaymakam nasb ve ihtiyâr eylediğinde) from the community be authorized to deal with the problems experienced in the collection of *avâriz* tax (“...tahsil husûsu dahi ahâli-yi mahalden bir müte’ayyin kimesneye sipâriş olunmadığından... her biri ahire havâle ile cem ve tahsil mümkün olmayıb vesâir umûr- ı mahalde dahi ahâli-i mahalden her biri bir semte atıf ile umûr-ı mahallemiz münhal ve müşevveş olmağla...”⁷¹³), which is among their joint obligations.

To sum up, the exceptional tax regime of *avâriz* became a regular one in time and it has led to the foundation of a fund used for the collective good of the communities, and the tax itself, by being a responsibility solely arising from the space, enhanced people’s attachment to places.

⁷¹² Yapıcı, “H.1133-1134 (M.1721-1722) Tarihli 97 Numaralı Ankara Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 194.

⁷¹³ Özdoğan, “55 Numaralı Konya Şer’iye Sicili’nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu,” 302.

In this section, I dealt with the effect of the economic factors on the formation of spatial belonging in Ottoman society under four different headings. The fundamental economic tendencies of the Ottoman Empire, together with the policies on property rights, point to differences in urban and rural areas, and the complex structure of the property regime makes it difficult to reach a general conclusion. On the other hand, the continuity of the *avârız* tax, previously collected only in extraordinary periods, its collection over a group of households, and the transformation of this tax into a fund over time played a role in increasing the spatial unity of economic activity, increased the attachment.

3.5. Place Attachment and Collective Actions

Another aspect of place attachment is the social angle of the place component of the theory. According to this, civic actions/activities or engagements are motivated to some extent by the relationships established between people and places. Studies indicate that place attachment encourages people to participate in civic actions in their locality. The opposite is also true. Civic actions/engagements increase spatial belonging. Therefore, collective efforts enforced by civic engagements/actions becomes indispensable if one wants to understand people's level of place attachment.

Considering the classical Ottoman society, be it social, economic, religious, or neighborhood communities, there were numerous written and unwritten rules sustaining social control and order, and requiring collective actions. It is also possible to view seeds of civic activities or engagements in maintenance of the order, especially about the place. So, this side of Ottoman society should be considered to evaluate the social aspect of place attachment and its reflection in Ottoman society. Hence, this part of this dissertation will focus on the collective activities –

voluntarily or occasionally compulsory – by considering how these activities concerning the space formed people-place relationships.

I will look at collective actions and the willingness to organize collective actions as the vital signs of place attachment. Moreover, the organization of Ottoman space is closely related to communal bonds arising from places. As indicated by Chicago School, communal bonds rising from local relations result in psychological attachment. Consequently, the analysis of collective actions may provide an overall picture from the place attachment theory's social and psychological angles.

Collective action is a theory in its own regard and is a separate research topic. Here, I have chosen this term to find clues concerning the place attachment in the Ottoman world. However, I will provide a short overview of the theory.

Studies concerning collective actions in the Ottoman space are closely intermingled with the discussion of the Islamic city. According to the Islamic city paradigm, one may not talk about the existence of collective actions within the Islamic city. Hence, before going into details of the joint efforts in the Ottoman space, I would like to present first a theory of collective action as discussed in this dissertation⁷¹⁴ and then a concise review of the literature on the Islamic city and Ottoman cities.

3.5.1. The Collective Action Theory

In this dissertation, I used the theory of collective action developed by Tilly. According to Tilly, “collective action consists of people's acting together in pursuit of common interests.”⁷¹⁵ Collective action is composed of five constituents which are interest, organization, mobilization, opportunity, and the action itself. Interest may be

⁷¹⁴ Collective action theory is discussed here following the approach of Charles Tilly.

⁷¹⁵ Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution*, 7.

defined as the possibility of advantages or disadvantages emerging from interactions with others. The organization is the unifying structure between members of the groups. Mobilization is anything under the control of a group, such as votes, weapons, or labor power. Opportunity is the calculation of the group's interests under the current situation considering the threats as well. Action is joint performance of people for a common end.⁷¹⁶

It is evident that finding the action itself is less complicated when working on collective action, considering that action usually leaves its mark on the historian's raw material since it is recorded.⁷¹⁷ In terms of Ottoman studies, court records talk about the action (i.e., what happened). What a historian needs to do is the deconstruction of actions into small pieces to reveal the components of the collective effort. Tilly explains this as such:

“Describe what people did, then deduce what interests they were pursuing, what opportunities to pursue those interests they faced, and how they were organized from what they said and did during the action, as well as from general arguments concerning the character of crowds.”⁷¹⁸

Although writing the history of collective actions is not the subject of this dissertation, it is central since the research on collective action illuminates the problems of ordinary actors of history.⁷¹⁹ Connecting the history of ideas with the history of actions may also open new doors to understanding history from another perspective.⁷²⁰ However, similar to the Islamic city discussions, collective action has been neglected for a long time in the Middle East literature, following the notion of “no-revolutions thesis.” This notion, maintains that “revolts are illegitimate, and

⁷¹⁶ Tilly, 7, 9, 54, 55.

⁷¹⁷ Tilly, 231.

⁷¹⁸ Tilly, 232-233.

⁷¹⁹ Tilly, 231-232.

⁷²⁰ Edmond Burke, “Toward A History of Urban Collective Action in the Middle East: Continuities and Change 1750 – 1980” in *Urban Crises and Social Movements in the Middle East*, ed. Kenneth Brown, Bernard Hourcade, Michele Jole et al. (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1989), 43.

social quietism and the support of existing movements (and more generally of traditional values) are chief features of Middle Eastern societies.”⁷²¹ Luckily, with the speed-up of new studies on the subject, recent studies found that social quietism was not the main characteristic of the Middle East societies. For example, according to the study of Ben-Bassat and Buessow regarding the political partisanship in Gaza at the end of the 19th century, although the notables played a critical role in political mobilization, findings suggest that they also used their networks to include people from all parts of the city and different arrays of social strata. In terms of self-organization, neighborhoods played a vital role, and elite families put an effort to have the neighborhood communities be on their side. Ben-Bassat and Buessow argue that in the urban politics of Gaza, in terms of collective petitioning, not only notable family members but also “commoners such as ordinary merchants, artisans, farmers or workers” were there as signatories.⁷²²

Before going into the relevant literature on collective actions in the Ottoman realm, I also would like to introduce the concept of sociability, which is very relevant to collective actions, to deepen the discussion. The general tendency of a community to experience public relations intensely is expressed as sociability. Or anything between organized and established power could be considered sociability. When this notion of sociability is considered in the context of the Ottoman realm, it differs from its Western counterparts. However, there were various forms of organized social groups in the Ottoman world, such as guilds, religious lodges or groups. Moreover, the communities based on the shared spaces could be added to these forms of social groups and they worked as avenues of sociability in the Ottoman society. According

⁷²¹ Burke.

⁷²² Ben-Bassat and Johann Buessow, “Applying Digital Methods to the Study of a Late Ottoman City,” 548.

to Georgeon, the composition of Ottoman society, which is formed by different religious communities living in a semi-closed and semi-autonomous way, the existence of men and women separately in public spaces as well as in private places, and the strict professional practices of the guild system worked as a factor that made sociability difficult for the Ottoman society. Still, there were different forms of sociability in the Ottoman society, like collective actions existed, obviously different from their Western counterparts. Being in different forms does not mean that the sociability or collective actions did not exist in Ottoman society.⁷²³ Ergenç argues that Ottoman society was composed of different and distinct groups, like the compartments of a train.⁷²⁴ Each individual could be a part of different groups simultaneously, and the core of belonging to each group could differ. What is common is the sociability of each group within itself and among themselves.

In the following sub-heading, I would like to touch upon some critical studies to draw the framework on collective actions in the Ottoman history that proves the existence of collective actions in Ottoman cities by referring to previous studies on this subject.

3.5.2. Historiography of the Collective Actions in the Ottoman Realm

A century-old discourse on the Islamic city asserts that communities in Islamic cities are composed of isolated communities that cannot cooperate and engage in joint action.⁷²⁵ According to this idea, a group of city dwellers or neighborhood communities gathering for the common end would not exist in Islamic cities.

⁷²³ François Georgeon, “Sunuş,” 7-9.

⁷²⁴ Personal Communication with Özer Ergenç, dated February 26, 2022.

⁷²⁵ Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*, 1.

In the 1920s, Weber defined the so-called Western cities as autonomous entities whose dwellers have a civic identity, while Islamic cities lacked that civic identity. Weber's conception of the city was composed of urban communities with characteristics of civic culture, political consciousness, and collective identity, which were lacking in the Islamic city.⁷²⁶

After Weber, other scholars such as William Marçais and George Marçais joined this discussion by defining the authentic characteristics of Islamic cities such as bazaars, mosques, and baths, which were actually among the main components of the cities of Muslim communities.⁷²⁷ Later in 1955, Gustave von Grunebaum, departing from the lack of government building in Islamic cities, contributed the discussion by arguing the absence of body politic.

Against these claims, because of the lack of interest in city studies in the Ottoman historiography, plus the first studies of Islamic cities on Arab cities distance to criticize this notion until Edward Said's first criticism of the orientalist scholarship, the idea of the Islamic city remained unchallenged.⁷²⁸ The first severe criticism was expressed in 1965 in the colloquium held at Oxford. Following the symposium, Abu-Lughod and Ira Lapidus contributed to the literature by arguing that clear-cut dichotomies to understand cities are somewhat superficial.

In terms of Ottoman urban historiography, the first studies lacked a comparative approach, were written descriptively and not capable of answering this Islamic city paradigm.⁷²⁹ Only after the 1970s, historians started to pay attention

⁷²⁶ Weber, *Şehir: Modern Kentin Oluşumu*, 93-97.

⁷²⁷ Dale F. Eickelman, "Is There an Islamic City? The Making of a Quarter in a Moroccan Town," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5, no. 3 (June 1974): 276.

⁷²⁸ Ergenç, "Osmanlı Şehir Tarihi Araştırmalarının Kuramsal Çerçevesi Nasıl Oluşturulabilir?" 28.

⁷²⁹ For example, the works of Çağatay Uluçay, Fahri Dalsar, İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı can be given as examples of this genre. See Çağatay Uluçay, *Manisa Tarihi* (İstanbul: Manisa Halkevi, 1939); İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Konya Tarihi* (Ankara: Enes Kitap Sarayı, 1997); Fahri Dalsar, *Türk Sanayi ve Ticaret Tarihinde Bursa'da İpekçilik* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1960).

more to city studies by using court records.⁷³⁰ Since the 1980s, thanks to works of scholars such as Halil İnalcık, Özer Ergenç, Haim Gerber and Suraiya Faroqhi, more analytical and multi perspective studies on Ottoman cities flourished.⁷³¹ These studies helped disaffirm the arguments of the Islamic city by presenting the general knowledge and setting forth the characteristics of Ottoman cities.

With specific to collective actions in Ottoman cities, a range of Ottoman studies strongly argue for the possibility of joint actions in the Ottoman city. However, many did not explicitly focus on collective efforts from the spatial point of view. Consideration of collective actions to understand people's belonging to Ottoman space does not exist, to my knowledge.

One of those historians who specifically contributed to the will of Ottoman dwellers is Özer Ergenç. According to Ergenç, Ottoman documents show that there are many instances indicating the willingness of Ottoman people regarding decisions on the appointment or dismissal of city officials, either through the mediation of the notables or directly by city dwellers' will.⁷³² According to Ergenç, theoretically, the primary rationale behind the ruling order of the Ottoman Empire is to control localities from center. However, in practice, local actors had gained more power than it was originally intended because of the factors such as the technological limitations of the period, difficulties of the agricultural economy and the geography. Local actors were involved in the daily politics of cities, which indicates that they were not politically unconscious.⁷³³ It is not only the notables who had a say in the decisions

⁷³⁰ Donald Quataert, review of "Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective by Karen Barkey," *The American Historical Review* 114, no. 2 (April 2009): 413.

⁷³¹ Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles," 39-41.

⁷³² "In December 1604, the time when the Celâli revolts were fierce, Hatib Abdurrahman Efendi, notable of Ankara, Muslihiddin Halife, the imam of Kurşunlu Mosque, and their companions came to the court and asked a kapıkulu called Mahmud Çavuş to be appointed as *serdar* to the city. Their wish was fulfilled by the kadı with a recommendation." Ergenç, "Some Notes on the Administration Units of the Ottoman Cities," 433.

⁷³³ Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Bursa*, 182-183.

but also the dwellers of a particular neighborhood who stated their opinions on matters concerning them. “Any decision on any matter taken without their concern was generally invalidated and renewed due to complaints.”⁷³⁴

Boğaç Ergene also puts forward that applying to the court as a group was among the indicators of collective competency of the Ottoman society. According to Ergene, “the community (*ahali*) was able to win these cases every time thanks to their collective effort in the court.”⁷³⁵

On the other side, some scholars argued the impossibility of collective action in the Ottoman context. For example, Karen Barkey asserts, “collective action was hardly a possible avenue for Ottoman classes: peasants were not organized, elites were split within their ranks and peasants and elites had no preexisting basis for alliance.”⁷³⁶ Barkey described qadi as a handicap to collective actions since the court’s intermediary role in transferring the problems to the central state, preventing issues from turning into action.⁷³⁷ However, with this argument, she missed the gist of the collective action and its dynamics. The absence of mass-scale rebellion or allying for similar ends does not mean there were no collective actions, alliances, and demands. The joint application to the courts and expecting solution is a negotiation process, and the negotiation itself involves various collective actions. Interestingly, while arguing that the Ottoman State pursued a policy of inclusion and cooperation among multiple people and identities since its formation,⁷³⁸ she discusses the impossibility of the peasants organizing as a collectivity.

⁷³⁴ Ergenç, “Some Notes on the Administration Units of the Ottoman Cities,” 435.

⁷³⁵ Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire*,” 72.

⁷³⁶ Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*, 11.

⁷³⁷ Barkey, 88-89.

⁷³⁸ Barkey, 183.

Leslie Pierce contends that the court of Aintab acted as a public forum that provided a platform for those with marginal status in the community to defend their conduct by forming legal solidarities such as mutual guarantorship (*kefalet*). She argues that “collective action was the most effective way to express a legitimate public voice”⁷³⁹ for those outside the elite circle. The mutual guarantorship legitimizes marginal groups’ existence and provides them a platform to defend their interest under the law. She gives two critical examples of collective action. The first one is “the communally requested appointment of a ‘market chief’ (*pazarbaşı*).”⁷⁴⁰ In this court case, the term “Muslims” was used to refer to a group of citizens entrusted to represent the public opinion (equivalent to “*cemm-i gafîr*”). Similarly, according to Wilkins, within the face of the transformation of state authority in the 17th century, neighborhoods and guilds in the city have gained the ability to move collectively and to create space for themselves. For example, in response to the state’s growing financial demands, the joint initiatives established by neighborhoods and guilds are also examples of collective action.⁷⁴¹ The second example of Peirce was the adoption of collaborative strategies of the Armenian community, such as establishing a mutual guarantorship. These collective voices were a kind of vocalization of public opinion as a declaration of local legitimacy.⁷⁴² Peirce emphasizes that the ambiguous “they” was used to specify the people who applied to the court, which refers to anonymous community members. However, no matter which term is used to specify the community, each of these cases refers to popular discontent within the population.⁷⁴³ Hülya Canbakal argues that by involving in the decision-making process in public

⁷³⁹ Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab*, 310.

⁷⁴⁰ Peirce, 298.

⁷⁴¹ Wilkins, *Forging Urban Solidarities: Ottoman Aleppo 1640-1700*, 8-9.

⁷⁴² Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab*, 296-310.

⁷⁴³ Peirce, 295-296.

affairs, elites created a political society at the local level in the 17th century Ayntâb. They were not only an intermediary between the center and the city, but they also represented the *ahâli* and became an authority in their own right. The members of the elites appeared in Ayntâb court records on behalf of the *ahâli*. Traces of collective actions reveal the impersonal character of elites, who spoke on behalf of *ahâli*. Thus, in many cases, city dwellers exist in the public sphere in the person of elites. That is why the words of *ayân* and *ahâli* were used interchangeably in the court records.⁷⁴⁴

In the article discussing the formation of new security mechanisms in Ottoman Salonika between 1750 and 1810, İrfan Kokdaş analyzes how different actors of Salonika, such as the people of Salonika, Albanian mercenaries, and notables, had a role in the management of the local security mechanisms. His primary focus is the power dynamics, the rivalry between influential groups and notables, and the extent of Ottoman State involvement in this rivalry. However, some examples given from *sicils* in his article are important to understand the collective actions of the ordinary Ottoman people in the 18th century.⁷⁴⁵ For example, “in 1747, representatives of communities vowed to take all the responsibility for the maintenance of order in the area.”⁷⁴⁶ According to Kokdaş, the communalization of security became widely used in the 1750s through different ways such as oaths, public vows. *Masarıf defterleri* is an example of this communalization showing how the local expenses managed “with the accord and consensus of all the people.”⁷⁴⁷ In another example, while within the face of rebel attacks on the shores of Kessendire in

⁷⁴⁴ Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town*, 157 – 175. Canbakal also noted the collective will of Ottomans as a facet of local governance in the 18th century. Canbakal, Vows as Contract in Ottoman Public Life.”

⁷⁴⁵ İrfan Kokdaş, “From State-Affiliated Groups to Local Paramilitaries: The Formation of New Security Mechanisms and the Rising Military Power of Albanians in Ottoman Salonika, 1750-1810,” in *History from Below A Tribute in Memory of Donald Quataert*, eds. Selim Karahasanoğlu and Deniz Cenk Demir (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University Press, 2016), 469 – 484.

⁷⁴⁶ Kokdaş, 477.

⁷⁴⁷ Kokdaş, 477.

1773, the notables (*kocabaşıs*), peasants (*reaya*) and prominent people (*söz sahipleri*) stood guard together. “In 1795, the notables and the representatives of the people were collectively approving the local budget spent.”⁷⁴⁸ And this state of voluntary cooperation or collective action is a phenomenon that is not limited to the city alone in the Ottoman space but also includes the countryside.⁷⁴⁹

Communal responsibilities as such in Ottoman localities were not a new phenomenon; however, systematization and standardization of those communal responsibilities indicate the changing dynamics between local people and the state and also the new ways of organization among local communities in the 18th century. The writer of this article considers this communalization process as the acceleration of “the ‘democratization’ of local politics” and factionalization.⁷⁵⁰ Instead of a lump-sum tax, the people, through local budgets, financially contributed in favor of their place in an organized manner. In my opinion, this may also be a sign of the strengthening of people’s local affiliation. As said before, security concerns and direct involvement in those matters in a given region, both financially and physically, indicate the spatial attachment of people.

In the book of Ali Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions*, one of the chapters devoted explicitly to collective actions from the perspective of local communities that started to become active participants in provincial governance and politics. By analyzing joint participation in local administration and public affairs, Yaycıoğlu argues that in the 18th and the early 19th centuries, there was “an institutional consolidation of several bottom-up collective practices in public administration and finance in the central

⁷⁴⁸ Kokdaş, “From State-Affiliated Groups to Local Paramilitaries,” 477.

⁷⁴⁹ Özer Ergenç, XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya, 1.

⁷⁵⁰ Kokdaş, “From State-Affiliated Groups to Local Paramilitaries,” 477, 482.

provinces of the empire.”⁷⁵¹ He refutes the argument that Ottoman people were “passively enjoying justice granted to them.” As it is suggested in this dissertation, Ottoman people were neither passive nor rebellious, but this did not mean that there were no bottom-up collective processes. There was something between the two that one may call collective action, alternates of joint participation, that is unique to the Ottoman context.

Regarding terminology to find traces of collective application to the court, according to Ergenç, ‘*cemm-i gafîr*’, ‘*cem’-i kesîr*’, ‘*ahâli-i belde*’ and ‘*ahali-i vilâyet*’ are expressions which refer to a crowd.⁷⁵² Hülya Canbakal refers to the importance of the term *ahâli* in this sense and expresses that the *ahâli* has a different meaning than the *reâyâ* (the subjects) and *sükkân* (inhabitants). “When the collective identity of the neighborhood or the town was not in question, the people were referred to as *sükkân*, whereas *ahâli* represented a collective identity.”⁷⁵³ Leslie Pierce similarly argues that the expressions such as Muslims, Armenians and ambiguous “they” belonged to the whole community.⁷⁵⁴

To sum up, the literature mentioned above and the theory of the collective action concerning place attachment are useful tools for the joint will or collaborative efforts of the ordinary people sharing the space and how this common will or collective action emerged. They are relevant for understanding the place-attachment in the Ottoman context. In the following section, I will analyze the collective actions of ordinary people concerning the spaces they live or share.

⁷⁵¹ Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order*, 117.

⁷⁵² Özer Ergenç, “Toplumsal Düşünce Açıklama Kanalı Olarak Cem-i Gafîr ve “Cem’-i Kesîr,” in *Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları: Şehir, Toplum, Devlet*, 442-453.

⁷⁵³ Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town*, 176-177.

⁷⁵⁴ Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab*, 292-310.

3.5.3. Case Studies on Collective Actions

People who feel belonging to a particular place - whether it be a house, a neighborhood, or a city – would like to have a say on that place or to express their opinion when changes occur. Sociologists have long argued that attachment to one's neighborhood or community leads to sharing concerns in case of local problems and making efforts to protect the place.⁷⁵⁵ For example, applying to the court in the face of problems or changes in the shared spaces is an essential indicator of the Ottoman people's feeling of belonging to a particular space. Such joint declaration of will is sometimes reflected in court records in the form of people coming together and submitting their concerns, complaints, or demands to the court. Hence, the factors forming joint wills or collective actions and the role of place in developing collaborative efforts provide important sceneries to observe the place-attachment of Ottoman ordinary people.

In terms of the place attachment discussion, collective actions denote specific meanings. First, in terms of the human aspect of place attachment, belonging may happen at the individual or collective (or group) level.⁷⁵⁶ So, historically, it is essential to analyze the collective (or group) level actions when the primary unit of analysis is the city or neighborhood. In the Ottoman context, since cities and neighborhoods are one of the primary units of research, it again becomes necessary to understand collective actions both to understand the group level of attachment and joint concerns motivating people to act. Ottoman *mahalles* enhanced the feeling of attachment towards the residents' living area. This was because everyday tasks in the Ottoman mahalles were fulfilled by the residents themselves, such as the

⁷⁵⁵ Mihaylov and Perkins, "Community Place Attachment and Its Role in Social Capital Development," 61.

⁷⁵⁶ Scannell and Gifford, "Defining Place Attachment: A Tripartite Organizing Framework," 2-3.

maintenance of security and infrastructure, tax collection, or being responsible for each other's behaviors as to whether or not they comply with the established moral codes.

“Residents were accustomed to thinking of such matters in the narrow terms of their own specific quarters. Much of the politics surrounding urban issue played itself out at the neighborhood level, where concerned residents held discussions, applied pressures, bargained, and made decisions.”⁷⁵⁷

As stated above, urban issues for ordinary subjects of Ottoman cities were mainly at the neighborhood level. If there was an urban issue concerning them together, it is evident that there was a collective action, sometimes behind the curtains, taking the stage. Collective action requires a common interest as a prerequisite, and this common interest spatially manifests itself more at the *mahalle* level due to the social ties and solidarity among its inhabitants. Moreover, identities at the level of *mahalle* were stronger than the identities at the level of the city. So, the analysis at the neighborhood scale can be used as a method in the studies of Ottoman urban history.⁷⁵⁸

Joint efforts may have taken place in different ways in the historical context. It may not be a collective action in the sense we understand today. Still, every situation where city dwellers or neighborhood residents act as a group in the face of some common problems or concerns, bargain, and put pressure on the authority has the core of collective action. Specific practices performed in Ottoman *mahalles* were sometimes more than neighborly practices. Those practices formed a structured conviviality within the *mahalles*, enhancing place attachment through the practice of collective action.⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵⁷ Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 298.

⁷⁵⁸ Sevgi Aktüre, “Tarih İçinde Anadolu Kenti Mekansal Yapı Çözümlemelerine İlişkin Bazı Gözlem ve Öneriler,” *Kent Tarihçiliği: Kent Tarihleri Atölyesi* (İstanbul: Toplu Konut İdaresi/Tarih Vakfı, 1994), 50.

⁷⁵⁹ Ulrike Freitag, “‘Cosmopolitanism’ and ‘Conviviality’?” 384.

While examining the court registers within the scope of this dissertation, I have encountered many examples of collective action, as also frequently mentioned in some previous studies. Here, I will only deconstruct ones giving clues as to the place attachment of ordinary people to their living space. Nevertheless, I would like to briefly give an idea of the other types of collective actions.

Most of the court registers I studied relate to the collective applications of the neighborhood dwellers who either are not pleased with their neighbors, since those neighbors misbehave according to Islam, and dwellers demand the expulsion of these people from the neighborhood;⁷⁶⁰ or matters related with internal matters of guilds such as complaints about artisans who do not comply with the rules set by their associations or about selecting city officials such as *şeyh*, *kethüda*, *yiğitbaşı*,⁷⁶¹ as also exemplified in the articles of Ergenç⁷⁶² and Peirce,⁷⁶³ or internal affairs of religious communities⁷⁶⁴ such as objecting to state decisions about appointing community leaders. In rare cases, *ahâli* collectively acted to threaten government officials who collect taxes,⁷⁶⁵ or demanded construction of mosques or appointment of requested appointment of religious officials to their neighborhoods.⁷⁶⁶

⁷⁶⁰ See as instances, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil*, 236. *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, Bab Mahkemesi 54 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1102 / M. 1691)*, Hüseyin Kılıç et. al, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İSAM, 2011), 221, 357, 359, 436. *Bab Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil*, 282. *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, Eyüp (Havass-ı Refia) Mahkemesi 74 Numaralı Sicil*, Hüseyin Kılıç et. al, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İSAM, 2011), 245, 423. *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, Eyüp Mahkemesi 90 Numaralı Sicil*, Fuat Recep et. al, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İSAM, 2011) 114, 142. *Galata Mahkemesi 90 Numaralı Sicil*, 61, 192, 212.

⁷⁶¹ See as instances, *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, Üsküdar Mahkemesi 84 Numaralı Sicil (H. 999-1000/M. 1590-1591)*, Rifat Günelan, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İSAM, 2010), 106a-2, 108b-2. *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, İstanbul Mahkemesi 24 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1138-1151/M. 1726-1738)*, Fuat Recep et. al, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İSAM, 2010), 19b-2, 20b-1, 56b-3, 57a-1, 60a-2, 62a-2, 66a-2, 73b-1, 75a-1, 87a-1, 87a-2; *İstanbul Kadı sicilleri, Eyüp Mahkemesi (Havâss-ı Refia) 3 Numaralı Sicil* 21b-2, 22b-4; *Hasköy Mahkemesi 5 Numaralı Sicil*, 252-2; *Eyüp Mahkemesi 19 Numaralı Sicil*, 20a-1.

⁷⁶² Özer Ergenç, "Some Notes on the Administration Units of the Ottoman Cities," 435 – 439.

⁷⁶³ Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab*, 298.

⁷⁶⁴ See as instances, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 84 Numaralı Sicil*, 34b-5. *Bab Mahkemesi 54 Numaralı Sicil* 3b-4, 5a-2. *Eyüp Mahkemesi 74 Numaralı Sicil*, 27a-3.

⁷⁶⁵ See as instance Halil Atabey, "Manisa'nın 79 Numaralı Şer'iyye Sicil Defteri" (master's thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi, 2014), 49-50.

⁷⁶⁶ See as instances *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, Üsküdar Mahkemesi 2 Numaralı Sicil (H. 924-927/M.1518-1521)*, trans. Rifat Günelan et. al, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İSAM, 2010), 24b-2;

The abovementioned collective action categories are manifestations of religious or economic motivations. They are not directly related to space commonly shared. Such joint actions present in court records are also useful to understand the Ottoman city and have already been the subject of many studies until now. However, they go beyond the scope of this dissertation. Within the scope of this dissertation, collective actions are forms of social and political involvement, especially concerning preserving physical and social features stimulated by place attachment, as argued by Mesch and Manor.⁷⁶⁷ So, I will delve specifically into this aspect of collective actions to understand the bond between established people and places. This dissertation's concern is the motives leading to collective actions other than religion, common identity, or economic interests, especially those related to the people's feelings associated with space.

The court record from İstanbul dating 1727 is a good example of how the common will of the city dwellers took place, similar to today's public opinion poll.

“Kalaycı hırfeti erbâbından sâhib-i arzuhâl Hüseyin Beşe bundan akdem mahmiye-i İstanbul'da Dergâh-ı âlî yeniçerileri odalarından eski odalara karîb bir dükkânda sâkin olmağla odalar erbâbı dükkân-ı mezbûrun duhânı odaların nakışına zarar eder deyû mezbûru dükkân-ı merkûmdan ihrâc ve birkaç dükkân bu'du olan bir dükkânda sâkin olup hâlâ olduğu dükkân dîk ve gene odalar duvarında olmağın karşısında vâki' ve hâliyetü'l-hâliye olan manav dükkânına nakl murâd etmekle, sâdır olan fermân-ı âlîlerine imtisâlen zıkr olunan kalaycı hırfetinin kethüdâ ve yiğitbaşı ve sâir ihtiyârlarından husûs-ı mezbûr suâl olundukda zıkr olunan manav dükkânı kalaycı dükkânı olmada zarar yokdur deyû her biri ihbâr edip ve kalaycı dükkânı sâir dükkânlara kıyâs olmadığına binâen mahallesi ahâlîsinden dahi istimzâc için kıbel-i şer'den kâtib dâ'îleri ta'yîn ve mahallinde imâm ve cemâ'atinden yirmi nefer kimesnelerden ba'de't-tefahhus mezbûrûndan her biri zıkr olunan kalaycı dükkânının naklinde bir kimesneye kat'â zarar olmayıp cümlemiz râzı ve şâkirleriz deyû haberlerin tahrîr, ba'dehû meclis-i şer'a ma'an irsâl olunan ümenâ-i şer'le inhâ etmeğın, mezbûr Hüseyin Beşe zıkr olunan dükkâna nakline mûmâna'at olunmayıp ve kadîmî gediklerinden ziyâde kalaycı dükkânı olmamak için metâ'ını ihrâc eylediği dükkâna

Hamza Yıldız, “2142 Numaralı Şer'îye Sicili Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi” (master's thesis, Karabük Üniversitesi, 2017), 73, 97.

⁷⁶⁷ Mesch and Manor, “Social Ties, Environmental Perception, and Local Attachment,” 505.

bu'd kalaycı dükkânı olmayıp hırfet-i âhar sâkin [76b] olmak bâbında fermân-ı âlî iltimâs eylediği huzûr-ı âlîlerine i'lâm olundu.”⁷⁶⁸

According to the case above, due to the smoke from Hüseyin Beşe's shop damaging the surroundings, it had been decided to move the shop to a place that used to be a grocery store. This relocation had been asked of the prominent people of the tin maker community, and although they stated that they did not mind making this change, the issue was also asked of the people of the neighborhood. As understood from the statements in the text, the matter was thoroughly investigated by asking twenty people from the local community together with the *imam*. The answer received from the people of the neighborhood was stated in the record as “...*zıkr olunan kalaycı dükkânının naklinde bir kimesneye kat'â zarar olmayıp cümlemiz râzı ve şâkirleriz.*”

What does the case mentioned above tell us? First of all, as it is known from court records and other sources, in matters concerning communities, or professional groups, the issue is often consulted with the leading people of that community. In the case mentioned above, the problem (a spatial rearrangement) was also asked of ordinary people. Twenty people from the neighborhood were considered the necessary number to give consent to relocate the tin shop. From this point of view, are the opinions of twenty people in a neighborhood sufficient to decide?

It is hard to make such a claim with one court case. However, this court case indicates that considering the common will takes place in different dimensions, a search of will in a spatial context has been carried out here. The questioning of the will of the people who shared the same space on the subject shows that the neighborhood in the Ottoman city was one of the decision-making units. Contrary to

⁷⁶⁸ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 24 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1138-1151/M. 1726-1738), Fuat Recep et. al, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İSAM, 2010), 338, verdict no 256, 76a-2.

the paradigm of the Islamic city, the inhabitants of the neighborhood, consisting of different identities, form a whole. This case is also an example of the courts being a venue for communities to deliberate, negotiate or pronounce on urban affairs, as argued by Ali Yaycıoğlu.⁷⁶⁹

The case summarized in a *telhîs*⁷⁷⁰ presents another good example of Ottoman people coming together from different professions and neighborhoods to solve an issue regarding a place they collectively cared for. According to the case summarized in the *telhîs* written in 1167 (1753/54), a community of different neighbors and artisans collectively appealed to the *Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn* (“...Manisalı Mehmed Paşa Mahallesi ve Şeyhülislâm Sun’ullah Efendi ve Kepekçiler Mahalleleri ahâlileri ve Saraçhane ve haffaf ve muytab ve keçeci ve semerci ve canbaz ve doğramacı ve destgâhçı esnafı Divân-ı Âli’lerine arzuhal eylemeleriyle...”⁷⁷¹). They requested not to rebuild bachelor rooms, coffehouses and inns built over stables to gain more money by their owners (“...han ve âhur eshabı ziyâde kira almak sevdasıyla âhurlar üzerine han misillü müceddeden beşer onar bekâr odaları ve hanlar ve kahveler ihdas eylemeleriyle...”⁷⁷²). The reason for this request is that these extension rooms caused crowds and fights (Filhakîka sâlifü’l beyan odalr ve kahvehaneler ve hanların binaları tezâhüm-i nüfusa bâdî olduğundan gayri zuhur eden erâcif ve nizâm ekseri onlardan tekevvün ve hudus olması ihtimalden baid olmamağla binaların ruhsat verilmemek bâbında...⁷⁷³).

⁷⁶⁹ Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order*, 124.

⁷⁷⁰ A letter containing a summary of the subject and written to obtain the sultan’s permission, opinion, or order from the Grand Vizier or lower authorities.

⁷⁷¹ Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Ali Emîrî Tasnifi (AE.SMST.III, 368-29229, H. 08.11.1187).

⁷⁷² Ibid.

⁷⁷³ Ibid.

In 1722, at least nine people and others whose names were not mentioned applied to the court from the *Kenekî* neighborhood of Ankara (‘Ali Halîfe binŞa‘bân ve Receb Beğ bin Mustafa ve es-Seyyid ‘Osmân Çelebi bin Mustafa ve Bayram bin Şa‘bân ve Yûnus bin İbrâhîm ve ‘Abdûlcabbâr bin Himmet ve Mehmed bin ‘Abdürrezzâk ve... ve sâ’irleri).⁷⁷⁴ They complained about one of their neighbors (*Yûsuf ile zevcesi mezbûre Fâtıma*) as they misbehaved by hosting unrelated people (*nâ-mahrem*)⁷⁷⁵ into their homes. Their neighbors defined Yusuf and his wife’s house as a place of mischief (*me’vâ-ü’l fesâd*) and stated that they suffered material and moral damage from this situation (“mâlen ve bedenlen ve dînen ve ‘ırzen mutazarrır ef‘âl-i kabîhalarından müte’ezzîler olub”⁷⁷⁶). They said that the case continued despite warnings many times before and demanded that they be expelled from the neighborhood (*mezbûrlar mahallemizden ihrâc olunmak matlûbumuzdur*). Although this collective appeal to the court is not directly arising from an issue of the place, I think that the definition of the house as *me’vâü’l-fesâd* deserves consideration. According to the opinion of neighbors, this home, since unrelated people come and go, is the source of mischief, and we may assume that these nine people and others have a low level of attachment as they alleged that they suffered.

According to a case told in the edict recorded in Aleppo court records dated 1726, the community of Haleb collectively (*Haleb ahalisi istid‘â etmeleriyle*) complained about the *mutasarrıf* of *Hacı nâm karye* and his fellows because they

⁷⁷⁴ Yapıcı, “H.1133-1134 (M.1721-1722) Tarihli 97 Numaralı Ankara Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 220.

⁷⁷⁵ “Canonically a stranger. Not intimate.” The Redhouse Dictionary Turkish/Ottoman English, *namahrem* (İstanbul, Redhouse Yayınevi, 2017), 865. As a fiqh term in Islam, mahram refers to a certain degree of a relative who is forbidden to marry with. In terms of the dictionary meaning, it means something that is intimate or prohibited. In this case, namahrem means a man whom a woman is allowed to marry thus should not go near him without a veil. The Redhouse Dictionary, *mahrem*, 722.

⁷⁷⁶ Yapıcı, “H.1133-1134 (M.1721-1722) Tarihli 97 Numaralı Ankara Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 220.

broke the barrier of the Kavin River, which flows into the mosques, baths, and gardens of Aleppo (“...Kavîn demekle ma‘ruf nehr-i kadimden Haleb’in cevâmi‘ ve hamam ve bahçelerine cârî olub ahardan dahl olunmamak üzere...”⁷⁷⁷), cut off its flow, and diverted it to their gardens (“...karye-i mezbure mutasarrıfı İsmail ve sair rüfekası nehr-i mezburun bendini fuzuli kırub ve mâ‘î mezkurun Haleb’e cûya’nını kesub kendu bağ ve bostanlarına icra etmeleriyle...”⁷⁷⁸). Due to this situation, the people complained that the mosques, madrasahs, and baths in Aleppo will become unusable, and the trees and crops of the orchards and gardens will perish (“...Haleb’in mesâcid ve medâris olan mahalleri ve hamamları mu‘attal ve bostan ve bahçelerin işcâr ve mevrû‘atı telef olmakla...”⁷⁷⁹).

If one would like to deconstruct this case according to the collective action theory, it is possible to find every component. First, a large group of *Halep ahâlisi* applied to the court as the basic unit of any collective action. In terms of the shared advantages and disadvantages, cutting off the river’s flow, which affects all, is a shared disadvantage for the group. The extent of common identity is the *ahâli* of Halep. The space they shared unified them. Regarding mobilization, which is the resources under the control of a group, there are two resources: One is their right to apply to court. The second one is the warrant they got previously (*ahali-yi mezburenin kadimden yedlerinde olan hüccet-i şer’iyyeler mucebince ‘amel olunmak*). Utilizing the court as a primary channel for ensuring justice in the Ottoman city proves that the people turned this resource into an opportunity to pursue the common good. The opportunity is the possibility of having a court decision in favor of them. Since they were asking for something beneficial for many,

⁷⁷⁷ Dağtekin, “Halep Vilayeti Evamir-i Sultaniye Defteri,” 123-124.

⁷⁷⁸ Dağtekin, “Halep Vilayeti Evamir-i Sultaniye Defteri,” 123-124.

⁷⁷⁹ Dağtekin, “Halep Vilayeti Evamir-i Sultaniye Defteri,” 123-124.

it seems that there does not seem to be any threat. Hence, it is possible to talk about the collective action of *Halep ahâlisi*, which was distressed because of the cutting of river flow and mobilized using their right to apply to the court by also presenting the deed they had in the face of common interest.

Again, in Halep, in 1762, the *ahâli* of the *Tabahane* neighborhood collectively complained about someone who had bought ten houses in their neighborhood and built a soap shop (*sabunhane*) there. The reason for the *ahâli* to apply to the court was not only the disturbance caused by the soap shop but also the water scarcity problem it caused. The owner of the soap shop had cut off the water of the neighborhood and directed it to his own bath (*hamam*). In this example, similar to others, the unifying structure is the shared space, the neighborhood. The interest, the shared disadvantage, was twofold: One is the dirt caused by the *sabunhane*. The other is the water cuts toward the neighborhood. The right to apply to the court is the resource. Mobilization is acting together for the shared disadvantage and applying to the court. Opportunity is the court's likelihood of ruling in favor of the contenders. In this case, two adverse factors became the driving force for people to come together.⁷⁸⁰

In 1746, the *ahâli* of the *Bahsita* neighborhood had first demanded that women are disturbed in secluded areas due to the structure of the dead-end streets (cornered and entangled), and a security wall should be built there to prevent this. Then they received a warrant (*hüccet*) from the court to build such a wall. However, once they started the works, some other people wanted to prevent the construction of the wall. Then the *ahâli* collectively went to the court for a second time, requesting

⁷⁸⁰ Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Halep Ahkam Defteri (BOA, A.DVNS. AHK. HL. d.3 s. 10)

to stop those people who prevented construction of the wall.⁷⁸¹ The extent of common identity, or the organization, was at the neighborhood level, and the resource under the control of *ahâli* was the right to apply to the court. A group of people was mobilized by using the court as a resource. The opportunity they took was the warrant they had been already granted. And this was the second time they were organizing collectively.

In another incident in Trabzon, the residents of Argalıya village (*nâm kimesneler ve sâir ahâlî-i*) complained about someone from another neighborhood (Saçlı Hoca mahallesi sâkinlerinden Mehmed Beşe bin Hüseyin *nâm kimesne mahzarında*). They stated that the land they defined with certain borders was in their village for a long time (*mümtâz arazi ve çiftlik kadim eyyamdan*), and Mehmed Beşe interfered with this land ten days ago. Mehmed, on the other hand, did not accept this claim. This time, the subject in question was asked to reliable Muslim people (“...udûl-ı ahrâr-ı ricâl-i müslimînden olup karye-i mezbûre civarında Karlık karyesi ahâlisinden İbrahim Beşe ibni Ahmed ve Halil Beşe ibni Salih *nâm kimesneler...*”⁷⁸²). When these people witnessed that the said land was within the village, Mehmet Beşe was instructed not to interfere again.

In another incident recorded in the Rodoscuk court records, a group of people from the bazaar (Medine-i Rodoscuk’da vâkî‘ mısır sûk ahalisinden) reported that the sewage was passing through many villages flooded in front of the mosque when it rained. Because the mosque was flat, it flooded the street where their shops and cellars are located (*lakin câmi‘-i mezbûrun önü musattah olmağla eyyam-ı emtarda seylden dere taşub*), and they complained about the bad smell and the

⁷⁸¹ Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Halep Ahkam Defteri (BOA, A.DVNS. AHK. HL. d.1 s. 178.)

⁷⁸² Bayraktar, “1917 Numaralı Trabzon Şer’iyye Sicilinin Değerlendirmesi ve Transkripsiyonu,” 211.

garbage accumulated in their streets (“...bizim sâkin olduğumuz dükkân ve mahzenlerimizin önünde olan tarîk-i âmme yayulub râyihâ-i kerîhasından müte’ezzi olub müzahrefât dükkânlarımızın önünde yığılulub kalub cümlemizin zarar-ı şer’îyesi olmağla...”⁷⁸³). After examining the situation with an expert on the subject, court decided that there are chipped rocks around the creek; therefore, it is not possible to take the creek bed outside, and for this reason, the only solution for those who pour the dirty water into the stream is to surround their own houses with walls and to drain the effluent into the pits they will open in their courtyards (“...takrîr-i menzillerinin derününe birer kapu hafr ve kâryerlerinde hafr etdikleri kapularına cereyan ettirmedikçe mezbûrunun işbu mu’ayene olunan zararları men’ ve def’ olmaz...”⁷⁸⁴). In this case, unlike the others, the collective application was from the people of the bazaar: the shopkeepers who share a common place in the bazaar.

The collective application of the people of the Zeyneb Hatun neighborhood to the court is another good example both in terms of collective action (Medîne-i Eyüb’de Zeyneb Hatun Mahallesi ahâlîsi ashâbı arzuhâl [edip]) and in terms of showing environmental sensitivity. According to the court record, the neighborhood was always a Muslim neighborhood (fi’l-asl Müslimîn Mahallesi olup içlerinde aslâ kefare sâkin olduğu yoğiken). But Panos bought the property of İsmail from the neighborhood and destroyed and polluted the Muslim cemetery because he grazed about 300 animals there (“...Berber İsmail’in menzilini iştirâ ve... mevâşîsini etrâfında olan makâbir-i Müslimînde ra’y ve makâbir-i Müslimîn tahrîb ve telvîs eder...”⁷⁸⁵). When questioned, Panos admitted his guilt. According to the

⁷⁸³ Muslu, “1647 Nr. Şer’iyye Sicilinin Işığında Lale Devri’nin İlk Yıllarında Tekirdağ (1721-1724),” 343-344.

⁷⁸⁴ Muslu, “1647 Nr. Şer’iyye Sicilinin Işığında Lale Devri’nin İlk Yıllarında Tekirdağ (1721-1724),” 343-344.

⁷⁸⁵ *Eyüp Mahkemesi 182 Numaralı Sicil*, 145, verdict no 123, 14a-4.

record, he was instructed to sell the property to a Muslim and not let his animals into the cemetery. And also, not only Panos but also other shepherds and butchers were asked by the people not to let animals into the graveyard.⁷⁸⁶ Looking at the components of the collective action theory in this case, the interest, and shared advantage is freeing the cemetery from destruction and pollution. The organization level of people is at the level of *Zeyneb Hatun Mahallesi*. The resource under their control is their right to apply to the court. In this case, especially an environmental concern comes to the fore, and an organization at the neighborhood level emerges with this concern. Lastly, although it has no direct impact on anyone's living space and has no personal or economic interest, the people wanted to come together and solve the problem.

In another example from the records of the İstanbul Court, the inhabitants of the neighborhood applied to the court en masse because Mehmed Ağa used the land he rented from a waqf as a slaughterhouse in the Cebecibaşı district. The neighborhood people were complaining about the foul smell of the blood of the animals slaughtered in the field (zebh olunan ağnâmın ve dimâ-i fazalâtının râyiha-i kerîhasından mutazarrır ve mütezzîleriz deyû ahâlî-i mahalle teşekkî ettiklerinde). Also, because the wells to be dug were close to the neighborhood's water to eliminate the complaint, it was determined that the slaughterhouse was harmful to the area. Mehmed was ordered to remove the slaughterhouse.⁷⁸⁷ To analyze this case in terms of collective action theory, the neighborhood's people were disturbed by the foul smell in their shared spaces, acted together, and applied to the court to eliminate this spatial discomfort. The interest in this case, the possible advantage emerging from interactions with others, is getting rid of bad smells and the shared disadvantage

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁷ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 24 Numaralı Sicil*, 300, verdict no 219, 65a-1.

is the risk of water contamination. The organization, the unifying structure, is sharing the same space, which is the neighborhood. The mobilization, in other words, anything under a group's control, is the right to apply to the court. Opportunity may be defined as getting a positive court rule by calculating of interests of the group. This court case mentioned above is vital not only because it gives clues regarding collective motivation for shared spaces, but also it indicates collective concern for the protection and improvement of the environment as a sign of place attachment.

At the beginning of the 19th century, more than forty people from the Kemankeş Karamustafapaşa neighborhood demanded demolishing an old, dilapidated Jewish house. According to the information in the court record, the building is tilted towards the *tarîk-i âmm* and there is a danger of collapse if it is not repaired. In the application, the residents stated that since the building was located in both *tarîk-i âmm* and *mecma'-i nâs* places, they feared that if it went ruin during the daytime, the people there would perish.

“Kemankeş Karamustafapaşa Mahallesi ahâlîsinden ashâb-ı arzuhâl Sandıkçılar Kethüdâsı el-Hâc Hasan Ağa ve Mustafa Ağa ve İbrahim Ağa ve Abdülkerim Efendi ve Mehmed Usta ve Tuzcu Mustafa Ağa ve Tütüncü Abdullah Ağa ve Helvacı Osman Beşe ve Çilingir Mehmed Çavuş ve el-Hâc Mahmud Ağa ve el-Hâc Hasan ve Mehmed Sâdık ve sâir isimleri cerîdede mazbûta kırk neferden mütecâviz kimesneler... tuzcu ve bakkâl ve tütüncü dükkânları fevkinde kâin bir bâb vâkıf Yahudhânenin bi'l-icâreteyn mutasarrıflarından... oldukları hâlde herbiri takrîr-i kelâm ve ifâde-i merâm edip... kâin Yahudhânenin binâsı atîk ve ekser mevâzi'î harâb olduğu ecilden meyl-i küllî ile tarîk-i âm üzerine mâil olup tedbîr ve ta'mîr ve ıslâh olunmadığı takdîrce sükût havfı melhûz ve hatar ve ziyân-ı azîm olacağı mukarrer olmağın ... bu sûretde emn ü rahatımız meslûb olup alâ-hâlihî terk olundukda... nehâren sükûtu zuhûr ederse mahâll-i mezkûr tarîk-i âm ve mecma'-i nâs olan sûkdan olduğuna binâen muhâfaza mümkün olmayıp nüfûs-ı vâfire telef ve zâyî' olacağı bedîhî ve âşikâr olmağla...”⁷⁸⁸

⁷⁸⁸ Galata Mahkemesi 580 Numaralı Sicil, 236, verdict no 322, 31a-1.

In the case given above, again, the people came together in the face of a threat to the spatial area and demanded a solution to the problem.

In 1750, more than two hundred people from three different neighborhoods in İstanbul applied to the court collectively and asked some people to be expelled from their communities. This event is an actual example of how the neighborhood residents were mobilized in the 18th century, not only among themselves but also with the residents of other neighborhoods.

“Fermân-ı âlîlerine imtisâlen zikri âtî husûsu mahâllinde şer‘le tefahhus için kıbel-i şer‘-i enverden... Abdi Subaşı mahallesine varıp ba‘de akdi‘l-meclis müderrisîn-i kirâmdan Paşazâde dâmadı Yahya Efendi ve yine müderrisîn-i kirâmdan Mustafa Ârif Efendi... ve civârında vâki‘ Tahtaminâre mahallesi imâmı Hüseyin Efendi ve müezzini Süleyman b. Mustafa... ve yine civârında vâki‘ Camcı mahallesi imâmı Mustafa Efendi ve kuzâtdan Süleyman Efendi ve Hasan b. Abdullah ve el-Hâc Mustafa b. Abdullah... ve Sava v. Marat nâm zimmîler ile mahallât-ı mezkûrât ahâlîlerinden sâir mazbûtü‘l-esâmî iki yüz neferden mütecâviz Müslim ve zimmîden arzuhâlde mastûr Abdi Subaşı mahallesinde... odalarının müste‘ciri Çalık Nasrâniye ve Hazînedâr odalarının müste‘ciri Topal Zevi ve Sonci ve kışla karşısında Gramine menzili ve Ömer Efendi odalarının müste‘ciri Elina Nasrâniye ve Tahtaminâre mahallesinde vâki‘ Sarımsakçı Kalfa demekle ma‘rûf Dimitri ve Guga Kesper Yorgi ve hamam kurbünde Batustabalay ve Kel Kaso ve kız karındaşı Luni Nasrâniyeler ve Camcı mahallesinde Kunduracı zevcesi Forsine ve Çizmeci Yuvar ve refîkı Torfanda nâm Nasrâniyelerin keyfiyetlerini istihbâr eylediğinde mesfûrûn kendi hâllerinde olmayıp nâ-mahremden müctenibe olmadıklarından mâ‘adâ leyl ü nehâr menzillerine erâzil ve fevâhiş getirip menzillerinde envâ‘-ı fisk ü fesâd ettirirler menâzil-i mezbûrelerde olan envâ‘-ı fesâddan ve iyâb ü zehâb eden erâzil ve eşkıyâdan bizim ve ehl ü ıyâlimizin ve ateş havfindan bir vechile emn ü râhatımız olmamağla...”⁷⁸⁹

According to the recorded case above, people (more than two hundred) from different neighborhoods, which were spatially close to each other (*ve civârında vâki‘*), requested a pushing out for several people from their communities. Although these neighborhoods were close to each other and considering the conditions of the 18th century, more than two hundred people coming together was not an easy task.

⁷⁸⁹ Bab Mahkemesi 197 Numaralı Sicil, 103, verdict no 25, 4b-1.

As the example above shows, a common concern regarding spaces makes people act collectively. People felt responsible for maintaining order in their shared common areas. Feeling responsible may be considered a pre-condition for collective action. And this feeling of responsibility went hand in hand with collective efforts to improve things. This also indicates a strong bond with the place in question since feeling accountable is a sign of an attachment. You cannot feel responsible for someone or something you did not establish a bond with. Plus, acting together enhances this attachment since collaborative engagement in an issue stimulates feelings positively. So, the communities in the examples given above indicate “a group of people with a common interest who had the capacity to act together... in a shared administrative space regardless of their internal tensions and diversity.”⁷⁹⁰

There is also an increase in community involvement if there is a threat to local security or a violation of public rights. So, even if the collective actions were not directly related to spaces, the reasons behind them, such as providing security or protecting rights pertaining to space, were signs of place attachment.

For example, the people of the Şücâ‘ neighborhood complained that Mustafa Efendi, the *imâm* of the neighborhood, did not fulfill his duties properly and stated that they were not satisfied with him (“...imâmetlik hizmetin edâ etmeyip ve fukarâ cenâzesi vâki‘ oldukça gasl ve salâtını kılmayıp ve...”⁷⁹¹). In addition, they demanded that *Îmâm Mustafa Efendi* be removed from his post (“...bir vechile hoşnûd ve râzılar olmamağla emniyet ve râhatımız yokdur deyü ba‘de’t-teşekkî mezbûr Mustafa Efendi imâmetlikden azlolunup...”⁷⁹²) and replaced by *Mehmet Bahtî Efendi*, whom everyone liked (“...mahallemiz ahâlîsinden olup cümlemizin

⁷⁹⁰ Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order*, 125.

⁷⁹¹ *Bab Mahkemesi 172 Numaralı Sicil*, 440, verdict no 524, 68a-4.

⁷⁹² Ibid.

muhtârı olan işbu hâzır bi'l-meclis Mehmed Bahtî Efendi b. Osman dâ'îlerine tevcîh..."⁷⁹³). While the people here complained about the *imâm* who does not do his duty properly, they decided beforehand who they wanted instead. Although the event was not directly related to a physical place, the final aim was to eliminate the problem of the people who share that neighborhood. While choosing a new person for this job, they had to organize at the neighborhood level. In this whole process, the residents of the area communicated more with each other. In short, it would not be wrong to say that the effort spent to solve the problems, the time spent, and the relations established in this process all affect spatial belonging positively since they are all related to the spatial area.

Other than having shared concerns regarding spaces and an indication of place attachment, these examples also prove that ordinary people of cities or neighborhoods gathered before applying to the court. When it comes to the existence of a problem that more than 200 people apply together, it would be wrong to assume that before going to court, the affected people do not come together to talk about the problem or think about what to do to solve the problem. It is possible to argue that these people referred the issue to the court based on a "joint decision" taken in advance. So, even if one can say that collective appeals cannot be considered a collective action, then how can one explain the potential previous events which prepare the ground for collective request? Also, according to the place attachment theory, an "increase in place attachment will translate first of all into stronger behavioral intentions to become engaged in local issues rather than actual behavior, however we will expect that this intention will translate into such behavior in the future."⁷⁹⁴ Moreover, attachment is identified with attitudes and behaviors rather than

⁷⁹³ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁴ Anna Stefaniak, Michal Bilewicz, Maria Lewicka, "The merits of teaching local history," 218.

emotions as argued by Brower.⁷⁹⁵ Hence, one can certainly assume that there were behavioral intentions in the Ottoman communities concerning local issues, which were signs of place attachment.

Other than ordinary people's own initiations at the local level, the Ottoman State itself, in the 18th century, empowered local collectivities by opening more space for participation and responsibility. For example, the edict dated 1768 is an example of this situation:

“In the district and settlements in my empire the appointments of the ayans should be carried out by appointing individuals on whom the communities agree and whom they elect [‘ale’l-umûm ittifâk ve ihtiyâr eyledikleri].”... “district affairs [to be handled] with the community’s voluntary compliance [muhtâr-ı ahâlî].”⁷⁹⁶

Of course, there was no straightforward procedure for reaching “*cümlenin ittifakı*.” Although the process was uncertain to discover collective will, which was sometimes through asking people’s choice door by door, joint participation became an inherent practice in district governance.⁷⁹⁷

According to Ali Yaycıoğlu, Ottoman State invited local communities to become active participants in provincial affairs at the expense of the private interests of administrators, which was evaluated as a tacit alliance between the center and local communities. In other words, the ordinary people’s bottom-up mechanisms were further strengthened by the central government’s support in sharing responsibility.⁷⁹⁸ Similarly, according to Zarinebahr-Shahr, delegating land revenues to individuals also provided new avenues for the Ottoman subjects to have more presence concerning the central state.⁷⁹⁹ If we accept these two facts as accurate, it

⁷⁹⁵ Sidney Brower, “Territory in Urban Settings,” 179-207.

⁷⁹⁶ The edict directly quoted from Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order*, 135.

⁷⁹⁷ Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order*, 143.

⁷⁹⁸ Yaycıoğlu, 153.

⁷⁹⁹ Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, “Women and the Public Eye in Eighteenth-Century İstanbul,” 304.

becomes evident that the State regulations contributed to people's bond with the space.

Lastly, it is a fact that populations in the Ottoman State were heterogeneous and had always experienced conflicts and struggled with each other along different lines, such as occupation or religious sects. Nevertheless, as all the examples above pointed out and also argued by Yaycıoğlu, the Ottoman people managed to act collectively.⁸⁰⁰ While Ottoman people from different strata pursued their loyalties to their first identities, such as religion or ethnicity, their collective activities or common goals emanating from space simultaneously strengthened their attachments to common areas.

Thus, it is reasonable to assert the existence of a will in which the locals have a say on their future and destiny. City dwellers were not passive elements of Ottoman cities. They were conscious of the problems around their environment. They cared about these problems, and they engaged in collective actions. In light of these, I argue that city dwellers had civic consciousness of the space where they lived regardless of their confessional, ethnic, or religious identities. They collaborated as a cohesive collectivity for the greater good of their living space. Common decision-making, concern for civic problems, organizational capacity, and collective actions are important indicators of urban culture. As the examples provided above show, city dwellers have organized around "certain" civic concerns and made joint decisions. The absence of some institutional mechanisms within Ottoman cities does not mean the lack of collective capacity or civic consciousness. After all, it must not be forgotten that collective actions do not appear in all towns similarly since every city is unique culturally, socio-economically, and politically.

⁸⁰⁰ Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order*, 125.

3.6. Emotional Aspects of Place Attachment

“...Ερωτος Αποτελέματα [The Consequences of Love], a collection of three short stories attributed to Ioannis Karatzas and Athanasios Psalidas published in Vienna in 1792, at the close of eighteenth century. This is an apt example in the current discussion of intercommunal musical relations and space because, in a way, it brought together those two features via a powerful element of Ottoman modernity, namely the printed book. The first love story is set in Istanbul, which is described as ‘...a city, between Asia and Europe, and a beautiful border of those two extraordinary and densely populated places of this world...’ The hero, a young man by the name Çelebi Yorgaki, falls in love with a certain Elenintza, whom he acquainted in a bağçe (garden) in Psomathia (Samatya). In the first scene, Çelebi Yorgaki steps into a köşk (pavillion) and spontaneously composes a şarkı-like Phanariot song explaining his condition.”⁸⁰¹

The above excerpt from the article of Poulos includes a passage explicitly describing the city of İstanbul with affection. Many other sources are written in different literary forms,⁸⁰² such as the example above, expressing love, praise, or devotion to a city. Although a significant part of them is dedicated to the beauty of İstanbul or some features of İstanbul in the Ottoman space, and sometimes includes exaggeration and alienation from reality to describe it in a literary format, these sources are the most explicit determination of people’s emotional connection with the Ottoman space.

One of the ways to understand the effect of space on people and to examine the belonging of space is to explore the relationship between art and space, that is, the reflection of space in art. The city’s places, streets, climate, traditions, or lifestyles have found a place in the artist’s work to the extent that they affect the artists. In a sense, this is a sign of the artist’s bond with that city. While some artists expressed their passion for the city they live in, others reflected their longing for the places they could never go to in their works. It can be said that this second situation

⁸⁰¹ Panagiotis C. Poulos, “Spaces of Intercommunal Musical Relations in Ottoman İstanbul,” 185.

⁸⁰² Hatice Aynur, “Portraying The City with Words: İstanbul in Ottoman Literary Texts,” *History of İstanbul* 7, accessed November 9, 2022, <https://istanbultarihi.ist/609-potraying-the-city-with-words-istanbul-in-ottoman-literary-texts>

occurs mainly for places with symbolic significance in terms of religion—for example, Mecca, Medina, or Jerusalem.⁸⁰³

Of course, it isn't easy to understand the society-wide equivalent of these forms of praise, devotion, and love that we encountered in literary forms for places or how much of these narratives reflected a reality. However, in this thesis, which tries to understand the forms of attachment to the place, it is essential to understand the subject through emotional traces, even if it is difficult.

As evaluated in the theoretical part of this dissertation, different forms of attachment are formed through different motivations or reasons. Throughout this dissertation, I mainly focus on the behavioral aspect of place attachment as a psychological process since that aspect is based on more observable actions rather than affect and cognition.⁸⁰⁴ In historical work, it is easier to detect the behavioral element rather than the emotional and cognitive aspects of place attachment. So, I have been searching for clues about it through an analysis of the actions of people and evaluating the hidden feelings behind those actions to discuss the attachment. However, the emotional part of the place attachment is as important as the behavioral one. Hence, in this part of the dissertation, I will focus on this aspect to reveal how ordinary Ottoman people developed a sense of belonging to a particular space.

It is not easy to find, trace or reveal people's emotions through analysis of court records, which have limits mentioned before. However, detailed and cautious research of them can potentially provide some hints regarding feelings developed towards places thanks to the registers that “are full of records of those who deviated from the widely spread social and emotional norms.”⁸⁰⁵ The place attachment itself is

⁸⁰³ Fatih Özkafa, “Şehir Sevgisinin Hat Sanatındaki Tezahürleri,” in *Milletlerarası Şehir Tarihi Yazarları Kongresi*, ed. Mehmet Doğan (Türkiye Yazarlar Birliği Yayınları, Ankara, 2015): 199.

⁸⁰⁴ Leila Scannell and Robert Gifford, “Defining Place Attachment,” 3-4.

⁸⁰⁵ Tekgül, “A Gate to the Emotional World of Pre-modern Ottoman Society,” 155

actually an emotion, or it is an emotional bond. In this part, I will discuss more direct and apparent indications of attachment established between people and places through the search for emotions, keeping in mind the limitations of this exercise. While focusing on the verbal expressions of emotions regarding spatial matters, I will not limit myself to only verbal terms.

First of all, one of these clues which I found noteworthy is the expression *sıla-i rahm* as vocalized in court registers. *Sıla* means reaching the homeland and relatives s/he has been away from for a while, meeting, and visiting the places where s/he was born and raised, and her relatives.⁸⁰⁶ It means something especially to people who live abroad and it means family, home, relatives or places where s/he was born and raised. *Sıla-i rahm*, in a similar manner, signifies reunion with the homeland and relatives there.⁸⁰⁷ For example, in a record about the appointment of *kethüdâ* to the scrap dealers, it was requested that Pavli be appointed instead of Kiragos, who desired to go to his hometown (Kiragos zimmî bu esnâda sıla-i rahîm arzûsuyla vatan-ı asliyesine gitmek murâd eylediğinden).⁸⁰⁸

In another record in the Üsküdar court, it is stated that İmam Ahmet Halife has been the *imam* of the zawayah for more than twenty years (İmâm Ahmed Halîfe yirmi seneden mütecâviz Üsküdar hâricinde Cüzâmlar Zâviyesi'nde imâm olup). The imam's wife, mother-in-law, mother, and daughter, whose names are written in the petition, should not be prevented from returning back because they went to their hometown 40 days ago ("...kırk gün mukaddem sıla-i rahm için yine avdet etmek

⁸⁰⁶ Ali Nazîma and Faik Reşad, *Mükemmel Osmanlı Lügatı* (İstanbul: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2009), 458. <http://lugatim.com/s/sıla>, accessed September, 4 2022.

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁸ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 138 Numaralı Sicil (H.1237-1238 / M. 1821-1822)*, Ayhan Işık and Esra Yıldız, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 131, verdict no 94, 21a-2.

üzere Prevadi kazâsına gitmişti...”⁸⁰⁹) and are now on their way back. There is a similar case in the same record book mentioning that Mehmet Efendi, who has lived in the Selman Ağa neighborhood for nearly forty years (“...an-aslin Şehabeddin kazâsından olup kırk seneye karîb Üsküdar’da Selman Ağa mahallesinde mutavattın ve sâkin...”⁸¹⁰), went to his hometown two months ago and should not be prevented from returning (“...sıla-i rahîm için vâlidesi ve bir nefer hademesiyle kazâ-i mezbûra varıp iki ay mikdârı meks ve yine avdet murâd eylediklerini...”⁸¹¹).

It is also noteworthy that for the cases given in the paragraph above, the information was provided for how long the people who went to their hometowns, assuming they went for a visit. This information is probably to prevent any situation that can cause their comebacks. Still, duration of period away are also a good indication to understand the relationship between people’s hometowns and where they reside. While İmam Halife was living in Üsküdar for more than 20 years, Mehmet Efendi was there for nearly 40 years, both of which were very long periods. However, one can still observe that they, together with their relatives, still wished to return to their homelands, which were actually their neighborhoods or villages. It is hard to determine whether they felt more attached to their original hometowns or where they lived in Üsküdar, considering the dilemma between such a long time spent in Üsküdar but still wishing to visit their hometown. Nevertheless, the wording of *sıla-i rahm* tell the longing these people felt. The following incident from the second half of the 17th century is a good example of putting this longing into words.

The record states that Yani left his share in the *mumhane* to his son while returning to his village, and he said the following: “...ben sıla-i rahm etmek için

⁸⁰⁹ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 403 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1154-1155 / M. 1740-1742)*, Mustafa Yılmaz et. al, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019) 89, verdict no 90, 15a-3.

⁸¹⁰ *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 403 Numaralı Sicil*, 190, verdict no 317, 53a-2.

⁸¹¹ *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 403 Numaralı Sicil*, 190, verdict no 317, 53a-2.

karye-i mezbûreye gitmek murâd etmekle...”⁸¹² Considering “*murâd*” means wish or desire, the level of Yani’s attachment to his village must be high. In another record, Zoli, who would like to go to his hometown (ben Vilâyet-i Rumeli’nde vatan-ı asliyyem olan Göllükesri kazâsına gitmeyi murâd etmemle), assigns Vasil to do his responsibilities.⁸¹³

In the records, it is seen that the cases with *sıla-i rahm* are mostly related to the appointment of someone to continue the work they did while they were going to their homeland for a temporary period. For example, the teacher of the Messiahzade School, Mehmet administered Musa to look after his place on his way to his hometown (“...sıla-i rahm vâcib olmağın azîmet edip gelinceye değin mersûm Musa’yı yevmî iki akçe ücret ile menâbına nâ’ib nasb eyledim...”⁸¹⁴). It is understood that visiting or going back to the hometown is necessary because “*vâcib olmak*” means requisite, indispensable, or what needs to be done. Hence, one may suppose that visiting hometowns and relatives there was also considered a necessity both in the eyes of people and communities.

While searching for the traces of spatial belonging reflected in the emotions, I find it helpful to reevaluate some of the cases evaluated from different angles in other parts of this thesis or the expressions and narrative style in those cases. Using possessive affixes in this context may help historians to trace emotional aspects of spatial belonging.

⁸¹² *Rumeli Sadâreti Mahkemesi 106 Numaralı Sicil*, 538, verdict no 564, 82b-2.

⁸¹³ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 156 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1246-1247 / M. 1831-1832), Nedim Pakırdağ and Abdulkadir Altın, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019)178, verdict no 149, 29a-3.

⁸¹⁴ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil*, 212, verdict no 268, 29b-3. For other similar examples see *İstanbul Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil*, 89a-2; *İstanbul Mahkemesi 18 Numaralı Sicil*, 528, verdict no 571,160b-1; *İstanbul Mahkemesi 156 Numaralı Sicil*, 178, verdict no 149, 29a-3.

In Turkish, possessive suffixes are attached to a noun to indicate its possessor. Since possessive suffixes indicate belonging, looking for first-person singular and plural suffixes used for names describing places in Turkish may provide clues concerning place attachment. In addition, place attachment is associated with identity formation. Because feeling attached to a place may come to mean the same as belonging to a group or community over time, therefore, forms of identity and belonging may overlap. So, taking identity formation also into account allows us to better understand the examples provided below to analyze emotions in finding clues regarding place attachment through possessive suffixes.

“Identity formation takes place in three phases. Individuals/groups first categorize people as ‘me/us’ and ‘she/he/them,’ then they identify themselves within the group they classify as ‘us’ and compare ‘us’ with ‘them.’⁸¹⁵

For example, according to a record in Kartal court, some people from the community of Pendik village applied to the court regarding the dismissal of Matariye from their neighborhood. Their argument was based on the fact that she came to Pendik later, and originally, she was not from Pendik, she is from Şile (taze hatun karyemize sonra geldi, aslında Şileli). The request of ahâlî was written to the record as such: “...köyümüzde istemezüz, kendü vilâyetine gitsin...” (We do not want her in our village, she should go to her town).⁸¹⁶ The language and expression used in this case offer the chance to understand the people’s belonging to their living spaces both from the description of the person they do not want and from the use of possessive suffixes in expressions they use for their own village. Underlining that “kendü vilâyetine gitsin” clearly indicates that she does not belong to Pendik. Although the meaning is strengthened with the possessive suffixes, this sentence on

⁸¹⁵ Odabaşı and Arıboğan, “Psychopolitical Determinations on the Administrative and Economic Motivations of Classical Period Ottoman Identity,” 41.

⁸¹⁶ *Kartal Mahkemesi I Numaralı Sicil*, 144, verdict no 174, 34b-4.

its own says a lot about the spatial attachment reflected in people's minds to their language.

In a case registered in the Konya court, a group of people from the Vadi-i Meram neighborhood complained that Ali bin Mustafa, a community resident, did not pay his tax. When the complainants talk about their neighborhoods, they show signs of adopting the area by saying, "our neighborhood" (bizim mahallemiz olan vadiyi Meram mahallesinde).⁸¹⁷

In another lawsuit, the resident of Konya's Alişerbetî neighborhood İbrahim, who complained about the theft of Hasan Beşe ibn-i Ali and his wife Aişe, was questioned by the people of the community, and the answer of the people of the neighborhood was recorded as follows: "...mahallemizden ihrâc ve mezbûrlardan an-asl Lârende Kazâsı sükkânından olmağla vasiy-i asliyelerine icrâ'a tenbih olunmak matlûbumuzdur..."⁸¹⁸

The edict in the Ayntab court records commands that villagers of *Kalli* should not demand taxes from Ali, Ebubekir, and Hızır by saying "you are from our village" (mukaddema bizim karyemizden gitmesin).⁸¹⁹

A transfer request in the Konya court records is a beautiful and essential example both in terms of the traces of the old meaning of the word *vatan* mentioned in this thesis before, in terms of the reflection of belonging with the possessive suffix, and in terms of clearly declaring where the person is originally from. According to the record, three residents of Milas village demand that Hacı İbrahim be transferred to their quarters in the nehr-i Kâfur. They also said that İbrahim was expelled to the nehr-i Kâfur neighborhood four years ago but that he was originally a

⁸¹⁷ Özdoğan, "55 Numaralı Konya Şer'iyeye Sicili'nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu," 365.

⁸¹⁸ Özdoğan, 389.

⁸¹⁹ Atasoy, "50 Numaralı Ayıntâb Şer'iyeye Sicili'nin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi," 572.

resident of the village of Milas (Hacı İbrahim bizim karyemiz olan Milâs karyesi sâkinlerinden olub). In his reply, Hacı İbrahim stated that he was originally from the village of Ladik, had only been in Milas for two years, and did not own any property in Milas:

“Milâsda ancak iki sene sâkin olub emlâk ve arazim olmadığına binâ’ en mahalle-i mezbûreye nakl eyledim Milâs karyesi vatan-ı aslım değildir deyü def’le tasaddi eyledikte...”⁸²⁰

In the case, while the people of Milâs expressed that İbrahim was originally from their own village, İbrahim states that he only stayed in Milâs for two years and that he has no property (This explanation is probably to avoid a possible tax liability claim.). On the other hand, he emphasizes that he is from Lâdik, saying it is his homeland. It is actually hard to be sure that İbrahim feels an attachment to Lâdik by only saying that “ben an-asl Lâdik karyesi sakinlerinden olub;” however, “Milâs karyesi vatan-ı aslım değildir” indicates that he did not feel an attachment towards Milâs.

In short, the possessive suffixes may provide clues regarding emotions together with considering the case itself. Although arriving at a de facto conclusion based on the instances encountered or determining any aspect that discerns the 18th century from others is not an easy task, those suffixes can lead historians to make their way in the historical search.

Herein, another point that I want to discuss is the term *vatan* in its own regard. Throughout my readings of *sicils*, I have encountered various examples that people referring to their neighborhoods as *vatan*. Some examples are as follows:

“târîh-i kitâbdan üç sene ve üç ay mukaddem medîne-i mezbûre civârında vatan-ı aslîleri olan Kal’acık kazâsında sâkin olub ber-vech-i arpalık sâbıkan...”⁸²¹

⁸²⁰ Özdoğan, “55 Numaralı Konya Şer’iye Sicili’nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu,” 439.

⁸²¹ Yapıcı, “H.1133-1134 (M.1721-1722) Tarihli 97 Numaralı Ankara Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 245.

“ahval-i memleket muhtel ve müşevveş olmakla... İstanbul’a gelmek murad edenleri men‘ ve... geri vatanlarına ırca‘ olmakdan ziyade mukayed ve ihtimam olunmak için bundan akdem müfesser ve meşruh tenbih...”⁸²²

“...fî-mâ-ba‘d olmakûle vatan-ı me’lûfesinden kat‘-ı ‘alâka idüb İstanbula tavattun itmek kasdıyla gelenler her kim olursa olsun taht-ı hükûmetine gelür ise min ba‘d mürûr ve ‘ubûrlarına kat‘â müsâ‘ade ve ruhsat göstermeyüb men‘-i küllî ile men‘ ve zecr ve girü evtân-ı kadîmelerine i‘âde ve ırca‘larına ihtimâm ve hilâfından...”⁸²³

In the world of nation-states, the word *vatan* (homeland) today involves the whole geography of a nation-state, and the changing meaning of the word has been shortly discussed in previous parts of this dissertation. Here, I would like to focus briefly on the emotional side. Evidently, *vatan* meant minor geography for people of the 18th century, such as their neighborhood, district, or maybe their province. Today, spatial attachments or the identities felt belong are described at the level of broader geography. For example, when someone says that Türkiye is his/her *vatan*, it is understood as the whole country, not some parts of it. However, it was not like that back in time, and people’s mindsets when talking about their *vatans* were oriented towards more specific areas. The change happened as time goes and the term *vatan* gained new meaning as the Turkish nation-state was born. In other words, just as today, when someone says my *vatan*, this includes a spatial belonging; it is possible to talk about an emotional attachment when one says the same word in the 18th century, although it refers to a more limited area. Since this *vatan*, be it a neighborhood or a city where people were born and bred, was a place where people could maintain all their daily needs, including protection and security, so it is understandable that people invested meaning emotionally in these areas.

⁸²² Dağtekin, “Halep Vilayeti Evamir-i Sultaniye Defteri,” 72.

⁸²³ Yapıcı, “H.1133-1134 (M.1721-1722) Tarihli 97 Numaralı Ankara Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 405.

Another aspect related to the symbolic linkage to reveal the emotional side of the place attachment is the cosmological linkage between people and place. It is the link established through religious, celebratory, and cultural events.⁸²⁴ To reveal it, looking in detail at waqf establishments may help with how this symbolic linkage is established.

Although establishing a waqf is generally considered a religious act under the notion of philanthropy, other reasons motivating people to establish waqfs were achieving status and reputation, leaving the property to the disposal of the desired ones, or generating income.⁸²⁵ Within the scope of this dissertation, I am not planning to go into detail about the reasons, noting that the generally accepted primary motivation behind waqfs is religion.⁸²⁶ I also do not discuss the social and economic effects of the waqfs.⁸²⁷ Instead, through analyzing some waqf deeds, I would like to understand spatial motivations in the foundation of waqfs in any. Although there are different forms of waqfs, their operation was under the same legal principle. The content of endowment deeds follows a generic pattern such as “citing cliché excerpts from the Qur’an and the sayings of the Prophet, sources of revenue, the methods of operating these sources, the number of waqf staff employed, the definition of their duties, the scope of their authority and their salaries.”⁸²⁸ However, I believe that between the wording and clichés, there may be signs of spatial attachment.

⁸²⁴ Low, “Symbolic Ties That Bind.”

⁸²⁵ One of the primary categorizations between waqfs are between charitable ones (*vakf-ı hayrî*) and family waqfs (*ehli/zürri vakıf*).

⁸²⁶ Kenan Yıldız, “Aykırı Vakıflar: Osmanlı’da *Fukarâ-yı Müslimîni* de Gözeten Gayrimüslim Vakıfları,” *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* LIV (2019): 142.

⁸²⁷ “The waqfs were the most widespread form of institution in the Ottoman Empire existing from Basra to Budapest and from Crimea to Cairo. The number of endowment deeds housed in the archives today is about 45,000, and it is estimated that over 60,000 waqfs were founded throughout the history of the Empire. The waqf system had an older history than that of the Empire itself.” Kayhan Orbay, “Imperial Waqfs within the Ottoman Waqf System,” *Endowment Studies* 1 (2017): 136.

⁸²⁸ Orbay, “Imperial Waqfs within the Ottoman Waqf System,” *Endowment Studies* 1 (2017): 140.

For example, a record on devotion of a house, which is encountered in the 17th century İstanbul registers, constitutes a good example of this situation. *Meryem bt. Perdede*, who was living in *Kızıltaş* neighborhood of İstanbul, devoted her house to the Armenian poor living in Jerusalem on the condition that no one was left in her family descendants living alive (“...birinin veledi bulunmazsa cümlesinde âharın veledi sâkin ola ikisinin dahi veledi münkariz oldukda gallesi Kudüs-i şerîf’de sâkin Ermeni fukarâsına irsâl oluna...”⁸²⁹). She also indicated that while she and her heirs were utilizing the house, every year, 360 coin (*akçe*) should be paid to poor Armenians in Jerusalem (...ben ve sâiri növbet-i tasarrufunda günde birer akçe olmak üzere beher sene Kudüs-i şerîf’de sâkin Ermeni fukarâsına üç yüz altmış akçe vereler...).⁸³⁰

The text mentioned above is actually a standard text in terms of recording the endowment of someone’s property. And indicating what would happen when someone as heir for the endowment does not exist is also a standard manuscript in this regard. However, the indication of Jerusalem is noteworthy here since *Meryem* does not leave her house’s income to the Armenian poor in İstanbul, although there are plenty of Armenians in İstanbul. She points at Jerusalem for the earnings of the waqf to be sent. This clearly indicates that she has feelings toward her Armenian community, especially those in Jerusalem. By definition, place attachment is the bond people establish with the physical environment they live in or relate to. This case refers to a bond with the physical environment that *Meryem* relates to, but does not live in. She feels belonging to the Armenian community but especially the ones in Jerusalem. In this case, the symbolic nature of place attachment is at the forefront. *Meryem* bonds herself to Jerusalem symbolically utilizing religion, and it also

⁸²⁹ *Bab Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil*, 123, verdict no 54, 8a-1.

⁸³⁰ *Ibid.*

constitutes part of her identity. According to Low and Altman,⁸³¹ one of the sides of place attachment is cognition such as believing or thinking that a place is sacred. Jerusalem has that aspect in this case, and although Meryem did not live there, she had a feeling of attachment. The important thing here is what Jerusalem embeds religiously and culturally for Meryem.

In a similar manner, according to another waqf record from Edirne court, Mustafa bin Ahmed, who donated his house, was asked to transfer the foundation income to the poor of *Medina* in case no one from his generation remained (ba‘de’l-inkırâzım gallesi Medîne-i Münevvere fukarâsına irsâl olına).⁸³² İbrahim bin Abdullah also devoted his properties to the poor of Medina after no one from his family descendants left (“...ba‘de’l-inkırâz mahmiyye-i mezbûrede Medîne-i Münevvere mütevellîsi yediyle icâr olunub hâsıl olan gallesi Medîne-i Münevvere fukarâ’sına irsâl olına deyu şart olındıktan sonra...”⁸³³). Similar to the case of Meryem, for Ahmed and Abdullah, Medina had symbolic meaning because of its religious significance for Muslims.

Elini bt. Dimitrasko also stipulated in the waqf deed recorded in Bab court records that his property would be used by himself and rented out after his death by specifying that its income would be spent on the poor of Jerusalem (“...ba‘de’l-helâk menzil-i mezbûr Kuds-i şerîf mütevellîleri yediyle icâre-i mu‘accele ve müeccele-i misliyye ile âhara icâr olunup hâsıl olan galle ve nemâsı Kuds-i şerîf fukarâlarına harc ve sarf oluna...”⁸³⁴).

⁸³¹ Low and Altman, “Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry,” 5

⁸³² Samıkıran, “138 Numaralı Edirne Şer‘iyye Sicilli,” 151-152.

⁸³³ Samıkıran, 187-188. For others similar to this case, see 221, 261-262, 377-378, 431-432, 457-458, 479-480.

⁸³⁴ *Bab Mahkemesi 150 Numaralı Sicil*, verdict no 222, 47b-1.

In the waqf deeds from the Sarajevo sicil, *Ümm-i Hani* dedicated her house to the mosque *imams* and *muezzins* in her neighborhood and, as a condition, demanded praying for her and her husband's souls.⁸³⁵ There are two more family waqf deeds among the Sarajevo registries examined within the scope of this thesis. However, contrary to the deeds presented above, it is seen in these records that the revenues of the foundations were not transferred to the needy people in Mecca and Medina after the lineage was cut off.⁸³⁶ Neccar Mehmed bin Abdullah from Rodoscuk also devoted his properties to the *imams* of the mosque in his neighborhood after no one was left from his descendants.

“...El-Hac Habib odalarını ve iki taraftan tarîk-i âmm ile mahdûd tahtânî kirec binalı iki bâb oda ve bir sundurma ve... müştemil mülk-i menzilinî... evvela kendi nefesine ba‘de zevcesi Fatma binti Abdullah nam hatuna ve ba‘de-ha mezbûra Fatma’nın batnen ba‘de batin evlâdına ve evlâdı evlâdına ve ba‘de’l-inkıraz-ı menafi‘îni mahalle-i mezbûra imamlarına şürût ve ta‘yin edüb...”⁸³⁷

In these examples above, people donated their assets directly to religious places in their neighborhoods or to the officials there. As a result, although there is a religious and symbolic aspect, spatial attachment to their own communities comes to the fore.

In another waqf deed, Pavlo v. Gülyar entrusted his house, boathouse, and vineyard in Tarabya⁸³⁸ to be rented and stipulated that 360 *akçe* of his income be spent on the expenses of the fountain in *Şırzı* village in *Eğin* (“...vilâyet-i Anadolu’da Eğin kazâsında vâki‘ Şırzı nâm karyede... Çeşmesi’nin mesârifine sarf

⁸³⁵ Ali Metli, “Saraybosna Şer’iyye Sicillerine Göre Osmanlı Ailesi (1783-1786)” (master’s thesis, Mersin Üniversitesi, 2018), 77.

⁸³⁶ Metli, “Saraybosna Şer’iyye Sicillerine Göre Osmanlı Ailesi (1783-1786),” 76-77.

⁸³⁷ Muslu, “1647 Nr. Şer’iyye Sicilinin Işığında Lale Devri’nin İlk Yıllarında Tekirdağ (1721-1724),” 220-221.

⁸³⁸ “...Tarabya nâm karyede vâki‘ ... iki bâb fevkânî oda... müştemil menzil ile yine menzil-i mezbûrun hizâsında... kayık limanı ve liman-ı mezbûra muttasıl üç bâb kayıkhanemi ve yine karye-i mezbûre bağları hilâlinde vâki‘... mâ-i câriyi müştemil kürûmî mülk bağımlı...”

olunmak için beher sene üçer yüz altmışar akçe verilip...”⁸³⁹). He wanted it to be used for the *avârız* of the Muslim and non-Muslim people of the village if there were no descendants of his family and his estates had an income of more than 360 *akçe* (vakf-ı mezbûr karye-i merkûmenin gerek Müslim ve gerek zimmî ahâlîsinin hâne-i avârızlarına verilip). Pavlo v. Gülyar wanted principally 360 *akçe* of the income to be transferred to the fountain expenses, and if there were more, his descendants would then become *mutasarıf*.⁸⁴⁰ In this case, Gülyar left his property in İstanbul to a fountain in a village in Eğin. Although his information is not included in the record, Gülyar is probably from this village and donates the foundation revenues to the village without distinguishing between Muslims and non-Muslims.

Apart from the endowments, some wills are also crucial in showing the bond people establish with the place. For example, according to the appointment of a guardian in the Konya court records, before his death, İsmail bin Ahmed wanted four kuruş of his property to be allocated for the lamps of the mosque in his neighborhood and 20 kuruş for the repair of the waterways in his neighborhood (“...mahalle-i mezbure mescidi şerifi çerağı için dörd guruş ve medine-i mezbureye ceryan eden su yolları tamirine yirmi guruş harc ve sarf oluna deyü vasiyyet ve tenfizine...”⁸⁴¹).

The following conclusion can be drawn from all the examples above. Although waqf deeds are standard texts, especially at the end of the text, it is possible to see clues regarding emotions, loyalties, and spatial belongings in the choice of whom or where the foundation income will go when no family member is left. Though not an overt expression of emotion, these texts contain an emotional aspect to determining where personal wealth will ultimately go, and preferences offer clues

⁸³⁹ *Bab Mahkemesi 92 Numaralı Sicil*, 268, verdict no 263, 36a-3.

⁸⁴⁰ *Bab Mahkemesi 92 Numaralı Sicil*, 268, verdict no 263, 36a-3.

⁸⁴¹ Özdoğan, “55 Numaralı Konya Şer’iye Sicili’nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu,” 362-363.

to spatial belonging. For example, the holiness of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem in terms of İslam has increased the symbolic belonging to these cities and one may observe this in waqf deeds. Moreover, the waqf establishments founded in the Ottoman State in terms of their physical space were not random. The founders, wealthy women and men chose places where they could easily reach a particular group of inhabitants.⁸⁴² Hence, one may assume that there was a conscious choice in selecting a location for waqf establishments. If so, these places meant something to their founders.

According to the study of Kenan Yıldız on unusual foundations⁸⁴³ in the Ottoman Empire although the word *fukara* appears as a standard and neutral pattern in Ottoman waqf deeds, Muslims donate mainly to poor Muslims and non-Muslims to their poor co-religionists.⁸⁴⁴ However, there are exceptions to this general pattern. Yıldız examined 14 waqf deeds established by non-Muslims but devoted to Muslims or Muslim institutions and considered this devotion unusual compared to others.

“Superficially, these fourteen waqfs, contrary to the religious practices of non-Muslim subjects and the general tendency of the society, are also different from other non-Muslim foundations that have existed throughout history. Because the conditions that protect Muslims, especially the Haremeyn, which is sacred to them, are mostly found in Muslim waqfs. On the other hand, it is unknown for what purpose these fourteen unusual waqf founders... made such a choice.”⁸⁴⁵

Although Yıldız argues that it is hard to know the reason for such a choice, a detailed analysis or elaboration would possibly provide some answers. For example, from the Jerusalem court record dating to the 16th century, four deeds⁸⁴⁶ indicate that

⁸⁴² Işık Tamdoğan, “Büyükleri Saymak, Küçükleri Sevmek,” *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 1 (2005): 77-96.

⁸⁴³ This term is used for waqfs, established by non-Muslims, terminatively donated to a different religion, namely Muslims or Muslim institutions.

⁸⁴⁴ For example, see Samıkıran, “138 Numaralı Edirne Şer‘iyye Sicilli,” 124-125 (“vakf-ı fukâra-i müslimîn”).

⁸⁴⁵ Orbay, “Imperial Waqfs within the Ottoman Waqf System,” 156 (My translation)

⁸⁴⁶ For detailed record of these deeds see Orbay, “Imperial Waqfs within the Ottoman Waqf System.”

non-Muslim people directly devoted their properties to the mosques (*Kubbetü's-Sahrâ Camii*) in Jerusalem. One would consider that the first and foremost demarcation lines are religion in Ottoman society and when the act of devoting should prioritize religion. However, these unusual examples did look like they prioritized spatial unity. Instead of committing to a church or a synagog somewhere, they devoted properties to a mosque that was physically close to them. Although it is still hard to know the reason for this devotion; at least one may argue in this way.

Another waqf deed provided in the article of Yıldız from the 18th century is also noteworthy in terms of place attachment of people. According to the deed, Mihail, who lives in the Nasara neighborhood of Damascus, donated his house first to the officials of a church in Damascus, then to the Greek Orthodox poor and the Muslim poor in Damascus. In this case, we see an example of spatial dedication. It looks like Mihail, be him Muslim or Christian, donated something to benefit the people living in Damascus.⁸⁴⁷

A vineyard in Kuzguncuk was left by the Greek Panayot first to his generation, then to the Kamame Church officials in Jerusalem (It is an interesting example that the names of the priest and other officials are clearly stated here instead of the term poors of the church.) and finally to the Muslims of Medina.⁸⁴⁸ According to these examples, it is striking that religious concerns do not come to the fore in the context of endowments; on the contrary, there is a spatial-based trend.

Place attachment constitutes some aspects of identity, and there is an intrinsic relationship between place attachment and other forms of identity. It is helpful to think about communal identity with place reference since the construction of identity, whether in the form of self-identity or communal identity, may strengthen

⁸⁴⁷ Orbay, "Imperial Waqfs within the Ottoman Waqf System," 173.

⁸⁴⁸ Orbay, 161-162.

the value attached to the place. So, waqf deeds, and inheritances, were related to people's place attachment as much as providing clues regarding part of people's identity.

Another scale used to determine belonging is the expressions we encounter when court records specify borders. The limits of physical space, namely the boundaries of houses, are generally defined as “*sınırları inde’l-ciran ma’lum olan*,” which means that the borders of a place are known among neighbors. Moreover, the outer neighbors’ names are also described in Ottoman court records, especially in sales records. This information regarding the surrounding properties is named “micro-neighborhood,”⁸⁴⁹ a term to define the immediate neighborhood of a property. Karagedikli and Tuncer used information provided in sicils concerning micro-neighborhood to understand the relationship between house buyers’ decisions and religious ties since the surrounding neighborhood information included gender, profession, and religion.⁸⁵⁰ This micro-neighborhood information matters for dissertation not from the aspect of the neighborhood dwellers’ gender, religion, or occupation but from the aspect of defining boundaries of residential units, which ends where the others start.

What does this signify? Describing the physical limits of the space over who owns it shows the importance attached to belonging. A specific location finds its meaning by defining the owners of other surrounding areas around it.

For example, according to one of the court records of Edirne, the location of a shop identified as:

“...Kayan Hânı tahtında olan vakf-ı dükkânlardan bir taraftan el-Hac Yusuf bin Mehmed’in Çörekçi Fırını ve bir taraftan (boşluk) dükkânı ve bir taraftan

⁸⁴⁹ Karagedikli and Tuncer, “House prices in the Ottoman Empire,” 21. Karagedikli and Tuncer, “The People next Door: Housing and Neighbourhood in Ottoman Edirne, 1734-1814,” 23.

⁸⁵⁰ Karagedikli and Tuncer, “The People next Door: Housing and Neighbourhood in Ottoman Edirne, 1734-1814.”

Hân-ı mezkûr civârı ve bir taraftan tarîk-i ‘amm ile mahdûd otuz iki sehm olunan i‘tibâr olunan bir bâb iki kepenk ketâncı dükkânı...”⁸⁵¹

The shop, in this example, is specified through its neighbors to locate its place. It is natural to identify places as such when there was no parceling. However, I would like to emphasize here another side of the story. This record mentioned not only the name of the bakery (*Çörekçi Fırını*) but also says whose bakery it is. In the record, it is already stated in which neighborhood, even in which inn, this shop exists; yet again, the name of the bakery owner was still indicated.

In another record belongs to Sarajevo, the property of el-hâc Mehmed defined as such:

“Medîne-i Sarâybosna’da Hoca Kemâlê'd-dîn Mahallesi’nde vâki’ bir tarafı Mûsâ-zâde Süleymân Efendî mülkû ve bir tarafı hâlâ El-hâc Mehmed veresesî mülkû ve bir tarafı Kazzâz Mustafâ Beşe mülkû ve bir tarafı râbi’î tarîk-i ‘amm ile mahdûd...”⁸⁵²

The above example states the owner of properties around the territory in question and since they are not premiseses as shop or bakery, it is usual to indicate their owner. In court records of Sofia as well, there are various similar examples concerning definition of borders of properties. For example:

“...akd-i âtiyü’z-zikrin sudûruna deġin silk-i mülkümde münselik emlâkimden olup mahalle-i mezbûrede Sıcak Pınar civârında vâki’ lede’l-ahâlî ve’l-cîrân ma’lûmü’l-hudûd ve’l-müştemilât dâhiliyye ve hâriciyye mülk menzilim hâriciyyesinde dikici odası demekle ma’rûf olup bir taraftan oğlum eş-Şeyh Abdullâh Efendi odası ve bir taraftan Haffâf el-Hâcc Ahmed Ağa ve bir taraftan hâriciyye-i mezkûre havlusu ve taraf-ı râbi’î tarîk-ı âmm ile mahdûd ve mümtâz bir bâb tahtânî soba odası ve bir sovak evi müştemil menzil ile...”⁸⁵³

In the court record of Trabzon dating 18th century, the space is territorialized again by its neighbors.

⁸⁵¹ Samıkıran, “138 Numaralı Edirne Şer‘iyye Sicilli,” 214.

⁸⁵² Metli, “Saraybosna Şer‘iyye Sicillerine Göre Osmanlı Ailesi (1783-1786),” 110.

⁸⁵³ Selman İleri, “Bulgaristan Milli Kütüphanesi’nde Kayıtlı S 16 Numaralı Sofya Şer‘iyye Sicili’nin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi” (master’s thesis, Kırklareli Üniversitesi, 2017), 252.

“...müvekkilem validem merkume Emine hayatda akd-i âti sudûruna (...) silk-i mülk-i sahihimde münselik emlâkından olub medine-i mezbûre (...) (..) vâki‘ bir taraftan Elhâc Dervîş oğlu İsmail Ağa dükkanı ve bir taraftan Şişman Mahmud Ağa dükkanı ve bir taraftan çarşunun (...) divarı ve taraf-i râbi‘ tarîk-i âmm ile mahdud ve mümtaz iki (...) bir bab mülk ve...”⁸⁵⁴

It is possible to give more examples regarding the embodiment of premises through a detailed description with owners of their surrounding neighbors. All these examples show the importance of belonging at a time when there was no modern parceling of lands. However, there is another story behind these descriptions since the language used in these records gives so many clues. Spatial belonging is not only an emotional and cognitive process but also a sociological phenomenon. The language used for the definitions, measurements, and characterizations of physical space used in pre-modern periods constitutes a part of this process. In this context, language works as an internalizing element of spatial belonging. Since collective memory is related to the language used, the words we use and how we define places give many clues about collective memory. If signs of spatial attachment in the language or some terms regarding spaces have gained specific meanings, it means that these are accumulated over generations and inherently involve emotions.

At this point, I would like to briefly touch on the concept of *me’vâ-ül fesad* or *me’vâ-yı feseke* here as an example to show how one defines places and how it works to internalize feelings.

For example, in a court record of İstanbul, where the names of the tannery masters (*debbağhane ustaları*) outside Yedikule are recorded, the places that used to be bachelor rooms were defined as *me’vâ-yı feseke*, meaning a place of depravement, turmoil, confusion, and evil.

“...mukaddemâ el-Hâc Hamza vakfından yirmi yedi aded bekâr odaları *me’vâ-yı feseke* olup ve tâife-i mezbûre dahi ol havâlîde olan esnâfın ahbes ve

⁸⁵⁴ Bayraktar, “1917 Numaralı Trabzon Şer’iyye Sicilinin Değerlendirmesi ve Transkripsiyonu,” 199.

eşirri olmağla zikr olunan odalarda fesâda ve şekâvet mütevâtir yer olduğuna binâen odaların duvarları ve taşradan taş nerdübanının üç payesi hedm olunup emr-i bi'l-ma'rûfda ihtimâm olunmuş [ve] mürûr-ı zamân [ve] eyyâmla hedm olunan odaların yerine yapağı mahzeni ve üç odası bekçi odası olup kat'â bekâr iskân olunmamak üzere tenbîh olunup dört kârhâne derûnunda birer bekâr odası bulunup *me'vâ-yı feseke* olduğunu yine kendiler mukır ve mu'terif olmağın mübâşir orta çavuş kulları ma'rifetiyle hedm olunup min ba'd zikr olunan kârhânelerde bekâr odası olmamak üzere kefilîyle kendilerine mahsûs olan şâkirdlerinden mâ'adâ bir ahad bulunmamak üzere mezbûrûna tenbîh olunduğu...”⁸⁵⁵

Below, there are two other examples. In the first one, coffeehouses were defined as the hub of depravement (*me'vâ-yı gürûh-ı feseke*). In contrast, in the second one, the house of Yusuf and Fatima were designated as such (*me'vâü'l-fesâd*) since they were accepting nâ-mahrems into their homes.

“...Avn-i inâyet-i Bârî'yle Yeniçeri maddesi ber-taraf kılınarak *me'vâ-yı gürûh-ı feseke* olan kahvehânelerin sedd ü bendi irâde-i hayriyyesine mebnî muhterik olmuş veyâhud binâya katılmış Başmuhâsebe'de mukayyed berber dükkânı gediklerinin âhar gedikden ârî dükkânlara bi'l-icâreteyn mutasarrıfları rızâsıyla nakline ruhsat verilmiş olmak hasebiyle...”⁸⁵⁶

“...mezbûr Yûsuf ile zevcesi mezbûre Fâtıma dâ'imâ kendi hâllerinde olmayub mahalle-i mezbûrede sâkin oldukları menzile nâ-mahrem getirüb menzilleri *me'vâü'l-fesâd* olmağla mezbûrlardan herbirimiz emîn ve sâlim olmayub...”⁸⁵⁷

In the example below, Asiye's house is defined as the place of thieves, sinners, and adulterers, similar to “*me'vâ-ül fesad*.”

“...mezbûre Asiye'nin bu makûle nassâbelik ve fesâd âdet-i müstemirresi olduğundan mâ'adâ nâ-mahremden ictinâb dahi olmayıp menzilinde erâzil ve fevâhiş cem' edip her bâr hamr ve arak şurb ve çöyür ve tanbûre ile fisk u fücûr üzere olup *me'vâ-yı lûsûs* ve *me'vâ-yı fuccâr* ve *me'vâ-yı zinâ* olup sû'-i hâl üzeredir deyü herbiri mezbûrenin muvâcehesinde alâ tarîkı'ş-şehâde haber vermeğın...”⁸⁵⁸

Based on the examples given above, it is seen that negative expressions, including emotions, are used in the definition of some places, depending on whether

⁸⁵⁵ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 24 Numaralı Sicil*, 368, verdict no 270, 82a-2.

⁸⁵⁶ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 154 Numaralı Sicil*, 306, verdict no 150, 54a-2.

⁸⁵⁷ Yapıcı, “H.1133-1134 (M.1721-1722) Tarihli 97 Numaralı Ankara Şer'iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 220.

⁸⁵⁸ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 22 Numaralı Sicil*, 233, verdict no 147, 48a-1.

people living, operating, or going there comply with the social rules or not. The exciting thing is that although people were the actual (and so-called) source of the problems, places were referred to as the source of mischief rather than the people. Mischief was equated with the place, and the source of evil was spatialized. The way to prevent this mischief was generally to close down the place or to move out the people in it. This fact actually shows how much space and humans are intertwined or seen as such.

The opposite of the above negative definitions is also, of course, included in the court records. While defining cities, towns, and villages, it has been recorded that living spaces make their residents feel safe, comfortable, and peaceful.

For example, according to a case summarized in an edict in the Ankara court records, the people of Ankara applied to the court (medine-i Ankara'da sâkin ulemâ ve sulehâ ve a'yân ve eşrâf ve müderrisin-i kirâm ve imme ve hutebâ ve sâir fukarâ ve zu'afa ba-serihim meclis-i şer'e varub).⁸⁵⁹ They complained that *Cibraz Ahmed*, in charge of the municipal services, tried to collect extra money and tortured the people. In this edict, the description of the lives of the people of Ankara is more critical than the case itself. It is stated in the record that the people of Ankara have always lived in safety and security, in a peaceful state, and adhered to an order that everyone accepted until this event (Ankara ahâlîlerinin kadîmden berü emn u rahat ve âsûde-i hal ve nizâm-i müstahseneye rabtı). To make an inference from the terms used here, the people of Ankara felt safe and peaceful until the incident mentioned above-made people uneasy. This depiction of the lifestyles of the people of Ankara, if accepted as correct, provides clues about their feelings about the place.

⁸⁵⁹ Taşcan, "173 Numaralı Ankara Şer'iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirmesi," 230-231.

In other words, court records say a lot about places although it is not a direct expression of emotion that reflects belonging. Even the use of an adjective may give clues about the feelings and attachments to locations in the minds and collective memories of people of that period. For this reason, it is essential to look at the expressions that are thought to be frequent in court records from a different perspective and to read the sources that have been reread.

In short, I argue that court records provide clues regarding emotions toward places to a limited extent. For more, one needs to look underneath some terms or the language and expressions that may not specifically relate to places but can help historians understand spatial belonging. Within the limits of this dissertation, I evaluated the emotional side in a more general manner. Future studies looking into this in detail may provide better insight into this subject.

3.7. Place Attachment Based on Survival and Security

The survival instinct is one of the motivations of the human beings, as all bios, and this survival instinct is closely related to the provisioning of security. Although security provisioning is mainly related to the physical structure of living space, there are social facets of seeking survival closely interlinked with the place factor.

According to the place attachment theory, fear of crime, or the feeling of security are related to the feeling of attachment. While these variables affect the level of attachment, in terms of functioning, scholars argue that attachment provides a sense of security. For this reason, it is possible to talk about a two-way dynamic here. To understand the role of attachment in shaping the Ottoman space, I will examine cases in the court records related to survival and security.

The 18th century Ottoman society witnessed uprisings, banditry, and major wars in the years 1768-74, 1787-92, and 1798-1799, which all affected nearly all regions of the expansive geography of the Ottoman State. Security provisioning was shaken at different times for different reasons at the state level. Since this dissertation's topic is limited to ordinary people's spatial relations, I will not elaborate on major events of the 18th century causing widespread violence. Still, it is essential to keep in mind that the overall political atmosphere had implications at the local level.

First, to reveal the established bonds between ordinary Ottoman people and places within the context of survival and security concerns, it is crucial to discuss the concept of *tenhâ* (desolate) referring to uncanny sites. While defining places in *sicils*, the word *tenhâ* as an adjective repeatedly appears for certain areas. In Turkish, the term *tenhâ* means a deserted place that is not crowded. While *tenhâ*, which originated from Persian, meant a lone person in Persian, it gained the meaning of “the place where there are no other people” in Turkish.⁸⁶⁰

For example, according to the record of Bab dating 1666, there was a *tarîk-i âmm* defined as being a desolate place (...Koca Mustafa Paşa mahallesinde vâki‘ hisâr duvarı dibinde olan tarîk-i âmin...). Since this street was located in such a *tenhâ* place, brigands conducted mischief to the community leading suffer for people living there.

“...zîkr olunan Mustafa Paşa mahallesi ahâlîsinden olup zeyl-i rakîmde isimleri terkîm olunan müslimîn tarîk-i mezbûr *tenhâ* yerde olmağla eşkiyâ nehâren nice fesâd ettiklerini ihbâr edip müte‘ezzî oldukları ecilden ke’l-evvel iki tarafında parmak kapı binâsına taraf-ı şer‘den izin taleb ettiklerinde...”⁸⁶¹

⁸⁶⁰ Nişanyan Sözlük, “tenha,” accessed February 17, 2022, <https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/kelime/tenha>.

⁸⁶¹ *Bab Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil*, 682, verdict no 880, 105a-4.

The request of the community of Koca Mustafa Paşa neighborhood was the construction of doors on both sides of the street, which would remain closed at night. As explained previously in this dissertation, the physical structure of streets, such as public or private, affected both the formation of the physical landscape in Ottoman cities and the social construction of the immediate vicinity. This typology of streets and their nature appears here as part of the security discussions. First of all, *tarîk-i âmm* is a street type that is open to the public and used by many, and controlling its entrances is not easy. Plus, in this case, this street type becomes more dangerous for people living there by being located in an unsafe and lonely place. So, although it was not normal for residents to ask for a door in *tarîk-i âmm*, it seems that the feeling of insecurity overrode.

Conceptualization of the term “*tenhâ*” is essential at this point. *Tenhâ* evokes the unsafe places in the minds of Ottoman people since when there are no others, then you are open to dangers. Being a part of a community and conforming to their social norms and rules has an opposite connection with desolate places that evoke unsafety. Living in a community, belonging to a particular area or neighborhood, and living in a familiar environment with familiar people provide safety and security for every individual. Hence, when a place becomes unfamiliar and lonely, it naturally becomes unsafe, at least within people’s minds. Another example from *sicils* explains better this:

“... Sancakdâr Zâviyesi demekle ma’rûf zâviyenin bâ-işâret-i aliyye zâviyedârı olan eş-Şeyh Mustafa diyâr-ı âhara gidip bir buçuk seneden beri terk ve zâviye-i mezkûr hâlî kalıp mahalle-i mezbûr ahâlîsi zâviye-i mezbûre *tenhâ* mahâlde olmağla bazı erâzil makûlesinin fitnelerinden emniyetimiz yokdur ihbâr ve bir vekîl nasb olunmasını [recâ] eylediklerinden yerine bir vekîl nasbı lâ-büd olmağla...”⁸⁶²

⁸⁶² İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 33 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1183-1185 / M. 1769 – 1770), Yılmaz Karaca and Mustafa Yılmaz, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 177, verdict no 136, 48a-1.

According to the case mentioned above, the community of Sancakdâr Hayreddin neighborhood felt insecure because the *zâviye* (zawiya)⁸⁶³ was abandoned and located somewhere *tenhâ*, which became a place for mean people. There are two reasons for insecurity here. One is the person who was in charge of the *zâviye* left, and so the place itself became empty (*hâlî kalıp*).⁸⁶⁴ Second is the location of the *zâviye*, which was described as being in desolate places (*tenhâ mahâlde olmağla*). These two factors made the community feel insecure and requested someone new to be appointed.

Similarly, in another example, someone from the el-Hâc Büzürg neighborhood requested a plot next to his land to be annexed.

“...tûlen on iki ve arzen beş zirâ‘ hesâb-ı şatrancî üzere altmış zirâ‘ arsa memur olmayıp *tenhâ* yerde vâki‘ olmağın bazı eşkıyâ nâ-mahrem ile cem‘iyet edip fi‘il-i şenî‘den hâlî değildir, kibel-i şer‘-i şerîfden üzerine varılıp icâre takdîr olunduktan sonra menzil-i mezbûra ilhâk olunması matlûbumdur dedikde...”⁸⁶⁵

The land belonging to the foundation mentioned in the above-mentioned case has been described as a place haunted by bandits since it has no roads and is located in a secluded area. Upon the request of the person who requested that the land be annexed into his land, the authorized persons verified the condition of the land and it was decided to let it be rented.

“...savb-ı şer‘-i mutahhardan Mevlânâ Halil Efendi ve hâssa mi‘mârlardan ... irsâl olunup ... varıp nazar ve mesâha ettiklerinde fi‘l-vâki‘ arsa-i mezbûre zikr olunan menzilin tarîk-i mahsûsu olup *tenhâ* yerde vâki‘ olmağla bazı eşkıyâ nâ-mahrem ile cem‘iyet edip fi‘il-i şenî‘den hâlî olmayıp böyle kaldığı takdîrce nice fesâda mü‘eddâ olması mukarrerdir...”⁸⁶⁶

⁸⁶³ Zawiya refers to both abuilding and an institution associated with Sufis in Islam. It serves several functions such as worship, school, monastery, and mausoleum.

⁸⁶⁴ “*Hâlî*” also means desolate.

⁸⁶⁵ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Evkaf-ı Hümayûn Müfettişliği 1 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1016-1035 / M. 1608-1626), Rasim Erol, Abdullah Sivridağ and Ali Coşkun, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 478, verdict no 430, 135b-3.

⁸⁶⁶ *Evkaf-ı Hümayûn Müfettişliği 1 Numaralı Sicil*, 478, verdict no 430, 135b-3.

In some cases, there are examples of secluded or empty spaces being inhabited by the Ottoman State. The copy of the letter addressed to the Maraş governor (*mutasarrıf*) in the middle of the 19th century is an example of this.

“Sahabe-i kiramdan Ukkâşe radiyallahü anh Hazretlerinin türbe-i şerifeleri hâlî bir mahalde olup li-ecli’z-ziyaret gidip gelenler suûbiyet çekmekte olduklarına binâen türbedarlığına Şeyh Seyyid Mehmed Efendi tâlib olduğu misüllü mahall-i mezkûrda müceddeden bir karye inşasına on kadar hane ashâbı izhar-ı muvâfakat eyledikleri beyanıyla nakl-i hane edecek ahâlinin mürettebat-ı miriyyelerinin yedi sene müddetle komşu tesviyesine ve inşa edecekleri cami-i şerife minber vaziyle eda-i salat-ı cuma ve ıydeyn olunmasına müsâade olunması Maraş meclisinin tevârüd eden mazbatasında inhâ ve bu babda olan ilâm isrâ kılınmasıyla keyfiyet Meclis-i Vâlâ’ya lede’l-havale vâkıa bir suver-i zuvvarın emniyetini mucîb olacağı cihetle pek münasip olub fakat zaten haneleri mukayyed olanların nakli ve vergilerinin komşularına tahmiliyle suverinden ise hem mahall-i mezkûr hakkında olan tasavvur husule gelmek ve hem de ahali-yi merkumeye dokunulmayıp kuyudca ve vergice tağyirat vukua getirilmemek için mahall-i mezkûre hiçbir yerde mukayyet ve meskun olmayan aşâir takımından münasib haneler iskan olunması kabil olub olmadığıнын tarafınızdan isti’lâmıyla bâdehu icabının icrâası tezekkür olunmuş iktiza edenler ile müzakere olunarak ve bu babda lazım gelen ikdam ve mesai icra kılınarak gayrimeskûn aşâirden o misillü haneler bulunduğu takdirde iktizasına bakılmak üzere teferruatıyla beraber olmağla keyfiyetin bâ-mazbata inhâsı hususuna himmet eylemek siyakında şukka.”⁸⁶⁷

According to the letter above, since the tomb was in an empty place, it caused difficulty for those who went for a visit, and a letter was written to establish a village around it. Ten households agreed to move to this new settlement. Apart from these, it was also asked whether it is appropriate for some of the non-resident tribes to be settled there. A tax privilege was given to those who accepted the settlement, and it was requested not to collect taxes for seven years and to write a letter to the *Meclis-i Vâlâ* to construct the mosque in the newly established area.

Although the difficulty experienced by those who visit the tomb is not clearly stated, the reasons, such as its seclusion and lack of roads, are among the first things that come to mind. In addition, this event is essential in showing how a new

⁸⁶⁷ Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Umum Vilayat Evrakı, (BOA, A.}MKT.UM.. 339-90, H-29-05-1275.)

settlement was created, that is when a new community was established. The note on the construction of the mosque, a basic element of a neighborhood or village, and the tax privilege for those who accept to settle in the new area can be evaluated as signs that the state facilitated these spatial changes. In addition, since the tomb belonged to an important person with religious dignity, its location gained importance and became a place where symbolic belonging was formed. From this point of view, it would not be wrong to say that spatial belonging is more for religious buildings, tombs, and places considered religious and of spiritual importance by society.

As discussed in the theoretical part of this dissertation, feeling of secure, or the nature of place in terms of providing security affects the level of attachment.⁸⁶⁸ In this regard, one may argue that *tenhâ* spaces are insecure and dangerous places. However, this does not mean that lumpen were living in these places. These places were somewhat less habited areas in which social mobility was low. Arising from this low level of habitation, people requested to use or settle in these places; otherwise, they argued that it would become the place for brigands and bandits when left unattended.

“*Koltuk ta’bir olunan mahâller*” has similar connotation with the word “*tenhâ*.” One of the old, obsolete meanings of the word *koltuk* is a secluded and uninhabited place. The expression used for the areas to be inspected to prevent the selling and drinking of wine and raki in the court records of Manastır confirms this usage.

“...Manastır Kasabası derûnunda hamr ve arak’ın bey’ ve isti’ mâl olunan gerek meykede ve gerek koltuk ta’bir olunan mahâlleri ma’rifet-i şer’ ve mübâşir ve cümle ma’rifetiyle temhir ve serbend ile hamr ve arak bir mahâlden bey’ ve bir ferdin isti’ mali husûsunun şimdiden men’ ve def’ine ziyade ... kangı meyhâne ve koltuk meykdesinde hamr ve arak bey’ ve

⁸⁶⁸ Low and Altman, “Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry,” 46.

isti‘mâl vâkı‘ olur ise meyhânegileri derhâl kapusu önünde bi’l-emân salb...”⁸⁶⁹

Since the use of secluded places in the Ottoman archives as being identified with places where people were killed, where illegal things were done or those who wanted to do it, where immoral relations took place, or where bandits were wandering, one can define these areas as places where security concerns are deep in the eyes of the Ottoman people, and therefore spatial belonging is low.⁸⁷⁰

Another wording similar to the *tenhâ* is *köşe ve bucak*. This expression also means secluded, out of sight, or nook. For example, in the lawsuit filed by the baker’s community against a person not from their community, secretly making and selling bread, it is stated that the accused person secretly produces and sells bread in places called “köşe ve bucaklarda.” (“...hırfetimizden olmayıp köşe ve bucaklarda hufyeten francala i‘mâl ve nâkısı’l-vezn olarak ibâdullâha fûrûhta ictisâr ve cümle nizâm-ı kadîmimizin mugâyiri...”⁸⁷¹). In another record, the *dikici* community in İstanbul at the beginning of the 19th century stated that some people were selling shoes secretly in han rooms and *köşe ve bucaklarda* (“...han odalarında ve köşe ve bucaklarda hufyeten gâlî bahâ ile ibâdullâha bey‘ eylediklerine binâen mahâllinde sahtiyânın bahâsına bakmayıp a‘lâsını ziyâde bahâ ile iştirâ etmeleriyle...”⁸⁷²).

The search activity carried out to find the body of Zümrüd is described with the following note stating that the “menzil-i mezkûrun köşe ve bucakların ve sâir mazanne olan mahallerin yegân yegân”⁸⁷³ were searched.

⁸⁶⁹ Kevser Kavgacı, “63 Numaralı Manastır Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi (1778-1782)” (master’s thesis, Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam Üniversitesi, 2021), 410-411.

⁸⁷⁰ Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivleri, Bab-ı Asaî Divan-ı Hümâyûn Sicilleri Mühimme Defterleri (BOA, A.{DVNSMHH.d...7-772, A.{DVNSMHH.d...5-186).

⁸⁷¹ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 94 Numaralı Sicil*, 76, verdict no 13, 2a-1.

⁸⁷² *İstanbul Mahkemesi 94 Numaralı Sicil*, 383, verdict no 370, 50a-4.

⁸⁷³ *Galata Mahkemesi 580 Numaralı Sicil*, 118, verdict no 86, 8a-1.

Places far away from people responsible for ensuring security were also coded as places where disgraced and unknown people gathered.

“lâkin mahall-i mezkûr hükkâm ve zâbitlerden ba‘îd olmak takrîbiyle makarr-i erâzil ve eşhâs ve müslim ve kefereden nice mechûlû’l-hâl kimesnelerin mecmû‘u olduđu ecilden...”⁸⁷⁴

All those examples are indications of the relationship between people’s minds and places concerning their nature, whether or not it is safe and secure or dangerous. Therefore, based on all these statements, it can be said that the mentality of ordinary Ottoman people is more inclined to define the patterns of security concerns over the place rather than the criminal person.

So, what part of the physical whole of the Ottoman space were these insecure places? Departing from the above facts, it is hard to specifically refer to some parts of the city as dangerous. Because rather than a specific physical space, being insecure and unstable is more related to social aspects of places. Places not close to the surveillance of security forces were judged as dangerous. Still, areas close to the city’s focal points might also be considered in this manner departing from the fact that it was scarcely populated, as seen in the above examples.

Another aspect that reveals the security emphasis of Ottoman locals is the feeling of safety, which repeatedly appears in archival records. There are various cases in which the Ottoman neighborhood community requested people to be relocated based on the argument that they did not feel safe. For example, according to a record from Ankara, a group of people collectively (Karapürçek karyesi ahâlîsinden bâ‘isü’l-vesîka Penbe oğlu Osman ve karındaşı Mehmed ve ... Edhem oğlu İsmail vesâirleri) applied to the court to indicate that Şerife Aişe was misbehaving improperly and accepting her house from unrelated people. The people of

⁸⁷⁴ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 24 Numaralı Sicil*, 343, verdict no 262, 78a-2.

Karapürçek stated that they lacked safety, peace, and comfort due to Aîşe's ugly behavior and demanded that she be sent from the village ("...lisanından münâzi' ve emin ve rahatlarımız bi'l-küllîye meslûb olmakla mezbûr karyemiz hurûç ve âhar mahalde sakin olunması..."⁸⁷⁵).

Here, while the neighborhood conveyed the demand for the expulsion of the person who did not comply with the social and religious rules, they wanted to have the dismissal decision taken, by referring to the lack of peace and security due behavior and actions of that person. The reference to this security concern, which is also included in many other similar spatial expulsion requests, is the existence of people acting outside the social control mechanism. In other words, this situation indicates the neighborhood community exercising social control to decrease the sign of spatial disorder, which is a trace of cognitive and emotional indications of place attachment.

In another incident in the Sarajevo records, orders were sent to merchants and artisan groups (Medîne-i Sarâybosna'nın tüccâr-ı zevî'l-ihtirâmı ve esnâfbaşları ve hıref kethüdâları ve sâir ehl-i sûku'l-mükerremûn) to keep sticks in their shops to protect themselves from the emerging bandit and ally themselves with an alliance if the bandit attack ("...her biriniz dükkânlarınıza sopalar vaz' idüb ol makûle şakî fesâd ve şekâveti zuhûr etdikde cümleiniz ittifâk edüb ahz edesiz..."⁸⁷⁶). This decision was taken as a result of a previous collective application ("...eşkiyâ zuhûr edüb ve 'avret ve oğlan çeküb ve leyl ü nehâr âlât-ı harb ile gezüb 'ibâdullahı bîvech cerh ve bigayr-ı hakkın mâlların fuzûlen gasb ve bunlarla emsâli envâ'-ı fesâd ile sâ'î

⁸⁷⁵ Taşcan, "173 Numaralı Ankara Şer'iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirmesi," 103-104.

⁸⁷⁶ Mısırlıoğlu, "6 Numaralı Saraybosna Şer'iyye Sicilinin Değerlendirilmesi ve Transkripsiyonu," 104.

bi'l-fesâd-ı fî'l-erd oldukların cem-i gafîr ve cem-i kesîr meclis-i şer'e gelüb
ihbâr..."⁸⁷⁷).

In the above case, in the face of the atmosphere of insecurity caused by the arrival of bandits, a collective application made to the court required that the merchants and artisans protect themselves by being united and armed. It would not be wrong to say that such events negatively affect belonging since the bandit's presence reduces the feeling of trust in the place. Moreover, instead of receiving state protection, having an order for self-protection would enhance the sense of insecurity. When the circumstances of the 18th century were considered, such as the increase in cases of begging, theft, murder, and prostitution, and the increases in spatial mobility have all heightened security concerns among the communities and ordinary people. It is possible to observe the outcome of these developments in requests of people to ensure safety and security in many court records of the 18th century.

For example, an edict recorded in the Trabzon court record stated that with the arrival of the spring season, the period of bandit attacks was approaching ("...mevsimi bahar hulûl eylemek hasebiyle ağaçlar yapraklanup zümde-i eşkıyâ dağlarda basturulub (...) ve ilticâ edecek zamanlar gelmekle..."⁸⁷⁸). Since it is known that bandits have been disturbing the people for a long time, it is ordered that the places where the bandit can be found should be started to be watched ("...isâl-i mazarrat ile ahâli ve ebnâ-yı sebiliyle bî huzur idgeldikleri öteden berü muharrer olmağın ol makûle eşkıyânın makar ve me'vâları tecessüs olunarak hudud ve sınırınız dâhilin her ne mahalde eşkıyâ zuhûr iderse bilâ eman ahz ve ceza-yı şer'iyeleri tertib ile..."⁸⁷⁹). It was requested that the officials (kadılar ... yeniçeri

⁸⁷⁷ Mısırlıoğlu, 104.

⁸⁷⁸ Bayraktar, "1917 Numaralı Trabzon Şer'iyye Sicilinin Değerlendirmesi ve Transkripsiyonu," 187-188.

⁸⁷⁹ Bayraktar, 187-188.

serdarları ve malikâne mutasarrıfları ve voyvodaları ve havâss ve evkâf zâbitleri ve darb ve harbe kadir il erleri ve a'yân-ı vilâyet ve iş erleri) of the neighborhoods close to each other communicate and protect the people through an alliance.

“...herkes kendüye semt ve münâsib olan mahallerin hükkâm ve zâbitânı ile haberleşüb bi'l-ittifak ahz ve istîsallerine mübâderet ve te'dibat-ı meşrûhaları icrâsıyla tathir-i memleket ve tahsil-i emniyet ebnâ-yı sebil ahâli ve raiyete sarf-ı kudret olunmak üzere....”⁸⁸⁰

In another case noted in the court record of Ankara dating 1721-1722, since it is customary for people who have acquired the habit of banditry to re-emerge with the spring season (“...fasl-ı bahârda serzede-i zuhûr olmaları ve ‘âdet-i müstemirreleri üzere tahazzüb ve tecemmu‘ ve fesâd ve şekâvete cesâret itmeleri muhtemel olmağın...”⁸⁸¹), it is requested that those who try to commit banditry be prevented in the place where they appear while paying great attention to the safety and welfare of the re‘âyâ and berâyâ (“...havzâ-i hükûmetinizde her ne mahalde bulur ve haberi alınur ise bir iken iki olmalarına kat‘â cevâz göstermeyüb... re‘âyâ ve berâyânın itminân veistirâhatlerine ve ebnâ-yı sebîlin emn ve selâmetlerine ziyâde ihtimâm ve dikkat...”⁸⁸²).

The fear of the bandit was one of the most fundamental fears for the Ottoman people. Therefore, the feeling of insecurity and fear of crime has become widespread among the population, especially during the spring time, in other words when the weather warms up. Several examples emphasize the reappearance of bandits in the time of spring, and it is noted that it has been happening for a long time.⁸⁸³ The

⁸⁸⁰ Bayraktar, 187-188.

⁸⁸¹ Yapıcı, “H.1133-1134 (M.1721-1722) Tarihli 97 Numaralı Ankara Şer‘iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 290-291.

⁸⁸² Yapıcı, 290-291.

⁸⁸³ See İleri, “Bulgaristan Milli Kütüphanesi’nde Kayıtlı S 16 Numaralı Sofya Şer‘iyye Sicili’nin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi,” 10-11, 54.

request of the Ottoman State to local officials to protect its people or directing people to arm themselves are among the examples of this widespread insecurity.

According to the general policy of the Ottoman State, “the sultan had to rule his subjects, who were *vedayi-i halik-i kibriya* (trust of God) with justice... The prevalent belief was that the Sultan’s just rule over *reâyâ* would conduct the *reâyâ* to a confident life, thus the *reâyâ* would work and produce under confidence and security which would increase production.”⁸⁸⁴ Departing from this fact, the main motivation of the Ottoman State was to provide a secure and confident living conditions to its subjects. Because only in this way the Ottoman State could ensure the continuation of production by providing that its subjects stay where they were. A generic statement exists at the beginning of most of the edicts is an example of the Ottoman State’s emphasis on safety and security: “[M]y sultanish wish lies in attaining aspects that bestow ease upon the poor among my subjects and inhabitants of the state and in allotting [them] defense and protection against all occurrences of oppression and aggression.”⁸⁸⁵

However, the 18th century was a time when things became increasingly difficult to achieve this general policy. The increased spatial mobility mentioned earlier and the increase in cases such as begging, theft, and indirectly related murder and prostitution enhanced security concerns. Hence, it would not be wrong to assume people’s attachment to places decreased.

Besides that, in terms of providing security, the physical structure of cities, composed of neighborhoods, was different from an organically integrative system.

⁸⁸⁴ Yücel and Özer Ergenç, “General Characteristics of the Ottoman State Policy During the XVIIIth and XIXth Centuries,” 237.

⁸⁸⁵ Eyal Ginio, “Living on the Margins of Charity Coping with Poverty in an Ottoman Provincial City,” in *Poverty and Charity in the Middle Eastern Contexts*, eds., Michael Bonner, Mine Ener, Amy Singer (Albany: State University of New York, 2003), 165-166.

Cities did not necessarily have a fortress, while walls or gates closing at night were not widespread. Ottomans did not use pre-existing fortresses in cities, and the living environment moved beyond the walls.⁸⁸⁶ These physical aspects had consequences on the people's belonging to the space. If the cities were fortified, the space physically would be bounded and limited with walls, and the attachment would be defined within the physical limits and more confined to the inside area. According to Özer Ergenç, the neighborhood Ottoman space is not a defensive area but rather an environment where its inhabitants can have a comfortable relationship.⁸⁸⁷ The fundamental structure of the mahalle inherently produced its own security within the minds of the Ottoman people.

“Since the traditional organization of space in the classical period limited the city's basic settlement unit to the *mahalle* scale, an introverted, self-sufficient concept of life was born, with the result that the social institutions that nourish the material and spiritual aspects of everyday life could exist only on this small scale. Accordingly, the 16th century İstanbul residential quarter (*mahalle*) is like a living organism... This sense of wholeness that surrounds the Ottoman is a virtual social security. The mosque and the dervish lodge guaranteed the *mahalle* residents' spiritual life, the bazaar their material life; the primary schools laid the foundation of the cultural-ideological circulation of ideas, and the *hamam* provided a virtual health service.”⁸⁸⁸

However, this does not mean that there were no physical structures in the form of a door or a castle wall limiting the area and providing the controlled passage. Certainly, there were existing doors or walls between the quarters, but they were not for isolating between quarters but for security. The case below is an example of a gate-building request for protection.

In an incident that took place in Ankara between 1783 and 1784, the residents of the Valtarin neighborhood applied to the court (Valtarin Mahallesi

⁸⁸⁶ Yücel and Özer Ergenç, “General Characteristics of the Ottoman State Policy During the XVIIIth and XIXth Centuries,” 237-238.

⁸⁸⁷ Özer Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehrindeki Mahallenin İşlev ve Nitelikleri Üzerine,” 70.

⁸⁸⁸ Işın, *Everyday life in İstanbul*, 276.

mütemekkinlerinden ashâb Elsağaralya... ve vesâirleri) and stated that the bandits harassed them and that they were not safe, adding that they wanted two gates to be built in their neighborhood to ensure their safety, adding that these gates would not harm those who own property in that area.

“...eşkiyâdan bazı kimesneler... ta‘ciz ve ba‘zımızı darb ve cerh ve kapularımıza gelub bešto atub ve kapularımızı keser ile tekdirden hâlî olmalarıyla selâmet-i hâl veistirâhatimiz için Acı Pavlus zimmî ve Köse oğlu Yorgi menzilleri divarından ve İlani binti Dimitri ve Tamam nâm Nasraniye menzîlleri divarından Mâriye’ne zararı olmadığı ecilden...”⁸⁸⁹

Another case reveals that people demanded that a door be built due to the secluded area of the street near the fortress wall in the Koca Mustafa Paşa Neighborhood. People from different neighborhoods stated that there was a door there in the past. To eliminate the problem, it was ordered that doors be built on both sides of the street and kept open during the day and closed at night.

“Mahmiye-i İstanbul hısnı ebvâbından Ebî Eyyûb-i Ensârî kapısı dâhilinde Koca Mustafa Paşa mahallesinde vâki‘ hisâr duvarı dibinde olan tarîk-i âmin ve Lisari zimmînin menzili hizâsından kadîmden bir parmak kapı ve Palaş nâm zimmînin menzili hizâsında bir parmak kapı olduğu mahmiye-i mezbûrda Toklu Dede mahallesi ahâlîsinden müezzîn Mustafa... ve Hoca Ali mahallesi ahâlîsinden Yusuf Ağa b. Abdullah ve Avcıbey mahallesi sükkânından Ahmed Beşe b. Mehmed ve Hacı İlyas mahallesi sükkânından üstâd Mustafa b. İbrahim Dede...nâm kimesneler ihbârları ile müte‘ayyin olup tarîk-i mezbûrun iki tarafında...buyruldu-yı şerîf vârid olup zikr olunan Mustafa Paşa mahallesi ahâlîsinden olup zeyl-i rakîmde isimleri terkîm olunan müslimîn tarîk-i mezbûr tenhâ yerde olmağla eşkiyâ nehâren nice fesâd ettiklerini ihbâr edip müte‘ezzî oldukları ecilden ke’l-evvel iki tarafında parmak kapı binâsına taraf-ı şer‘den izin taleb ettiklerinde def‘-i ezâ-yı müslimîn için tarîk-i mezbûrun iki tarafında ke’l-evvel parmak kapı binâ edip gündüzlerde açık durup gecelerde kapanmak üzere mezbûrlara taraf-ı şer‘-i behiyyeden izin verilmeğîn...”⁸⁹⁰

Ergenç also provides an example from Ankara court records dating back to the beginning of the 17th century that local dwellers built walls and towers to protect themselves from bandits. When the bandits attacked, some dwellers took arms and

⁸⁸⁹ Taşcan, “173 Numaralı Ankara Şer‘iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirmesi,” 65-66.

⁸⁹⁰ *Bab Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil*, 682, verdict no 880, 105a-4.

protected the city. Once they expelled the bandits, they returned to their regular jobs.⁸⁹¹

All these examples indicate that banditry activities, especially in the 18th century,⁸⁹² against the promise of the Ottoman State to provide security for its subjects, were widespread, as shown in other sources, and this was repeated regularly every year. The following statements in the notebook of the early 19th century (1810) in which Hafız Mehmed Efendi, Imam of the Soğanağa Mosque, wrote about the events, point out how big of a problem public security was even in the center of the empire like İstanbul.

“...bazı mahallerde erâzil ve eşkiyâ ta’ifesi çoğalup, ehl-i ırz ta’ifesinin emval ve eşyası yağma edüp ve ehl-i ırz nisvân taifesini odalarına çeküp hetk-i ırz etmekle, bir türlü ehl-i ırz ve esnaf taifesi emin ve rahat bulmayıp... ehl-i ırz ve esnaf taifesi ayağa kalkuğ, binbeşyüz mıkdarı adem Paşakapusu’na varup, birkaç gün cumhur cemâ’at hallerini ifade edüp...birkaç gün meks olundukda, esnaf ehl-i ırz ta’ifesi gayretiyle Paşakapusuna hücum etmekle, taraf-i Padişahi’den kendilerine izn ve ...”⁸⁹³

In fact, the orders sent every year refer to the emergence of banditry activities in the spring months. In these orders, the state instructed the soldiers to ensure the safety and well-being of the *ahâlî* and sometimes allowed the artisans to take up arms to protect themselves. Sometimes, people built walls and gates in streets, neighborhoods, and even cities to protect themselves. Or, there are many examples where people, fed up with the increasing banditry and robbery in the 18th century, left or were forced to leave their places. Not only banditry but also other reasons such as economic problems, wars or religious-based oppressions were leading people to

⁸⁹¹ Ergenç, “Toplumsal Düşünce Açıklama Kanalı Olarak Cemm-i Gaffir ve Cem’-i Kesir,” 444.

⁸⁹² Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*. Tolga U. Esmer, “Economies of Violence, Banditry and Governance in the Ottoman Empire Around 1800,” *Past&Present* 224 (2014): 163-199.

⁸⁹³ Kemal Beydilli, *Osmanlı Döneminde İmamlar ve Bir İmamın Günlüğü*, (İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları 2019) 144.

migrate as happened in Aleppo.⁸⁹⁴ Another reason for the increased mobility in the 18th century was the migration that took place with this fear and anxiety. One of these waves of immigration occurred at the beginning of the 18th century during the Austrian War (1715-1718). The villagers left their lands and migrated to the cities and towns when the increasing banditry activities did not end despite the precautions and measures. This migration wave happened especially towards İstanbul. Crime rates in big cities increased. This situation caused unrest among the city guilds, decreasing agricultural production and food shortage, and the tax burden on reaya. For these reasons, edicts were sent, and the villagers were asked to return to their homelands.⁸⁹⁵

Scholars “describe people as being aware of their sense of place when the place they are attached to threatened in some way.”⁸⁹⁶ Therefore, this scene of the 18th century that threatened people’s lives may have led to awareness in people’s minds regarding their places. Attached people are unwilling to leave their environment when there are threats since they tend to overlook the dangers compared to those who feel less connected.⁸⁹⁷ Instead of leaving, building walls and gates may have been given as an example of this. However, some Ottoman people left their places due to the increasing insecurity in their living environment. Hence, it is essential to avoid a one-sided conclusion here.

On the other hand, the other side of the story is that the people who migrated from their places for security reasons settled in the peripheries of the cities where they went, creating anxiety for the people already living there. According to Tanyeli,

⁸⁹⁴ Marcus, *Modernliğin Eşiğinde Bir Osmalı Şehri: Halep*, 33 – 50.

⁸⁹⁵ Yunus Koç, “Osmanlı Dönemi İstanbul Nüfus Tarihi,” *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 8, 6 (2010): 190. Zarinebaf-Shahr, “The Role of Women in the Urban Economy of Istanbul,” “143.

⁸⁹⁶ Anton and Lawrence, “Home is where the heart is,” 453.

⁸⁹⁷ Anton and Lawrence, 453.

18th century İstanbul stories define the peripheries of the city as the hub of evil and consider the increase in mobility as a problem.⁸⁹⁸

“In the second half of the eighteenth century, the tax burden of peasantry considerably increased due to long wars against Russia. This led to a significant flow of population from villages to towns in the Balkans. Edirne, being one of the largest cities in the region, was a centre of attraction for its security and economic opportunities.”⁸⁹⁹

Various edicts from the 18th century that command people who migrated to İstanbul to be sent back is an obvious sign of migrations and their potential effects on the city landscape. There are three edicts regarding the prevention of immigration to İstanbul in the Trabzon court records dated 1748 - 1750.⁹⁰⁰ In these edicts, migrations were referred to as *ev göçü* (home migration) (*bilâ emr-i şerif ev göçü ve bilâ maslahat gelmek murad idenler ve beru tarafa salı virilmeyüb geri vilâyetlerine i'âde*). It was requested that these migrants flow to İstanbul due to financial difficulties be sent back to the places they came from (*geldikleri mahale i'âdeye müsâra'at*). It is also stated in these edicts that no one will be allowed except those who only have documents for business or those who come for trade (*kendü maslahatları için ma'mûl bir sened ile ve yahud ticâret tarîkiyle gelenlerden mâ'ada*). When the court records of İstanbul are checked for those years, which are close to the dates of edicts registered in Trabzon sicils, documents related to immigration to İstanbul appear. In a record belonging to the Eyüp Court, those who came from Rumeli and Anatolia with immigration were reported and registered in the book.

“Rumeli ve Anadolu câniblerinden *ev göçü* ile biraz müddetden berü vâfir ricâl ve nisâ gelip Haslar muzâfâtında vâki' kasabât [ve] kurâ mahallâtında vâki' menzillere nüzûl ve duhûl eyledikleri ihbâr olunduğu cihetden ol

⁸⁹⁸ Tanyeli and Gerçek, *İstanbul'da Konut Mekânında Mahremiyetin İhlal ve Teşhiri*, 39.

⁸⁹⁹ Karagedikli and Tuncer, “The People next Door: Housing and Neighbourhood in Ottoman Edirne, 1734-1814,” 24.

⁹⁰⁰ Bayraktar, “1917 Numaralı Trabzon Şer'iyye Sicilinin Değerlendirmesi ve Transkripsiyonu,” 102-103.

makûleler ma‘rifet-i şer‘le tahrîr ve defter olunması bâbında ... ol makûleler alâ-vechi’s-sihha teftîş ve tefahhus eylediklerinde taşradan gelenlerin isim ve resimleri ve vilâyetleri ismi ve geldikleri müddet tasrîh ile tahrîr ve defteridir ki; ber-vech-i âtî ale’l-esâmî zikr olundu.”

The record, as mentioned above, includes the names, places, and time of arrival of people. When examined, people from various parts of the Empire migrated to İstanbul such as Kastamonu, Edirne, Sivas, Ereğli, Erzurumi, Erzincan, Rusçuk.

“Mahalle-i Evlice Ömer Beşe hâliyetesi oğlu Süleyman’ın zevcesi Fâtıma iki ay mukaddem Pazarköyü’nden getirmiştir. Abdi Beşe menziline Hüseyin ve zevcesi Âişe, altı ay mukaddem Afyonkarahisar’dan gelmiştir. Zeyneb Hatun Mahallesi Es-Seyyid Mehmed’in menziline Ali zevcesi Fâtıma ile iki ay mukaddem Kastamonu’dan gelmiştir. Bıçakçı Ferhad Mahallesi Ahmed ve Mehmed karındaşlar dört ay mukaddem Edirne’den gelmiştir...”⁹⁰¹

There are also three records in *Adalar Mahkemesi* dated between 1764 – 1771 concerning this home migration. While the first one orders the arrivals to İstanbul for immigration purposes to be kept under control, the second and third one is about obeying the first order.⁹⁰² In the first record, it says that “...müşâhede olunmakdan nâşî ceste ceste ahz ve kayıklara vaz‘ ve semtli ve semtlince mahâllerine i‘âde ve sevk ü tesyîr olunup...”⁹⁰³

In another edict sent to all governors of provinces, officers, and notables in Anatolia and Rumelia, it was strictly forbidden for the people to leave their towns and villages alone and migrate to İstanbul. It was ordered that those who set out to immigrate from their districts to İstanbul should be identified and returned to their former homeland.⁹⁰⁴ Hence, as all these edicts point out, due to the widespread

⁹⁰¹ *Eyüp Mahkemesi 182 Numaralı Sicil*, 231.

⁹⁰² İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Adalar Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1178-1184 / M. 1764-1771), Abdülkadir Altın and Nedim Pakırdağ, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 51, 72, 111, 144.

⁹⁰³ *Adalar Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil*, 51, verdict no 36, 7b-1.

⁹⁰⁴ Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, *Bab-ı Asaî Divan-ı Hümayûn Sicilleri Mühimme Defterleri* (BOA, A.{DVNSMHM.d...136-265, H-10-12-1142).

migration of people from different parts of the Empire to İstanbul, the security concerns of İstanbul residents increased.

These migration flows were not only towards İstanbul. People were also migrating from rural areas to other urban centers. For example, according to the edict in the Ankara *sicils* dating 1791, 162 people left their town with their families and migrated to Ankara (Kureyş kazâsı ahâlilerinden ber mûceb-i defter yüz altmış iki nefer kimesneler ‘iyâlleriyle bundan akdem vatan-ı asliyelerin terk ile).⁹⁰⁵ The edict ordered these people to be returned to where they came from. It also stated that the tax burden falling on those who stayed in the village was beyond tolerable.

“...reâyâ-yı mezbûrenin sehimlerine isâbet iden mîrîleri kazâ-i mezbûrun bakâya kalan reâyâlarına...tahammül olamayub külliye perîşân olacaklarından...sâire dahî sirâyet ile hâss-ı mezbûrun şîrâze-i nizâmına halel geleceği bedîdâr olmağla...”⁹⁰⁶

These migrant people should be sent back from where they were, regardless of their household status and time (“...hâne ve zamân i‘tibâr olunmaksızın ma‘rifet şer‘ ve zâbitânı ma‘rifetleriyle bulundukları mahallerden heyet-i mecmu‘alarıyla kaldırılıb makarr-ı kadîmleri olan asl cemâatleri derûnuna îvâ ve iskân...”⁹⁰⁷).

There are more edicts copied in *sicils* of the 18th century similar to those above that indicate the migration of people from rural areas to urban centers.⁹⁰⁸ And it is evident that this broad range of mobility affected the Ottoman realm to a great extent. Such migrations had a domino effect on the spatial plane, affecting not only the collection of taxes, the continuation of land regime, and agriculture but also the spatial belonging and feeling of trust and peace linked to the place.

⁹⁰⁵ Ebru Çelik, “178 Numaralı Ankara Şer’iyye Sicilinin (H.1202-1205/M.1787-1791) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi” (master’s thesis, Çankırı Karatekin Üniversitesi, 2022), 167-168.

⁹⁰⁶ Çelik, 167-168.

⁹⁰⁷ Çelik, 167-168.

⁹⁰⁸ Çelik, 168-170.

In response to these developments, there were security measures organized by both the people and the State at the neighborhood level. The lower the spatial belongingness in the above-mentioned unsafe areas, the higher the belonging is at the neighborhood level, especially in the areas that are considered to be protected. According to Ekrem Işın, the Ottoman *mahalle* was “like a living organism,” and all structures and institutions organized within the mahalle were interlocked, providing a sense of wholeness for its residents. This sense of wholeness includes the feeling of security.⁹⁰⁹

In creating this sense of integrity, it is essential to mention the main actors providing security in the neighborhood and their role in this structure. *Bekçis*, *ases* or *pâsbâns*⁹¹⁰ were fulfilling these protection duties in neighborhoods. For example, according to the order sent to the neighborhood *imams* in the İstanbul Court, night guards (*pâsbân*) were ordered to wander around the neighborhoods until the morning and protect the communities against bandits (“...sabâha deġin pâsbânları gezdirip muhkem hıfz üzre olalar şöyle ki mahallelerin bekçileri ba‘de’l-işâ sabâha deġin mahalleleri dolaşıp tekayyüd edip şakî ve haramzâdeye rast gelirse ahz edip...”⁹¹¹). In the same record, it was ordered that the houses’ chimneys be cleaned and warned that if there was a fire in the neighborhoods due to vents not cleaned, the imams of the community would be responsible and would not be forgiven (“...her kangı imâmın mahallesinde vâki‘ hânelerin ocakları tathîr olmayıp el-iyâzü billâh âteştin bir zarar isâbet ederse, aslâ ve kat‘â bir vechile özür ve cevâbları makbûl olmayıp

⁹⁰⁹ Işın, *Everyday life in İstanbul*, 276.

⁹¹⁰ *Ases* were people of Janissary origin who roamed the city at night (around the bazaars, markets, and neighborhoods) trying to prevent thefts and were in the position of guards. *Ases* were under the command of the *asesbaşı*, and the guards called *pâsbâns* served directly under the *subaşı*. Abdülkadir Özcan, “asesbaşı,” “zaptiye,” TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, accessed Septem 2, 2022, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/asesbasi>, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/zaptiye>

⁹¹¹ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 12 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1073-1074/M. 1663-1664)*, Rasim Erol et. al, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İSAM, 2010), 963, verdict no 1318, 148b-4.

vebâlleri kendi boyunlarına olsun...”⁹¹²). In this record, while the guards are assigned for the night security of the neighborhood, at the same time, chimney cleaning is instructed as a precaution against fire. Thus, it is aimed to provide security and safety from two different perspectives.

There is a similar court order (on cleaning chimneys) in 1765 again. In this record, imams and, this time, guilds’ *kethüdas* were also advised to give importance to chimney cleaning with the arrival of winter (“...İstanbul’da vâki‘ mahâllât imamlarını ve esnâf kethüdâlarından san‘atları ateşe tevakkuf eden esnâf kethüdâlarını çağırıp...”⁹¹³). Artisans whose business was related to fire were instructed not to leave a fire in their night shops and to properly preserve the fire (“...san‘atları ateşe tevakkuf eden esnâf dahi gece dükkânlarında ateş bırakmayıp ocaklarında ve dükkânlarında olan ateşi gereği gibi muhâfaza eylemeleri...”⁹¹⁴).

In another record about ensuring security in neighborhoods, bazaars, and markets, it was ordered to appoint two strong and robust guards to the necessary places since there were no guards or those who existed were old and could not work.

“ba‘zı mahallâtında ve esvâkında mu‘tâd üzere bekçileri olmayıp olanların dahi ekseri ihtiyâr ve amel-mânde olup... kadîmden bekçiler vaz‘ olunagelen yerlere yarar kefilleriyle güçlü kuvvetli ikişer nefer tüvânâ bekçiler ta‘yîn ve... sabaha değin gezmek üzere muhkem tenbîh ve te’kîd eyleyeler.”⁹¹⁵

While the responsibility for this issue is given to the neighborhood *imams* and *kethüdas*, it is also ordered that the chimney cleaning should be done every 15 days and people should not walk on the streets late hours at night (“...hâne ve hân ve avlulardan her on beş günde bir def‘a ocakları tathîr edip...ve bundan böyle yatsıdan sonra fenerli eğer fenersiz kimesne taşrada gezinip her kim olur ise olsun ahz olunur

⁹¹² *İstanbul Mahkemesi 12 Numaralı Sicil*, 963, verdict no 1318, 148b-4.

⁹¹³ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 25 Numaralı Sicil*, 87, verdict no 29, 12-1.

⁹¹⁴ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 25 Numaralı Sicil*, 87, verdict no 29, 12-1.

⁹¹⁵ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 22 Numaralı Sicil*, 696, verdict no 534,183b-2.

ise hakkından muhkem gelinmek...”⁹¹⁶) In another order, *bekçis* who sleep without a lantern until the morning without protecting the streets are warned by the *imams* of the neighborhood and stated that if they are found sitting, they will be dismissed from their jobs.

“İstanbul içinde olan mahalle bekçileri gece ile gelmeyip sabaha değin fenersiz dükkânları önünde uyudukları zâhir... bundan sonra tecessüs olunup her kangı mahallenin bekçisi sabaha değin fenerin yakıp otururken bulunur ise kendisi ta‘zîr ve mahallesi imâmı dahi azl olunup...”⁹¹⁷

Requiring that people had to carry lanterns at night was inherently aiming to ensure freeing streets from anonymous people (*meçhûlû’l-ahvâl kimesneler*) in the dark.

Except for reasons such as the aging of the guards or the inability to do their job, there were not always guards in every neighborhood. In this case, we see that the ordinary people do the guard duty in turns, as in many other issues at the neighborhood level. The following record is an example of this situation:

“Kiremitçi Ahmed Çelebi mahallesinde bekçiler olmayıp kadîmü’l-eyyâmdan olagelmiş nevbet ile beklenir cümle ümmet-i Muhammed nevbete râzı olup ba‘zı kimesneler te‘allül edip nevbete râzı olmayıp Hâslar kadısı efendiye fermân-ı şerîf ricâ olunur haklarından geline ve ço[r]bacıya tenbîh edip herkes nevbetine râzı ola bâkî fermân sultânım hazretlerindir.”⁹¹⁸

Overall, there were several factors of security and safety in the community which made neighborhood a safe core in itself. The fact that everyone is a guarantor for each other at the neighborhood level, that *meçhûlû’l-ahvâl* people are not kept in the community, and the creation of a system where not only the residents of the area but also the artisans vouch for each other were among those factors. One may add on top of it the night watch held by the *bekçis* or the ordinary people, makes the

⁹¹⁶ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 22 Numaralı Sicil*, 648, verdict no: 506, 169a-1.

⁹¹⁷ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 22 Numaralı Sicil*, 648, verdict no: 506, 169a-1.

⁹¹⁸ *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, Hasköy Mahkemesi 10 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1085 - 1090 / M. 1674 - 1679)*, Tahsin Özcan, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İSAM, 2011), 167, verdict no 219, 120-2.

neighborhood a safe core in itself. In order to keep the neighborhood secure as such, mobility was not wanted and people who behave differently or who are thought to disrupt the order were expelled. All these elements had logic in itself. The below court case is an indicative example of how this safe core is constructed:

“...Üsküdar’da vâki‘ mahallât imâmları meclis-i şer‘a ihzâr ve mahallât arasında mechûlû’l-ahvâl bilâ-kefîl kimesne olmayıp mukaddem tahrîr ve defter olunduğu vech üzere cümle ahâlî-i mahalle birbirlerine ve imâmları dahi cümlesine kefil ve kayıkçı tâîfeleri dahi birbirlerine ve kethudâları dahi cümlesine tekeffül etdiklerinden sonra... Üsküdar civârında vâki‘ Çenger ve İstavros ve Kuzguncuk ve Kâdı karyesi ve Evran ve Başibüyükklü ve Nerdübânlı ve Bulgurlu karyelerinde ve ol havâlîde olan bağ ashâbı zikrolunan karyelere ve bağlarına bilâ-kefîl mechûlû’l-ahvâl bekçi vaz‘ etmemek üzere ta‘ahhüd etdiklerini mahâllinde tahrir...”⁹¹⁹

Other than security concerns, disasters such as earthquakes, fires, floods, or epidemics like the plague engaged the survival instinct that motivated people to relocate. For example, due to the plague that broke out in Aleppo in 1724, it was recorded that especially the non-Muslim people fled to other places, and the arrival and departure of the merchants ended.⁹²⁰ Similarly, a range of disasters, floods, and earthquakes in İstanbul during the 18th century changed the city’s physical environment and people’s security concerns. The dissertation written based on the re-reading of the French monarchy’s official gazette, namely the Gazette de France, between 1740 – 1787, argues that İstanbul faced numerous disasters during this period that no other European cities had, such as fires, earthquakes, rebellions, uprisings, the threat of famine and high inflation.⁹²¹ Numerous cases and orders were written in the İstanbul court records regarding the earthquake in 1766. These records were included orders and decisions such as the detection and demolition of damaged buildings, not increasing the prices of construction materials by taking advantage of

⁹¹⁹ *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 403 Numaralı Sicil*, 59, verdict no 19, 4a-2.

⁹²⁰ Dağtekin, “Halep Vilayeti Evamir-i Sultaniye Defteri,” 61-62.

⁹²¹ Sébastien Flynn, “From Height to Crisis: The Last Half Century of Nizâm-ı Kadîm And Ottoman Society as Seen By The Gazette De France, 1740-1787,” (PhD diss., Bilkent University, 2022).

the earthquake, rebuilding places as fire resistant and with bricks (*kargir*), and opening and cleaning the waterways.⁹²² In the order recorded at the beginning of the 18th century, the people of the neighborhoods close to the fortress complained about the risk of the heather plant causing a fire (*cidâr-ı hisara karîb sâkin olan kimesneler evlerine funda getirip iyâzen billâhi te'âlâ ihrâkdan havf üzere oldukları civâr-ı mahallât ahâlîsi i'lâm etmeleriyle*). Thereupon, the people of these quarters and the guards, were ordered to prevent those who wanted to put heather through the fort's gate ("...sâkin olanların mahalleleri ahâlîlerine ve... bekçi olanlara ve bâcdâr... tenbîh ve te'kîd eylesin ki bundan sonra bir kapıdan içeri funda komayıp getirmek isteyenleri men'u def' eyleyeler..."⁹²³).

The register and other primary sources indicate that a plague also spread during this period. In one of the records in the Istanbul court book, there is a call to pray in mosques for the disappearance of the plague ("...evâmi' ve mesâcidde eyyâm-ı vebâda ber vech-i mu'tâd tilâvet oluna gelen sûre-i Ahkâf ke'l-evvel tilâvet olunması için sâdır olan fermân-ı âlîye imtisâlen işbu mürâsele tahrîr ve irsâl olundu..."⁹²⁴).

As said before, the 18th century witnessed wars, uprisings, and banditry activities. So, the instability of social order during wartime and uprisings increased ordinary people's need for protection. Since survival is the most basic instinct of human beings, it is harder to establish a bond with the place when people feel themselves in constant danger. For this reason, it can be said that wars and increased banditry activities were behind some migration movements in the 18th century. Those who chose to stay had to develop strategies to deal with their security concerns.

⁹²² See *İstanbul Mahkemesi 25 Numaralı Sicil*, 153, verdict no 109, 54-2; 153, verdict no 110, 54-3; 155, verdict no 114, 55-3; 164, verdict no 127, 61-1; 224, verdict no 213, 97-1.

⁹²³ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 22 Numaralı Sicil*, 704, verdict no 542, 186a-1.

⁹²⁴ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 24 Numaralı Sicil*, 40, verdict no 7, 1b-2.

As argued by Ali Yaycıoğlu, local people had chosen ayans who were also capable of providing security during these times. Although the role of ayans was to manage public affairs, in these periods, security provisioning was also expected from them. Besides, ordinary people used collective vows (*nezir*)⁹²⁵ to reinforce joint responsibilities. While the *nezirs* were reinforcing their joint responsibilities, the fact that everyone promised each other on specific issues (for example, that they would not disturb the order) reinforced people's trust and, therefore, the perception of security.⁹²⁶ According to Canbakal, materializing collective agreements was not new for neighborhoods or guilds; however, sealing these agreements with *nezirs* where people forced themselves to act in a specific manner was new.⁹²⁷ The following example directly quoted from Canbakal, reveals the aspect of *nezirs* in provisioning of security: "In 1776, people of Karahisar-i Sahib in Western Anatolia vowed to pay the state *nezir* money if they let the notables continue to recruit tribal mercenaries, and in 1778 they vowed to deny entry to a rebel a'yân to the region."⁹²⁸ Canbakal argues that these collective vows were different from the *kasame* procedure and *diyet* since people promised each other and the state to be responsible for maintaining order and security, which was, in nature, a kind of promise for the future and a preventive measure.⁹²⁹ The edict below copied in Ankara court records is an example to show how these *nezirs* worked:

"...hümâyûn vâsıl olacak ma'lûm ola ki Hüdâvendigâr sancağında vâki' Günyüzü ve Sivrihisâr kazâları ahâlîlerinin içlerinde zuhur iden eşkiyânın def'-i mazarratlarıyla emn ve râhatları için 'umûmen ahâlîleri birbirlerine kefile virilüb ve re'â(yâ)sının yedlerinde mevcûd bulunan birer mikdâr tüfenkleri mîrî için ahz ve mâ'adâsı dahi kendüleri fûrûht itmek üzere ta'ahhüd ve müceddeden kat' olunan nezirleri hüccet-i şer'îyye olunub lâkin

⁹²⁵ Agreement made between individuals or groups of people that are sealed with a *nezir* (vow) obliges people to act in a promised way.

⁹²⁶ Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order*, 151.

⁹²⁷ Canbakal, "Vows as Contract in Ottoman Public Life (17th-18th Centuries)," 86.

⁹²⁸ Canbakal, 93.

⁹²⁹ Canbakal, 93-94.

zıkr olunan kazalar Hüdâvendigâr sancağının bir ucunda vâki‘ olmağla Burûsa yedi sekiz ve Kütâhiyye dört beş menzil mesâfe-i ba‘îde olub kazâlarında fi-mâ-ba‘d zuhûr iden eşkiyânın ahzlarına ve ahâlîleri kâdir olamadıkları hâlde Kütâhiyye veyâhud Burûsaya varub ahvâllerin ifâde ve vâlîlerinden mübâşir alub kazâlarına ‘avdet idince eş(kı)yâ makûlesi firâr itmekle ele götürülmeleri hadd-i imkânda olmayub bu husûs için vülât ve hükkâm ve vâlîleri taraflarından mes’ûl ve mu‘âteb olacaklarından gayri ta‘ahhüdleri üzere bu def‘a eyledikleri nezirleri tahsîl olunmak lâzım gelüb bu vechile kendülere gadr-i küllî olacağı zâhir olub lâkin kurb ve civârlarında vâki‘ Ankara sancağı kazâlarıyla Günyüzü ve Sivrihisâr kazâları birbirlerine muttasıl ve karyeleri mahlût ve nefis-i Ankaraya iki menzil mahal olub bu misüllü ahvâl vukû‘una ber-vech-i ta‘cîl Ankara sancağı mutasarrıfına haber virilüb ve tarafından mübâşir alınub iktizâ iderise kendüsi gelüb cümle ittifâk ve ittihâd ile matlûb olan eşkiyâ âsân vechile ele getirülüb ve şer‘an müstehakk oldukları cezâları tertîb ile icrâ-i hakk olunmak mümkün olduğundan ahâlîlerinin hâllerine merhâmeten zıkr olunan kazâlar Hüdâvendigâr sancağından ifrâz ve Ankara sancağına nakl ve ilhâk olunduğı...”⁹³⁰

According to the edict mentioned above, the people of Günyüzü and Sivrihisar towns sealed a *nezir* and vouched for each other for the expulsion of the bandits. However, since these towns, as mentioned earlier, were far from the Hüdavendigâr sanjak, they could not seize the brigands. Finally, it was decided to transfer these two towns to the Ankara sanjak. Otherwise, the brigands were escaping until townsmen went to Kütahya or Bursa to explain their situation.

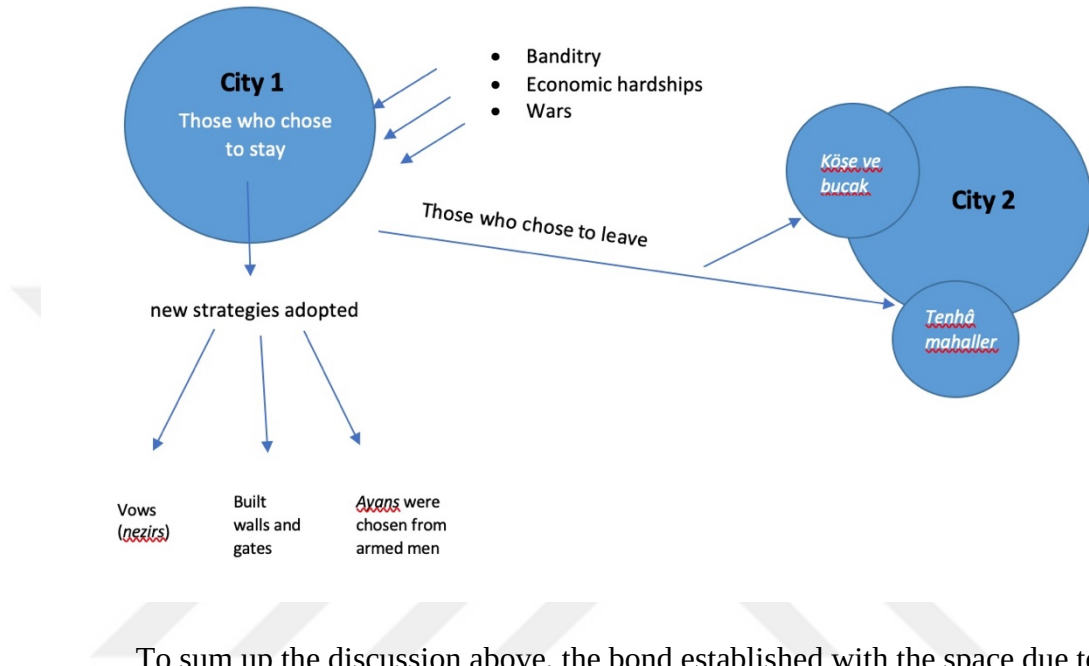
The insecurity of the existed in the 18th century was not something new for locals; however, the institutional framework of this century allowed “them to offer formal positions to leaders of armed men for protection and to manage public affairs as their ayans,”⁹³¹ plus collective vows were something new in terms of ordinary people provisioning of security of themselves. So, one may witness a communalization of security in the 18th century through oaths and *nezirs*,⁹³² which increased people’s level of attachment to places.

⁹³⁰ Yapıcı, “H.1133-1134 (M.1721-1722) Tarihli 97 Numaralı Ankara Şer‘iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 277-278.

⁹³¹ Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order*, 151.

⁹³² Kokdaş, “From State-Affiliated Groups to Local Paramilitaries.”

The illustration below overall shows how security and survival-related factors affected people's choices and strategies concerning their living environments. The story of those who chose to leave and how they became marginalized will be detailed in the section dealing with the “unattached ones” of the Ottoman space



To sum up the discussion above, the bond established with the space due to the instincts of security and survival was affected by different factors in different scales in the Ottoman space. Yet it is possible to say that the neighborhood is the most basic unit that creates a sense of security in its residents due to its social and physical structures. On the other hand, the places considered *tenhâ* became areas attracting low levels of attachment. The spring season was when security concerns increased due to the enhanced activities of the bandits. Lastly, *nezirs* that people collectively promised for maintaining safety and security also affected people's attachment to their places.

3.8. The Impact of Social Control Mechanisms on Attachment to Place

Exercise of social control to decrease the sign of disorder or to sustain order is a sign of cognitive and emotional links that people formed with places. For this reason, understanding the social control mechanisms that are very common in Ottoman space and understanding the effects of these mechanisms to maintain or permanently change the order in space helps us to understand the bond that individuals or groups formed with space. Hence, in this part of the thesis, I will try to understand the existence or development of the sense of belonging through social control mechanisms in the Ottoman space by revealing the space aspect of the social control mechanisms.

What were these social control mechanisms, and how did they work in the Ottoman context? Social control mechanisms of the Ottoman society were both a legal and sociological phenomenon, going beyond the modern concept of “neighborhood pressure” as debated in current Türkiye. Religious, moral, and cultural codes mostly fed the reflexes that brought about social control. Other than this, there were also legal enforcements that motivated people to control each other. Social control mechanisms were manifested in a given locality since the space is intrinsic to social control.

To understand social control mechanisms, it is a necessity to elaborate on socially constructed territories of urban scape, which structures both Ottoman city and *mahalle*, and helps tracing the transitions in Ottoman urban space. In general terms, it was common that people who belonged to same religious community were living in the same *mahalle*, however this was not a rule or an obligation.⁹³³ The Islamic city paradigm, which described *mahalles* as segregated strictly according to

⁹³³ Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehrindeki “Mahalle”nin İşlevleri ve Nitelikleri Üzerine,” 75-80.

religion, has been falsified a long time ago and now there has been ample evidence regarding mixed quarters consisting of different religions or ethnic background.

These lines of communal boundaries in Ottoman cities had been more flexible than it was supposed to be and adopted to changing spatial orders over time. The seminal studies done on Arab cities, such as Abraham Marcus's work on Aleppo, or Grehan's work on Damascus, provide examples of factions exist in Ottoman mahalles and cities not defined by religion but by interests, family or professional solidarities.⁹³⁴

Chained surety, shared responsibility and neighboring rights which exist in Ottoman *mahalles* bounded different communities each other, led to the development of social ties among members of different communities. The sense of community overarched the ethnic or religious differences. In terms of spatiality, dwellers of Ottoman *mahalles*, at the same time, simultaneously belonged to different religious, ethnic or occupational communities,⁹³⁵ prompting multiple meanings to places.

What were the expectations of Ottoman society from individuals in terms of spatial boundaries of the *mahalle* that bound different ethnic and religious people under the same space? Every dweller in the mahalle was expected to be in its own state or being innocuous (*kendi halinde olmak*).⁹³⁶ This was a kind of rule for dwellers to avoid behaviors that would disrupt the order in the neighborhood and harm others. Another aspect of this "being in its own state" is fulfilling the requirements, such as joining common costs within a community.⁹³⁷ The spatial

⁹³⁴ Nora Lafi and Florian Riedler, "Administrative Boundaries, Communal Segregation and Factional Territorialisation: The Complex Nature of Urban Boundaries in the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 61 (2018): 595-597.

⁹³⁵ Karagedikli, "Overlapping Boundaries in the City: Mahalle and Kahal in the Early Modern Ottoman Urban Context," 650.

⁹³⁶ For further evaluations on this see Tekgöl, "A Gate to the Emotional World of Pre-modern Ottoman Society."

⁹³⁷ Tekgöl, "A Gate to the Emotional World of Pre-modern Ottoman Society," 177. Hülya Taş, "Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahallelinin Ortak Sorumluluğu Nasıl Değerlendirilebilir?" *XVI. Türk Tarih Kongresi* c.IV/I (20-24 September 2010): 542-543.

dimension of joining common fees and its relevance to place attachment was discussed previously. What is important here is that if a dweller is socially compliant and fulfilling their financial responsibilities, other dwellers of the neighborhood collectively give their consent and show their gratitude to this person (*rızâ ve şükran üzere olmak*). This means that dwellers of a neighborhood being thankful to someone and giving their consent to a member of neighborhood. If someone from a neighborhood did not fulfill their duty within the scope of joint responsibility, the people of a neighborhood would not give their consent and show their gratitude. There are many examples of this situation in court registers.⁹³⁸

What happened when the neighborhood community did not consent and did not show their gratitude to a dweller? To be more precise, what happened when the community did not feel safe and secure from the behaviors of their neighbors? Through elaborations on these cases, I will offer an analysis of social control mechanisms and the effects of these mechanisms on place attachment.

One of those social control mechanisms is applied for the crimes of *zina* (adultery/fornication). According to the sharia and the sultanic law, the sexual intercourse is only possible between husband and wife or between the owner and his female slave. All others were deemed illicit and called *zina*.⁹³⁹ There are several complaints about adultery in Ottoman court records. The crime of adultery is a severe crime in Islam that needs to be proven, and in the case of false accusation, the person who commits the slander is punished as if he had committed the crime of

⁹³⁸ Tekgül, "A Gate to the Emotional World of Pre-modern Ottoman Society," 169-172.

⁹³⁹ Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 271. Ginio, "Living on the Margins of Charity Coping with Poverty in an Ottoman Provincial City," 175-176.

adultery.⁹⁴⁰ In this thesis, an analysis will be made on the complaints about those who accept *nâmahrem* in their homes or prostitution instead of adultery records within the scope of social control practices for the place.⁹⁴¹ I will focus on cases that fall “more properly unders the general category of disturbing peace or offending the morals of Muslim community.”⁹⁴² Some examples encountered in selected 18th century court records on this subject are as follows.

In one example, the people of the *Hammâmî* neighborhood, consisting of Muslims and non-Muslims (Mehmed Efendi b. Halil ve... mahalle-i mezbûrede mütemekkinler Papa Yani ve Mihâl ve Marat ve Atnaş ve Tarandefîl ve Anton ve Dimitri ve Nikola ve Praşkova ve Pavli ve Yamandi ve Dimitri ve diğer Dimitri ve Laskov nâm zimmîler), demanded that Asani be removed from the neighborhood because he was abusive and took prostitutes and unknown persons into his house (hadîdü’l-lisân ve bed-zebân olduğundan mâ’adâ ırzıyla mukayyed olmayıp fâhişe makûlelerini ve mechûlü’l-ahvâl kimesneleri menziline idhâl). The plaintiffs reported that they had warned Asani, but he continued with his behavior and threatened to burn the neighborhood (“...kabûl etmeyip harekât-ı nâ-marziyyesinde ısrâr ve mahallenizi ihrâk-ı binâr ederim deyü ol vechile kendiden emn ve rahatımız meslûb olmuştur...”⁹⁴³).

⁹⁴⁰ “Because fornication is punishable by stoning to death (recm) when it is adulterous (committed by a married Muslim and, therefore, zina), false accusation of zina (kazf) itself belongs to the most serious class of crimes (crimes against the limits set by God), and the guilty party is subject to the same punishments as are required for someone who commits zina.” Andrews and Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds*, 272.

⁹⁴¹ Since it was hard to prove adultery, and false accusations involved the same punishment, the neighbors usually made allegations of accepting unrelated people into homes. Moreover, as noted by many studies, in the Ottoman legal practice, there was a discrepancy between the penalty foreseen in shari’a in theory and the State’s exercise of punishment for those committing adultery. The sentence of death was rarely practiced. Instead, the practice of expulsion was common. Andrews and Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds*, 272-273. Hamadeh, “Mean Streets: Space and Moral Order in Early Modern İstanbul,” 265.

⁹⁴² Andrews and Kalpaklı, 276.

⁹⁴³ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 78 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1216-1217 / M. 1801-1803)*, Ayhan Işık and Esra Yıldız, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 259, verdict no 285, 38b-3.

The Muslim and non-Muslim residents of İstanbul Fenerkapı (ahâlîsinden İmâm Mustafa Efendi ve... Baba Marfaya ve İsayi ve Penayot nâm zimmîler) have requested that Ananya, who lives as a tenant in their neighborhood, be transferred to another place, adding that she had taken unrelated people and prostitutes to her home and had been expelled from other neighborhoods before.

“...icâre tarîkiyle sâkine olan ... Ananya Nasrâniye kendi hâlinde olmayıp menziline nâ-mahrem olan kimesneyi alıp fâhişe avratlar cem’ edip pûzevenklik etmekle birkaç def’a mahallelerden ihrâc olunup ve...bir vechile kendisinden emîn değilleriz deyü muvâcehesinde sû-i hâlini haber ve diyâr-ı âhara nefy ve iclâ olunmak...”⁹⁴⁴

The demands for expulsion from the neighborhood on the grounds of adultery or prostitution were manifested in different ways in the inns, which were essential elements of the Ottoman urban space. For example, six Muslim and four non-Muslim merchants who stayed at the Genç Mehmed Paşazâde inn were asked about the behavior of Yuvan, the previous innkeeper (“...sâbıkâ hân-i mezkûr hancısı olan Araboğlu Sava v. Yuvan nâm zimmînin keyfiyet-i ahvâlî hân-ı ... altı nefer Müslimîn ile dört nefer zimmîden tefahhus olundukda...”⁹⁴⁵). The merchants complained about Yuvan’s tavern and brothel business and demanded his expulsion from the inn (dâimâ meyhânecilik ve kârhânecilik eylediğinden).⁹⁴⁶

Ayşe Hatun, who lived in Silivri in the 18th century, is another person whose expulsion was requested on the grounds that she was a prostitute, accepted unrelated people into her home, and dye tar on the door of Muslims (“...Ayşe nam hatun kendi halinde olmayub daima na-mahrem kimesneler ile ihtilât edüb fevahiş makûlesinden olmağla...”⁹⁴⁷). When asked about the situation, the neighborhood residents

⁹⁴⁴ *Bab Mahkemesi 150 Numaralı Sicil*, 573, verdict no 76, 139b-2.

⁹⁴⁵ *Bab Mahkemesi 150 Numaralı Sicil*, 453, verdict no 495, 108b-2.

⁹⁴⁶ *Bab Mahkemesi 150 Numaralı Sicil*, 453, verdict no 495, 108b-2.

⁹⁴⁷ Muslu, “1647 Nr. Şer’iyye Sicilinin Işığında Lale Devri’nin İlk Yıllarında Tekirdağ (1721-1724),” 533-534.

collectively (su'al olundukda ahali-i kasabadan cemm-i gafir ve cem'î kesir) testified against Ayşe Hatun and stated that Ayşe Hatun continued her behavior despite being warned many times.

In another case from *Medîne-i Ayıntâb* dating 1700, the ahâli collectively (sakin Mehmed bin Şeyh ve ...el-Hâc Mustafa bin Ali vesayirleri) applied to the court to demand *Ali bin Mehmed* and his mother be expelled from the neighborhood by indicating that he brought people unrelated to his house, they organized entertainment at home and caused discomfort at the neighborhood (mezbûr Ali kendi halinde olmayub validesi Emine nâm hatuna mahrem olanları huzurlarına getürüb müctemi'an lehv ve lu'b ve tanbur çalub fisk-u ve fücür eylemeğin halinde). As it is understood from the record; these people have been brought to court before and asked to put an end to their actions. As a result of Ali and his mother's non-compliance with the ban, the people applied to the court again, demanding that their expulsion from the neighborhood ("...mukaddema hakimü'ş-şer'îye i'lâm eylediğimizdede men' olunmuşlar iken halâ memnu' olmayub kemâ fi'l-evvel daha ziyade i'lân-ı fisk-u fücür ve üzerine... olmağla mezbûr mahallemizden ihrac olunmasını taleb ideriz..."⁹⁴⁸).

All these examples are related to the surveillance and control mechanisms of mahalles in the Ottoman society. The requests were centered around expelling people who did not behave according to the usual rules of the community spatially. So, the requests of *ahâlî* on expulsions from the neighborhood also deserve to be evaluated in terms of undesirable people. For example, according to the case below, Rukiye was expelled from the Ağa neighborhood and came to the Takyecibaşı

⁹⁴⁸ Atasoy, "50 Numaralı Ayıntâb Şer'iyye Sicili'nin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi," 490.

neighborhood. In the Takyecibaşı neighborhood, too, the residents wanted her to be sent away because of her relations with unrelated ones.

“Ashâb-ı arzuhâl Takyecibaşı Mahallesi İmamı Mustafa Efendi ve Müezzîn Molla Mehmed ve cemâ’atlerinden... Ahmed b. Süleyman nâm kimesneler... Rukiye nâm hatun mukaddemâ sâkine olduğu Ağa Mahallesi ahâlîsinin iştikâ ve iltimâslarıyla... ihrâc ve hâlâ mahallemizde sâhibesi rızâsız menzile nakl etmekle mezbûre Rukiye’nin nâmahremden ictinâbı olmadığından mâ’adâ ba’zı ehl-i ırza itâle ve ifk ü iftirâdan hâlî olmamağla mezbûrenin mahallemizden dahi ihrâcı matlûbumuzdur deyü iştikâ-birle eyledikleri arzuhâlleri mûcebince...”⁹⁴⁹

Therefore, for people like Rukiye, unwanted wherever they go, establishing bonds with living spaces is not an easy. Since their bad reputation moves with them, it complicates things in their new neighborhoods.

It is possible to multiply the examples of expulsion from the neighborhood in crimes based on adultery.⁹⁵⁰ And frankly, these records are no different from ones of different centuries in Ottoman courts. However, when analyzed from a spatial point of view, the requests were usually for the physical expulsion of the people misbehaving. In other words, they want the perpetrators of the action to cease to exist in their own spaces rather than punishing the action. The importance of this in terms of spatial belonging will be discussed at the end of this sub-title after discussing other aspects of the subject.

In addition to these explicit allegations of adultery, there is also an accusation method based on the spatial marking of people in Ottoman society, which needs to be handled based on spatial belonging. Since sometimes it is hard to prove adultery or any other wrongdoing, but impossible for neighborhood residents to stay indifferent

⁹⁴⁹ *Eyüp Mahkemesi 182 Numaralı Sicil*, 374, verdict no 615, 60b-5.

⁹⁵⁰ *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 531 Numaralı Sicil*, 188, verdict no 125, 12a-6; 244, verdict no 233, 21a-1. *Bab Mahkemesi 197 Numaralı Sicil*, 308, verdict no 357, 46a-3; 400, verdict no 515, 66a-2. Taşcan, “173 Numaralı Ankara Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirmesi,” 103-104. Yapıcı, “H.1133-1134 (M.1721-1722) Tarihli 97 Numaralı Ankara Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 61-62. Özdoğan, “55 Numaralı Konya Şer’iyye Sicili’nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu 308, 379.

in such cases as well, they chose to reveal this so-called “sin” by different methods. Court cases involving smearing tars over doors or hanging some objects to entries, such as horns or fruits are among those methods to reveal the adultery or at least blame someone for adultery. Obviously, as summarized in the introduction of this sub-section, there were rules and a set of behaviors expected from the “spatial community” members in the Ottoman context. Those who behaved contrary to these rules were faced with community sanctions. In this context, smearing tars is a different issue since it was a way of blaming residents of the given spatial community not through courts but in disguised manner. Although various scholars have discussed this issue, I would like to present a discussion within the context of place attachment.

For example, according to the Üsküdar court records dating 1790-93, several people from Kadiasker neighborhood, including the imâm and the mu’ezzin of the neighborhood (Mehmed Emin Efendi b. el-HâcOsman... ve Osman b. Mehmed ve İbrahim b. İbrahim nâm kimesneler⁹⁵¹) applied to the court to complain about the Bostanî Süleyman b. Mustafa and Emine bt. Abdullah since Emine came together with Süleyman who is nâmahrem for her and they behaved immoral (“...nâ-mahrem olan mezbûr Bostanî Süleyman ile icrâ-yı fisk için cem’ olup ve mezbûr Süleyman gecelerde âlât-ı harb ile geşt ü güzâr etmeleriyle...”⁹⁵²). The community indicated they first warned Süleyman and Emine, but they did not change their behaviors. Even, Süleyman and Emine smeared tars and hung horns on doors of people who warned them (“...mâ’adâ her birinin menzili kapısına katran sürüp ve boynuz asıp ve

⁹⁵¹ *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 531 Numaralı Sicil*, 703, verdict no 1143, 94a-1.

⁹⁵² *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 531 Numaralı Sicil*, 703, verdict no 1143, 94a-1.

itâle-i lisân edip hattâ târih-i i'lâm gecesi yine mezbûr Süleyman ile icrâ-yı fisk için cem‘ oldukları hâlde...”⁹⁵³).

In another case, the *imâm* of the Firuzağa neighborhood complained about Adalı Fâtıma Hâtun indicating that she did not refrain from *nâ-mahrem* by emphasizing that her door was smeared (“...mezbûre Fâtıma Hâtun nâ-mahremden ictinâbı olmamağla, bi’d-defa‘ât kapısı katranlanıp...”⁹⁵⁴). The *imam* requested that her behaviors to be asked from the community of neighborhood. Several people from the neighborhood confirmed that she did not refrain from *nâ-mahrem* (“...mahalle-i mezbûre ahâlîsinden Mehmed Ağa.... ve sâirlerinden suâl olundukda, fi’l-hakîka mezbûre Fâtıma nâ-mahreminden ictinâbı olmamağla... sû’-i hâl üzredir deyu her biri muvâcehesinde alâ tarîki’ş-şehâde haber vermeğın...”⁹⁵⁵).

Smearing tars over doors were also used to slander people. So, it was not necessarily reporting an actual crime or adultery. For example, many cases of smearing tars carried to the court resulted in that the community did not testify for alleged adultery claims.⁹⁵⁶ For instance, according to court records of Konya, the ahâlî testified for the good conduct of the wife of İsa Beşe, whose door was dyed with tars.

“...Mahmiye-i Konyada subaşı olan Abbas Ağa meclis-i şer’a hatrû لازمü’ttevkirde Divle mahallesi ahâlîsinden Şeyh Ahmed Efendi ve Mustafa Çelebi b. Elhac Veli ve İbrahim b. Süleyman ve Yusuf b. Nasuh ve Hasan Çelebi mahzarlarında takrir-i kelim edüb mahalle-i merkume sakinlerinden gaibü’l-ani’l-meclis olan İsa Beşe’nin kapusuna katrân sürmüşler zevcesinin keyfiyet-i hali mezbûrun kimesnelerden sual olunsun didikde gıbbe’sual mezbûrun Şeyh Ahmed Efendi ve Mustafa Çelebi ve İbrahim ve Yusuf ve Hasan Çelebi cevaplarında mezbûr İsa Beşenin zevcesi kendi halinde salih ve müstakîmedir deyu hüsn-i haline ihbâr eylemeğın...”⁹⁵⁷

⁹⁵³ *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 531 Numaralı Sicil*, 703, verdict no 1143, 94a-1.

⁹⁵⁴ *Bab Mahkemesi 54 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1102 / M. 1691)*, 221, verdict no 253, 41a-1.

⁹⁵⁵ *Bab Mahkemesi 54 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1102 / M. 1691)*, 221, verdict no 253, 41a-1.

⁹⁵⁶ Cemal Çetin, “Anadolu’da Kapıya Katran Sürme Vak’aları: Konya Şer’iye Sicilleri Işığında Hukuki, Kültürel ve Toplumsal Boyutları (1645 – 1750),” *Turkish Studies* vol. 9/1 (2014): 133-156.

⁹⁵⁷ Konya Şer’iye Sicilleri 16/34-2 directly quoted from Cemal Çetin, “Anadolu’da Kapıya Katran Sürme Vak’aları,” 148.

Another tar-stealing case in Konya records is unusual in terms of the way it happened. According to the incident in 1742, the shepherd Mehmed bin Hüseyin applied tar on his goat with mange for treatment (“...çobanı Mehmed bin Hüseyinin bir ra’s keçisi uyuz olub ilaç için mezbur Mehmed zikrolunan keçiye katran sürüb...”⁹⁵⁸). The tar-driven goat touched Ahmed bin Halil’s door while walking and left a trace of tar (katranlı keçi benim sokak kapuma sürünüb ol vecihle katranın rayıhası ve eseri sokak kapumda bulunmağla). For this reason, some people with allegedly have malicious intent made accusations that Ahmed bin Halil, his wife, and daughter-in-law were not in his own state and put them under suspicion (“...es-hâbı ağrazdan bazı kimesneler benim için kendi halinde olmadığımı binaen kapısına katran sürülmül deyü su-i zan etmeleriyle...”⁹⁵⁹). Thereupon, Ahmed bin Halil demanded to be acquitted by asking the neighborhood people about their own situation. The neighborhood witnessed their good behavior (“...mezbur Mehmed ile ğâib anil-meclis zevcesi mezbure Ayşe ve gelini mezbure şerife kendi hallerinde ırz ile mukayyed olub her birinden cümlemiz razı ve hoşnudlarız...”⁹⁶⁰), and the case was closed and was recorded.⁹⁶¹

In another record from the Konya court dating 1741, Seyyid Mustafa stated that tar was applied to the door of his house. He wanted the dwellers of the neighborhood to be asked about their situation since he and his wife had no problem with anyone (“...tarîh-i kitâb gecesi mahalle-i mezbûrede vaki menzilimin başka sokak kapusuna eshabı a’raz katran sürüp lâkin bir kimesne mazannem dahî olmamağla... keyfiyeti ahvallerimiz mahallemiz ahalîlerinden suâl olunsun...”⁹⁶²).

⁹⁵⁸ Özdoğan, “55 Numaralı Konya Şer’iye Sicili’nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu,” 594-595.

⁹⁵⁹ Özdoğan, 594-595.

⁹⁶⁰ Özdoğan, 594-595.

⁹⁶¹ Özdoğan, 594-595.

⁹⁶² Özdoğan, 539-540.

The case was recorded after the neighbors witnessed the well-being of Seyyid Mustafa and his family (“...istihbar olunduklarında her biri mezbûr es Seyyid Mehmed ve zevcesi Keziban kendi hallerinde... cümlemiz hoşnud ve razıyız diyü her biri mezbûrânın hüsnü hallerini haber vermeleriyle...”⁹⁶³)

Concerning the practice of applying tar on the door, the place attachment of the person whose entry is smeared with tar, whether based on a genuine reason or slander, should be adversely affected. As seen in many cases, expulsion was requested for the person whose door was smeared with tar. So, even if this person is cleared of the alleged crimes, smearing doors, which made an accusation publicly available to those living nearby, decreases people’s attachment to the place.

Whatever the motivation behind these acts of smearing tars, it is a symbolic act, and the marking occurs on the door which is the boundary between public and private sphere. In other words, applying tar on the door is announcing the crime of adultery, which is unknown to everyone or has not yet been brought to court, to the public by marking the border between public and private space with a symbolic action. In a sense, this act is an anonymous public denunciation by using a private space entrance. Therefore, alleged people themselves for adultery applied to the court to be acquitted of their names from allegations in many cases. According to Yılmaz, making an event in the private sphere open to the public with such a symbolic message is the transfer of a personal issue to the public space.⁹⁶⁴ As many Ottoman court cases revealed, finding the truth also depends on the community’s observations concerning the alleged person’s behaviors.

Departing from this point, it was essential for ordinary Ottoman people in a community to be known, to be seen, socialize, and even join events in the

⁹⁶³ Özdoğan, 539-540.

⁹⁶⁴ Yılmaz, “XVI. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahremiyetin Sınırlarına Dair,” 95.

neighborhood, such as going to the mosque for Friday praying. Because there are instances that the *ahâli* did not testify for a person's goodwill since this person did not attend prays in the neighborhood mosque.

“Sicill-i sâbıkda mastûr olan Hüseyn'in keyfiyet-i ahvâli ahâlî-i mezbûreden tefahhus olundukda sikâtdan Seyyid İbrahim b. Sinan ve Şahkulu b. Kaya ve Yusuf b. Abdullah ve Bekir Çelebi el-müezzîn ve Hacı Ali [b.] Yusuf ve Hacı Osman [b.] Hızır ve Mehmed b. Hasan ve Mehmed b. Hasan ve Hacı Ali b. Hızır ve Mustafa b. Hasan ve Ali b. Allahkulu ve Abdurrahman b. Receb nâm kimesneler ve sâir cemm-i gafîr mahfil-i kazâya hâzırûn olup mezbûr Hüseyn kendi hâlinde sâlih ve kendi hâlinedir iyi adamdır kat'â şikâlığı görmedik ve işitmedik ve dâimâ namazı cemâ'at ile edâ eder mazlumdur deyu haber verdikleri bi't-taleb tahrîr olundu.”⁹⁶⁵

As shown from the example above, the *ahali* testified about Hüseyn's good behavior by indicating that he prays with the neighborhood community. In another example, the community of *Düğmecibaşı* neighborhood applied to the court to request Yusuf b. Mehmet to be expelled from the neighborhood because of his foul language. They also pointed out that he did not perform a five-time prayer to justify their request for expulsion:

“...Düğmecibaşı mahallesi sâkinlerinden Fazlullah Halîfe b. Ali el-İmâm ve ... ve sâirleri meclis-i şer'-i hatîr-i lâzımü't-tevkîrde işbu bâ'isü'l-kitâb Yusuf b. Mehmed nâm kimesne mahzarında her biri takrîr-i da'vâ edip mezbûr Yusuf dâimâ bize ve hâatunlarımıza şütûm-ı galîza ile şetm eyleyip her birimiz yedinden ve lisânından mutazarrır olduğumuzdan mâ'adâ merkûm Yusuf tarîkü's-salât olup beş vakitte bir vakit namaz kılmadığı ecilden ale'l-ittifâk mahallemizde sâkin olmayıp ihrâc olunması matlûbumuzdur dediklerinde târih-i kitâbdan üç gün tamâmına değin mahalle-i merkûmeden mezbûr Yusuf'un ihrâcına tenbîh birle mâ hüve'l-vâki' bi't-taleb ketb olundu.”⁹⁶⁶

Because the neighborhood community testifies for people in question according to their observation on their state of behavior, people should be mindful of their behavior wherever they are visible.⁹⁶⁷ Joining prayers is not enough. One should also act appropriately and in an expected manner since the neighborhood

⁹⁶⁵ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 84 Numaralı Sicil*, 221, verdict no 300, 29a-5.

⁹⁶⁶ *Eyüp Mahkemesi (Havas-ı Refia) Mahkemesi 19 Numaralı Sicil*, 403, verdict no 528, 89a-4.

⁹⁶⁷ For other examples from the 16th century concerning joining the prays Yılmaz, “XVI. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahremiyetin Sınırlarına Dair.”

community constantly watches each other. One may argue that there was always the eye of a watchdog over people in the Ottoman neighborhood, and everyone was each other's watchdog.⁹⁶⁸ An excerpt from a newspaper of Thessaloniki indicates that this watching eye of the community with full of curiosity still continued in the 19th century.

“Many architects now do laundry on the upper floors of new houses, as is usually the case in Egypt; in that country, the laundry does not cause any particular confusion and disorder, as it is not washed on the ground floor in front of everyone's curious gaze like we do. Running water on every floor of the house is a desirable innovation.” (*Phare*, 1150/1187)⁹⁶⁹

While this passage indicates the importance of access to freshwater everywhere in the house, its sub-text, the curiosity of those around, is also noteworthy. Building laundry on the upper floors could provide more privacy by freeing people's curious eyes in the neighborhood. Of course, this issue of being constantly under the surveillance of neighborhood dwellers is also related to the organization of the physical structure of Ottoman space, which makes it easy to conduct social control. Another reason for this close surveillance is that, despite an increase in the overall population, people in the neighborhood still could not be anonymous individuals except in some big cities in the 18th century. Hence, given the lack of urban anonymity, people's actions and the way they behaved were formed under social control norms.

In almost all of these cases, the phrase *kendi halinde olmayub* is used in the court records to describe people behaving immorally, independent from whether or not the act was adultery or any other socially unacceptable disturbing activity in the

⁹⁶⁸ Nights were the only times that made it possible to hide from the gaze of the Ottoman community. For a study on this, see Avner Wishnitzer, “Into the Dark: Power, Light, and Nocturnal Life in the 18th-Century İstanbul,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46, 3 (August 2014): 513-531.

⁹⁶⁹ Yerolympos, “XIX. Yüzyıl Sonunda Selanik'te Kentlilik Bilinci ve Belediyeye İlgi,” 155. (my translation)

spatial domain, such as drinking or banditry. So, this phrase offers essential tips concerning social control mechanisms.

There are many cases in Ottoman court records where the community of neighborhood complained about their neighbors on the grounds that they were “*kendi halinde olmayub*.” Although this expression of “*kendi halinde olmayub*” has many meanings that vary within itself, it actually means a person who does not comply with the rules to be obeyed in society or harms others. For example, according to the case recorded in Ayıntâb court dating 1700, *veled-i Yagob* complained about *Mehmed* indicating that he robbed his house (Mehmed tarih-i kitâbdan iki gün mukaddem gece iken mahalle-i mezbûrede vaki‘ menzilime eşûb dahilinde işbû müşahede olunan on guruş kıymetli bir kuzu kazganı ve bir don kazganı ve dört hızarımı ahz itmekle⁹⁷⁰). When *Mehmed* refused this deposition, the court asked about Mehmed’s behaviours to the neighborhood community. The *ahâli* testified that Mehmed was a gambler and a bird fancier who harms the community of neighborhood (“...mezbûr Mehmed kendi halinde olmayub kuşbaz ve kumarbaz olub daima ahalinin ‘ırzına zarar kasd idub...”⁹⁷¹). In a case recorded in Konya court records, some people from the neighborhood demanded that the woman named Ivaz be expelled from the neighborhood, stating that she harmed the Muslim people (“...mezbure Iraz kendi halinde olmayub ümmeti muhammedi ızrâr âdeti müstemirresi olduğundan...”⁹⁷²) on the grounds that she was *kendi halinde olmayub*.

At this point, it is vital to note that these mechanisms were not always meant for people who were not behaving according to the social norms. The court cases in which people testified for their neighbors’ good conduct were also quite many in

⁹⁷⁰ Atasoy, “50 Numaralı Ayıntâb Şer’iyye Sicili’nin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 440.

⁹⁷¹ Atasoy, “50 Numaralı Ayıntâb Şer’iyye Sicili’nin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 440.

⁹⁷² Özdoğan, “55 Numaralı Konya Şer’iyye Sicili’nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu,” 600.

court cases.⁹⁷³ The spatial aspect of the people chosen to be witnessed is crucial in these testimonies. It was always the neighborhood people who testified (*keyfiyet-i ahvâlini mahalle-i mezbûre ahalisinden*), but also the opinions of people from *civar mahalle* (nearby neighborhoods/vicinity) were asked (“...civâr olan mahalleri ahâlîlerinden cemm-i gafîr ve cem‘-i kesîr hâl bâlâda bast u beyân...”)⁹⁷⁴ For example, in an inquiry about the imam of the *Hoca Gıyaseddin* neighborhood, people from his community and some from the surrounding neighborhood were asked whether or not they were pleased with him.

“...keyfiyet-i ahvâlini mahalle-i mezbûre ahâlîsinden mazbûtü’l-esâmî yirmi nefer ve civâr mahalleden üç nefer ki cem‘an yirmi üç nefer kimesnelerden suâl eyledikde... Efendi mahalle-i mezbûrede imâmımız ve muhtârımız olup kendi hâlinde ırzıyla mukayyed ve... kendiden hoşnûd ve râzılarız deyü her biri hüsn-ı hâlini haber verdiklerinde...”⁹⁷⁵

Considering that people living in adjacent neighbors may have joined prays in the *Hoca Gıyaseddin mahalle*, asking them (as seen fewer people in terms of number) about the conduct of the *imam* is quite understandable. However, this case talks beyond this fact. Spatial responsibilities starting from people’s own houses to their cul-de-sacs, then to public roads, and the neighborhood did not directly jump to the city level. First, the one in close spatial proximity comes; hence, people developed more attachment to these adjacent areas.

Having discussed some unwelcomed behaviors that were a danger to social order in the Ottoman spatial areas, now I would like to discuss mechanisms established to tackle these problems and provide public order in residential areas.

⁹⁷³ For a discussion from the perspective of emotional rhetoric see Tekgöl, “A Gate to the Emotional World of Pre-modern Ottoman Society.”

⁹⁷⁴ *Bab Mahkemesi 172 Numaralı Sicil*, 467, verdict no 581, 72b-1.

⁹⁷⁵ *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, İstanbul Mahkemesi 56 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1201-1203 / M. 1786-1787)*, Rıfat Günelan, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 212, verdict no 226, 60b-1.

A prominent mechanism enhancing social control in Ottoman society was the *müteselsil kefâlet* was an issue that found practical application because the Ottoman State was enforcing this through its laws. Ottoman scholarship generally focuses on the system of *kefâlet* (suretyship) as an element of social control. Through this system, “the individual enters the state’s field of vision not as a person but as a part of the group that he belongs to, and becomes subject to the political power’s surveillance.”⁹⁷⁶ However, a chain of *kefâlet* established within guilds or the residents of *mahalles* has further meanings than this, making people feel responsible towards respective spaces. The suretyship system, which expresses that people who share a space or field of activity share responsibilities towards each other, envisages a system in which individuals in every neighborhood in Ottoman cities are guarantors for each other and accept the responsibilities that this will bring.⁹⁷⁷

For example, according to the record below, the named property owners and tenants declared that there were no bandits among them, that they were guarantors for each other, and that no one was left without guarantors.

“...Topkapı ve Takyeci ve mahallât-ı sâire ve ol havâlîde bahçıvan ve sâir ehl-i sûk bi’l-cümle sevâkin ve ahâlîsi tefahhus ve birbirine kefile rabt ve tahrîr ve defter olunması bâbında şeref-sudûr bulan fermân-ı vâcibü’l-ittibâ‘larına imtisâlen...zîkr olunan yerlerde mülk sâhipleri ve kirâcı mukûleleri gereği gibi tefahhus içlerinde eşkıyâ ve erâzil makûleleri olmayıp ferd-i vâhid hâric ve mektûb [mektûm] kalmamak üzere birbirine kefile rabt ve ale’l-esâmî tahrîr olunan defterdir ki...”⁹⁷⁸

In another record, the situations (*ahvâlleri*) of Ömer, Mustafa and Bekir were asked to the village residents. Residents mentioned that they did not know whether they were thieves but said they would not be a guarantor even if they lived in the village. The residents of Reis neighborhood, where Ömer was living, reported that he

⁹⁷⁶ Yaşar, “The Han in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century İstanbul: A Spatial, Topographical and Social Analysis,” 184.

⁹⁷⁷ Özcan, “Osmanlı Mahallesi: Sosyal Kontrol ve Kefalet Sistemi,” 132.

⁹⁷⁸ *Eyüp Mahkemesi 182 Numaralı Sicil*, 517, verdict no 805, 93b-1.

had been living with his mother for ten years but they did not stand suretyship for Ömer. The neighborhood community was the guarantor for Ahmet, who is the brother of Ömer, and Ahmet was the guarantor of Ömer. It was noted that Mustafa and Bekir's situation was unknown since they did not live in any neighborhood.

“Vârid olan fermân-ı âlîlerine imtisâlen Ekrâd tâifesinden mezbûrûn Ömer ve Mustafa ve Bekir'in ahvâlleri tefahhus olundukda mezbûrûnun bostanları olan mahalle karîb Nerdübânlı karyesi ahâlîleri mezbûrûn karyemizde sâkinler olmayıp serika ile müttehem oldukları ma'lûmumuz değildir, lâkin karyemizde bostanlarda meks ve şurb-i hamr ve nâ-mahrem avratlar ile ihtilât etmeleriyle karyemizde olsalar kefil olmayız deyü ihbâr ve mezbûr Ömer'in sâkin olduğu Reis mahallesi imâmı ve ahâlîsi dahi mezbûr bekâr olup anası ile ma'an on seneden beri mahallemizde sâkin olup sârik olduğu ma'lûmumuz değildir ve mukaddemâ mezbûr Ömer'e bizler kefil olmayıp karındaşı Ahmed kefil olup biz dahi mezbûr Ahmed'e kefil olmuşuzdur deyü ihbâr ve mezbûrân Mustafa ve Bekir mahallâtında sâkin olmamalarıyla ahvâlleri mechûle olduğu huzûr-ı âlîlerine i'lâm olundu.”

Hence, this suretyship system enhanced close surveillance of the Ottoman neighborhoods without letting anyone reside without having a guarantor. In terms of İstanbul, this *kefâlet* system gained more importance in the 18th century because of the increased immigration flows. The Ottoman State enforced inspections to be sure that “those who stayed in the city became identifiable as parts of a recognized collective identity. The practice of kefalet provided the link that transformed the unidentifiable persons (*mechûl*) into a legally identifiable (*ma'lûm*) category from the perspective of the administration...”⁹⁷⁹

The court case recorded in Konya, dating to 1742, stands out as a remarkable example of the visibility of different manifestations and elements of spatial belonging together. The people of the Eflatun neighborhood acted together (*es-Seyyid Mustafa Aga ibn-i es-Seyyid Hasan Ağa... ve sairleri*) and applied to the court. They demanded a guarantor, stating that Fatima, İsmail's sister, lived alone

⁹⁷⁹ Betül Başaran, “Surety (Kefalet) and Inspection Registers of İstanbul,” accessed October 24, 2022, <https://istanbultarihi.ist/509-surety-kefalet-and-inspection-registers-of-istanbul>

and that they were not sure about her reliability for this reason (“...mezbûr Fûzuli’nin kız karındaşı gayb-ı ani’l meclis Fâtıma bint-i İsmâ’îl nâm hatun bizim mahallemizde sâkine olub lâkin yâlnız bir menzilde olub yanında kimesne olmamağla ahâli mahallesinden de emin olmayub mezbûreden kefil tâleb eylediğimiz...”⁹⁸⁰). Thereupon, İsmail, who lived in Pîrîpaşa neighborhood, promised to transfer his sister Fatima to his own house (“...benim karındâşım merkûme fatımaya kendi menziline nakl idüp yanımda iskân ve ba’de’l-yevm mahallesinden göndermem diyü müzbûreyi kendi menziline nakl ve iskân ve mahallemize göndermemek üzere te’ahhüd ve iltizâm itmeğin...”⁹⁸¹).

First of all, this case is an example of the collective action of the neighborhood community about their living space since they collectively applied to the court to ask for a guarantor for someone living in their neighborhood alone. Secondly, it is also a reflection of social control mechanisms in a given space, which is maintained based on the fact that everyone vouches for each other and is responsible for each other’s actions, which is an indicator of spatial belonging. In addition, the existence of security concerns for being in a more secluded place and actions to overcome this are another projection of spatial belonging. The record that reveals how important it is for people to vouch for each other in the place. Living alone and not being under close surveillance of the neighborhood community was considered by the community as a lack of spatial control, and the people took joint action to solve the problem. At this point, family and kinship ties, one of the factors affecting spatial belonging, came into play, and the older brother of the complainant, who lives in another neighborhood, committed to solving the problem by moving his sister to his own living space.

⁹⁸⁰ Özdoğan, “55 Numaralı Konya Şer’iye Sicili’nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu,” 629.

⁹⁸¹ Özdoğan, “55 Numaralı Konya Şer’iye Sicili’nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu,” 629.

The question within the limits of this dissertation is how all these social self-regulation rules in spatial communities, be it neighborhoods or villages, affect the people's relationship with the place, especially the place attachment. First, it makes clear that being part of the social community, such as joining religious gatherings, is a requirement, if possible, to gain the spatial community's consent. When the *ahâlî* did not stand surety for someone for not attending the mosque or praying, this is not only an indication of not fulfilling a religious duty. It means that the person is not joining the community neither. When the central role of the mosques in the Ottoman space was concerned, while mosques dominated religious life, they also organically affected the relations between city elements such as administrative mechanisms, education, and the bazaar. The mosque functioned as a place where people meet their social needs through a meeting, socializing, conversation, and communication.⁹⁸² So, it is possible to articulate that this necessity increased people's involvement in religious events and enhanced their relationship with the place. On the other hand, this close surveillance of spatial communities over each other could establish different bonds over different spaces. People were less attached to shared open spaces in which people's behaviors are openly observed, such as mosques, bazaars, or coffeehouses since they did not feel comfortable due to the close surveillance of the spatial community.

There is a converse relationship here that affects the place attachment. The necessity to be a part of a spatial community increases people's time spent in local places; hence the feeling of belonging increases. On the other hand, these surveillance mechanisms strengthen the uncomfortable relationship with open spaces

⁹⁸² Doğan Yörük, "Weber'in İktisadi Şehri ile Osmanlı'nın Pazar Şehrini XVI. Yüzyılın Karaman Eyaleti Şehirlerinde Aramak," in *Milletlerarası Şehir Tarihi Yazarları Kongresi*, ed. Mehmet Doğan (Türkiye Yazarlar Birliği Yayınları, Ankara, 2015): 46.

because of the monitoring from the community. While a person feels the influence of that neighborhood community as a member of it, s/he also creates this impact on others as a part of it. Which feeling prevails in such a contradictory situation depends on each individual, and it is hard to make a general conclusion. However, one may argue that social control mechanisms in a given spatial locality affected the relationship one established with the place, hence the feeling of belonging.

Another aspect of these social control mechanisms that need to be elaborated on is that they originate from the rules and regulations of Islam. Most of the disputes in Ottoman court records regarding the maintenance of social order in space occurred between Muslims and non-Muslims, based on the grounds that they were not suitable for the Muslim lifestyle. Muslims complained a lot in areas related to the religious lifestyle of non-Muslims, for example, due to elements such as worship, holiday celebrations, or clothing. Here, the issue was not the lifestyles of non-Muslims but rather the publicity of their way of life - which was not considered appropriate by Muslims. In the Ottoman Empire, Muslim people were forbidden to produce, consume and sell alcohol. However, non-Muslim people were not prohibited in this regard. Drinks called “*hamr*” and “*arak*” are seen among the belongings of non-Muslims and among items in grocery stores.⁹⁸³ For example, neither the state nor Muslims were against non-Muslims consuming wine, owning a tavern, or eating pork. The visibility of these actions was the problem. What is meant by visibility here is performing these actions in front of Muslims or in common areas. In the order sent to the *kadi* of Galata in 1573, it was indicated that the wine needs of non-Muslims should be met, while at the same time, it was stated that the wine to be

⁹⁸³ See Muslu, “1647 Nr. Şer’iyye Sicilinin Işığında Lale Devri’nin İlk Yıllarında Tekirdağ (1721-1724),” 325 (Vk.59b/I), 350-352(Vk.66a), 348-349 (Vk. 65b/I).

carried to taverns and houses should be taken secretly and at night in a way that would not disturb the Muslims.⁹⁸⁴

In another register from the Üsküdar court, the people of Kavukçular bazaar applied to the court collectively (Kavukçular Çarşısı ahâlisinden eş-Şeyh Ahmed Efendi b. Abdullah ve İbrahim Beşe b. Mustafa ve... ve Ahmed Ağa b. Ataullah nâm kimesneler...). They stated that Mahmud Beşe wanted to rent out the shop, which had been rented out to Muslims for a long time in their neighborhood, as a paint shop to non-Muslims. The shopkeepers of the bazaar said that there are various shrines around this shop, (kutbü'l-ârifîn Kösec Mehmed Efendi ve sâir kibâr-ı ehlullâh türbeleri ittisâlinde) that Muslims have lived there for a long time, and that it would not be appropriate for non-Muslims to sit and drink wine and perform other rituals while the Qur'an is being read nearby. In addition, they pointed to the edict stating that non-Muslims would not be settled in the Muslim quarter and demanded that renting be prevented.

“...kadîmden ehl-i İslâm sâkin olup derûnunda Kur'ân-ı azîmü's-şân tilâvet olunur iken hâlâ kefereye icâr ve leyl ü nehâr ikâmet ve makâbir-i Müslimîn ittisâlinde şûrb-i hamr ve sâir âyîn-i bâtilalarını icrâ ve bu misillü ehl-i İslâm sâkin olduđu mahâlde kefereyi iskân etmek fermân-ı âlî ile memnû' olunmuş idi...”⁹⁸⁵

The disturbance is not always the presence of a non-Muslim lifestyle near the sacred areas of Muslims. There are various examples of Muslims demanding the closure of taverns or expulsing people who run taverns on the grounds that these places became the hub of disorder. For example, the *imam*, *müezzin*, and 13 members of the community of *Hacı Timur* neighborhood applied to the court in 1740 and demanded the expulsion of two non-Muslims from the neighborhood. The reason for

⁹⁸⁴ Araz, “XVI. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumunda Kişiler ve Cemaatler Arası İlişkilerin Dil, Söylem ve Sembolleri, 171.

⁹⁸⁵ *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 531 Numaralı Sicil*, 171, verdict no 94, 9b-3.

this expulsion request is that these two non-Muslims were running a tavern, and the bandits gathered together in the tavern and caused turmoil in the neighborhood, so the community did not feel safe (“...meyhâne ihdâs edip eşkıyâ cem‘ olmağla nice fesâda müeddî ve ehl-i ırza ta‘arruz olunup bu vechile bir dürlü emn ü râhatımız kalmamıştır...”⁹⁸⁶).

The examples above signify a desire to prevent non-Muslim people from publicly doing things and actions that are not permissible according to Islam in or near areas populated by Muslims. Therefore, in this sense, it is not wrong to say that spatial belonging also emerges on the axis of religion, and there are divergences related to this. The Ottoman Empire was governed according to Islamic rules; however, there was no interference with how people practiced their religion. However, as seen from the examples above, the rules of Muslims have come to the forefront and dominated, especially in terms of spatial visibility. For this reason, it can be said that the spatial belonging of Muslims is relatively more dominant in common areas, unlike non-Muslims who received relatively limited visibility.

Of course, this does not mean that Muslims were constantly disturbed by non-Muslims’ way of living in public. They shared space, which led to common fears, joys, worries, etc. For example, they prayed together to get rid of the plague, participated in each other’s holidays.⁹⁸⁷

Here, in light of all these discussions, the critical thing is to realize how groups with different belongings perceive each other and their way of life and how these perceptions are reflected in language, symbols, discourse, and space. Within the scope of this thesis, it is essential to question and understand the patterns of

⁹⁸⁶ *Bab Mahkemesi 172 Numaralı Sicil*, 558, verdict no 770, 87b-3.

⁹⁸⁷ Araz, “XVI. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumunda Kişiler ve Cemaatler Arası İlişkilerin Dil, Söylem ve Sembolleri”, 173.

belonging produced by understanding the reflections of the living styles of different identities on the space.

Due to the high level of social control in the Ottoman space, I came across many cases of ensuring social control with the increasing immigration in the records of the 18th century. As most of these cases show, although physical mobility has increased, the most critical issue is still the newcomer's acceptance. Moving from one place to another does not enough by itself. Socially, immigrants and their families needed to be accepted wherever they go. Besides, as argued by Anton and Lawrence, "place attachment can also lead to inter-group conflicts when new people who are different (e.g. culturally, ethnically) from the majority move to a place with a high proportion of attached people."⁹⁸⁸ Therefore, it is vital to consider the reasons for these conflicts' relation with the place attachment. Additionally, one may assume that those not accepted among the newcomers in the 18th century possibly had lower belonging.

For example, a register of Bab court is a good example of a slander of adultery and acceptance of a newcomer to the neighborhood. According to the incident, Ümmügülsüm from the Kızıltaş neighborhood filed a complaint against a person named Ahmed. According to Ümmügülsüm's claim, Ahmed insulted Ümmügülsüm by calling her a prostitute and also stated that he had disgraced himself by visiting the shops and saying that "she accepts sailors and unknown persons to her house." ("bana kerhânci ve fâhişe deyü bi'l-muvâcehe şetm eylediğinden mâ'adâ mahalle-i mezbûrede dükkân be-dükkân gezip benim için menziline kalyoncular ve mechûlü'l-ahvâl kimesneler girip çıkar deyü hetk-i ırz etmekle"⁹⁸⁹). When the neighborhood community was asked about claims, they said

⁹⁸⁸ Anton and Lawrence, "Home is where the heart is," 451.

⁹⁸⁹ *Bab Mahkemesi 197 Numaralı Sicil*, 550, verdict no 757, 98b-2.

that what Ahmed said was slander while they were witnessing the good conduct of Ümmügülsüm (“mahallemizde sâkine ve ırzıyla mukayyede olup bu âna gelince kat‘a kendiden hilâf-ı şer‘-i şerîf vaz‘ ve hareket sudûr etmemişdir ve hakkında mezbûrun kelâmı ifk ü iftirâdır”⁹⁹⁰). In addition, they stated that it had been three months since Ahmed and his wife moved into their neighborhood, but they were harmed by the behavior of Ahmed and his wife and that they wanted Ahmed and his wife to be expelled from the neighborhood (“mezbûr Ahmed mahallemize geleli üç aydan beri kendinin ve zevcesi Fâtıma’nın itâle-i lisânlarından cümlemiz mesâvî ve mutazarrır olmağla”⁹⁹¹).

In another case, a group of non-Muslims, who applied to the Eyüp Court, demanded the expulsion of another non-Muslim Martin in their neighborhood. People complained about Lako’s involvement in selling liquor and the behavior of the people gathered around. They also said that Martin was a tenant in their community and had only lived there for three or four years.

“mesfûr Martin üç-dört senedir karyemize gelip müsteciren mütemekkin olup hamr ve arak bey‘ine mübâşeret ve cem‘ olan kimesnelerin ef‘âl-i kabîhalarından cümlemiz mutazarrır ve müteallimleriz deyü istikâ ve ihbâr ve mesfûr Martin zimmî âhar mahalden gelip karyemizde müsteciren mütemekkin olmağla ihrâcını taleb ederiz...”⁹⁹²

As evident from the abovementioned cases, people’s approach to newcomers harbors suspicion. The cases indicate these people, as newcomers, practiced unaccepted behaviors, leading to conflict among them and with their neighbors.

All these social control mechanisms, specifically related to the space, the way they are practiced, and their effects and results over the space, are essential since they open a path to understanding people’s place attachment. Moreover, as presented

⁹⁹⁰ *Bab Mahkemesi 197 Numaralı Sicil*, 550, verdict no 757, 98b-2.

⁹⁹¹ *Bab Mahkemesi 197 Numaralı Sicil*, 550, verdict no 757, 98b-2.

⁹⁹² *Eyüp Mahkemesi 182 Numaralı Sicil*, 621, verdict no 1012, 115a-3.

in the theoretical part of this dissertation, the exercise of social control to avoid disorder are traces of cognitive and emotional links regarding place attachment.

These control mechanisms also show that the boundaries of privacy at the neighborhood level are very narrow, and the eyes of the community always fall on individuals, even in their private realms. This spatial lifestyle, open to surveillance within the framework of social control mechanisms in the Ottoman Empire, may have functioned as an element of pressure on the privacy of ordinary people. For this reason, the lack of privacy has paved the way for commitment and belonging to the common areas.

To conclude, discussing different social control mechanisms under this topic indicates a particular point regarding spatial belonging. Requesting dismissal of the troubled person from their neighborhood was the widespread solution of the community to almost all behaviors that are contrary to the social order, such as committing adultery (*zina*), accepting *nâmahrem*s, not being in their own state (*kendü halinde olmamak*), not praying with the community or selling alcohol near sacred places.

Common spaces reveal the individual differences and make them visible. In terms of Ottoman ordinary life, one generally may observe a low tolerance for differences, especially about expected behaviors among society. Thus, when the community notices deviation from social norms and rules, they want to send away those responsible for this deviation. Not wanting to live together stems from the visibility of these behaviors. Familiar places are the main playgrounds of these tensions as a visibility venue. As long as the majority sustain their roles and norms in these shared spaces, they become increasingly attached to those places. The issue is not primarily about changing people's behavior or forcing them to behave like the

majority. If that was the case, they would not only request to send them away.

However, when examined, all the issue is centered around sending these people away from their shared spaces. In brief, all these cases also naturally indicate people's forms of belonging to their living area. By not tolerating the differences, they were not only sustaining accustomed order but also protecting their shared space - in their way - and if one is defending an area, this means that one also feels attached to it.

All these rules applied for maintaining order in the Ottoman space created an obligation for everyone while simultaneously creating a comfort zone. Similarly, as Yılmaz claimed, there was a lifestyle that both the state and social life suggested, and should be followed in the Ottoman Empire, and it was almost like a public duty to comply with this lifestyle. Compliance with norms, rules, and social expectations brought personal acceptance.⁹⁹³ Since staying in this comfort zone depends on following the rules maintained in the space, the spatial commitment of the person who wants to keep the comfort zone also increase.

3.9. The Role of Ottoman State Practices on the Place Attachment

So far, I have dealt with the place attachment of ordinary people to the places such as mahalles and even cities in varying degrees. However, the perspective of the Ottoman State was also influential in forming spatial attachments and deserves attention. A systematic reading of sicils in this dissertation reveals that Ottoman State has constantly identified its subjects with places, i.e., who belongs to where or who comes from where. Ottoman State's imposition of such place identities on its subjects had practical purposes, and it sheds light on the intrinsic relationship between State authority and place.

⁹⁹³ Yılmaz, "XVI. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahremiyetin Sınırlarına Dair," 99.

Cognitive representation of a place may affect ties established between people and places,⁹⁹⁴ and the way the Ottoman State formulated spatial areas in terms of cognitive representation may directly affect people's perception of space, hence their attachment.

The state authority, which manages a vast geography like the Ottoman State, must have given great importance to space management to maintain order by providing spatial control. The Ottoman State made use of different instruments under limited technological conditions. It recorded its subjects by identifying them with their places and continued to use this instrument in its functions while ensuring continuity in the space. Hence, in this sub-chapter, the way Ottoman State used place identifiers will be discussed for how it possibly influenced the place attachment of its people.

The primary motivation of the Ottoman State was to make sure that its people, by feeling safe and secure, stay where they are. The Ottoman State always wanted to limit mobilization of people. The edict below is an example to this:

“...memâlik-i mahrûsemde sâkin olan fukarâ ve zu‘afâ ve bi'l-cümle ahâlî ve re‘âyâ [ve]...ve ahâlî ve re‘âyâ yerlerinde ve yur[t]larında oturup kâr u kesblerinde ve eküp ve biçimlerinde olarak... evlerinde ve yerlerinde evlâd ü ıyâlleriyle *râhat ve safâ-i devâm-ı ömr ü devlet-i şâhâneme hayır du‘â eylemeleri* akdem-i cümle-i umûrdan olduğuna binâ’ en...vâlîler ve kâdîlar ve nâ‘ibler ve sâ‘ir zâbitân ve a‘yânlar bu tenbîhât-ı hümayûnu ferâmûş edüp ve tama‘-ı hâma düşüp hilâf-ı şer‘-i şerîf ve tenbîh-i pâdişâhâneye mugâyir re‘âyâ fukarâsını olur olmaz bahâneler ile tecrîm eylediklerine binâ’ en *re‘âyâyı yerlerinden ürküdüp kaçırdıkları ve kusûrlarının dahi yerlerinde ve yurtlarında durup oturacak hâlleri kalmadığı* Anadolu ve Rumeli'nden gelen ve mevsûku'l-kelâm kimesnelerin ihbâr ve takrîrleriyle sahîhan vâsıl-ı sâmi‘a-i mülûkânem olmuşdur...herkes havza-i hükûmet ve dâhil-i hudûdundan kalkup *âhar mahallere perîşân olan re‘âyâyı vatan-i kadîmlerine celb ve yerlerinde emn-i bâl ve ferâğ-ı hâl ile iskân etdirmek* ve fî-mâ-ba‘d dahi kânûn üzre ta‘yîn olunan şeylerden ziyâde fukarâ-yı ra‘iyyetden bir akçe alınmayup her hâlde himâyet ve sıyânatleriyle *vilâyetlerin şen ve ma‘mûr olmasına sa‘y ü dikkat olunmak bâbında* müceddeden fermân-i hümayûnum sâdır olup...bu vechile fukarâ-yı ra‘iyyeti *yerlerinde ve yurdlarında oturdup*

⁹⁹⁴ Casakin et al., “Place Attachment and Place Identity in Israeli Cities.”

*hoşça tutarak zulm ve te‘addîden cümleiniz keff-i yed ederek vilâyetin şen ve âbâdân olmasına sa‘y ü dikkat ve fî-mâ-ba‘d ahâlî ve re‘âyâyı bir dürlü rencîde etmekden ve bir ferdin zulm ve cevrine ruhsat göstermekden her biriniz begâyet ihtirâz ve mücânebet eyleyesiz.”*⁹⁹⁵

According to the edict mentioned above, it was ordered to prevent the *reâyâ* from being displaced by making them uneasy. In addition, the desire to pay attention to keeping the people pleasant and the provinces prosperous tells us about the spatial unity policy of the Ottoman Empire.

The main demarcation lines in the Ottoman society were among Muslims and non-Muslims. Yet, as cities evolved along religious, economic, and residential structures leading to three-segmented communal formations,⁹⁹⁶ one encounters that the Ottoman State defined its subjects according to their occupational groups such as *kasap taifesi*, *boyacı taifesi*, *debbağ taifesi*, or their ethnic origin or religious identity (*Nasrâni*, *Yahudi*, *Müslüman*) or their status as being *reâyâ* or *askerî*.⁹⁹⁷ However, before all these definitions in the court records, information about the place was included, such as where ordinary people lived at that time, where they came from, and for what purpose they were in the place where they were.

In the legal language of the Ottoman Empire, people were recognized according to their place of residence and status in the city. For example, they were registered with the name of their neighborhood, village, or inn they stayed, and they were defined as guests (*misafir*) or residents (*sâkin*)⁹⁹⁸ according to their settlement status.⁹⁹⁹

⁹⁹⁵ İleri, “Bulgaristan Milli Kütüphanesi’nde Kayıtlı S 16 Numaralı Sofya Şer‘iyye Sicili’nin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi,” 210.

⁹⁹⁶ Özer Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehrinde Esnâf Örgütlerinin Fizik Yapıya Etkileri.”

⁹⁹⁷ The ruling class (*askerî*), as the realization of the sultan’s absolute power, was composed of the officers of the court, the army, civil servants and the *ulema* (the learned men of religion). The ones outside of the *askerî* class, the subjects (*reaya*), independent from being Muslim or non-Muslim, were outside of the military rank and had to pay their taxes.

⁹⁹⁸ There are other words used instead of *sâkin* such as *sükkân*, *mütemekkin*.

⁹⁹⁹ Işık Tamdoğan-Abel, “Hanlar ya da Osmanlı Kentinde Yabancı,” ed. François Geogron & Paul Dumont (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2008), 400

A typical court record text begins by stating where the person or persons involved in the case are primarily from such as “*Medine-i Manastır mahâllâtından Yakub Beg Mahâllesi sâkinlerinden olub bundan akdem fevt olan...*”¹⁰⁰⁰ *Medine-i Manastır’da Eyne Beg Mahâllesi sükkânından iken bundan.*”¹⁰⁰¹

As seen from the examples above, to identify people, court records first mention the name of the neighborhood or village from which people are, then state their status in that place as a guest or resident.¹⁰⁰² As seen in the following examples, after stating which neighborhood or village they are from, if people have a title related to their jobs, ethnicity, or religion, they are mentioned after the spatial locators.

“*Medîne-i Bursa’da Kapluca mahallesinde sakin iken bundan akdem fevt olan Derviş bin Osman bin Abdullah’ın verâseti...*”¹⁰⁰³

“*Fi’l asl Bosna sükkânından iken Medine-i Manastır’da ticaret tarîkile sâkin iken bundan akdem vefât iden Boşnak demekle meşhûr nâm müteveffânın...*”¹⁰⁰⁴

“*...mahmiyye-i mezbûrede Selçuk Hatun Mahallesi’nde sâkin iken bundan âkdem vefât iden Mollâ Mehmed bin Halil ibn-i İbrahim...*”¹⁰⁰⁵

For example, according to the second example above, the person recorded was actually a Bosniak residing in Bosnia and died in the city of Manastır, where s/he came to do business.

Throughout my search in *sicils*, I observed that two different words are used depending on whether people are Muslim or non-Muslim when expressing in which

¹⁰⁰⁰ Kavgacı, “63 Numaralı Manastır Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi (1778-1782),” 104.

¹⁰⁰¹ Kavgacı, 105.

¹⁰⁰² According to Ottoman State, default residents were the permanent ones with fixed addresses. Ginio, “Migrants and Workers in an Ottoman Port,” 136.

¹⁰⁰³ Demirtaş, “B/157 Numaralı Bursa Şer’iyye Siciline Göre Bursa’da Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayat,” 54.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Kavgacı, “63 Numaralı Manastır Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi (1778-1782),” 135.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Samıkıran, “138 Numaralı Edirne Şer’iyye Sicili,” 205.

neighborhoods or villages they live. If the recorded person is a Muslim, the word *sükkân* (the plural form of *sâkin*) is used to specify that they are residents.¹⁰⁰⁶ On the other hand, if they are non-Muslim, the word *mütemekkin* is used. In terms of meaning, there is not a big difference between these two words. The word *sâkin* means a person who resides in a place or is from that place's people. The word *mütemekkin*, in a similar manner, means settled. Hence, although it is difficult to distinguish these two words from each other in terms of their meaning and Arabic origin, we see that the word *sâkin* is used for the Muslim people and the word *mütemekkin* for the non-Muslim people in court records. Below there are several examples of this fact:

“Mahrûse-i Edirne’de Ali Paşa-yı Atık Mahallesi’nde sâkine iken bundan âkdem vefât iden İbrahim bin Hüseyin’in...”¹⁰⁰⁷

“An-asıl mahrûse-i Kayseriyyede mahallesi Tekye Önü mahallesi mütemekkinlerinden olup hâlen medîne-i Ankarada Kurşunlu Hânda ber-vech-i ticâret sâkin olan Yuvar veled Mîrât...”¹⁰⁰⁸

“Medîne-i Bursa’da Hacı Yakub mahallesi mütemekkinlerinden bundan akdem hâlik olan Sünbûlya bint-i Hüdaverdi nâm nasrâniyenin...”¹⁰⁰⁹

“Medîne-i Ayıntâb’da Eblehan Mahallesi’nde sâkin iken bundan akdem vefât iden Kasım Ağa...”¹⁰¹⁰

“mahmiyye-i Edirne’de vâki’ Dârü’l-Hadîs Vakfı mukâta‘âsından Yene nâm karye mütemekkinlerinden iken bundan âkdem hâlik olan Üstevyan veled-i Teberi nâm zımmînin...”¹⁰¹¹

“Medîne-i Ankarada Hacı Doğan mahallesinde mütemekkin iken bundan akdem helâk olan Sahak veled Sultanşeh nâm hâlik zımmînin...”¹⁰¹²

Although the distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim in the use of these two words has not provided us with meaningful data within the scope of this thesis, it

¹⁰⁰⁶ Since my sample was large, I came across examples that did not fit this situation. Sometimes both words were used together. Still, I observed that this word was highly differentiated in usage in the way I mentioned.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Samıkıran, “138 Numaralı Edirne Şer’iyye Sicili,” 130.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Yapıcı, “H.1133-1134 (M.1721-1722) Tarihli 97 Numaralı Ankara Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 84.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Demirtaş, “B/157 Numaralı Bursa Şer’iyye Siciline Göre Bursa’da Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayat,” 68.

¹⁰¹⁰ Atasoy, “50 Numaralı Ayıntâb Şer’iyye Sicili’nin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 310.

¹⁰¹¹ Samıkıran, “138 Numaralı Edirne Şer’iyye Sicili,” 300.

¹⁰¹² Yapıcı, “H.1133-1134 (M.1721-1722) Tarihli 97 Numaralı Ankara Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 22.

has been noted here to give some insights into the work to be done in this context later on.

If the people recorded as a guest or moved from somewhere else, *sicils* mention people's original residential belonging as such: “*fi'l-asl zikr olunan İlbasan kazâsına tâbi' Draç nâm karyeden olup...*”,¹⁰¹³ “*fi'l asl karye-i mezbûreden olup...*”¹⁰¹⁴ “*fi'l asl diyâr-ı Mağrib'de mahrûse-i Trablus mahallâtından Seydi Salim mahallesi ahâlîsinden olup...*”¹⁰¹⁵ “*fi'l-asl vilâyeti-i Anadolu'da ... nâm karye ahâlîsinden olup...*”¹⁰¹⁶

The word *asl* means source, root, starting point, origin or lineage and refers to where one's ancestry comes from. The usage, which is sometimes encountered as *an-asl*, means *from the root* or *descendant*. These examples are not specific to İstanbul, a capital city of the Ottoman Empire hosting various people from around the Empire. In the Adana *sicil*, there are 15 examples mentioning peoples' original identification. Adana *sicil* indicates that there were people originally from Van, Harput, Bilecik, Bor, İstanbul, Manastır, Sivas etc. in Adana. For example, one of these records as follows:

“*Fi'l medîne-i Kayseriyye'ye tabi' Talas nam karye mütemekkinlerinden olup ber-vech-i müsaferet mahmiyye-i Adana'da Emir 'Alioğlu Hanı'nda mütemekkin iken bundan akdem halik olan Arzaman veled-i Ariton veled-i Tirayî nâm zimmînin veraseti ...*”¹⁰¹⁷

I have encountered many more examples, similar to above one, in other *sicils* as well:

“*Fi'l-asl medine'i Filibe sevalinden olup alî tarîkü'l misâfere...*”¹⁰¹⁸

¹⁰¹³ *Bab Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil*, 132.

¹⁰¹⁴ *Bab Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil*, 291.

¹⁰¹⁵ *Bab Mahkemesi 172 Numaralı Sicil*, 186.

¹⁰¹⁶ *Galata Mahkemesi 259 Numaralı Sicil*, 171.

¹⁰¹⁷ Yıldırım, “30 Numaralı Adana Şer'iye Sicil Defteri”, 303.

¹⁰¹⁸ Demirtaş, “B/157 Numaralı Bursa Şer'iyye Siciline Göre Bursa'da Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayat,” 112.

“...Fi’l-asl Rumili vâki‘ Karakara kazası sâkinlerinden olup bundan akdem ber-vech-i ticaret medine-i Trabzon’da Aşağı Hisar (...) sûkında Elhâc İbrahim Ağa’nın misafir odalarında sâkin iken maktûlen vefât...”¹⁰¹⁹
“Fi’l-asl medine’i Selanik sâkinlerinden olup Medine-i Manastır’da bundan akdem mürd olan Musı nâm nasrânî’nin...”¹⁰²⁰
“...fî’l-âsl vilâyet-i Anadolu’da Kayseriye Kasabası âhâlden olup mahmiyye-i Edirne’de Cîsr-i Cedîd’lerinde İbrahim Ağa bağçesinde ticâret vechi üzere sâkin iken...”¹⁰²¹

In the *sicil* of Sofya (1757-1758), there is example as such: “Fi’l-asl

Diyârbekir Kazâsı’nda Ali Niyâz Karyesi’nden Abraham müsemâm Ermeniyyü’l-asl iken şeref-i İslâm ile müşerref olup İbrahim tesmiye olunmuştur.”¹⁰²² In this

example, there are two different references to two separate identities of one person.

One is about the place, while another is about communal belonging. These references to different identities are the unmistakable sign of how the Ottoman State uses different variations of belongings in defining its subjects. This is also an example of ordinary people’s multiple identities, hence their various attachments. What it is evident from these examples is that the place factor is among the main determinants of belonging both in the eyes of the state and the people themselves. Another interesting aspect of the case mentioned above is apostasy. Religious conversion for someone coming from Diyarbakır to Sofya is not something normally expected. If there was no economic and administrative compulsion behind this apostasy, one might argue that there had been less communal pressure in Sofya.

¹⁰¹⁹ Bayraktar, “1917 Numaralı Trabzon Şer’iyye Sicilinin Değerlendirmesi ve Transkripsiyonu” 288.

¹⁰²⁰ Kavgacı, “63 Numaralı Manastır Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi (1778-1782),” 131.

¹⁰²¹ Samıkıran, “138 Numaralı Edirne Şer’iyye Sicili,” 131.

¹⁰²² İleri, “Bulgaristan Milli Kütüphanesi’nde Kayıtlı S 16 Numaralı Sofya Şer’iyye Sicili’nin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi,” 85. Other examples in this *sicil*: “Fi’l asl Etrepol Kazâsından olup medîne-i Sofya’da Alişir mahallesi mütemekkinlerinden iken...”, “Fi’l-asl İstanbul’da Lütuf Paşa Mahallesi sükkânından iken medîne-i Sofya’da müsâferet vechi üzere sâkin iken...”, “Fi’l-asl Köstendil Kazâsı’nda ... Karyesi’nden iken bundan akdem...”, “Fi’l-asl Vidin’den olup...”

Another example from the *sicil* of Gaziantep is as such: “Fi’l asl Bosna’da mahmiye-i Taravinik ahalisinden olup bundan akdem Medine-i ‘Ayıntab’da Paşahanı denmekle maruf handa bi’l-misafire sâkin iken fevt olan...”¹⁰²³

Those examples¹⁰²⁴ not only indicate that these ordinary subjects of the Ottoman State have originally come from another city or *mahalle*, but also, they belong to the community there. The primary feature of defining Ottoman subjects by the Ottoman State, if they were from somewhere else, was where they previously belonged or resided.

According to another record found in Ankara *sicils*, Yorgi, actually a resident of Sille village, died in Seferihisar, and he left belongings in an inn in Ankara: “Mahrûse-i Konya’ya muzâfa Su Dirhemi nahiyesine tâbi‘ Sille karyesi mütemekkinlerinden olup medine-i Ankara’da Zağfiran Hanı’nda mahfûz terekisi var iken bundan akdem Seferihisar’da hâlik olan İlye veledi Yorgi’nin verâseti...”¹⁰²⁵

For example, according to the incident mentioned below, Bogos v. Ovakin was originally from Koçhisar but settled in (*tavattun eden*) İstanbul and married someone from his current neighborhood. Ovakin wanted to return to his homeland, Koçhisar, but his wife did not want to go with him. So, he applied to the court to request his wife to come with him. Here, rather than the event itself, the definitions of where Ovakin is from and Ovakin’s definition of Koçhisar as “*vatan-ı asliyyem*” are remarkable.

¹⁰²³ Yüçetürk, “98/3 Numaralı Gaziantep Şer’iyye Sicili”, 106.

¹⁰²⁴ See as instances *Bab Mahkemesi 150 Numaralı Sicil*, 276, verdict no 265, 57a-3; *Bab Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil*, 298, 306, 346, 676, 786; *Bab Mahkemesi 46 Numaralı Sicil*, 298, verdict no 316, 49a-1; *Rumeli Sadareti Mahkemesi 272 Numaralı Sicil*, 214, 449; İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri *Bab Mahkemesi 11 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1081 / M. 1670-1671), trans. Salih Kahrıman and Mümin Yıldıztaş, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 417, 431; *Eyüb Mahkemesi 90 Numaralı Sicil*, 92, verdict no 39, 8a-3; *Bab Mahkemesi 92 Numaralı Sicil*, 417, verdict no 468, 63b-4;

¹⁰²⁵ Taşcan, “173 Numaralı Ankara Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirmesi,” 54.

“Fi’l-asl Anadolu’da Koçhisar kasabası ahâlîsinden olup mahmiye-i İstanbul’da Balcı mahallesinde tavattun eden Bogos v. Ovakin zimmî... mahalle-i mezkûre mütemekkinelerinden olup mahalle-i mezkûrede kendiye akd-i nikâh ve tezevvüc eylediği...Aksepet bt. Kasber v. Sahak zimmiyenin babası ve...mesfûr Kasber muvâcehesinde hâlâ ben zevcem müvekkile-i mesfûre Aksepet zimmiyeyi âyinimiz üzere mehr-i mu‘accelini vermiş olmamla fi’l-asl vatan-ı asliyem olan İstanbul’a müddet-i seferden ba‘îd Anadolu’da Koçhisar kasabasına gö[tü]rmek murâd eylediğimde benim ile kasaba-i mezkûreye gitmekden imtinâ’ eder... suâl olunup...bana itâ‘at ve benimle ma‘an vatan-ı asliyem olan Koçhisar kasabasına gitmeğe tenbîh taleb ederim deyü...”¹⁰²⁶

Besides that, while all these examples indicate the importance given by the Ottoman State to matching people by their living places, this kind of registration also provides a handful of data regarding people’s mobility and the distance of traveling as a guest or for other purposes such as business.

The emphasis on people’s belonging was not something Ottoman State used to discern between people. The focus on where people come from was a mechanism to define where they belong in State affairs, and there was a logical reason behind this kind of codification, and it served a practical purpose. All the activities of the qadis, both judicial and notary, resulted from Ottoman State’s willingness to control its subjects. Being fixed in a location was necessary for the Ottoman State to control its territory. Secondly, the State had to know where people were and registered its subjects accordingly to follow and collect taxes associated with being at the specific place. Thirdly, in court cases, it was essential for the Ottoman people to testify or vouch for the person who came from another area; thus, the knowledge of location gained extra importance in solving problems. To sum up, the Ottoman State had a pragmatist and practical approach from the beginning of its foundation in its ruling.¹⁰²⁷ This approach worked closely with the place identifiers affecting people’s attachments.

¹⁰²⁶ *Bab Mahkemesi 197 Numaralı Sicil*, 193, verdict no 160, 23a-4.

¹⁰²⁷ Pamuk, “Institutional Change and the Longevity of the Ottoman Empire, 1500-1800,” 228.

If the aim were to discern between people having the same name, physical definitions would be preferred, as I have encountered through *sicils*. Although discerning people by naming their physical features were more common for enslaved people or *câriyes* (odalisques), this also sets forth the importance of belonging.

So, when it comes to the definition of slaves or *câriyes*, they were defined in different manner in court records. For example, in the court record of Bursa dating 1725, a slave was defined as such:

“Diyâr-ı Acem'de Revân kal'ası muhârebesinde...bin Abdullah nâm siyâhînin abd-i mu'attakı orta boylu sarı elâ gözlü açık kaşlı Rumiyyü'l-asl müslimü'l-milel bâ'isü'l-vesîka Hasan bin Abdullah nâm şâbb-i emred gulâm...”¹⁰²⁸

For a record about a *câriye*, she was recorded as such: “...gaibe-i anî'l-meclis bâ'isetü'l-kitâb kara kaşlı kara gözlü Gürcüyyü'l- asl Lutfî nâm câriye müteveffiye-i mezbûrenin...”¹⁰²⁹ In the court record of Ankara, again, the registration of a *câriye* is as follows: “...Kayseriyyeli es-Seyyid ‘Alî Çelebiye yüz gün va‘de ile iki yüz kırk beş guraşa çerkesiyyetü'l-asl müslimetü'l-millele Belkîs nâm bir câriye...”¹⁰³⁰ The record of another slave is similar to previous one: “...işbu orta boylu gök elâ gözlü açık kaşlı Boğdaniyyü'l-asl müslimü'l- mille bâ'isü'l-kitâb İvaz bin Abdullah nâm şâbb-ı emred gulâm mahzarında...”¹⁰³¹

The below example includes references both for the *reâyâ* of the Ottoman State, by defining him where he was actually from (*Eğriboz cemaatlerinden olub*) and why he was there (*müsâferet vechi üzere*), and his slave defined by his physical characteristics and his ethnic origin.

¹⁰²⁸ Demirtaş, “B/157 Numaralı Bursa Şer’iyye Siciline Göre Bursa’da Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayat,” 90.

¹⁰²⁹ Demirtaş, 106.

¹⁰³⁰ Yapıcı, “H.1133-1134 (M.1721-1722) Tarihli 97 Numaralı Ankara Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 182.

¹⁰³¹ Demirtaş, “B/157 Numaralı Bursa Şer’iyye Siciline Göre Bursa’da Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayat,” 112.

“...Dergâh-ı âli dâme mahfûfen bi’l-me‘ali yeniçerilerine mahsusa yirmi beşinci cemaat (...) ve Eğriboz cemaatlerinden olup medine-i Rodoscuk’da müsâferet vechi üzere sâkin Hüseyin Ali Beşe ibn Mehmed nam kimesne meclis-i şer‘î şerîf-i mahfil-i dîn-ı münîf-i hâtemü’l-enbiyâda atik-i âtî’l-beyân-ı sudûruna değin mülk ve rakîki olmak üzere yedinde olan orta boylu açık kaşlı sarı ala gözlü Rumi el-asl müslim elmalı hâfız (...) Mustafa bin Abdullah nam (...) umûr-ı gulâm mahzarında...”¹⁰³²

Hence, the examples above indicate that *câriyes* or enslaved people were registered by their ethnic origin and physical characteristics instead of showing where they belonged, which is totally different from the registration of subjects. Although there are some cases where the Ottoman subjects are sometimes defined by physical characteristics other than the place of residence, the example of this situation is rarely encountered in the registries examined.¹⁰³³ Once again, this fact reveals the Ottoman State’s importance in determining each tax-paying subject’s place. Since there was no such need for enslaved people or *câriyes*, it seems that primary importance had not been given to registering their places.

Sicils first mention Ottoman subjects’ original *mahalles* or villages, and then they further indicate that why and how these Ottoman subjects in question are present at the current place of residence. For example, people visiting or being as a guest in the city are stated with expressions such as “*müsâfiren sâkin*”, “*ber-vech-i müsâfiret sâkin iken*,”¹⁰³⁴ “*ber-vech-i ticaret misafiret sâkin iken*,” “*müsâfiren mütemekkin*”, “*müsâferet vechi üzere*”.¹⁰³⁵ For those residing in the city for trade

¹⁰³² Muslu, “1647 Nr. Şer’iyye Sicilinin Işığında Lale Devri’nin İlk Yıllarında Tekirdap (1721-1724),” 441.

¹⁰³³ “Medîne-i Bursa’da Kayabaşı mahallesinde mütemekkinne zimmeti müte’arrife olan işbu uzun boylu açık kaşlı elâ gözlü ... hâmiletü’r-rakîme Kadrine bint-i Manol nâm nasrâniye mahfil-i kazada” Demirtaş, “B/157 Numaralı Bursa Şer’iyye Siciline Göre Bursa’da Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayat,” 58.

¹⁰³⁴ Bayraktar, “1917 Numaralı Trabzon Şer’iyye Sicilinin Değerlendirmesi ve Transkripsiyonu,” 248, 281.

¹⁰³⁵ Yıldırım, “30 Numaralı Adana Şer’iye Sicil Defteri”, 457. İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Rumeli Sadareti Mahkemesi 161 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1115-1116 / M. 1704)*, Coşkun Yılmaz and Salih Kahriman, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 434.

purposes mentioned as “*ticâret tarîkiyle*,”¹⁰³⁶ “*ticâret vechi üzere*,”¹⁰³⁷ “*ticâretle müsâfîren sâkin*,”¹⁰³⁸ “*ticâret üzerine iken*.”¹⁰³⁹ “*ticaret tarikiyle mütemekkin olmağın*.”¹⁰⁴⁰ This means that if people, who are traveling among cities for different purposes, are involved in a situation requiring to be noted in court records, the records indicate their reasons of being there and where they are from originally.

I believe that such defining features to describe people involved in cases have implications on people’s attachments to places and the feeling of belonging to places. For instance, even if an ordinary Ottoman subject moves to and resides in a *mahalle* of İstanbul, the records still indicate that s/he belongs to the community where s/he comes from. This possibly sustained or toned up people’s attachment to their original hometown and affected their attachment level to where they actually live. The case below represents an example of how people were defined in court records and also how people then defined themselves accordingly:

“*Fi’l-asl Malkara kazâsına tâbi ‘ Soğutca nâm karye ahâlîsinden olup mahmiye-i İstanbul’da Sarrâc Doğan mahallesinde sâkine ve ber-vech-i âtî iddi’â-i verâset eden bâ’îsetü’l-vesîka Halime bt. İbrahim nâm hatun zâtı ba’d’e’t-ta’rîfî’ş-şer’î meclis-i şer’-i şerîf-i enverde Mehmed b. Mustafa nâm kimesne muvâcehesinde üzerine da’vâ ve takrîr-i kelâm edip fi’l-asl karye-i mezbûre ahâlîsinden olup vilâyet-i Rumeli’de Rodoscuk kasabasında ticâret vechi üzere mutavattın iken bundan akdem vefât eden tüccârdan Kara Malak Ahmed Dayıb. Mehmed b. Pehlivan Ahmed’in li-ebeveyn ammisi Bekci Ali’nin kızı Fâtıma’nın sadriye kızı olduğumdan mâ’adâ müteveffâ-yı mezbûrun li-üm kız karındaşı Râbia’nın sadriye kızı diğer Fâtıma’nın sadriye kızı olmağla müteveffâ-yı mezbûrun verâseti kasaba-i mezbûrede sâkine zevcesi Fâtıma bt. Abdullah nâm hatun ile zî-rahm cihetinden bana ve kasaba-i merkûmede sâkin li-ebeveyn er karındaşım İbrahim’e münhasıradır...*”¹⁰⁴¹

¹⁰³⁶ *Bab Mahkemesi 92 Numaralı Sicil*, 327.

¹⁰³⁷ *Bab Mahkemesi 150 Numaralı Sicil*, 276.

¹⁰³⁸ *Bab Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil*, 298.

¹⁰³⁹ *Bab Mahkemesi 46 Numaralı Sicil*, 298.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Atasoy, “50 Numaralı Ayıntâb Şer’iyye Sicili’nin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi,” 385.

¹⁰⁴¹ *Bab Mahkemesi 172 Numaralı Sicil*, 214.

In this court case, a woman named Halime is originally from *Soğutça* village in *Malkara*, but she lives in the neighborhood of Doğan in İstanbul. The court record finds it necessary to note where she is from originally. Residing in a district of İstanbul was not considered enough. Subsequently, Halime defines *Kara Malak Ahmet Dayı*, who died in Rodoscuk, as from the community of *Soğutça* village. There is a practical reason here for mentioning original hometowns: Halime was the relative of *Kara Malak Ahmed Dayı*, and both lived in different places in the current situation, and an indication of where they were from was also a sign that they were relatives. However, it further implies that there had been an increasing mobility of ordinary people between places in the 18th century since there have been many cases¹⁰⁴² indicating people's original hometowns and communities especially in *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri*. Thirdly, although they become residents of İstanbul, they still belong to their previous communities in the eyes of the Ottoman State. So, if they still belong to their previous communities and indicate their previous locality as their original hometown, one may assume that these people may still be attached to their earlier communities to some extent.

In addition to the practical benefit of recording people in courts based on their origin, such identification also reflects the state language and world of mind from another perspective. The way the Ottoman State defined and recorded its subjects and did practices concerning it may have had a strengthening effect on the bond established by the ordinary Ottoman people with the place. It can be said that this

¹⁰⁴² See as instances *Bab Mahkemesi 151 Numaralı Sicil*, 105, verdict no 71, 18a-1; *Eyüp Mahkemesi 90 Numaralı Sicil*, 132, verdict no 87, 15b-3; *İstanbul Mahkemesi 18 Numaralı Sicil*, 471, verdict no 498, 135a-1; *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, İstanbul Mahkemesi 20 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1099-1100 / M. 1688-1689)*, trans. Abdullah Sivridağ et. al, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 156, verdict no 161, 33b-1; *Kartal Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil*, 195, verdict no 287, 51a-3; *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, Mahmudpaşa Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1240-1242 / M.1825-1827)*, Salih Kahrıman and Mümin Yıldıztaş, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 124, verdict no 98, 26b-6; *Rumeli Sadâreti Mahkemesi 106 Numaralı Sicil*, 536, 614, 671; *Rumeli Sadâreti Mahkemesi 161 Numaralı Sicil*, 203, verdict no 146, 43b-1.

situation, which is constantly repeated with language, internalizes the bond set with the space. In addition, since spatial belonging is not always created with awareness but is an established relationship occurring without awareness,¹⁰⁴³ the Ottoman State's matching of people with their living or belonged space contributed to this enhancement of attachment. This practical use of spatial aspects also stresses that the Ottoman State employed spatial strategies in maintaining rule and order within the Ottoman lands.

Looking at the other side of the coin, when courts define where one belongs, this is also a definition of where one does not belong. Such registers emphasize that the matters discussed at the court belong to someone who does not belong here.

Place attachment also provides a framework for identity construction since, in time, the people's hometown, or where they lived for a long time, becomes part of their identity. Identifying people by their place constantly contributes to this identity-building process since the attachment itself, independent from the place, may also be defined as a universal human need.¹⁰⁴⁴ Plus, the constant referral to the original place of residence, even if these people were not living there for a long time, might bond people to these spaces symbolically. As examples have shown, the original place always came as the first reference of identity, independent of the ethnic origin or other titles. On the other hand, concubines or enslaved people are described only by their physical characteristics or ethnic origins because they can only exist under someone's protection, so there is practically no need to mark or define them with a place. However, when considered part of the Ottoman society and ordinary people, identification with the place is equally low for the enslaved people and concubines, who are described only by their eyebrows, eyes, and ethnic identity.

¹⁰⁴³ Brown and Perkins, "Disruptions in Place Attachment," 284.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Scannell and Gifford, "Defining Place Attachment: A Tripartite Organizing Framework," 1.

3.10. The Unattached Ones of the Ottoman Space

This dissertation is about the spatial attachment of ordinary Ottoman people. Throughout this long chapter, I have searched for clues about this spatial attachment. I discussed how, why, and to what extent the bond between people and place was established and its possible effects in the spatial area of the Ottoman world. However, I believe that this study would be incomplete without the unattached members of the Ottoman realm, as I call them, who were the beggars, bachelors (*bekârs*),¹⁰⁴⁵ prostitutes, vagrants, homeless people, casual or unskilled workers, fugitive slaves, passersby, Gypsies, and unknown persons (*meçhûlû'l-ahvâl kimesneler*).

People form relations with space through various mechanisms, from state policies to traditions, from survival instincts to economic satisfaction. However, some people do not create such bonds due to multiple reasons. Understanding the reason behind such lack of bonds may help understand better the spatial attachment. Since previous affiliations, particularly to specific places, are important definitive markers for the Ottoman State to define its subjects, areas where unbounded people who had no affiliations gathered in Ottoman cities require particular attention.

In classical Ottoman cities, the lack of mobility, in other words, inactivity, was the dominant emotion. Under the influx of migration, increasing mobility, and geographical instability, the 18th century witnessed a rise in the number of people that I briefly mentioned as “unattached.” Hamadeh defines these people as “floating populations” as “neither did they constitute an underworld culture or share a collective identity nor were they marginalize into distinctive geographies.”¹⁰⁴⁶ They

¹⁰⁴⁵ It refers to “young single male immigrants but served as a euphemism for vagrants and the lawless in Ottoman legal and daily parlance.” Hamadeh, “Mean Streets: Space and Moral Order in Early Modern İstanbul,” 249-250.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Hamadeh, “Mean Streets: Space and Moral Order in Early Modern İstanbul,” 252-253.

were “unattached, unsettled, or uprooted, with no fixed address, permanent occupation, or sustained membership in such recognized administrative bodies as the professional guild or neighborhood.”¹⁰⁴⁷ However, they were constituting components of the 18th century Ottoman cities. Then, how did they relate to physical space? Does calling these people as “unattached” in a sketchy manner really indicate that they did not establish a relationship with the places?

According to Hamadeh, for example, when beggars apply to the court, they identify themselves as “non-Muslim beggars,” which is not having any spatial indication; on the other hand, the applications of neighborhood dwellers to the court, as their primary unit of organization, is undoubtedly spatial.¹⁰⁴⁸ Indeed, the Ottoman State delineates the beggars as “placeless” (*bî-mekân, bî-mesken*) as seen in the edict with regard to preventing beggars in İstanbul in 1160 (1747).¹⁰⁴⁹ In the eyes of Ottoman State, these “placeless” people represented a danger to the social and spatial order since they do not belong to any place. Bachelor rooms (*bekâr odaları*), inns (*hâns*), shop corners (*dükkân köşeleri*), *imârets*, *dârü’ş-şifâlar*, *tabhâneler*, *bostan*, *bahçıvan ve bağbân peykeleri* are listed as the place of residence (*mesken ve me’vâ*) for those unattached ones and their settlement in there should be prevented.¹⁰⁵⁰ Despite the constant efforts of the State not only in the 18th century but throughout Ottoman history to prevent these places from turning into settled places for undesirable elements of society, Ottoman documents reveal that these places continued to function as such. There are numerous cases in which people constantly

¹⁰⁴⁷ Hamadeh, 252.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Hamadeh, 257.

¹⁰⁴⁹ *Eyüp Mahkemesi 182 Numaralı Sicil*, 211.

¹⁰⁵⁰ “...fî-mâ ba’d bu makûle külhânları sâir gecelerde mesken ve me’vâ ittihâz eyleyip beytûtet eyledikleri hamam külhânlarına ve mahallât aralarında koltuk hânlarında ve ahurlara ve dükkân köşelerine ve bekâr odalarına ve imâret ve dârü’ş-şifâ ve tabhânelere ve bahçıvan, ve bağbân peykelerine bir vechile vaz’ ve iskân etdirilmemek için...” *Eyüp Mahkemesi 182 Numaralı Sicil*, 211, 29a-2.

return to these places after re-settlement to their original hometowns (*taşra vilâyetli olanlar vilâyetlerine irsâl ve emred*).¹⁰⁵¹ This long-term/routine use of the specific spaces in cities, be it a shop corner or a bachelor room, possibly enhanced the place attachment of these particular populations of the Ottoman cities. On the other hand, as these places became the residences of these people, they were coded as insecure areas by the settled people, and this caused their belongingness to work in the opposite direction for them.

It is common to encounter these people (mainly composed of migrants¹⁰⁵²) in archival documents, where they were described as unemployed, causing disruption, leading to hardships in their environment, or wandering around without a cause. For the neighborhood residents, the “anonymity of individuals who could not be accounted for by any upright member of the community was recognized as a threat to personal security and public order.”¹⁰⁵³ For example, in many of the decrees conveyed to the qadis or governors in the archives, it is stated that there should be no prostitute women and single men in the neighborhoods and that the communities should be inspected in this sense,¹⁰⁵⁴ or that the unemployed should be sent back to their hometowns because these people act in a way that disrupt the public order by gathering¹⁰⁵⁵ (*işsiz ve güçsüz bir takım kimselerin toplanarak asayiş bozan hareketlerde bulunması hasebiyle*). In another document, it was stated that those who

¹⁰⁵¹ Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, *Ali Emîrî Tasnifi* (BOA, AE.SMST.III, 204-16030, H-15-12-1184).

¹⁰⁵² In the eyes of the Ottoman State, these were unquestionably the number one suspicious people. For instance, porters of Salonica were considered suspicious since they were composed mainly of migrants. Hamadeh, “Mean Streets: Space and Moral Order in Early Modern İstanbul,” 254.

¹⁰⁵³ Wishnitzer, “Into the Dark: Power, Light, and Nocturnal Life in the 18th-Century İstanbul,” 517.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, *Bab-ı Asaî Divan-ı Hümayûn Sicilleri Mühimme Defterleri* (BOA, A. (DVNSMHM.d 30-600).

¹⁰⁵⁵ Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, *Cevdet Tasnifi Zaptiye Nezâreti Defterleri* (BOA, C.ZB, 53 – 2637, H-29-04-1144).

came to İstanbul with empty excuses (*boş bahanelerle*) and stayed in single rooms brought hardship to the people of İstanbul and were prevented from entering.¹⁰⁵⁶

According to the edict registered in the Konya court registers dating 1742, it was ordered that among the wandering soldiers, those who were able to work should be kept and the rest were sent back to their own cities (“...memaliki mahrûsemde bir mahalde başı boş serseri levend makûlesi gezmek üzere tez elden def’i gâileleri hususu muradı hümâyûnum idüğü malumun oldukda dâhili eyâletinde başı boş serseri gezen levendâtın bölükbaşılarını ve işe güce kâdir sahih levend makûlelerini iktizâyı hale göre istimâlet vererek dairene celb ve imâle ve bakiyye kalanlarını vilayetlerine tard ve iade...”¹⁰⁵⁷).

In another edict in the İstanbul court records, it was ordered that the unemployed, powerless vagrant class, and unknown people should not come to İstanbul. It was observed that they caused distress and persecution, so these visits had to be prevented (“...ve ba‘zan bilâ-maslahat ve serserî makûlesi ve da‘vâcı nâmıyla cem‘iyyet ile meçhûlü’l-ahvâl kimesneler Âsitâne-i aliyyeme gelüp ibâdullahı bîhûde mezâhim-i müzâyakalarına bâ‘is olundukların re‘yü’l-ayn müşâhede olunmakdan nâşî...”¹⁰⁵⁸) It was ordered that those who had already come should be sent back to their districts and neighborhoods (ceste ceste ahz ve kayıklara vaz‘ ve semtli ve semtince mahâllerine i‘âde ve sevk ü tesyîr olunup).¹⁰⁵⁹ The word vagrant (*serserî*) is of Persian origin and means “stray person without a specific job or place.”¹⁰⁶⁰ As seen in this example, it was seen that the stray people caused trouble to the settled people, and they were requested to be sent back.

¹⁰⁵⁶ A Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, *Bab-ı Asaî Divan-ı Hümâyûn Sicilleri Mühimme Defterleri* (BOA, A. (DVNSMHM.d 30-600, H-10-05-1145).

¹⁰⁵⁷ Özdoğan, “55 Numaralı Konya Şer’iye Sicili’nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu,” 693-694.

¹⁰⁵⁸ *Adalar Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil*, 51, verdict no 36, 7b-1.

¹⁰⁵⁹ *Adalar Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil*, 51, verdict no 36, 7b-1.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Türk Dil Kurumu Sözlükleri, “serseri,” accessed September 16, 2022, <https://sozluk.gov.tr>.

In another case from the İstanbul court records, it was reported that unemployed vagrants fled to the surrounding areas and hid in some neighborhoods after it was revealed that they had seized the belongings and property of the people (Bî-kisb ü kâr serserî geşt ü güzâr ve ibâdullahın emvâl ve eşyâsını gasb ve ihtilâsa derkâr olan şekâvet-pîşeler.... bazıları tahlîs-i girîban dâ‘iyesiyle Haslar ve Sütlüce ve ol havâlîye firâr ve ba‘zı mahallerde hufyeten meks ve firâr eyledikleri).¹⁰⁶¹ It was ordered that these people be sent back without delay by revealing their names and hometowns when they were found (ve ele getirilip isimleri ve vilâyetleri tasrîhi ile dikkat ve vilâyetlerine i‘âde ve tesyîre ihtimâm ve dikkat).¹⁰⁶² After the examination made pursuant to this order, there were 30 porters from Sivas and Divriği in Eyüp and Defterdar Pier, 52 people from *Ekrad tâife* in Topkapı, 30 people from *Türkmen tâife* in İlyaszade District, and 70 reapers in Rumelia at the service of farmers. These people were sent back to their neighborhoods. Then it was recorded that the residents of the abovementioned neighborhoods were guarantors for each other and that there were no vagrants left (“...bi’l-cümle mahâll-i me’mûrlarına geri i‘âde ve ircâ‘ etdirilip medîne-i mezbûr mahallâtı sükkânı birbirlerine mütekeffiller olup bî-kisb ü kâr işi gücü olmayıp serseri geşt ü güzâr eder makûlelerinden ferd-i ahad kimesne bulunmayıp...”¹⁰⁶³).

According to the record in the Manastır court, *imams* were asked to interrogate everyone due to incidents such as theft that had occurred in some neighborhoods for a long time. It was ordered to demand a guarantor for people

¹⁰⁶¹ In the Ottoman State, *reaya* living within the boundaries of *dirliks* were subject to the management of the *dirlik* owners according to the *timar* system. *Timar* was the transfer of the income of a specific part of the lands belonging to the State to a person (*dirlik* owner) in return for the specified services. In the management of the *timar* system, some people fled to other *dirliks* and hid in the vicinity to avoid their *dirlik* owners due to problems or troubles with the owners. Since *dirliks* could not interfere with each other, it became difficult to follow those people. Above is an example of this.

¹⁰⁶² *Eyüp Mahkemesi 182 Numaralı Sicil*, 361, verdict no 589, 58a-3.

¹⁰⁶³ *Eyüp Mahkemesi 182 Numaralı Sicil*, 361, verdict no 589, 58a-3.

whose status is unknown in the neighborhoods, to register their guarantors and themselves in the court with their names, and to report their names if no guarantors are found (“...bu makûle meçhûlû’l-ahvâl olan kimesnelerin mahkeme kefilleri taleb ve... ve kendülerine ve kefâlatın isim ve şöhetleri muhâkemedede ba‘de’l kayd içlerinde kefil zuhûr itmeyüb hâriçde meçhûlû’l-ahvâl kimesneleri ale’l-esâmi taraf-i şer‘den defterler ile tarafımıza i‘lâm...”¹⁰⁶⁴).

According to another record from the court of *Eyüp*, a dead body was found in a garden near *Takkeçiler Câmî*. It was ordered to inspect and determine people who stayed around the mosque without a guarantor. Upon discovering the dead body, the court record uttered that the bad habit of daring such an evil might have belonged to the unemployed people walking around (“...bu makûle habâset ve mel‘anete ictirâ edenler beher hâl bî-kisb ü kâr geşt ü güzâr eyleyen eşhâs ve erâzil makûlelerinin sû-i hulkı olduğı melhûz ve meczûm olmakdan...”¹⁰⁶⁵). The court record used the terms *eşhâs* and *erâzil* to define these people (“...taşradan gelip ol havâlîlerde ba‘zı menâzil ve bahçe ve bostanlara duhûl eden eşhâs ve erâzilin...”¹⁰⁶⁶).

Another example deals with the case of soldiers who hid in various places of İstanbul to refrain from joining the military campaign.¹⁰⁶⁷ According to the incident, some of the soldiers stayed in various parts of İstanbul under the pretext of changing their clothes and doing various jobs to avoid participating in the expedition (“...tavâyif-i askerînin ba‘zıları Üsküdar ve İstanbul ve tevâbi‘i kazâlarına geldiklerinde mücerred sefere gitmemek için kalpakçılık ve ba‘zı sanâyi‘ işlemek bahânesiyle kıyâfetlerin tebdîl edip...”¹⁰⁶⁸). The order requested that business

¹⁰⁶⁴ Kavgacı, “63 Numaralı Manastır Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi (1778-1782),” 448-449.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *Eyüp Mahkemesi 182 Numaralı Sicil*, 546, verdict no 860, 100a-3.

¹⁰⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶⁷ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 22 Numaralı Sicil*, 709, verdict no 549, 187b-2.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 22 Numaralı Sicil*, 709, verdict no 549, 187b-2.

licenses not be given to these people and that they should not be protected and be expelled. The order addressed to the people (mahallât ahâlîleri esnaf kethudâların ve hancıları ve bekâr odalarının odabaşılarının) mentions the names of the places in the areas where these people were likely to be as such: “mahallât ve esnaf aralarında ve hanlarda ve bekâ[r] odalarında.”

According to another litigation involved a claim that some brigand janissaries hid in İstanbul disguised, and the record described the places that janissaries were hiding as such:

“İstanbul içinde ve hâric ve dâhilinde olan bi’l-cümle mahallât ve hân ve hamam ve dükkân ve bekâr odaları vesâir mahalleri gereği gibi teftîş ve taharrî ettirderek o misilli firârî ve muhtefî eşkıyâ takımının bir ferdi geri kalmaksızın alâ-eyyi hâlin cümlesinin zahîre ihrâcî”¹⁰⁶⁹

All expressions such as “*meçhûlû’l-ahvâl*,” “*başı boş serseri*,” “*işsiz ve güçsüz*,” “*erâzil*,” “*ehl-i fesad*,” were used for people who did not belong to their place of residence or did not have a job. Therefore, it was asked for those people to return to their hometowns or register with a guarantor where they were currently residing in. Hence, these were the least attached people to places, considering they were mobile, and lacked “social and spatial fixity”¹⁰⁷⁰ but not like merchants or people traveling for business with their families.

These people, whose identity is unknown to authorities, not recognized by the local dwellers, and who are known as strays in the Ottoman social space without any job, are the people with the lowest place attachment. That is probably why these people were found in secluded places such as *dükkân* or neighborhood corners. Again, for the same reason, these people were asked to be sent back or registered with a guarantor because they were seen as a danger in the space by both the

¹⁰⁶⁹ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 154 Numaralı Sicil*, 219, verdict no 88, 35b-2.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Hamadeh, “Mean Streets: Space and Moral Order in Early Modern İstanbul,” 253.

neighborhood community and the Ottoman State. The places where these people are concentrated were seen as unsafe by the neighborhood's residents and came to the fore as places where belonging was low due to security concerns.¹⁰⁷¹

Precisely for this reason, a vicious circle stands out regarding the relationship between people and space. These unknown people, who reside in these places because they hide or do secret things, are excluded twice in terms of both the negative features attributed to them by the residents and the seclusion of their place. Hence spatial belonging is also affected negatively by this situation. For these *meçhûlû'l-ahvâl* people, indicators of place attachment like the personalization of space, ownership, organizational membership, existence of friends and kin did not exist within the Ottoman space.

One of the common features of these unattached, in other words the undesirables of the city, which were not actually a homogenous group, was that they constituted the poorest in the Ottoman society. According to Islam, helping the poor is an obligation, which led to the widespread functioning of charitable institutions in Islamic geography. In Ottoman society, helping needy people was realized through kinship-based networks, social and professional ties, or religious endowments. These unattached people, as discussed by other scholars within the scope of poverty and charity in the Ottoman States,¹⁰⁷² were outside of these ties because they were mainly composing the undesired and nonresident part of the society. Moreover, Islamic charity institutions such as soup kitchens, Sufi lodges and shelters were mainly in big and important cities regarding administration, leading smaller towns to become more

¹⁰⁷¹ See title 4.7. Place Attachment Based on Survival and Security

¹⁰⁷² See Ginio, "Living on the Margins of Charity Coping with Poverty in an Ottoman Provincial City," Özbek, "Beggars and Vagrants in Ottoman State Policy and Public Discourse, 1876-1914."

dependent on local forms of help.¹⁰⁷³ So, the unattached had low access to help through charitable institutions. That is why some of them chose to participate in banditry, beg in the streets, and do illegal work in secluded places, which meant adopting strategies to survive.¹⁰⁷⁴ That was also why they became a threat to the Ottoman State. Here one may talk about a vicious cycle in the formation and continuation of these groups of unattached people. As they could not be able to benefit from pious foundations, they became marginalized, and as they marginalized, they engaged in actions in breach of the Ottoman order. According to Ginio, local people distinguished between the poor as the deserving and the undeserving poor, leading to the undeserving being marginal elements of society.¹⁰⁷⁵

The attitude of the Ottoman State towards urban poor has changed in the late 18th century. According to Özbek, Ottoman State “became more concerned with disciplining the idle poor through putting them into productive activity, which signifies a shift from corporal punishment to disciplinary policies.”¹⁰⁷⁶ He also considers this attitude change as the very early signs of social policy of the Ottoman State.¹⁰⁷⁷ Since they were the undesired elements of the cities, the Ottoman State tried to control their movements and the visibility in public as above examples indicated. Especially, the precautions taken to control migration to İstanbul were principally aiming “the unemployed and undesirable nonresident poor.”¹⁰⁷⁸

Mentally ill people are also among the undesirable elements of public order, which need a review as the constituents of the Ottoman Space. The spatial regulation

¹⁰⁷³ Mine Ener, “Religious Prerogatives and Policing the Poor in Two Ottoman Contexts,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35, no. 3 (2005): 503.

¹⁰⁷⁴ See Ginio, “Living on the Margins of Charity Coping with Poverty in an Ottoman Provincial City,” 177.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Ginio, “Living on the Margins of Charity Coping with Poverty in an Ottoman Provincial City,” 177-178.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Özbek, “Beggars and Vagrants in Ottoman State Policy and Public Discourse, 1876-1914,” 784.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Özbek, 785.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Ener, “Religious Prerogatives and Policing the Poor in Two Ottoman Contexts,” 505.

of mentally ill patients treated in isolation from the place in the 19th century and later deserves to be further explored. The terminology used in Ottoman court records regarding these people was “cünûn.”¹⁰⁷⁹ Medical institutions for those were called *Bimaristan*, *Bimarhane*, *Timarhane*, *Darü’l-şifa*.¹⁰⁸⁰ However, those particular institutions were only for those seriously ill and dangerous to others, considering the limited spaces in these institutions. Treatment or care for persons with lighter mental illnesses was provided at home or in religious institutions such as mosques or monasteries. Within the scope of this dissertation, it is vital to understand how society approached them within the common areas.

There are a few vital examples concerning their treatment of mentally ill, and how the community approached them. A record in the Galata court from the beginning of the 19th century is an interesting example of the transfer of a mentally ill person to a private locale. According to this record, Kader bt. Bedros reported that his 13-year-old son had lost his mind and wandered around the streets and bazaars like a vagrant day and night, damaging his surroundings (“...cünûn ârız olup muhtellü’ d-dimâğ olduğu hâlde esvâk ve pazarda leylen ve nehâren serseri geşt ü güzâr ve mârreye ve hem-civârlarımıza itâle ve tekdîrden hâlî olmamağla...”¹⁰⁸¹). The child, who was asked to be placed in a particular location until he regained his health, was transferred to this locale with the consent of the people of the neighborhood.

“...bu misüllü muhtellü’ d-dimâğ olanları ifâkat buluncaya değin mahâll-i mahsûsaya vaz’ olunagelmekle mecnûn-ı merkûm dahi vaz’ olunmak

¹⁰⁷⁹ Mental illnesses were categorized as cünûn-i mutbik or cünun-i gayr-i mutbik.

¹⁰⁸⁰ There have been several studies concerning hospitals, medication, and treatment of mentally ill people in Ottoman; however, within the limits of this dissertation, I would not go into detail on this topic. For further analysis on this topic, see Merve Kardelen Bilir and Fatih Artvinli, “The history of mental health policy in Turkey: tradition, transition and transformation,” *History of Psychiatry* 31, no. 1 (2020): 3-19. Nil Sarı, “A review of Ottoman court records on mental diseases,” *Journal of Health & Culture* 1, no. 1 (2016): 58-67. Burçak Özlüül Altın, “Psychiatry, Space and Time: Case of an Ottoman Asylum,” *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 5, no. 1 (2018): 67-89.

¹⁰⁸¹ *Galata Mahkemesi 580 Numaralı Sicil*, 398, verdict no 646, 64a-1.

murâdımdır dedikde mahalle-i merkûme müezzini... ile ahâlîsinden...
zimmîler dahi mukırre-i mersûmeyi tasdîk ve ber-vech-i meşrûh mahâll-i
mahsûs olan Ermeni tâifesinin iskân ed[il]egeldikleri mahalle vaz'ı bâbında
fermân-ı âlîleri sudûrunu istid'â veistirhâm eyledikle.¹⁰⁸²

An edict sent to the Ankara qadi in 1783-1784 ordered that Seyyid Abdullah
be caught in İstanbul and sent to his original homeland, Ankara, due to his insanity
and inappropriate behavior in the mosque (“...eser-i cünun ve hamkî muktezâsınca
Cuma günü selâmlık olan cami'-i şerîfde ref'-i savt ile bilâ edbân harekete ibtidâr ve
bu vechle tahdîş sem'-i hümayûnuma ictisârına binâen te'dibi lâzım gelmekle...¹⁰⁸³).

According to the submission to the Üsküdar Court dated 1793, the villagers
applied to the court en masse and said that Mehmet Ağa, who was a member of their
village and became a chief in Galata palace, was expelled from the palace and sent
back to their village because he lost his mind. The community requested Mehmet
Ağa be sent to the hospital (karye-i mezbûre ahâlîsinden olup Galata Sarayı
ağalarından iken bi-kazâillâhi te'âlâ cünûn târî olmağla saray-ı merkûmdan ihrâc ve
karyemize irsâl olunan). Mentioning that this person disturbed the people by
throwing stones day and night in the streets, bazaars, and markets (esvâk ve bâzârda
leylen ve nehâren geşt ü güzâr ve ricâl ve nisâya taş ile ta'arruz eylediğinden), the
village community reported a fire risk as the person in question did not have any
relatives and was left alone in his house (enîs ve enîsesinden kimesnesi olmayıp
menziline yalnız beytûtet edip ihrâk havfı olmağın). Thus, it was decided to send
Mehmet Ağa to the hospital until he recovered.¹⁰⁸⁴

Similarly, the people of the *Karaki* neighborhood requested that mental health
of Zeyneb, who lives in their area, be investigated. Based on this, together with

¹⁰⁸² *Galata Mahkemesi 580 Numaralı Sicil*, 398, verdict no 646, 64a-1.

¹⁰⁸³ Taşcan, “173 Numaralı Ankara Şer'iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirmesi (H. 1198/M. 1783-1784,” 231-232.

¹⁰⁸⁴ *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 531 Numaralı Sicil*, 842, verdict no 1420, 118a-3.

Mehmet Efendi, the imam of the neighborhood, 12 people from the community were assigned to investigate the situation. It was declared that Zeyneb was mentally ill, had no one in the neighborhood (“...mezbûre Zeyneb mukaddemâ sevdâsı olup hâlâ bi-emrillâhi te‘âlâ mecnûne olmağla kendiyi muhâfaza eder kat‘a kimesnesi olmayıp... mecnûne-i mezbûrenin şerr ü mazarrâtından bir vechile emniyet ve rahatımız yokdur deyü...”¹⁰⁸⁵) and the neighborhood residents were not safe because of the damage she had caused, and it was requested that she was hospitalized (mecnûne-i mezbûreye ilâc ve tımar için Dârü’ş-şifâ’ya vaz‘ olunması bâbında¹⁰⁸⁶).

Another court record stated that Halime, a resident in the *Sinan Ağâ* neighborhood, was not in good mental health. Her condition had worsened over four months, and her illness became permanent. It was decided to transfer her to the hospital after the neighborhood residents reported the situation.

“...nice müddetden beri mecnûne olduğundan mâ‘adâ dört aydan beri cünûnu müşted olup mezbûre Halime cünûn-ı mutbık ile mecnûne olduğunu mahalle-i mezbûre ahâlîsinden... haber verdiklerinden sonra... Bîmarhânesi’ne vaz‘ olunması...”¹⁰⁸⁷

In another example, Hamal Kara Osman was murdered by his step son in his own house (Hamal kara Osman bin Abdurrahman nam kimesneyi kendi sâkin olduğu menzilinde üveği oğlu divane kara Ali tarih-i kitab senesi Receb-i şerifinin ikinci perşenbe gecesı nısfü’l-leylde balta ile başına darb ve cerh ve katl etmeğın). In the lawsuit filed regarding the discovery of the incident, the victim’s wife declared that his son killed Osman and that the neighborhood people had nothing to do with the incident. From the discoveries and statements made, it is understood that Ali, the murderer, was not mentally stable (“...ba‘de’l-mu‘ayene katl-i mezbûr Kara Ali

¹⁰⁸⁵ *Bab Mahkemesi 151 Numaralı Sicil*, 286, verdict no 300, 71b-3.

¹⁰⁸⁶ *Bab Mahkemesi 151 Numaralı Sicil*, 286, verdict no 300, 71b-3.

¹⁰⁸⁷ *Bab Mahkemesi 197 Numaralı Sicil*, 322, verdict no 379, 49b-3.

cünûn-i mutbuk ile mecnûn olub ikrâr ve inkar-ı şer‘ân mu‘teber olmadığı şöhret-i şayi‘a ile inde’ş-şer‘î zâhir ve mütebeyyin olub...”¹⁰⁸⁸).

In another case in the Adana court records, the mother of İlyas applied to the court and stated that his son started to lose his mind after age three and harmed those around him (“işbu oğlum İlyas... üç yaşına girdikten sonra cünûn ‘ârız olub gitdikce müşeddet olmağla ba’zı kere haşka kendiden cünûnu zarar idiyor” ¹⁰⁸⁹). The allegation was also asked by the neighborhood people, and it was recorded that İlyas was not in the right balance, as they also testified on this issue (“ber-cünûn-ı mutbik ile memcnundur... haber virdiklerinde cünûn-ı mutbik ile mecnun olundğuna hükm olundu” ¹⁰⁹⁰).

The few guiding examples above indicate that people with mental problems could not find a place for themselves in the Ottoman space. Spatial and social control mechanisms have come into play, and the removal of mentally ill people were removed from the neighborhood has been realized with the family’s consent, with the approval of the neighborhood, or, if there is no one, directly with the request of the neighborhood. This development could be considered in line with the Ottoman State policy from the late 18th century, in which beggars, vagrants, and the urban poor gradually started to be seen as a source of problem and were contained.¹⁰⁹¹

Similar to dislocating the poor who did not have a connection within the existing space to decrease their visibility, we may talk about a similar approach for the mentally ill. Hospitalizing these people and their treatment is a modern approach that had roots mainly in the 19th century. However, the examples presented above

¹⁰⁸⁸ Muslu, “1647 Nr. Şer’iyye Sicilinin Işığında Lale Devri’nin İlk Yıllarında Tekirdağ (1721-1724),” 283.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Metin Ceylan, “17 No’lu (H.1156-1157 M.1743-1744) Adana Şer’iye sicili Transkripsiyon ve Kataloğu,” (master’s thesis, İnönü Üniversitesi, 1996), 195.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Ceylan, 195.

¹⁰⁹¹ Özbek, “Beggars and Vagrants in Ottoman State Policy and Public Discourse, 1876-1914,” 784.

from the end of the 18th century show the beginning of the path of segregation for those mentally ill.

These inferences made from a small number of case studies also overlap with the findings of other studies. For example, according to Sarı and Akgün,¹⁰⁹² the confinement practice happened when neighborhood members demanded or complained, and the family members could not care for the mentally ill.

The recorded incident of the suicide of an unknown person in the Derviş Ali District of İstanbul is a good example to understand how being a beggar or mentally ill is related to being placeless and even having no name. A woman, whose name is unknown in the incident, hung herself through the iron of the window on the public road of Ahmed Efendi's property (menzilinın tarîk-i âm tarafında vâki‘ tahtânî penceresinin demirine çuka kenarı ile asıp fevt olduđu). The incident was investigated, and the local people were also asked about the situation. The people of the neighborhood reported that the woman was not mentally healthy, that she had previously stayed in the harem of the mosque in the area, but that she had fled from here a while ago and sat on the road under Ahmet Efendi’s house and asked for alms from people who came and went (“hatun mecnûne olup mukaddemâ mahallemiz kurbünde Kethudâ Hatun Câmi‘-i Şerîfi hareminded sâkine olup firâr eyledi birkaç zamandır ki... menzilinın saçağı altında tarîk-i âm üzerinde oturup âyende vü revendeden sadaka taleb”¹⁰⁹³). The name of the person who died was unknown, and the woman was sleeping in the mosque before, which clues to the placelessness of people with mental illness.

¹⁰⁹² Nil Sarı and Burhan Akgün, “Türk Tarihinde Psikiyatriye Bakış,” in Türkiye’de Sık Karşılaşılan Psikiyatrik Hastalıklar, ed. Müfit Uğur, İbrahim Balcıoğlu and Neşe Kocabaşoğlu (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Cerrahpaşa Tıp Fakültesi 2008), 1-24.

¹⁰⁹³ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 10 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1072-1073 / M. 1661-1663)*, Yılmaz Karaca et. al, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019), 688, verdict no 819, 104a-1.

In another incident in Üsküdar, the residents of Kuzguncuk village stated that Vide bt. Avram had lost her mind for three months and needed care and medication (*mecnûne olup muhâfaza ve terbiye ve mu‘âleceye muhtâc*). They said that some women in the village were taking care of Vide. Still, they were not comfortable because of her behavior, saying that she had hurt the Muslims and villagers passing through the window of the house where she was staying (“...tarîk-i âmdan mürûr u ubûr eden gerek Müslim ve gerek re‘âyâyâ sâkine olduđu menzili penceresinden itâle ve günâ-gûn cevır ü ezâ etmekle...”¹⁰⁹⁴). The people also declared that there was no asylum to keep Vide in the village, plus she had no one to take care of her (“...muhâfaza olunacak bîmârhânesi ve gerek zevci ve gerek âhar akrabâsı dahi olmamağla...”¹⁰⁹⁵).

The event summarized above is essential in two respects. First, the case includes all the examples of the spatial approach to mentally ill people in the Ottoman period. There are two options for the care of the mentally ill: One is that the existence of someone who can take care of the mentally ill, second is that they are kept in a hospital. In this case, the people pointed out that no one could take care of Vide and that there was no hospital in their village, pointing out that Vide should not have been in the village. The second interesting aspect is that those who applied to the court for Vide, who is from the Jewish community, are also from the Jewish community. However, interestingly, the name of the Muslim community is also mentioned while describing the discomfort Vide caused passers-by. In this case, it was pointed out that Vide’s disturbance to the people on the street was not limited to the Jewish community. This may have been because the residents of Kuzguncuk wanted to get a decision in their favor from the court.

¹⁰⁹⁴ *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 531 Numaralı Sicil*, 446, verdict no 645, 54a-6.

¹⁰⁹⁵ *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 531 Numaralı Sicil*, 446, verdict no 645, 54a-6.

In another case recorded in Üsküdar, the stepson of Hadice requested that her mother be transferred to her home with her property because she was not mentally healthy (“...mezbûre Hadice mecnûne olmağla... eşyâsıyla müvekkilim mûmâ-ileyh menziline nakl olunmak bi’l-velâye ve bi’l-vekâle murâdımdır...”¹⁰⁹⁶). As a result of the interrogation made by the court, it was understood that Hadice was in good mental health, and it was decided that Hadice could sit wherever she wanted.

“...cünûniyyeti ve ihlâl-i aklını mûcib hâli müşâhede olunmadığından mâ’adâ âkile ve reşîde olup bi’l-cümle tasarrufâtı nâfize olduğunu mahalle-i mezbûre imâmı Hafız Mehmed Efendi ve sâir bî-garaz haber vermeleriyle mezbûre Hadice Hatun fî-mâ ba’d dilediği mahâlde sâkine olup kimesne tarafından müdâhale iktizâ etmediği...”¹⁰⁹⁷

The application made by the people of Üsküdar bazaar about Meryem, who is alleged to be insane, sheds light on the spatial belonging of the 18th century, both in terms of having the quality of collective action, reflecting the security concerns of the people and a spatial relocation demand. According to the incident recorded in 1791, the community of Üsküdar bazaar collectively applied to the court to demand the relocation of Meryem, who was alleged to be insane by them (Üsküdar esvâkı ahâlisinden Ali Ağa b. Mustafa ve ... cemm-i gafîr Müslimîn). They reported that Meryem had been coming to Üsküdar from Galata for a couple of years, and had been living in front of their shops day and night, and she had lit a fire on the street at night (dükkânlarımız önünde meks ve ikâmet ve geşt ü güzârân ve gecelerde çanak içinde ateş yakıp). It has also been recorded that Meryem swore at passers-by, attacked children, and even a child was rescued from Meryem's hand (“...üzerlerine hücum ve şütüm-ı galîza ile şetm ve ba’zı sabînin dahi ızrâr ve ihlâkine kasd edip... bir sabîyi boğazından ahz ve envâ’-ı meşakkat ile yedinden tahlîs olunup...”¹⁰⁹⁸). For

¹⁰⁹⁶ *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 531 Numaralı Sicil*, 489, verdict no 731, 60b-1.

¹⁰⁹⁷ *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 531 Numaralı Sicil*, 489, verdict no 731, 60b-1.

¹⁰⁹⁸ *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 531 Numaralı Sicil*, 493, verdict no 738, 61a-1.

this reason, people who did not feel safe from Meryem, who had been kept in the Eđrikapı church but somehow escaped from there, demanded that Meryrem be sent back to this church. In fact, the people requested in their statements that Meryem should be sent away so that she would never set foot in their neighborhoods again (“...bi’l-külliye rahat ve emniyetimiz meslûb olmuşdur deyü ihbâr ve fî-mâ ba’d medîne-i mezbûreye ayak basmamak üzere zikr olunan kenîsada muhâfaza olunmak bâbında...”¹⁰⁹⁹).

Examples presented above indicates that the terms used for mentally ill people were as follows: *mecnûn*, *cünûn-ı mutbık ile mecnun*, *cünûn târî olmağl*, *meczub*.¹¹⁰⁰ These were more of an umbrella term that did not discriminate between different types of disorders. Only when *cünûn-ı mutbık* is mentioned it indicated the persistence of the illness.¹¹⁰¹ The situation of mentally ill people in Ottoman society is a multidimensional issue (hospitalization, competence to act, guardianship, marriage, property right, etc.). In this thesis, I tried to open a window from the perspective of Ottoman society’s approach to the “insane” to understand where this group stands regarding spatial belonging. And in fact, the essential criterion for these people, who are spatially separated from society, is whether there are guardians who will provide care through family ties, which implies the mentally ill would be contained so that they do not pose a social danger. If not, the people of the neighborhood or village consider the presence of these people as a danger and demand that they are sent away.

Another group of unattached people I would like to elaborate under this heading is the passersby staying at *hans*. While *hans* are an essential part of social

¹⁰⁹⁹ *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 531 Numaralı Sicil*, 493, verdict no 738, 61a-1.

¹¹⁰⁰ For more case examples from different centuries see Sarı, “A review of Ottoman court records on mental diseases.”

¹¹⁰¹ Sarı, “A review of Ottoman court records on mental diseases,” 59, 65.

and economic life in the Ottoman city, people come and stay temporarily in these places so it can lead to the assumption that there is little place attachment.

Considering that those staying in the inn do not belong to that city, this assumption becomes even more potent. So, was this really the case?

First, there is a disambiguation in the concept of *han* in Ottoman studies. The *han* is sometimes used to express commercial buildings that provide accommodation for foreigners in the city centers; as it can be understood from the expressions in the Ottoman registers.¹¹⁰² The inns also offered shelter to passengers on the main roads.¹¹⁰³ This dissertation will focus on *hans* in city centers as commercial ones¹¹⁰⁴ that offer to stay for foreigners.

In terms of physical structure, *hans* have a square ground structure where the ground floors functioned to store goods, and the first floor served for staying overnights. *Hans* usually had a single entrance¹¹⁰⁵ since one of the primary functions was to provide security and safety for people staying. No windows were opening outside on the ground floor.¹¹⁰⁶ This indicates that the physical relationship of *hans* with their environments was limited. They were structures introverted in terms of security provision. Yet it does not mean that *hans* were isolated. Conversely, *hans* were built close to the main roads,¹¹⁰⁷ markets, religious places, and other public

¹¹⁰² "...Fi'l-asl Viçe kazası ahâlîlerinden olub medine-i Trabzon sûkında vâki' Yeni Han odasında ber-vech-i..." Bayraktar, "1917 Numaralı Trabzon Şer'iyye Sicilinin Değerlendirmesi ve Transkripsiyonu," 197.

¹¹⁰³ Tamdoğan-Abel, "Hanlar ya da Osmanlı Kentinde Yabancı," 388.

¹¹⁰⁴ Hans were also functioning to store goods (*Kapan*) for trade.

¹¹⁰⁵ According to document number 392 in the Edirne court records, the place of the door of *Kazgan* Inn was changed by the owner, and a new door was opened on the side of another inn (*Sarraḥ Han*). The edict was coming from Istanbul ordering that the inn's entrance should be in its old place and that the newly opened door is closed. Samıkıran, "138 Numaralı Edirne Şer'iyye Sicili," 609.

¹¹⁰⁶ Petar Namicev, "Hans of the Ottoman Period: An Analysis of the Spatial Concept in Function of a Modern Tourist Purpose," *JPMNT* 5, no. 4 (2017): 69.

¹¹⁰⁷ "...Kayan Hânı tahtında olan vakf-ı dükkânlardan bir taraftan el-Hac Yusuf bin Mehmed'in Çörekçi Fırını ve bir taraftan (bosluk) dükkânı ve bir taraftan Hân-ı mezkûr civârı ve bir taraftan tarîk-i 'amm ile mahdûd otuz iki sehmi olan i'tibâr olan bir bâb iki kepenk ketâncı dükkânı..." Samıkıran, "138 Numaralı Edirne Şer'iyye Sicili," 214.

buildings such as *bedestens* and *hamams*.¹¹⁰⁸ Being in the center of a city, this interconnected structure of *hans* enhanced their attraction.¹¹⁰⁹ In the middle of the inner courtyard of *hans*, there is usually a fountain and a masjid above it. Rooms were situated facing the common courtyard providing closer contact with other guests residing there, in contrast to the houses and streets, which provided more privacy in Ottoman urban life.¹¹¹⁰ This physical structure indicates both the multifunctional format of the *hans* and the fact that the focal center of the *han* is water, which serves many needs of its guests. Hence, spaces meet the needs of people, having controlled access, providing proximity to local landmarks, and providing financial interest are among the aspects that increase the attachment, so *hans*, by definition of its physical characteristics, seem to provide a high level of attachment.

While this summary of the physical structure of the *hans* unveils very much about the relationship established between *hans* and the guests, what I would like to discuss is also the behavioral attitudes of people living in *hans* and city inhabitants towards *hans* to understand the spatial attachment formed around these commercial complexes.

Merchants, artisans, soldiers, travelers, students, and teachers were among the residents of *hans*. Since they served mainly for commercial purposes, most guests were merchants and tradespeople.¹¹¹¹ As their nature recall, they were imagined as places where people who passed by stayed temporarily. However, *hans* were not

¹¹⁰⁸ "...Mahrûse-i Edirne'de vâki' iki Kapılı dimekle ma'rûf hân ve cevânib-i erba'asında olan dekâkîn ve ahur ve üzerlerinde olan otaları be-kazâ'ullahu te'âlâ bi'l-küllîyye muhterik olub bundan âkdem keşf olundıkda zıkr olunan mahallerin üzerlerinde olan kursunları keşfe dâhil olmadığından..." Samıkıran, "138 Numaralı Edirne Şer'iyye Sicili", 625.

¹¹⁰⁹ Namicev, "Hans of the Ottoman Period," 70.

¹¹¹⁰ Yaşar, "A convival space: the urban khan in Ottoman Istanbul," 7.

¹¹¹¹ Yaşar, 2-3.

places people only visited for shorter times, as indicated by other works and archival documents.¹¹¹² In many court records, *hans* were indicated as the permanent address of the guests. Merchants were staying in *hans* for months and years. Many court records showing the heritage of people who died in *hans* indicate this.

“Fî'l-asl Viçe kazası ahâlîlerinden olub medine-i Trabzon sûkında vâki' Yeni Han odasında ber-vech-i müsafîret sâkin iken vefat iden İsmail Beşe ibni Mustafa nâm müteveffanın tarafından vesayet (...) iden Arhavi kazasından Ali Beşe ibni Mehmed nâm kimesne meclis-i şer'-i şerîf-i enverde müteveffayı merhumun zâhîrde varis-i ma'ruf olmadığından tezkeresi beytü'l-mâle âîd olduğundan medine-i mezbûrede yeniçeri ağası olub...”¹¹¹³

According to the case mentioned above, İsmail Beşe died in *Yeni Han*, who was originally from the Viçe district, and his belongings were left in the inn. What is left of him in the inn room signifies that he has been staying there for a while.¹¹¹⁴

In another example, from court records of Edirne, duvets, coffee pitchers, cups, pots, basins, chairs, carpets, ax, broom, baskets were left from *Şerbetçi Hızır Dayı*, who died in *Kurşunlu Hân* in Edirne.¹¹¹⁵ The items found in the inn room of *Şerbetçi Hızır Dayı* resemble the things that a person will use at home rather than as temporary accommodation.¹¹¹⁶ The case below from the court records of Ankara is another example of this situation:

“Medine-i Ankara'da Kattanin Mahallesi ahâlîsinden olub bundan akdem mahmiyye-i İzmir'de ber-vech-i ticâret sâkin iken bundan akdem fevt Bezci oğlu es-Seyyid Ömer Ağa ibni el-Hâc Hüseyin'in verâseti zevcesi Şerîfe Fatma binti es-Seyyid el-Hâc Hasan Ağa ve vâlidesi Şerîfe Zehra binti es-Seyyid İbrahim ile sulb-i kebîr oğulları es-Seyyid İbrahim ve es-Seyyid Hüseyin ve sulbiye-i kebîre kızları ve Şerîfe Zeliha ve diğer sagîre Fatma inhisâr tahkîkinden sonra müteveffâ-yı mezbûrun kîbel-i şer'den bi't-taleb tahrîr ve takvîm ve beyne'l-verese bi'l-fârizâtî'ş-şer'îyye tevzî' ve taksîm olunan terekesidir ki ber-vech-i âtî zikr olunur.”¹¹¹⁷

¹¹¹² Yaşar, 2.

¹¹¹³ Bayraktar, “1917 Numaralı Trabzon Şer'îyye Sicilinin Değerlendirmesi ve Transkripsiyonu,” 197.

¹¹¹⁴ For example, he left belongings such as a duvet, chest, cushion, and carpet.

¹¹¹⁵ Samıkıran, “138 Numaralı Edirne Şer'îyye Sicili,” 344 – 346.

¹¹¹⁶ Similar to this record, there are many court records in Edirne about the estates of those staying at the inns. When these records are examined, almost all guests had personal belongings that indicate an extended stay rather than a short-term and temporary stay. See 455-457, 531-536.

¹¹¹⁷ Taşcan, “173 Numaralı Ankara Şer'îyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirmesi,” 227-228.

According to the record, *el-Hâc Hüseyin* died in a *han* in İzmir. In his heritage records, there is a separate categorization indicating his belongings left in the room of *Urgancılar* inn. Based on what was left, he had more belongings than necessary for a short stay. This would signify that he had been staying in this han for an extended period. Similarly, İlya, who died in *Seferihisar*, yet initially from Konya, had left belongings, such as a duvet, cushion, rifle, pitcher, etc., in *Zağferan* inn.

“Fi‘l-asl mahrûse-i Konya kazâsına tâbi‘ Silles karyesi mütemekkinlerinden olub bundan akdem Seferihisar’da hâlik olan Cöbü oğlu İlya’nın zâhirde vâris-ı ma‘rûfu olmayub terekisi cânib-i beytü‘l-mala aid olmağla medine-i Ankara’da emin-i beytü‘l-mal amme ve hassa olan el-Hâc Salih Ağa ma‘rifetiyle hâlik-i mesfûrun medine-i mezbûrede Zağferan hanında mevcûd terekisi ber-vech-i âtî zikr olunur hurrire fi‘l-yevmi‘ s-sâlis ve‘l-ışrîn şehr-i Rebî‘ul-evvel li-sene semân ve tis’în ve mi’ete ve elf.”¹¹¹⁸

Another noticeable thing in this record is that İlya had died in *Seferihisar*, which is on the West coast of Anatolia; however, he was from Konya, yet he also had belongings in a *han* in Ankara. So, from this record, one may suppose that İlya was living in a *han* in Ankara as his permanent address, or he frequently traveled between cities and did not pack his belongings while leaving. Whatever the truth is, this indicates that *hans* were meant more than temporary accommodation for people. Another indication concerning the duration of stays at *hans* reveals itself when heritage records are compared (belongings left at *hans* and homes) with each other. For example, the heritage records of *el-Hâc Abdullah Efendi* involves similar items found in han’s room in the above examples.¹¹¹⁹ Yaşar evaluates these abundances of properties in *hans* in terms of the level of comfort, and underlines the fact that *hans* with their various parts were spaces that everyday life practices were fully performed.¹¹²⁰ This inference is also accurate, and remembering the level of comfort

¹¹¹⁸ Taşcan, “173 Numaralı Ankara Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirmesi,” 153.

¹¹¹⁹ Yasdık, minder, leğen, ibrik, kahve ibriği, yorgan etc. Taşcan, “173 Numaralı Ankara Şer’iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirmesi.”

¹¹²⁰ Yaşar, “A convivial space: the urban khan in Ottoman Istanbul,” 5-6.

of the place is also related to attachment, *hans*, independent from their nature, were functioned as places where people feel attached.

Other than consideration of personal belongings to evaluate the duration of stay in *hans*, court records provide more direct information on this issue. For example, according to the record of *Bab Mahkemesi*, a debt issue involves someone staying in *Tahtahan*, and the date of the debt goes back seven years ago from the date of the court record. Although one cannot conclude that this person had stayed in *Tahtahan* for seven years, however, one may assume that this person had been visiting İstanbul for seven years, and *Tahtahan* is his address in İstanbul.

“... mahmiye-i İstanbul’da Hocapaşa kurbünde Elvanzâde mahallesi ahâlîsinden...Ahmed Ağa b. Mahmud nâm kimesne meclis-i şer‘-i hatîr-i lâzımü’t-tevkîrde yine mahmiye-i mezbûrede Tahtahan demekle ma‘rûf hânda ticâret vechi üzere mütemekkin orta boylu kara kaşlı kara gözlü kara bıyıklı Kirkor v. Mirze nâm Ermeni muvâcehesinde ikrâr-ı tâm ve takrîr-i kelâm edip mezbûr Kirkor bin yüz otuz yedi senesinde yedimden iki bin guruş istidâne ve kabz etmişidi. Hâlâ mesfûr Kirkor zimmî meblağ-ı mezbûr iki bin guruşu bana edâ ve teslim ben dahi yedinden tamamen ahz u kabz eylediğimden...Fî 2 min-Muharremi’l-harâm li-sene 1144.”¹¹²¹

In another court record, a resident of the *Sünbüllü* inn in İstanbul sold his land in Van. The person is originally from Eğin, is staying in an inn in İstanbul, and is selling his vineyard in Iraq while in İstanbul.

“Fî’l-asl vilâyet-i Anadolu’da Eğin kazâsı re‘âyâsından olup mahmiye-i İstanbul’da Sünbüllü Han’da mütemekkin Makdisi Agob v. Harabet zimmî ... işbu hâmilü’r-rakîm İstefan v. Ohan zimmî muvâcehesinde...değin müstakillen yedimde bâ-hüccet-i şer‘iye mülk ve hakkım olup vilâyet-i Anadolu’da Van kazâsı hâricinde Irak toprağında vâki‘ bir taraftan Kundakçioğlu Minas ve Bağdisar zimmîler menzilleri ve üç taraftan tarîk-i âm ile mahdûd bir bâb mülk menzil ve şirahâne ve bir mağaza ve fevkinde bir oda ve bir mikdâr havlu ve bir bi’r-i mâyı müştemil kürûmu mülk bağımı tarafeynden îcâb ve kabûlü...”¹¹²²

Knowing that *hans* were also for more extended stays where people lived with many of their personal belongings, one may assume that it would arouse the

¹¹²¹ *Bab Mahkemesi 151 Numaralı Sicil*, 272, verdict no 278, 67b-2.

¹¹²² *Mahmudpaşa Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil*, 216, verdict no 233, 40b-2.

feeling of home for guests.¹¹²³ Unlike home, *hans* were places where many people lived together, who were strangers to each other. In this regard, the identity of guests of inns gains importance to understand the atmosphere of living in *hans*. Like the quarters in Ottoman cities, people from different identities stayed together in the inn¹¹²⁴ but had a more intimate relationship than in neighborhoods. And considering that the common courtyard of the inn and daily activities take place in this inner courtyard, I assume that the guests of inns form a common spatial community like the people of the neighborhood. While people from different aspects of life (merchants, European travelers, soldiers) stayed in the inn for work and accommodation, they also performed their various daily activities such as sleeping, eating, resting, and cleaning in this shared space relatively openly to others. Thus, the *hans* will be suitable to assume that *hans* were convivial places and had a function of both semi-public and semi-private places. Due to this explained structure, inns were defined by many Europeans as places where everything was done everywhere, and there was nothing you could do secretly in *hans*.¹¹²⁵ In this context, how did people living in *hans* feel about it? How did they form a relationship with the city or the nearby community? Conversely, how was the attitude of neighboring people towards *hans*, where strangers to them living in?

Legally speaking, people staying at *hans* were part of a legal entity. As it was in spatial communities, people were responsible for each other, and they were under collective responsibility. *Hans*, in terms of its physical structure, was forming a

¹¹²³ For example, according to Husić, before the 18th century *hans*, were the only recorded residing place for Jews in Sarajevo. Husić, “Jews of Sarajevo and Their Place in the Ottoman Society of Bosnia,” 1104-1106.

¹¹²⁴ “İkinci handa 350 kişi yaşıyor ve sahibi bir Türk. Hanın 36 odasından 29’unda Ermeniler, 7’sinde Müslümanlar kalıyor.” Ergun Türkcan, İngiliz Konsolosluk Raporlarına Göre: 110 Yıl Önce İstanbul’da Çalışma Hayatı, “*Toplum ve Tarih* 11 (Kasım 1984): 35.

¹¹²⁵ Tamdoğan-Abel, “Hanlar ya da Osmanlı Kentinde Yabancı,” 393-394.

spatial terrain in which the Ottoman State could regulate the issues. For example, if a crime was committed, the residents of *hans* had joint responsibility for finding criminals like *müteselsil kefalet* in neighborhoods. Other than this aspect, since residents of *hans* were forming a close-knit common life, it is usual to expect that they were constituting an informal community. These aspects of *hans*, both as a legal entity and an informal spatial community, potentially increase the place attachment of people living there. The people residing in *hans*, although they were strangers to each other, plus their primary place attachment is to different places, become a member of the inn community. This connection may not be organic, but it was formed through time and worked as an attachment element. According to Yaşar, residents of *hans* were part of a collectivity. Although these people did not have common backgrounds or affiliations, they constituted an order established on mutual trust.¹¹²⁶

For example, according to the following record, someone who entered the inn without permission at night was suspected of being a thief and was caught by the people staying in the inn and handed over to the officer. Those staying at the inn stated that they asked the person who entered the inn at night, and they could not get an answer, while the person caught noted that his intention was to sleep in a corner.

“... Kazâ-i Bolu’dan Mehmed Bey b. Ahmed ve Hüseyin b. İlyas... nâm kimesneler... handa hancı olan İbrahim b. Emir... ile meclis-i şer‘a hâzırûn olup Karahisâr’dan Eyne Bey b. Mustafa... mahzarında takrîr-i kelâm edip dediler ki bu gece hân-ı mezbûrda yatarken yatsıdan sonra mezbûr Eyne Bey hana girdi hanın içi karanlık olup hana giren kimdir dedik hiç cevâb vermeyip kapıyı kapayıp ateşi yakıp mezbûru bir kenarda yatarken bulup bağlayıp... subaşıya haber edip teslim ettik deyip ve dahi mezbûr İbrahim dedi ki, mezbûr Eyne Bey akşamdan handa değildi yatsıdan sonra handa olan kimesnelere esbâbınızı sakının dedim gittim ondan sonra mezbûru anda tutmuşlar deyip mezbûr Eyne Bey’e suâl olundukda cevâb verip dedi ki, ben gece geldim ol zamânda bir kimesne taşra akşama çıktığı gibi ben dahi içeri girdim bu köşede niyetim çakmak çakıp ateşi yakıp beni tuttular deyip kanıya

¹¹²⁶ Yaşar, “A convivial space: the urban khan in Ottoman Istanbul,” 8.

[hani] esbâbın yok mu denildikde bir torba ile esbâbım var idi bir kâfire verdim bilmem kande gitti dediği...”¹¹²⁷

In another court script, it was ordered that a guarantor be requested from those who want to stay in the inn because of the unwanted actions of the malicious people staying there (“...hânlarda bazı ehl-i fesâd ve esirci tâifesi sâkin olup nice kimesnelerin gulâm ve cevârîsini ayarıp âhara bey’ etmeleri ile... nice fesâd olduğu istimâ’ olunmağla hânda nüzûl edenlerden kefil almadıkça iskân etmemek üzere... tenbîh olunsun...”¹¹²⁸).

The relationship between people residing in *hans* and neighboring communities also tells much about belonging. According to Tamdoğan-Abel, the relationship of the foreigners staying in the inn with the Ottoman dwellers says a lot about the status of the foreigners, but also about the belonging of the people, the Ottoman city dwellers, within themselves. *Hans* were places where urban residents met the guests. So, these inns functioned as places of encounter.¹¹²⁹

“Ottoman provincial hans were the principal connecting points that enabled the İstanbul-centred culture to permeate the imperial geography. Over the centuries these basic institutions of the socio-cultural communication network forged an Ottoman lifestyle which ensured an exchange of knowledge, belief and experience between İstanbul and the hinterland.”¹¹³⁰

Since ordinary Ottoman people’s perceptions differed according to their mobility, *hans* also functioned as a place where the stories of visitors shaped the perception of space for those who did not have a chance to be mobile. Perception of neighboring people of *hans* was taking shape based on hearsay, regardless of whether or not hearsay reflected reality.¹¹³¹

¹¹²⁷ İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 26 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 970-971 / M. 1562-1563), Rıfat Günelan, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İSAM, 2010), 115, verdict no 113, 9b-1.

¹¹²⁸ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 10 Numaralı Sicil*, 235, verdict no 191, 23b-1.

¹¹²⁹ Tamdoğan-Abel, “Hanlar ya da Osmanlı Kentinde Yabancı,” 399 – 400.

¹¹³⁰ Işın, *Everyday life in İstanbul*, 25.

¹¹³¹ Özer Ergenç, “Individual’s Perception of Space in the Early Modern Ottoman World.”

In the incident recorded below, there is an example of the fight between two different groups staying in the inn and the involvement of the people of the village where the inn is located as a result.

“...Medîne-i Üsküdar’a muzâfe Adalar nâhiyesine tâbi‘ Pendik nâm karye ahâlîlerinden Datyoz v. ... ve sâirleri bi-ecma‘ihim meclis-i enverde her biri takrîr-i kelâm ederler ki târîh-i kitâb gecesi ba‘de’l-işâ karyemizde vâki‘ Hamza Paşazâde Hanı demekle ma‘rûf hânda müsâferet üzere sâkin olan vilâyet-i Anadolu’da İskilib nâm kasaba sâkinlerinden Abdullah... kimesneler hân-ı mezbûrda Kıbtîyân tâifesinden gâib anı’l-meclis Çeribaşı Ahmed... nâm Kıbtîler ile sâkinler iken gavgâ edip Kıbtîyân-ı mezbûrûn merkûmân Abdullah’ın başının sol tarafı kulağı dibinden külûnk darb ve mecrûh ve merkûm Yasef’in sol tarafı kaşı üzerinden balta ile ve sağ memesi üzerinden... mecrûh edip hâlâ mecrûh oldukları hâlde hân-ı mezbûrede yaturlar... cârihinden suâl olunması matlûbumuzdur dediklerinde... mezbûrların üzerlerine varılıp nazar olundukda fi’l-hakîka mecrûh-ı merkûmlar han-ı mezbûrede... mecrûh oldukları hâlde yaturu mu‘âyene ve müşâhade edip ve cârihinden suâl olundukda...Kıbtîyân-ı merkûmûn bizi urup mecrûh eyledi... bu cerâhatden bizlere ecel isâbet ederse kâtilimiz merkûmûn Kıbtîlerdir, ahâlî-i karyeden ve sâirden bir kimesne ile husûs-ı mezbûra müte‘allika da‘vâ ve nizâ‘ımız yokdur dediklerinde...”¹¹³²

According to this incident in the Hamza Paşazâde inn, a fight broke out between the community of İskilib, and the people of the Kıbtîyân. As a result of the fight, some members of the İskilib community were injured. Upon the incident, the people of the neighborhood where the inn was located demanded that the situation be questioned. The injured ones stated that Kıbtîyâns injured them. They said the village residents were not responsible for their deaths if they died due to this injury.

There are several issues to consider in this case. First of all, this event is a good example of how inns were different groups’ meeting and living spaces. However, it reveals that this composite structure of inns can sometimes cause conflict. Secondly, the local people were involved in the fight, but this involvement is a pragmatist one. They thought that if any injured people died, they would be

¹¹³² *Kartal Mahkemesi I Numaralı Sicil*, 176, verdict no 255, 44a-1.

spatially responsible and asked the court to investigate the fight in the inn. Indeed, when the situation was questioned, the injured persons stated that they had no problems with the people of the neighborhood and relieved them of responsibility. Moreover, as seen in the record, people involved in the fight defined through the communities or neighborhoods they belonged to. While staying together at the inn, they were grouped according to their primary affiliation, or they may have come to the inn together. However, it is a fact that while they form part of a single identity in the eyes of the local people as “people staying at the inn,” the fact that they also have different co-existing or primary identities within themselves emerges in the fight.

Speaking of the primary identities of *han* residents, it is appropriate to mention how residents of inns were registered in court records. While usually people were registered in court records with the name of their neighborhood or *karye*, guests of inns were registered with the name of inn and they were defined as guest (*misafir*) rather than a resident (*sâkin*), by indicating their original association with where they came from.¹¹³³ For example, in a record in the Konya court regarding the inheritance division, the name of the inn in İstanbul, where Molla Mehmed died, together with his neighborhood in Konya, is also mentioned (*Konya Dolabucu Mahallesi sakinlerinden İslâmbolda valide hanında ticaret vechi üzere sakin iken bundan akdem fevt olan Molla Mehmed bin Abdül-kadir ibni Ahmed nam kimesnenin*).¹¹³⁴

However, there are also many records that define people staying in *hans* as residents (*mütemekkin*). For example, in the case recorded in the Galata Court, the plaintiff Üstünyan v. Melkon (Yeni Han’da mütemekkin Sarraf Üstüyan v. Melkon nâm zimmî) is described as a resident of the inn. In addition, the reference to a year

¹¹³³ See Özdoğan, “55 Numaralı Konya Şer’iye Sicili’nin Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyonu.” 660, Muslu, “1647 Nr. Şer’iye Sicilinin Işığında Lale Devri’nin İlk Yıllarında Tekirdağ (1721-1724),” 251-252 (Vk. 38b/I), 368-369 (Vk. 70b/I).

¹¹³⁴ Konya, 183

ago in the case recorded in 1221 suggests that the person mentioned was a resident of the inn for a while (“...bâkî kalan iki bin beş yüz guruşa hân-ı merkûmda mütemekkin olduğum odamda bin iki yüz yirmi senesi... günü bi’l-emr ve’l-kabûl Nasrâniye-i mersûme kefil ve zâmine olmağla...”¹¹³⁵). In another example, we see that a Jewish known as “Yenişehirli Matatya” was recorded as a resident of *Yeni Han* (Mahmiye-i İslambol’da Yeni Han’da mütemekkin Yenişehirli Matatya nâm Yahûdî). The reference to the relationship dating back to 1067 in the record of the debt case of 1180 again creates the impression that the he had been a resident of the inn for a long time (“...mezbûr el-Hâc Bekir altmış altı senesi Zilka’desi guresinde ve tekrâr altmış yedi senesi Muharremi guresinde Yeni Han’da odamda cihet-i mezkûreden bana otuz dört bin gurusı deyni olduğunu ikrâr ve işhâd...”¹¹³⁶). It is possible to extend these kinds of examples from court records.¹¹³⁷

Based on the different examples given above, the description of the people staying in the inn as temporary and sometimes permanent residents suggests a particular reference to the different situations of the people. In this case, it is possible to say that the people who stayed in the inn for a short time, those who remained for a long time, and maybe even those who stayed in the inn lived together. This situation creates a different meeting area in the inns than in the rest of the city. It takes place through meeting those who have known each other for a long time and those who come and go in the inns instead of relationships built on long-term belonging, recognition, and reliability in neighborhoods and dead-end clusters. It is probably precisely for this reason that the inns, which were mentioned in the title of the connection of spatial belonging with the instinct of security and survival, are

¹¹³⁵ *Galata Mahkemesi 580 Numaralı Sicil*, 114, verdict no 78, 7a-4.

¹¹³⁶ *İstanbul Mahkemesi 25 Numaralı Sicil*, 196, verdict no 168, 81-1.

¹¹³⁷ For example, see Samıkıran, “138 Numaralı Edirne Şer’iyye Sicilli,” 128, 245; *İstanbul Mahkemesi 97 Numaralı Sicil*, 246, verdict no 147, 60b-1,

among the first places to look for in suspicious situations, such as secluded areas or bachelor rooms.

In short, inns are multi-layered places regarding their structures, functions, type of guests, and interactions with their surroundings. They host unattached people as well as people with a high level of place attachment, which make inns convivial places. Ottoman State and residents usually perceived inns as insecure places with limited social control and belonging. However, the guests of inns actually had more place attachment than it was perceived by outsiders. They had longer stay periods in inns, more communal practices, and less privacy towards each other. So, although I categorized inns' residents among the unattached ones of the Ottoman space, the analysis indicates that there are multiple factors at work simultaneously in the construction of spatial attachment in *hans*. Due to this structure, inns had unique aspects in the Ottoman space, especially in terms of spatial attachment and its formation.

Above assessment for those which I called “unattached” ones and where they can exist within the Ottoman space fills in some missing dots in the broader picture of spatial belonging. It is vital to understand the perspectives of the Ottoman people towards those considered threats to the established spatial and social order because this mindset affects both the perception of place attachment to the place and the attachment developed by the unattached ones.

I discussed various aspects of place attachment in this dissertation, such as the physical structure of the Ottoman space, social control mechanisms, the time spent, the pre-existing emotional linkages, and religious ties. However, besides these aspects of place attachment, people who live in secluded areas or are socially undesirable because they are passersby, poor, or not in mental health create an

internal contradiction within Ottoman society and space. For this reason, understanding those who could not be included because they were in possibly “suspicious” areas and evaluating the neighborhood community’s perspective also points to the gaps in the Ottoman State’s policy to apply complete spatial control.



CHAPTER IV

EPILOGUE

Throughout this dissertation, I have endeavored to understand the bonds between the Ottoman people and places which are sometimes affective, sometimes behavioral, or occasionally cognitive. Amid the atmosphere of change that slowly sprawled in the 18th century, I aimed to embrace the long-lost actors of Ottoman history, the ordinary people, and their bond with Ottoman places.

Why is this bond, referred to as the place attachment, so important?

Just before the rise of nationalism, identities and belongings were floating on different scales, such as ethnicities and religions. To understand the transition that headed towards the rise of nationalism, voluminous studies have been produced discussing identity formation, the role of beliefs and ethnic cleavages, the dissolution of empires, coexistences and conflicts, and the rise of nations. However, the question of “where” - a critical question for history writing - was neglected in generating identities and attachments. Furthermore, in due course, people’s living environments, such as homes, hometowns, or neighborhoods, become part of their identity; therefore, the role of place attachment in identity construction should be recognized.

In traditional Ottoman society, belonging was an essential feature. Not being able to determine one’s belonging was a potential source of suspicion in this conventional society at the level of the state, the community, and the individual. In this respect, although the issue of belonging has been dealt with in the field of Ottoman studies with its different dimensions - such as ethnicity and religion - the

idea of addressing it in terms of space is one of the novelties in this dissertation. Approaching space in terms of its symbolic or socially embedded meanings or assessing the perception of an ordinary Ottoman individual offers avenues to understand the Ottoman world. Hence, in this dissertation, I tried to connect the missing dots by adding a somehow neglected spatial aspect to the puzzle by focusing on ordinary people, the long-neglected actors of history.

To be able to put a piece to the puzzle, I borrowed the place attachment theory, which helps me understand the impact of space on people's identities. The scholarship on the idea of place attachment, fed by various fields of sciences such as sociology, psychology, urban planning, and anthropology, has formed the basis of this dissertation's methodological approach by leading me to trace signs of place attachment in the world of ordinary Ottoman people.

During this journey, I learned that not only textual but also linguistic analysis was required to comprehend people's attachments to places. This dissertation conceptualized place attachment not only as a theory to be applied within the Ottoman context but as a tool to understand the everyday interactions of ordinary people in the Ottoman cities and the countryside. Hereby it enabled me to address the "big questions" of Ottoman history, including the identity formation, from a different perspective by attempting to make history from below.

Flourished by the debates taking its root in the 90s, discussion on the place attachment theory evolved so far with its intermingling with other close relatives such as rootedness, sense of place, belongingness, place dependence, embeddedness, community attachment, affiliation, appropriation, commitment, place identity, etc. It is a holistic concept covering different functions, such as a sense of security, providing privacy, connecting individuals with communities, or symbolic bonds

linking people with religions, cultures, and nations. And, maybe the most critical aspect is that the reason for feeling attached is not just the function of the place. The embedded meaning of place is formed through different ways, such as religious or cultural practices or everyday interactions. So, the physical place is the medium but what the place embeds in it socially, culturally, or historically is also decisive.

After a long contemplation process over the place attachment concerning the Ottoman space, it has been revealed that there are numerous main pillars of place attachment, such as socio-economic factors, intrafamilial relations, residential conditions, physical aspects of place, occupations, life experiences, symbolic connections, communal ties, emotional tendencies, which are all affecting the bond established between people and places. Since this is a novel approach, and I aimed to be holistic as much as possible to offer a perspective for future studies in this direction, I comprehensively discussed all main aspects of the place attachment in the Ottoman space. In other words, I presented multi-layered research through the one-dimensional Ottoman physical space.

Respective findings under each heading in the third chapter of this dissertation have supported the arguments regarding the Ottoman space based on the place attachment theory. In this respect, although this dissertation contributes to Ottoman history, it has also gained the identity of a study whose work is carried out on an interdisciplinary level and whose argumentation is supported by historical sources.

Although the 18th century witnessed increasing spatial mobility due to wars, migration movements, economic hardships, or banditry activities, many aspects of Ottoman traditional order remained solid, which helped to arrive at conclusions to

present a pattern in terms of place attachment. Some of the featured findings of this dissertation that deserve to be highlighted are as follows:

This dissertation revealed that attachment to the shared places and practices conducted around it created similar life practices or experiences in the Ottoman realm. This had fused ethnic and religious cleavages among ordinary people to some extent. The spatial proximity and channels of various encounters of people, both in terms of living areas and occupations, from different identities helped Ottoman people to establish “spatial communities” as a secondary identity.

Why was this secondary identity vital? Firstly, Ottoman people found common grounds leading to the outgrowth of social cohesion in a society divided along many lines. Place attachment, shared sentiments of localities, or feeling of belonging, whatever we call it, played a role in enhancing social cohesion. A detailed analysis of the Ottoman space presented at different scales based on the actions, behaviors, or emotions has revealed that local spatial attachments had infiltrated various aspects of everyday life. The long-lasting argument on the Ottoman policy of “toleration,” widely used to explain the harmony within the Ottoman society, conceals the possibility of grasping the role of “spatial communities.” This dissertation unveils that the existence of spatial communities, which emerged from a sense of place and belonging, has eased the possibility of co-living.

While the possibilities and limits brought by the Ottoman physical space formed one layer of belonging; the convivial areas, the time spent in the space, areas of economic activities, religious places, symbolic and ancestral bonds, spatial responsibilities, control mechanisms, and security concerns were forming other layers. As the place attachment theory suggests, environments in which people invest with meanings may not have easily specified boundaries, as it had been in the

Ottoman spatial plane, in which boundaries of spatial attachments were transitional or sometimes overlapping. For example, some parts of the physical space – both because of its physical and social characteristics – created safe and secure areas while some places (*tenhâ*) were coded as insecure places in minds. These codings mainly depended on the nature of the bond between a person and a place and changed according to the perceptions and experiences of people. Thus, although I have made various inferences from the in-depth textual and linguistic analysis of court records regarding attachment to different Ottoman places, it is hard to define clear-cut boundaries of belonging applicable to all instances.

The basic spatial unit in the Ottoman State was *mahalles*, a physical space resembling a bunch of grapes due to its interconnected and transitive structure, was *mahalles*. *Mahalle* was the central unit of analysis in terms of Ottoman space, smoothly transitioning from the most private areas (such as *menzils*) to a more public realm (*mecma'-ı nâs mahaller*). Therefore, this form of *mahalles* strengthened people's attachments to their living environment, starting from *menzils*, which consisted of a housing structure called *büyüt-i müteaddide* in the 18th century. Considering the need for security and survival, the insecure environment of the 18th century led to the communalization of security through oaths and *nezirs*, which people collectively promised to maintain safety and security. This has in turn affected people's attachment to their places. By being the fundamental units, neighborhoods created a sense of security for their residents due to their social and physical structure. On the other hand, places considered *tenhâ* became areas with a low level of attachment.

A detailed deconstruction of court records reveals that people extensively used temporal and genealogical references (... *seneden mütecâviz âbâ'an-ced*,

tevellüd mahalli, an-asl) to reinforce place attachment. Furthermore, considering the vast geography and high population that the Ottoman State ruled over and the challenges the bureaucracy faced under the technological limitations of the time, the place worked as a definitive marker in handling governmental issues. While ordinary people were using temporal and genealogical references, the courts also made use of these references.

The findings of this thesis indicate that the reference to the security concerns (*emniyet ve râhatımız yokdur*) in the requests of the *ahâli* to displace certain individuals is actually related to the presence of people acting outside the social control mechanisms. In other words, commonly-held social norms and rules in a given space were influential in community life, while any deviation from them mostly ended up with requests to expel the perpetrators. The motive behind this act is to reduce the risk of disorder in a given spatiality, which is an emotional indicator of place attachment. Besides, shared spaces, as the visibility avenues of tensions, were the main playgrounds where society did not tolerate difference. Not allowing for differences was correlated with the visibility of these behaviors in the main playground of the shared places. Therefore, by not accepting the differences, ordinary Ottoman people not only upheld the accustomed order but also protected the space - in their way – which was also a sign of attachment. On the other hand, since compliance with the norms and social expectations eased personal acceptance, the place attachment of the people who wanted to protect their comfort zone had also increased.

Unpacking the court cases unveiled that ordinary people collectively felt responsible for maintaining order in their shared spaces. As shown through the deconstruction of various court cases using the collective action theory, such a

feeling of responsibility went hand in hand with joint efforts to improve the living environment. This dissertation's findings disclose that the attachment to places by Ottoman people was the primary motivation for some collective actions concerning places. In return, all collaborative engagements of the Ottoman people, whether at the neighborhood or city level, further stimulated feelings of attachment. Hence, this dissertation asserts that Ottoman people were not passive elements as claimed by the Islamic city paradigm. Instead, they had civic consciousness of the space in which they lived regardless of their confessional, ethnic, or religious identities. They collaborated as a cohesive collectivity by organizing around "certain" civic concerns and making joint decisions.

The systematic reading of sicils revealed that Ottoman State constantly identified its subjects based on who belonged to where. Ordinary people were recognized according to their place of residence and status in the city and defined as guest (*misafir*) or resident (*sâkin*) according to their settlement status. The focus on who belongs to where by the State is a codification. There is a logical reason behind this kind of codification that serves a practical purpose: Employing spatial strategies to maintain rule and order within the Ottoman lands. In addition to the practicality it brings to government affairs, this codification also exposes the State's language and the world of mind from another perspective. How the Ottoman State constantly defined and recorded its people may have had a booster effect on the bonds established by the ordinary Ottoman people with the place through constant repeating with language, eased the internalization of the bond set with the space.

Since this dissertation attempts to grasp the place attachment of the ordinary Ottoman people, it was necessary to comment on those who were left out, whom I called the "unattached" ones. Having a perspective on them was crucial to complete

this work. By consisting of beggars, bachelors (*bekârs*), prostitutes, vagrants, homeless people, casual or unskilled workers, fugitive slaves, passersby, Gypsies, and unknown people (*meçhûlû'l-ahvâl kimesneler*), they were not a homogenous group other than being delineated by the Ottoman State as placeless (*bî-mekân, bî-mesken*). Unattached ones were having difficulty in establishing bonds with the places where they were found (*bekâr odaları, hâns, dükkân köşeleri, imârets, dârü'ş-şifâlar, tabhâneler, bahçıvan ve bağbân peykeleri*), because of the negatively connotated features attributed to these places by residents. Constituting the *meçhûlû'l-ahvâls* of space, they could not establish a relationship with the place because of the lack of the personalization of space, ownership, organizational membership, and friends and kin in the given area. Constant efforts of the Ottoman State to regulate the public visibility and physical movements of those “unattached ones” reveals the tracks of the policy of the Ottoman State to have total spatial control over its territory.

Following some up-front findings of this dissertation, it is evident that in Ottoman society, there were various organized social groups that required commitment or devotion. Considering that belonging is a need for human psychology and attachment is both a sociological and psychological phenomenon, it is normal to observe the existence of these groups in Ottoman society. Ordinary Ottoman people searched for a place or a group to attach themselves to satisfy their need for belonging, like all human beings. So, where does the Ottoman space stands in this discussion of the commitment need of the Ottoman people?

In the context of this thesis, analyses conducted at different scales of Ottoman spaces have shown that ordinary Ottoman people, similar to professional or religious communities, also formed “spatial communities” of different scales, transcending all

their other affiliations and ties. What is meant here is not just the neighborhood community. Spatial communities and affiliations have developed on different planes and scales among those who share the same *tarik-i hass*, among people who belong to the same *avarizhanes*, among the guests of *hans*, or among those who have settled in the *tehna* corners of a city. Social and legal responsibilities, economic benefits, symbolic linkages, or preservation of the environment were all among the elements that encouraged these spatial communities to act together and develop attachments to places.

Players of various collective actions were composed of people having different identities in terms of ethnicity and religion. Communities were acting together not along their religious or ethnic lines but instead spatially generated reasons. The Ottoman place owed this unifying feature to its structure, where face-to-face communication was encouraged, with preferably no anonymity. Responsibilities were even determined according to the distance that a sound reached (*savt istimâ*). The networks of daily relations and sociocultural and economic structures of Ottoman society mainly fed from this unifying aspect, which also provided common grounds for people to cooperate by forming spatial communities. However, especially from the mid-19th century, this collective spatial structure transformed and formally structured around *millets* by giving up their spatial characteristics.

Broadly speaking, as seen in the dissolution of the Ottoman State, spatial affiliations were not strong enough to transform the practice of coexistence in Ottoman space to a higher identity since people simultaneously sustained their primary identities. In its own terms, the space created a feeling of attachment. Still, other attachments, devotion to religious groups or commitment to social organizations, also harbored the space aspect in themselves and were closely

associated with the place attachment. Place attachment had existed simultaneously with other forms of belonging and identities, yet in the 19th century, it melted into other forms of affiliations as Ottoman people lost their place identity during the nation-based disintegration process of the Empire.

The possibilities for mobility and people-to-people encounters were expanded in the 18th century, especially through the new public spaces formed in the Ottoman urban context, which led to increased community interaction. While the place attachment arose from common life practices over shared places, there was possibly a relationship between the new areas of encounters and the rise of the notion of a nation. Perhaps in these new areas of encounter, different belongings and identities found various aspects to connect with each other, which outweighed the spatial affiliations. According to Faroqhi, the penetration of the European economy into the Ottoman Empire and the fact that non-Muslims generally benefited from it have eliminated channels of reconciliation in the Ottoman Empire.¹¹³⁸ However, in my opinion, this was not yet a strong enough factor to disrupt the reconciliation between different Ottoman communities that had formed a spatial society in the 18th century.

Last but not least, a comment is necessary on the evolution of the term *vatan* under the framework of the findings of this dissertation. The term *vatan*, referring to more limited geography as a homeland for people until the 19th century, could not continue to maintain this original meaning and embarked upon a new meaning. The change in the meaning of the *vatan* has been subjected to various ideological assertions. A spatial reconstruction of the meaning of the term *vatan* also constitutes an obvious example of how the aspect of spatial belonging has changed and allows analysis in this respect.

¹¹³⁸ Faroqhi, *Orta Halli Osmanlılar*, 273.

Parallel to the evolution of the word *patrie* in French in the 19th century, the meaning of the *vatan* gained a political connotation and provided the spatialization of the national identity, and underwent a spatial expansion for Turks. At the same time, for the Ottoman State, the sphere that the imaginary universal sovereignty termed as *cihan* narrowed down to *vatan*. The semantic evolution of this concept of *vatan* provides important clues about the evolution of place attachment. So, all these together imply a change in the perception of space, both in terms of physical area and emotionally invested meanings to it.

From a broader framework, the findings of this dissertation suggest that spatial attachments were developed in narrower networks of relations in the 18th century in the face of widespread conditions such as increased mobility of people, activities of bandits, wars, and economic hardships. The overarching ruling system of the Ottoman Empire and its specific regulations and practices regarding space, as highlighted under different headings in this dissertation, contributed to ordinary people's bonding with places by enhancing a form of localized attachment. In the 19th century, this local form of attachment gradually lost its appeal and impact on people, yielding its place to a broader attachment at the national level. Hence, empire-wide symbolic loyalties of people that existed in people's minds before the 18th century went into a transition period in the 18th century. Finally, something new was born out of this transition in the 19th century.

As the last word, this dissertation does not claim to conclude any of the abovementioned debates. Conversely, it aims to trigger a discussion on this subject, which could possibly open new ways of understanding Ottoman spatiality. Identity debates, intra-communal relations, religious and ethnic cleavages, or hybrid structures of spatial areas have long been debated. Yes, they are all closely related to

the phenomenon of place attachment. However, understanding place attachment in its own regard and terms is challenging. Contemporary societies are still dominated by who comes from where and still place great emphasis on people's spatial origins. The world is bigger, the people are mobile and connected, but people still look for places to feel attached and to take root. So, understanding the dynamics of this issue in the past under the complex structure of the Ottoman State may lead to a re-thinking of long-rooted and dominant discourses, or at least may open a new window to look at another side of the story. My desire in writing this thesis was to give a spark to this part of Ottoman historiography. I hope that more studies in this field may provide better insights.

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