Introduction
The City and the Country

The tireless Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi wrote in 1671 that Izmir was "a fabulously rich port city, with shops and solid stone houses, boasting every type of mosque, religious school, dervish lodge, and spiritual work."[1] He described the city's 2,000 houses, 12 mosques, 40 religious schools, 40 coffeehouses, 11 public baths, 70 water fountains, 70 soap factories, 200 taverns, 17 soup kitchens for the poor, 20 *boza*[2] halls, 20 tanneries, 1 harness shop, 1 candle factory, and 1 customs shed. He also provided readers with information about the city's neighborhoods, taken from the register that Ismail Pasha, the *defterdar* (chief accountant) of Izmir, made in 1657–58, relating that the city had 10 Muslim, 10 Greek Orthodox, 10 Frank and Jewish, 2 Armenian, and 1 Gypsy *mahalle*s (neighborhoods).[3] Evliya Çelebi's writing suggests that, in the second half of the seventeenth century, Izmir was a small but prosperous and attractive trade center with a population of 10,000 people from diverse ethnic and religious groups.

Today, Izmir is an important port and Turkey's third most populous city after Istanbul and Ankara, home to more than three million people. Since Evliya Çelebi's visit to Izmir in 1671, the city has undergone profound political, social, economic, and spatial changes. During the last two centuries, the Ottoman Empire created the framework for what the city has become today. Starting from the late seventeenth century, from being a small trading post, first, Izmir grew to become a regional port supplying

[1] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, vol. 9* (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1935), 92–98. For a recent analysis of Evliya Çelebi's account of İzmir, see Suraiya Faroqhi, "An Ottoman Gentleman Observing Izmir at a Time of Change: Evliya Çelebi on the Road, 1670–1," in *Şehir Kültür Medeniyet: Çaka Bey'den Günümüze İzmir, vol. 2*, ed. Turan Gökçe and Hüseyin Çalış (Izmir: İzmir Katip Çelebi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2022), 505–22.

[2] Boza is a thick, fermented malt beverage with a very low alcohol level prepared from bulgur, wheat, corn, or millet, depending on the region. As a popular winter beverage, boza is consumed in a wide region from southeastern Europe and the Middle East to Central Asia.

[3] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi,* 92–93.

imperial capital; it then became a major transit port engaged in flourishing export trade with Europe. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Izmir grew rapidly in external trade and became the marketplace of the expanding Ottoman economy. In this period, the city owed its spectacular growth to camel caravans, which brought merchandise from Eastern Anatolia, Iran, and Syria to the city for shipment to European markets. In the late nineteenth century, Izmir focused more on its agriculturally rich hinterland and successfully linked it to the expanding world economy. Izmir adapted rapidly to the changes in the structure and flow of international trade based on agricultural exports and manufactured imports, restored its infrastructure, sanitary systems, and storage and handling facilities, and integrated them into its developing communication and transport network. Agricultural production in the hinterland fueled the robust economy, which translated into urban space through physical, social, and cultural change. These changes entrenched Izmir's position as the empire's *gateway*, linking the Anatolian hinterland to global markets.

This book is about the remaking of Izmir and its hinterland in the late Ottoman period, roughly the decades between the 1840s and 1900s. Extending access to and control over the natural resources in its surrounding country, it documents how Izmir evolved to become the major link connecting the Ottoman Empire to Europe and the rest of the world. Settlers, migrants, and investors helped shape and reshape this urban environment by exploiting the natural resources and geographic assets available in the Western Anatolian countryside to create a hub of transportation of people and goods, both inward to urban markets as well as outward to connect the hinterland markets to the global economy. By the end of the nineteenth century, Izmir eclipsed all other Ottoman ports in trade and became the nexus between a region with diverse natural resources and its global markets.

A Port and Its Hinterland

Ottoman port cities, mainly because of the dynamic spatial, economic, social, and cultural changes they experienced, have long been studied by historians. Influenced by the changing trends in Ottoman studies and following more or less the sequential logic of historiography, historians have mainly examined Ottoman port cities concerning the global economy and maritime trade networks and from the viewpoint of political and economic history.[4]

[4] For a theoretical and methodological framework on Ottoman port cities, see Reşat Kasaba, Çağlar Keyder, and Faruk Tabak, "Eastern Mediterranean Port Cities and Their Bourgeoisies: Merchants, Political Projects, and Nation-States," *Review* 10, no. 1

Seeking a globalistic interpretation of the encounters and exchanges between Ottoman port cities and major markets in the capitalist world, they have employed the core–periphery dichotomy as stipulated by world-systems analysis.[5] Yet, curiously, the role and significance of social, economic, and ecological changes in the hinterlands for the drastic urban transformations port cities underwent in the late Ottoman period have received less attention.

Ottoman historians have framed the port city and the hinterland, the area of land lying behind the seaport or the shore, as opposites and underestimated the interplay between the two. Izmir follows this trend. Insofar as researchers have investigated the processes behind the development and transformation of Izmir, they have failed to grasp connectivity and mutuality between the city and the hinterland.[6] Instead, they have focused mainly on the role of Izmir as a peripheral port city, which was like other Ottoman port cities such as Salonica, Beirut, Mersin, and Alexandria, as providers of raw materials and agricultural and forest products to global markets, including the core cities such as London, Liverpool, and Amsterdam, in exchange for finished goods, textiles, machinery, and technology. As a peripheral port city, proponents of

(Summer 1986): 121–35; Çağlar Keyder, Y. Eyüp Özveren, and Donald Quataert, "Port-Cities in the Ottoman Empire. Some Theoretical and Historical Perspectives," *Review* 16, no. 4 (Fall 1993): 519–57; Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, ed., *The Ottoman City between East and West, Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). For a recent study on the social life and material culture in late Ottoman port cities, see Malte Fuhrmann, *Port Cities of the Eastern Mediterranean: Urban Culture in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[5] For example, see Michael Reimer, "Ottoman–Arab Seaports in the Nineteenth Century: Social Change in Alexandria, Beirut, Tunis," in *Cities in the World*-System, ed. Reşat Kasaba (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 135–56; Keyder, Özveren, and Quataert, "Port-Cities in the Ottoman Empire," 519–57; Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "Commercial Growth and Economic Development in the Middle East: Izmir, from the Early 18th to the Early 20th Centuries," in *Ottoman Izmir: Studies in Honour of Alexander H. de Groot*, ed. Maurits H. van den Boogert (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2007), 1–38; Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "Le développement d'un port méditerranéen d'importance internationale: Smyrne (1700–914)," in *Smyrne, la ville oubliée? Mémoires d'un grand port ottoman*, ed. Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis (Paris: Éditions Autrement, 2006), 21–49.

[6] An exception is Daniel Goffman, who has shown that a vibrant trade existed between the coastal settlements and the hinterland region in the 1570s and underlined the "maturing symbiosis between town and country." He has suggested that rising European demand for the local products of Western Anatolia and declining Ottoman state control over the region played a role in Izmir's dramatic growth. Nevertheless, Izmir was not at the nexus of the trade routes and was dwarfed by coastal towns like Urla and Menemen. As Goffman also acknowledges, in the late sixteenth century, much of the produce of Western Anatolia found its way to Istanbul not through the port of Izmir but from these two towns, but also a scattering of smaller coastal towns, such as Balat, Kuşadası, Selçuk, Seferihisar, Foça, Altınova, and Edremit. See Daniel Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550–1650* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), 18–21.

world-systems analysis have argued that Izmir dominated overlapping commercial networks. In return, its economic functions shaped it as a periphery serving the core countries.[7] While offering a fresh perspective for explaining the emergence of Izmir as a major port city on the Mediterranean coast of the Ottoman Empire based on core–periphery relations, world-systems analysis nonetheless has shortcomings and deficiencies. Most importantly, it has overemphasized the role of external dynamics, such as the core's dominant political and economic role, while attaching little importance to internal dynamics in the so-called periphery. In other words, in world-systems analysis, considerations of the social and economic transformations Izmir underwent within the context of core–periphery transformations have ignored and downplayed the interplay between the city and the country.

This book aims to fill the gap. Through the analytical lens of environmental history, it offers an original examination of the spatial, social, economic, and ecological transformations in Izmir and its hinterland in the late Ottoman Empire. It argues that Izmir grew in its new role as a gateway to the Mediterranean because of intimate and intertwined relations with its hinterland. It documents how human and nonhuman actors in Western Anatolia interacted with each other in a complex way and collaboratively worked to shape the city and the country in the last decades of the nineteenth century. It shows the existence of integrated patterns of activities and a symbiotic relationship between the two entities and offers a unified history of Izmir and its hinterland in the late Ottoman Empire that has been previously overlooked, if not wholly ignored. In this respect, it presents a history, not a history of Izmir alone, but a multidimensional history of encounters and exchanges between human and nonhuman actors in the entire region.

Hinterland, a significant concept in the book, originates from German and translates as "behind land." Geographers, historians, and other social scientists have attempted to define the hinterland concept concerning ports, yet a consensus has not been reached.[8] In its primary

[7] For a significant study that analyzes Western Anatolia's inclusion into the capitalist world economy within the framework of world-systems analysis, see Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy: The Nineteenth Century* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988). For an otherwise provocative study of British economic supremacy in Western Anatolia that discusses the role of foreign capital and investments in the development of Izmir in the nineteenth century from a Marxist perspective, see Orhan Kurmuş, *Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi*, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Bilim Yayınları, 1977).

[8] Atiya Habeeb Kidwai, "Conceptual and Methodological Issues: Ports, Port Cities and Port Hinterlands," in *Ports and Their Hinterlands in India, 1700–1950*, ed. Indu Banga (New Delhi: Manohar, 1992), 7–43, 17–22; Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Making of a Hinterland: State, Society, and Economy in Inland Northern China, 1853–1937* (Berkeley:

meaning, a hinterland is an entity or an area geographical in concept but economic in meaning. It denotes a port city's economic sphere of influence in the surrounding region. A hinterland implies an integrated pattern of activity and a symbiotic relationship between the port city and the countryside. In this book, I use the hinterland to refer to a geographic area behind the port, a center of economic control that supplies agricultural and trade goods, as well as human and nonhuman animal labor.

Izmir's hinterland, stretching from Mount Ida (Kaz Dağı) in the north to the western Taurus range (Toroslar) in the south and from the Aegean coast in the west to the central Anatolian plateau in the east, was known as Aydıneli or Liva-ı Aydın and fell under the jurisdiction of the *sanjak* (district) of Aydın. With the provincial reforms of 1826, it became part of the newly established *eyalet* (governorship) of Aydın. After several changes in its provincial center and administrative borders, eventually, with the Provincial Law of 1864 (*Teşkil-i Vilayet Nizamnamesi*), the eyalet of Aydın became the *vilayet* (province) of Aydın, subdivided into three *sanjaks* (districts): The sanjak of Izmir with the provincial center of Izmir, the sanjak of Aydın encompassing the former administrative center Aydın, and the mountainous, underpopulated sanjak of Menteşe with the administrative center of Muğla. The borders of the Aydın province extended eastward to central Anatolia when, in 1877, the sanjak of Saruhan, whose administrative center was Manisa, and in 1892, the inland sanjak of Denizli, formerly part of the sanjak of Aydın, became part of the province. Ultimately, in the 1890s, the province of Aydın was a large region of 20,463 square miles that comprised 5 *sanjak*s, 39 *kaza*s (subdistricts), and 2,822 *köy*s (villages) (Figure 0.1).[9] As the geographical limits of Izmir's hinterland expanded, the scale and complexity of the people, crops, and commodities moving between the two spaces increased. On the other hand, although Izmir's immediate hinterland in the late Ottoman context was most of what today is Western Anatolia, it was an economic magnet in the wider region, with merchants, goods, and raw materials coming from places as far as Ankara, Konya, and Kayseri (Figure 0.2).

In the late Ottoman Empire, the hinterland was not merely a geographical area that Izmir subdued but also the driving force behind urban development. From the mid-nineteenth century on, the relationship

University of California Press, 1993); Robert Lee and Paul McNamara, ed., *Port-Cities and their Hinterlands: Migration, Trade and Cultural Exchange from the Early Seventeenth Century to 1939* (London: Routledge, 2022).

[9] Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie: géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie mineure, vol. 3* (Paris: Leroux, 1894), 338–40.

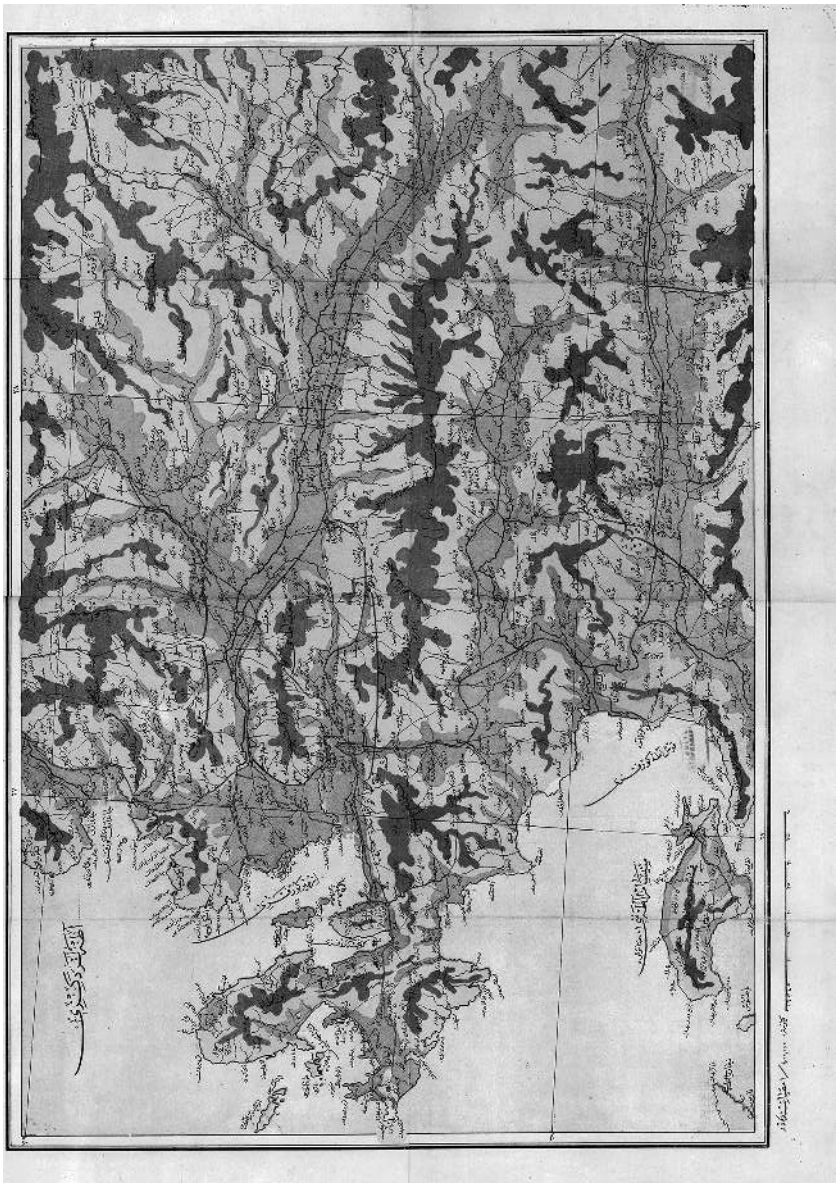

Figure 0.1 Izmir and its hinterland in the late Ottoman period
Reproduced with permission of the Map Collection of the Atatürk Library, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Hrt_000012

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-60726-1 — Gateway to the Mediterranean
An Environmental History of Late Ottoman Izmir
Onur İnal
Excerpt
More Information

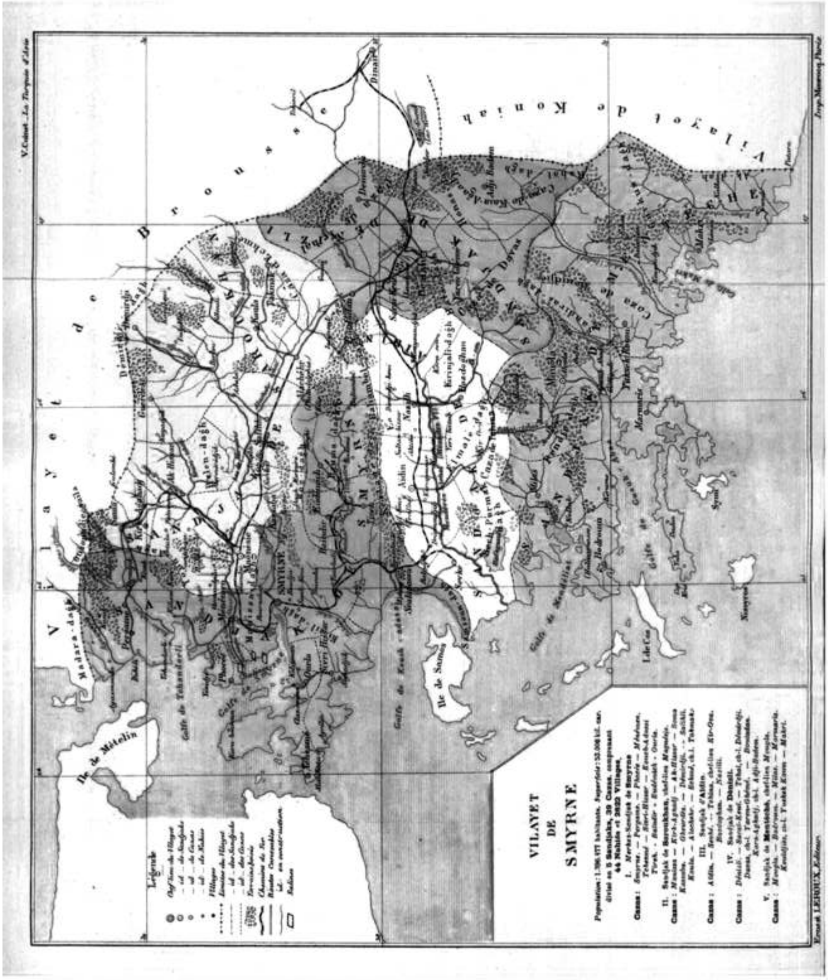

Figure 0.2 The province of Aydın in the 1890s
Source: Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 337

between rural inhabitants, whom I call "hinterlanders," and urban residents changed dramatically, thickening the links binding the city and the hinterland. Over the years, hinterlanders became not only the providers of raw materials, agricultural and forest products, producers of commodities, and cultivators of foodstuffs the port city used and exported but also consumers of commodities, merchandise, and luxury items manufactured in the city or imported through its port. Geographer Willem E. Boerman argued that ports and hinterlands must be understood together: "It is the hinterland combined with transport links that give the key to growth of port trade and development of port industries. No port structure can be understood when not seen together with its hinterland."[10] Thus, to understand late Ottoman Izmir is to understand both the city and hinterland, as well as its inhabitants, hinterlanders, and the vital links between the city and the hinterland.

The Gateway City

In the mid-to-late nineteenth century, Izmir transformed more rapidly than at any other time in its long history and became indelibly linked to its hinterland. In this period, much of the urban and rural landscape people inhabited today in Western Anatolia was created: a large port city with modern facilities, remarkably fertile farmlands, and the major transportation linkages that connect the city with the interior. This book employs the "gateway city" model to understand how Izmir grew and prospered in tandem with Western Anatolia in the late Ottoman Empire. The "gateway city" model, first conceptualized by Andrew F. Burghardt, a Canadian geographer, contrasts the concept of the central place, which had long dominated the theoretical framework of urban geography.[11]

[10] Willem E. Boerman, "The Need for Special Examination of Particular Aspects of Port Geography," *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 42 (December 1951): 347–49, 348.

[11] Andrew F. Burghardt, "A Hypothesis about Gateway Cities," *Annals, Association of American Geographers* 61, no. 2 (June 1971): 269–85. The central place theory was first formulated by the German geographer Walter Christaller, who tried to explain the evolution of the hierarchy of towns. Christaller put forward that those settlements simply functioned as "central places" providing services and goods to surrounding tributary areas. For the concept of the central place, see Walter Christaller, *Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland: Eine ökonomisch–geographische Untersuchung über die Gesetzmässigkeit der Verbreitung und Entwicklung der Siedlungen mit städtischen Funktionen* (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1933). For discussions of Christaller's central place theory, see, among others, Brian Joe Lobley Berry, H. Gardiner Barnum, and Allen Pred, *Central Place Studies: A Bibliography of Theory and Applications* (Philadelphia: Regional Science Research Institute, 1965); Keith Sidney Orrock Beavon, *Central Place Theory: A Reinterpretation* (London: Longman, 1977); Leslie J. King, *Central Place Theory*

Burghardt researched some cities in North America and Eastern Europe in a frontier context and developed the "gateway city" concept as a place "in command of the connections between the tributary area and the outside world."[12] Regarding gateway cities' development, Burghardt contended that such cities evolve in the contact zones with varying production intensities and types. He suggested that a narrow entrance opening into an agricultural hinterland is what makes a gateway city essential.[13] More than five decades have passed since Burghardt hypothesized the gateway city. First, geographers, and later economists, sociologists, globalization, and migration scholars have used this term to analyze urban development patterns at the margin of a productive region.[14]

Environmental historians have also recently employed the gateway city model to study transformations in areas between different economic and ecological entities. The most well-known is the American environmental historian William Cronon, who argued in his *Nature's Metropolis* that Chicago served as the "gateway city" – the place in between – connecting America's industrial east and agricultural west. Cronon masterfully used Burghardt's gateway city model to explore the development of Chicago as a metropolis linking the "Great West" and as a conduit not just for

(Beverly Hills: SAGE Publications, 1984); Peter Sjøholt, "Christaller Revisited: Reconsidering Christaller's Analysis of Services and Central Places," *Service Industries Journal* 21, no. 4 (October 2001): 198–200.

[12] Burghardt, "Hypothesis," 269. [13] Ibid., 269–70.

[14] J. A. Edwards, "The Swansea City-Region: A Case Study of a Gateway System," *Geography* 65, no. 2 (April 1980): 81–94; Peter Karl Kresl, "Gateway Cities: A Comparison of North America with the European Community," *Ekistics* 58 (1991): 351–56; Matthew P. Drennan, "Gateway Cities: The Metropolitan Sources of U.S. Producer Services Exports," *Urban Studies* 29, no. 2 (April 1992): 217–35; James J. Wang, "Hong Kong: An Upgraded Gateway for China Trade," in *Gateways to Globalisation: Asia's International Trading and Finance Centres*, ed. François Gipouloux (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2011), 117–29; Dušan Drbohlav and Ludek Sýkora, "Gateway Cities in the Process of Regional Integration in Central and Eastern Europe: The Case of Prague," in *Migration, Free Trade and Regional Integration in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Gudrun Biffl (Vienna: Österreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1997), 181–213; Peter Mayerhofer and Yvonne Wolfmayr-Schnitzer, "Gateway Cities in the Process of Regional Integration in Central and Eastern Europe: The Case of Vienna," in *Migration, Free Trade and Regional Integration*, ed. Gudrun Biffl (Vienna: Österreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1997), 215–37; Åke E. Andersson and David Emanuel Andersson, ed., *Gateways to the Global Economy* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2000); John Rennie Short et al., "From World Cities to Gateway Cities: Extending the Boundaries of Globalization Theory," *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action* 4, no. 3 (2000): 317–40; Ronald John Johnston, *City and Society: An Outline for Urban Geography* (London: Hutchinson, 1984); Peter J. Taylor, *World City Network: A Global Urban Analysis* (London: Routledge, 2004), 91–92; Saskia Sassen, *The Mobility of Capital and Labor: A Study in International Investment and Labor Flow* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

commodities flowing from the hinterland to eastern markets but for manufactured goods to flow from the city out toward growing rural markets.[15] Following the path broken by Cronon, American environmental historians have employed the "gateway city" model to analyze the recent histories of American cities. For example, Matthew W. Klingle studied Seattle's gateway status for Alaska and the Yukon after the Klondike Gold Rush began in 1897.[16] Likewise, Frances F. Dunwell defined the Hudson as "the gateway to America for millions of immigrants who aspired for a new life."[17]

In this book, I also employ Burghardt's gateway city model and suggest that it provides a new perspective to explain Izmir's role as the main connection point between a rural area with diverse natural resources and the capitalist world markets. I put the term gateway in front of Izmir to indicate that it occupied a crucial position between the empire and global markets; most goods imported and exported by mainland territories passed through it. Resembling the center of an hourglass, Izmir enabled and regulated the flow of commodities and connected fertile valleys of Western Anatolia to global markets and industries. In this respect, in the late Ottoman Empire, Izmir was for the Eastern Mediterranean, what Marseille was for the Western Mediterranean (Figure 0.3).

To return to Burghardt's argument, by definition, gateway cities are located at the edge of their tributary areas. They often develop between two or more areas with different production types, economies, cultures, and urban lives. Other than most inland towns, or so-called central cities, which usually have local trade connections, gateway cities connect distinct zones and regions. They function as collectors of goods and products from their surrounding areas and as distribution centers for goods manufactured outside their limits. Moreover, the long-distance trade connections they establish allow gateway cities to channel the flow of commodities of different types and values coming from faraway places. From the mid-nineteenth century on, because of its advantageous location at the interface between land and maritime networks, Izmir was on its way to becoming the predominant gateway city in the Ottoman Empire, serving as both the entrance to and the exit from Western Anatolia and linking the empire with the rest of the world. In this period,

[15] William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1991).
[16] Matthew W. Klingle, *Emerald City: An Environmental History of Seattle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).
[17] Frances F. Dunwell, "Foreword," in *Environmental History of the Hudson River: Human Uses that Changed the Ecology, Ecology that Changed Human Uses*, ed. Robert E. Henshaw (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2011), ix–xii, ix.