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Author(s): A. Mesud Kügükkalay

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Imports to Smyrna between 1794 and 1802: New Statistics from the Ottoman Sources

A. Mesud Küçükkalay*

Abstract

This study is based on the foreign customs registers of the port of Smyrna in the Ottoman Archives of Istanbul. In this paper 115 ports, 112 ships, 2859 pieces of goods, and 1273 merchants have been investigated for the period 1794-1802. This information indicates that the transformation of the Ottoman Foreign trade at the turn of the eighteenth century was linked to the following economic trends of the second half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries: the emergence of the European supremacy in naval transportation, a change in the terms of trade that was disadvantageous for the Ottomans, and a shift in the trade partners of the Ottoman Empire.

Cette contribution exploite les données des registres de la douane ottomane du port de Smyrne, consignants les importations étrangères, conservés aux archives d'Istanbul. L'étude porte sur les cargaisons de 112 navires en provenance de 115 ports, 2859 pièces de marchandises et 1273 marchands dans les années 1794-1802. Les données témoignent que la transformation du commerce ottoman étranger en fin du XVIII^{ème} siècle est liée aux tendances économiques de la seconde moitié du XVIII^{ème} et de la première moitié du XIX^{ème} siècles. Elles reflètent la domination européenne dans le domaine du transport maritime, la modification des conditions commerciales au détriment des Ottomans et un changement des partenaires commerciaux de l'Empire.

Keywords

Smyrna/Izmir, international trade, statistics, Ottoman economy, Ottoman sources

The Ottoman Empire's foreign trade underwent important changes in the eighteenth century, as Western commerce became increasingly dominant. These transformations have been analyzed by several scholars. For the

* **A. Mesud Küçükkalay, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Department of Economy, Eskişehir Osmangazi University, Turkey, amesud@ogu.edu.tr.**

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period up to the seventeenth century, Robert Mantran, for example, has identified the European settlements in India and the Persian Gulf, as well as the capitulations as fundamental factors behind these changes. Virginia Paskaleva has argued that in the eighteenth century the Ottomans' foreign trade was characterized by four determinant factors: an increasing influence of Central-European states over Ottoman trade; the growing strength of Russia and Austria in the Black Sea basin; increasing activity of minorities as trade agents in Ottoman foreign trade; and a significant increase in the export of agricultural products. Bruce McGowan has observed three other important developments for the same period. He has noted a change in the composition of the traded goods; a shift in the geographical distribution of the trade, which implied the dislocation of the trade toward the West; and an alteration in the relative importance of the trading partners, suggesting the replacement of the Dutch and the English by the French, who were eventually replaced by the Austrians and Russians in the late eighteenth century.¹

From the late seventeenth century trade in the Levant began to feel the effects of the competition of the colonial markets. For example, the demand for coffee, cotton, medicinal substances, spices, and dried foodstuffs in England was increasingly met by colonial products. As a result of this competition the Ottomans' export capacity decreased, and the Levant's position as the leading supplier of raw material for the English industry steadily declined after the 1680s.² The Ottoman Empire increasingly became the provider of raw materials, for which it received luxury goods, coffee, sugar, textile, high quality Russian fur, and glass in return. In the Ottoman Empire itself industry became overshadowed by trade.³ As Charles Issawi has noted, wool, cotton, and silk, which were exported to

¹ Robert Mantran, "18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ticaretin Değişmesi," trans. Zeki Arıkan. *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 3 (1987): 159-64; Virginia Paskaleva, "Osmanlı Balkan Eyaletlerinin Avrupalı Devletlerle Ticaretleri Tarihine Katkı 1700-1850." *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Dergisi* 27.1-2 (1967): 47; Bruce McGowan, "The Age of Ayans 1699-1812." In *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1914*, eds. Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert (Cambridge, 1994): 727.

² Kemal Karpat, "The Transformation of the Ottoman State 1789-1908." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 3 (1972): 246; Ralph Davis, "English Imports From the Middle East 1580-1780." In *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East From the Rise of Islam to the Present Day*, ed. M. A. Cook (London, 1970): 201.

³ Traian Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant." *Journal of Economic History* 20.2 (1960): 259.

Europe in the form of fabric, cloth, and raw material at the beginning of the eighteenth century, were exported as raw material by the end of the century.⁴

The shifting patterns of commerce with the West are particularly evident with regard to the port of Smyrna (Izmir), one of the Ottoman Empire's principal centers of international trade. On the basis of French, English, and Dutch archives, pioneering studies on Izmir's economy have appeared, particularly by Elena Frangakis-Syrett, whose works are indispensable for our understanding of the Levantine trade in this period. But with the exception of Daniel Goffman's books on Izmir, most of the literature has disregarded the Ottoman sources.⁵ The present study aims to test the developments signalled on the basis of Western sources by examining and analyzing the Ottoman archival documents for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which have not been taken into account by previous authors.

1. Smyrna's Foreign Trade in the Eighteenth Century: A General Survey

The economic expansion of Smyrna occurred in two distinct stages, the first in the seventeenth and the second in the late nineteenth century.⁶ During earlier periods the Ottoman government had sought to limit western Anatolia's commercial development, preferring to maintain its role as the "fruit basket" of the capital, Istanbul. This is illustrated by numerous

⁴ Charles Issawi, "The Transformation of the Economic Position of Millets in the Nineteenth Century." In *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, eds. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York, 1982); 160.

⁵ Daniel Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650* (Seattle, 1990), the focus of which is on the earlier period; and Daniel Goffman, "Izmir: From Villiage to the Colonial Port City." In *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, eds. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters (Cambridge, 1999): 79-135. Goffman's contribution is not a balanced survey of Izmir's history from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, as it focuses predominantly on the pre-modern period.

⁶ This expansion, as Murat Çizakça has pointed out, coincided with the process of the incorporation of the Ottoman economy to the West. According to Çizakça, the Ottoman economy was incorporated into the world economy in two different stages: the first between 1550-1650 (early incorporation) and the later between 1830-1900 (late incorporation). See, Murat Çizakça, "Incorporation of the Middle East into the European World Economy." *Review* 8.3 (Winter, 1985): 371-74.

decrees issued by the Sublime Porte to the representatives in Smyrna and its hinterland in the late sixteenth century, which are all concerned with the provisioning, hoarding, and smuggling of fruits and grain that had been earmarked for Istanbul. The Ottoman government neither encouraged commerce in Smyrna, nor welcomed the bullion that such an entrepôt might bring. The persistence of this centralist policy well into the nineteenth century points to an Ottoman disinclination toward both the mercantilism of the 1600s and the free trade of the 1800s.⁷

The Sublime Porte's provisionist policies principally benefited the central administration. Thus the Ottoman state tried to assure the safety of the sea routes between Istanbul and the coastal towns, regulated the prices, restricted the trade of staples, and discouraged the development of western Anatolian ports.⁸ But new internal and external developments in the late sixteenth century forced the central government to change this policy. According to Goffman, the first deviation from the traditional principles occurred when the authority of the center weakened in the countryside. In an attempt to compensate this development, the center sought the help of local notables, which further deteriorated the sovereignty of the capital. The second departure from the old policy resulted from the effects of the capitulations. The increasing commercial relations of Europe with the rest of the world further contributed to the rise of Smyrna, rather than the traditional commercial centers of the Levant like Aleppo and Bursa. Smyrna now became the focus of a geopolitical region which attracted merchants of all nationalities, benefiting from an increasing European interest in the products of western Anatolia.⁹

Smyrna was different from other Ottoman commercial centers, such as Aleppo, Istanbul, Beirut, and Alexandria in many respects. For example, Smyrna lacked Aleppo's historical past, infrastructure, and elite class. The commercial development of Smyrna principally relied on the constant flow of foreigners to the city. In contrast with Istanbul and Aleppo, which had both inherited a strong cultural tradition, Smyrna soon acquired a more cosmopolitan atmosphere.¹⁰ Compared with Aleppo, Smyrna's higher volume of trade in fine quality Persian silks and the demand in Persia for

⁷ Goffman, "Izmir: From Village to the Colonial Port City": 86-7.

⁸ Ibid.: 6-7.

⁹ Ibid.: 98-100.

¹⁰ Eldem, Goffman, and Master, "Conclusion: Context and Characteristics." In *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, eds. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters (Cambridge, 1999): 207-14.

European cloth and other goods also stimulated the Anatolian port's commercial rise. The high quality cotton produced in this city and the proximity of Smyrna to Ankara's mohair and woollen thread manufacturing centers supplied European merchants with two additional marketable raw materials.¹¹

By the second half of the eighteenth century, Smyrna had become one of the most important ports for the Ottomans' trade with Europe. The role of the local merchants in the trade activities of Smyrna as intermediaries between the Europeans and the native people was an important factor in this development. These local entrepreneurs were familiar with the tastes of the region, they knew the prices in the market, and they had the advantage of speaking the local languages. The custom of the local merchants to deal on the basis of credit enhanced the position of middlemen, to whom foreign traders had to resort to assure the repayment of outstanding loans.¹² The absence of banks in the town until the nineteenth century was overcome by the presence of money lenders and the banking activities of private merchants.¹³

The most comprehensive figures regarding the trade of Smyrna with the West are supplied by Frangakis-Syrett.¹⁴ Between 1700 and 1745, the port was responsible for 20% of the total Empire's exports to France, the biggest commercial partner of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century.¹⁵ This percentage rose to 34 between 1745 and 1789. Smyrna accounted for

¹¹ Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "Trade Between the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe: The Case of Izmir in the Eighteenth Century." *New Perspectives on Turkey* 2.1 (1988): 1-2. Cf. Halil İnalcık, "Osmanlı Pamuklu Pazarı, Hindistan ve İngiltere: Pazar Rekabetinde Emek Maliyetinin Rolü." *ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi, 1979-1980* (Ankara, 1980): 13; Necmi Ülker, "17. ve 18. Yüzyıllarda İpek Ticaretinde İzmir'in Rolü ve Önemi." *17. ve 18. Yüzyıllarda İzmir Şehri Tarihi I* (İzmir, 1994): 46-7; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Anayol Kavşağında Bursa: İran İpeği Avrupa Rekabeti ve Yerel Ekonomi (1470-1700)." *Osmanlı Dünyasında Üretmek Pazarlamak Yaşamak*, trans. G. Ç. Güven and Ö. Türesay (İstanbul, 2003): 122.

¹² Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "Western and Local Entrepreneurs in Izmir in the Nineteenth and Early 20th Centuries." In *Son Yıllarda İzmir ve Batı Anadolu Sempozyumu*, ed. T. Baykara (İzmir, 1994): 82.

¹³ By the beginning of the twentieth century the increasing volume of the monetary transactions in the region and improvement in the transportation facilities helped the local merchants to expand the volume of their activities. *Ibid.*: 83-4.

¹⁴ Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "British Economic Activities in Izmir in the Second Half of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." *New Perspectives on Turkey* 5-6 (1991): 192-3.

¹⁵ Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "The Implementation of the 1838 Anglo-Turkish Convention on Izmir's Trade: European and Minority Merchants." *New Perspectives on Turkey* 7 (1992):

40% and 38.3% of all Ottoman exports to France from 1776 to 1779 and from 1786 to 1789, respectively, while the exports from Salonica amounted to only 14% and 7.6%. Smyrna also ranked first in Ottoman imports from France, with its 30% share. While 34.2% and 31% of the imports came through Smyrna from France in the same periods, these rates were only 19.8% and 26%, respectively for Istanbul.¹⁶ The figures for the year 1784 show that 36.5% of all Ottoman exports went to France, which was followed by Austria (24%), Holland (18.3%), Venice (12%), and England 9.2%. Out of these exports 32 % went through the port of Smyrna, while the ports of Syria, Egypt, Istanbul, North Africa, and Greece accounted for 23%, 13%, 4%, and 2%, respectively.¹⁷ The Western sources indicate that the dominant role of Smyrna continued throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, but during the second half of this century, Smyrna was surpassed by Istanbul and Salonica as far as imports were concerned.¹⁸

2. Smyrna's Imports: Data from the Ottoman Archives

For this study data were gathered from thirteen account books of the Ottoman Foreign Customs Office of Smyrna between April 1794 and June 1802, which are now kept in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi in Istanbul. This yielded information about 112 ships, 2,859 items of goods, and 1,273 merchants. The present section offers statistics on Smyrna's trade and shipping based on these data, starting with Smyrna's imports around the turn of the nineteenth century.

2.1. Imports

The Ottoman registers show that 40.32% of all goods imported between 1794 and 1802 consisted of textiles (1,153 items); 14.44% of spices and

91. See also Elias Abesci, *Etat actuel de l'empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1792); 62, and Louis de Chenier, *Revolutions de l'Empire Ottoman, et observations sur les progres, sur les revers, sur l'etat present de cet empire* (Paris, 1789): 46.

¹⁶ Frangakis-Syrett, "Trade Between Ottoman Empire and Western Europe": 2-3. Cf. 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, 2007): 1-38.

¹⁷ Bruce McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe Taxation Trade and the Struggle for Land 1600-1800*: 18, 28.

¹⁸ Frangakis-Syrett, "Western and Local Entrepreneurs": 80.

medical substances (413 items); 12.90% of draperies (369 items); and 6.82% of foodstuffs (195 items). Similar percentages were found in the totals of Ottoman tax revenues, which are listed in these sources. Out of the total tax revenue, textile products made up 53.32%; spices and medical ingredients 11.29%; draperies 9.95%; and food stuffs 9.16% (Figures 1 and 2; Table 1).

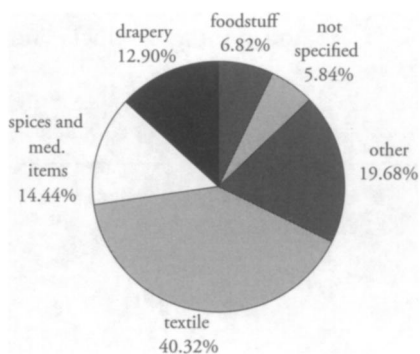


Figure 1: Goods Classified by Types

Scrap metals (4.23%), paper (5.14%), glass and glass products (2.65%), half mechanical products (3.60%), mining products (3.63%), leather and untreated goods (0.38%); other 19.68%:

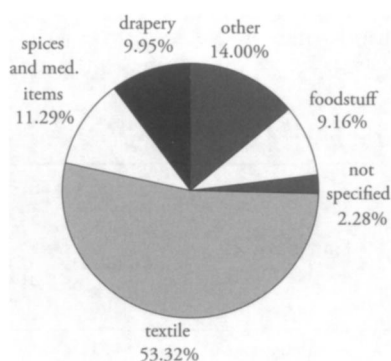


Figure 2: Percentages in Tax Revenues

Scrap metals (3.90%), paper (2.18%), glass and glass products (1.57%), half-mechanical products (2.65%), mining products (3.57%), leather and untreated goods (0.08%); other 14.00%:

It is interesting to see that the majority of the imported items were finished goods, while another large share consisted of consumption goods, such as food and spices. According to the Turkish sources, in 1771-2 1,684 goods were imported at Smyrna, 621 (36.87%) of which were textile products. The textiles were followed by spices and medicines (354 items, or 21%); foodstuffs (240 items, or 14.25%); and scrap metals (128 items, or 7.60%). The tax registers confirm that textiles yielded the most revenue (Londrines accounting for 41.43 % of the total revenue).¹⁹

¹⁹ Coffee accounts for 9.93% of the revenue for 1771-2, while tin comes to 5.06 %. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul (BOA), D. HMK. 22156, 22158, 22159, 22160, 22161, 22162, 22163, 22164, 22166, 22167. Cf. Küçükcalay and Elibol, "Ottoman Imports in the Eighteenth Century: Smyrna (1771-72)," *Middle Eastern Studies* 42.5 (2006): 725-6.

The predominance of textile products in Smyrna's import items does not seem to have changed for the better part of the nineteenth century. The European goods imported to Smyrna between 1818 and 1839, for instance, show that out of 18,740 units no less than 8,889 (47.43%) consisted of textile products. They were followed by foodstuffs (2,593 items, or 13.83%), draperies (2,249 items, or 12%), and medicinal and chemical substances, principally dyestuffs (1,138 items, or 6.7%). The tax records confirm these figures, textiles accounting for 57.35% of the revenues; foodstuffs for 17.73%; draperies for 11.51%; and mining products and scrap metals for 4.11% (Table 1).²⁰

Table 1: Tax revenues

Commodities	Number of individual pieces	Share in total of imports (%)	Total revenues		Share in total tax revenues (%)
			Aspers	Piastres (Asper/110)	
Scrap metals	121	4.23	481.590	4.379	3.90
Paper	147	5.14	270.165	2.456	2.18
Glass and glass products	76	2.65	194.713	1.770	1.57
Textiles	1.153	40.32	6.580.171	59.819	53.32
Spices and medicinal items	413	14.44	1.393.163	12.666	11.29
Half-mechanical products	103	3.60	327.040	2.973	2.65
Mining products	104	3.63	441.250	4.011	3.57
Foodstuffs	195	6.82	1.130.430	10.277	9.16
Leather and untreated goods	11	0.38	10.703	97	0.08
Draperies	369	12.90	1.228.685	11.169	9.95
Unspecified	167	5.84	281.849	2.562	2.28
TOTAL	2.859	100	12.339.759	112.179	100

Source: BOA. D. HMK. 22212, 22214, 22215, 22216, 22226, 22230, 22234, 22244; Ibid.: CM. 16013, 19272; Ibid.: D. MMK. 22959, 22279; Ibid.: KK. 5239.

²⁰ BOA, CM. 16966, 15274 (I), 15274 (II), 15274 (III), 15274 (IV), 15274 (V), 15274 (VI), 15274 (VII), 17760, 17458, 16582, 15034; BOA. D. HMK. 22282, 22283, 22284, 22280, 22286, 22287, 22289, 22288, 22292, 22297, 22298, 22300, 22303, 22306, 22308, 22307, 22302, 22311, 22312, 22313, 22314, 22315, 22316 (II), 22317, 22316 (I), 22319, 22320, 22321, 22322, 22318, 22323, 22324, 22328, 22330, 22331, 22332,

According to the reports of travellers, Western consumer goods quickly became widespread in the Ottoman Empire. For example, Tournefort (d. 1708) already reported that, among the trade items brought by the French merchants to Smyrna, the cloth of Languedoc, alpaca of Beauvais, satin fabrics of Florence, and the fine steel, tin, paper, and enamel of Nevers were in high demand.²¹ The main reason behind this development was that the European ambassadors and consuls tended to give luxury goods to high Ottoman officials as presents, which created a habit of consumption that gradually spread in the higher echelons of Ottoman society. Secondly, the number of foreigners settling in the Ottoman Empire increased, which created more demand for western goods.

According to Felix Beaujour the Westerners constantly attempted to improve the quality of the goods they produced in accordance with the styles widely acceptable among the people in the Levant.²² Quality and marketing were very important. Egyptian sugar, for example, could not compete with American sugar; despite the Egyptian product's superior quality, the glamorous appearance of American sugar secured a larger market share for it in Anatolia and Persia.²³ This also affected the market for textiles. The Ottoman Empire, famous for its textile products in the classical period, now had to purchase textiles from the West.²⁴ High quality textiles continued to be produced in Bursa, Gallipoli, and Ankara as late as 1749-50, and by the late eighteenth century the Ottoman manufactured goods were still in high demand in its surrounding countries. Nonetheless, during the eighteenth century the demand in foreign markets for high quality cloths, hand-made thread, and leather goods from the Levant gradually decreased and by the early nineteenth century virtually all the

22338, 22337, 22339, 22341, 22342, 22343, 22344, 22345-46, 22347, 22348, 22349, 22350, 22351, 22352, 22354, 22355, 22365, 22366, 22367, 22368, 22369, 22370, 22371, 22372, 22374, 22376, 22378, 22379, 22380, 22382, 22383, 22384; BOA. KK. 5239/b (I), 5239/b (II), 5239/b (III), 5239/b (IV), 5239/b (V), 5239/b (VI), 5239/b (VII), 5239/b (VIII), 5239/b (IX), 5239/b (X), 5239/b (XI), 5239/b (XII), 5239/b (XIII). Cf. A. Mesud Küçükkalay, *Osmanlı İthalatı-İzmir Gümrüğü 1818-39* (Istanbul, 2007): 68-9.

²¹ İlhan Pınar, *Gezginlerin Gözüyle İzmir XVIII. Yüzyıl* (İzmir, 1996): 11-2.

²² German glassware and crystal goods are a case in point. Felix Beaujour, *Tableau du commerce de la Grèce, formé d'après une année moyenne, depuis 1787 jusqu'en 1783*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1800): 75.

²³ Pierre-André O'Hegerty, "Remarques sur plusieurs branches de Commerce et Navigation, Deuxieme partie: Du Commerce du Levant." In *Contribution a l'histoire du commerce de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie III. Rapport consulaires français documents officiels et autres documents*, ed. Nicolas V. Michoff (Svichetov): vol. 3: 6.

²⁴ For an alternative view, see Suraiya Faroqi, "Esnaf Ağları ve Osmanlı Zenaat Üretimi (16. ve 17. Yüzyıllar)." *Osmanlı Dünyasında Üretmek Pazarlamak Yaşamak* (Istanbul, 2003): 129-30.

high quality goods which had constituted the bulk of the Ottoman exports during earlier periods had disappeared.²⁵

The fact that 40.32% of the goods going through customs were textiles calls for an analysis of the materials from which they were made. The Ottoman records reveal that 41.80% of the textiles were woollen; 23.59% linen; 21.94% silk; and 6.67% cotton. The tax records roughly confirm these percentages, indicating that woollen materials accounted for more than half of the total revenue (Figures 3 and 4; Table 2).

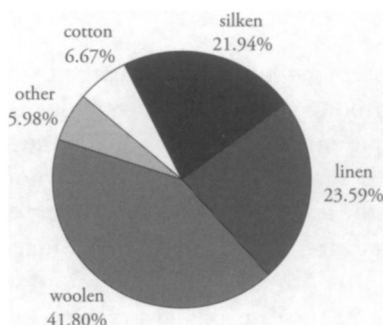


Figure 3: Classification of Textile Products by Raw Material Type

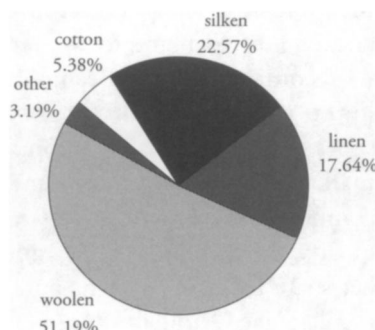


Figure 4: Percentage of Tax Revenues From Raw Materials

Table 2: Imported textiles by raw material

Materials	Number of items	Share in total of textiles (%)	Total revenues		Share in total tax revenues (%)
			Asper	Piastre (Asper/110)	
Woollen	482	41.80	3.368.420	30.622	51.19
Cotton	77	6.67	354.490	3.223	5.38
Silken	253	21.94	1.485.765	13.506	22.57
Linen	272	23.59	1.161.306	10.558	17.64
Other	69	5.98	210.190	1.910	3.19
TOTAL	1.153	100	6.580.171	59.819	100

Sources: BOA. D. HMK. 22212, 22214, 22215, 22216, 22226, 22230, 22234, 22244; Ibid.: CM. 16013, 19272; Ibid.: D. MMK. 22959, 22279; Ibid.: KK. 5239. In the calculation of Piastrs fractions have been rounded off to the nearest integer.

²⁵) Halil Sahillioğlu, "18. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Sanayi Bölgelerimiz ve Ticari İmkanları."

The Ottoman economy had had a strong silk industry in the sixteenth century, but this had been undermined by the influx of such woollen goods as *londrin* (Londrines), *şalî* (shawls), and *kemha*, as well as *atlas* (silk satin). The increasing prominence in the import statistics of new textiles such as linen was also a sign that the Ottoman consumption patterns were changing.²⁶

In the nineteenth century the import of cotton cloth became dominant. The reason for this change must be searched for in Ottoman consumption habits and production policies together with European and British foreign trade policies. The widespread fashion of wearing a fez and the popularity of cotton cloth were relatively late developments, which were closely associated with the regulations of the early nineteenth century concerning dress habits. This process was further accelerated by the increasing role of women in Ottoman society, whose consumption patterns were more closely linked with fashion.²⁷ The introduction of a law prescribing that all men should wear a fez in 1826 and the enactment of a dress code in 1829 were also of major importance. Because the domestic production of the fez was insufficient to meet demand, the imports of this product increased dramatically until the mid-nineteenth century, when the establishment of the Imperial fez factory (*Fezhane-i Amire*, est. 1833) began to have an effect.²⁸

2.2. Sea Ports

The Ottoman records also provide details about the countries, and sometimes ports, of origin of foreign ships arriving at Smyrna around the turn of the nineteenth century. For this section a total of 112 ships which arrived between 1794 and 1802 have been classified and analyzed (Table 3).

Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi 11 (1986): 61; Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922* (Cambridge, 2000): 135.

²⁶ BOA, D. HMK. 22212, 22214, 22215, 22216, 22226, 22230, 22234, 22244; BOA, CM. 16013, 19272; BOA, D. MMK. 22959, 22279; BOA, KK. 5239/a.

²⁷ Nancy Micklewright, "London, Paris, Istanbul and Cairo: Fashion and International Trade in the Nineteenth Century," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 7 (1992): 125-36.

²⁸ Between 1818 and 1839, 1,119 fezzes were imported in Smyrna, accounting for 5.97% of all imported goods. According to the same study, within the total tax amount the share of fezzes was 3.25%. See the Ottoman sources listed in footnote 20, and Küçükkalay, *Osmanlı İthalatı-İzmir Gümrüğü 1818-39*: 68. On industrialization and fashion, see Charlotte Jirousek, "The Transition to Mass Fashion System Dress in the Later Ottoman Empire." In *Consumption Studies and the History of Ottoman Empire 1550-1922*, ed. Donald Quataert (New York, 2000): 208.

Table 3: The ports of origin of ships arriving at Smyrna, 1794-1802

	BOA Record No	Trieste	Leghorn	Genoa	Crimea	Holland	England	Other	TOTAL*
1	D. HMK. 22212	1	2	1	–	–	–	2	6
2	C. Maliye 16013	1	2	2	–	–	–	1	6
3	D. HMK. 22214	3	–	–	–	1	–	–	4
4	D. HMK. 22216	4	1	1	1	–	–	1	8
5	D. MMK. 22959	1	3	2	2	2	2	3	15
6	D. HMK. 22215	1	–	2	–	–	–	1	4
7	C. Maliye 19272	3	–	1	1	–	–	2	7
8	D. MMK. 22979	3	–	1	2	1	–	6	13
9	KK. 5239	2	1	1	3	–	–	3	10
10	D. HMK. 22226	3	1	1	1	1	–	4	11
11	D. HMK. 22230	5	1	1	1	–	1	5	14
12	D. HMK. 22234	5	2	2	–	–	2	1	12
13	D. HMK. 22244	1	1	–	–	2	1	–	5
TOTAL		33	14	15	11	7	6	29	115
PERCENTAGE		28.69	12.17	13.04	9.56	6.08	5.21	25.21	100

* The total number of the ships does not comply with the total number of the parts in the table. This is because some of the ships visited more than one port on their way to Smyrna. (For example: Marseilles and Genoa).

We learn from Table 3 and Figure 5 that Trieste ranked first with a share of 28.69% (33 ships); followed by Genoa with 13.04% (15 ships); Leghorn with 12.17% (14 ships); Crimea with 9.56% (11 ships); Holland with

6.08% (7 ships); and England with 5.21% (6 ships). The rest of the sea ports sending ships to the Ottoman Empire had a share of 25.21% (29 ships). Figure 6 shows the percentages of goods arriving from each port, while Figure 7 illustrates the amount of taxes paid by the ships from the various foreign ports.

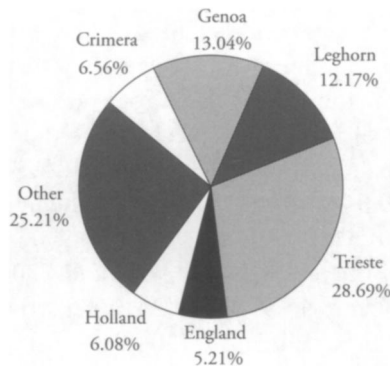


Figure 5: Share of Ports by Total Number of Sent Ships

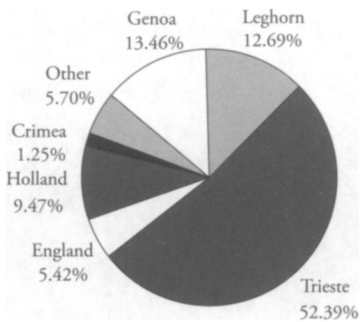


Figure 6: Share of Ports by Total Number of Sent Goods

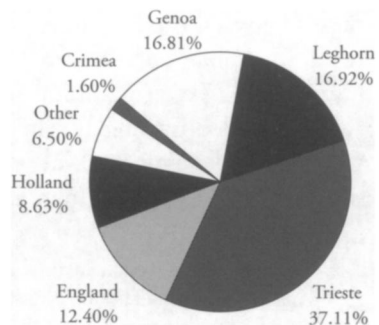


Figure 7: Share of Ports by Total Taxes

The records for Smyrna relating to the years 1771 and 1772 demonstrate that out of the 73 arriving ships, 37 (50.68%) came from France; 16 (21.91%) from Holland; 12 (16.43%) from England; and 6 (8.21%) from Venice.²⁹ Table 4 and the figures 6 and 7 make clear that a significant

²⁹) BOA. D. HMK. 22156, 22158, 22159, 22160, 22161, 22162, 22163, 22164, 22166,

change occurred three decades later, when Trieste, Genoa, and Leghorn (Livorno) became dominant, both in terms of the number of ships, the value of the imported goods (in tax revenues), and market share. Trieste, an Austrian Adriatic port connecting the Austrian hinterland with the Mediterranean and serving as an important intermediary between the sea and overland trade, was the most important of the three.³⁰ It is noteworthy that the French ports almost seem to have disappeared, while the shares of the English and the Dutch have dwindled to the point of insignificance. Other statistics confirm this development, while they also signal the rise of the Crimea in terms of the number of ships. For example, out of the 321 ships coming to the port of Smyrna between 1797 and 1799, 77 (23.98%) arrived from Trieste; 37 from the Crimea (11.52%); 35 from Genoa (10.90%); and 30 (9.34%) from Leghorn. At the bottom of the list were Messina and Holland, each with 14 ships (4.36%).³¹ Less than a decade later, the Crimea led the list. Between 1802 and 1805 a total of 175 foreign ships docked at Izmir, 43 of which (24.57%) arrived from the Crimea; 20 (11.42%) from Marseilles; 18 (10.28%) from Leghorn; also 18 (10.28%) from Trieste; and 12 (6.85%) from England.³²

These statistics reflect several political and commercial developments which have been extensively described in the literature. During the wars fought between the European powers in the mid and late eighteenth centuries, the Italian ports served as the chief warehouses in the trade between Smyrna and Western Europe. For example, when the ports of Holland were blockaded by England in 1781-2 and during the final stages of the American Independence War, Holland's trade with Smyrna went through Trieste.³³ Napoleon's continental system harmed the trade of both England

22167. Cf. A. Mesud Küçükkalay and Numan Elibol, "Ottoman Imports in the Eighteenth Century: Smyrna (1771-72)." *Middle Eastern Studies* 42.5 (2006): 732.

³⁰ According to Kaltenstadler, in the mid-eighteenth century the Ottomans were the fourth largest foreign trade partner with 52 ships (6.22 % of 836 vessels in total). Numbers 1 to 3 were ships flying the Venetian flag (416 vessels; 49.76%); Austrian ships (254 ships; 30.38%); and ships from Naples (100 vessels; 11.96%). Wilhelm Kaltenstadler, "Der Österreichische Seehandel über Trieste im 18. Jahrhundert." *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschafts Geschichte* 56 (1969): 42, 74.

³¹ BOA. D. HMK. 22222. Cf. A. Mesud Küçükkalay, "İzmir Efrenc Gümrüğü'ne Ait Bir İrad Defterinin Analizi ve Ticarete İlişkin Sonuçları (1797-99)." *Belleten* 70.257 (2006): 279.

³² BOA. D. HMK. 22238, 22239, 22248, 22249, 22251, 22252, 22253, 22255, 22256, 22257, 22258, 22259, 22261, 22262, 22264. Cf. A. Mesud Küçükkalay, "İzmir Efrenc Gümrüğü Mukataası'na Ait 1802-05." *Türklük Dünyası Araştırmaları Dergisi* 16 (2004): 221.

³³ Frangakis-Syrett, "Trade Between Ottoman Empire and Western Europe": 8.

and France. The import and export figures of the English Levant Company in 1793-8 fell to a great extent in comparison with other years due to this political and economic blockade.³⁴ French trade with Turkey decreased after the continental system ended. French export and import figures for the year 1791, for instance, averaged at 32 and 38 million francs, respectively. By the year 1816-7 these sums had decreased to 11 and 12.5 million francs, respectively.³⁵ Leghorn, Genoa, Trieste, and Ancona benefited from these developments and became indispensable liaisons between the Ottoman Empire and the West.³⁶

Figures 5, 6, and 7 show that for some time more ships were arriving from the Crimea (with 11 ships, or 9.56%) than from Holland (7 ships, or 6.08%), and England (6 vessels, 5.21 %). However, the Crimean ships accounted for merely 1.25% of the total volume of trade, against 9.47% for Holland, and 5.42% for England. In other words, Holland and England needed fewer ships to claim a greater market share. The customs revenues reflect this theory. The duties paid by English ships corresponded to 12.40% of the total, those of Holland for 8.63%—and for the Crimea just 1.60%. England, with the fewest ships of the three, was thus importing the most valuable goods.³⁷

The Ottoman records for the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century allow us to follow these patterns further. Between 1818 and 1839 no less than 1,600 ships arrived at Smyrna.³⁸ One fourth (380 vessels, 23.66 %) came from England; 309 (19.42%) from Trieste; 208 (12.95%) from Marseilles; and 144 (8.96) from the United States of America. Ships arriving from Leghorn and Holland numbered 88 (5.47%) and 68 (4.23%), respectively.³⁹

³⁴ Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (Oxford, 1935): 179. On hardships, the blockade caused by French artisans, and the French middle-class, see John P. McKay, Bennett D. Hill, and John Buckler, *A History of World Societies* (Boston, 2000): 736.

³⁵ It was estimated that, despite intermittent fluctuations, the French exports to the Levant between 1847 and 1856 reached barely 29.1 million francs while the imports during the same time amounted to 51.8 million francs. Table 4 compiled from Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy 1800-1914* (London, 1993): 87.

³⁶ Frangakis-Syrett, "Greek Mercantile Activities in the Eastern Mediterranean 1780-1820," *Balkan Studies* 28.1 (1987): 76.

³⁷ BOA. D. HMK. 22238, 22239, 22248, 22249, 22251, 22252, 22253, 22255, 22256, 22257, 22258, 22259, 22261, 22262, 22264. Cf. Küçükkalay, "İzmir Efrenc Gümrüğü Mukataası'na Ait 1802-05": 221

³⁸ See the Ottoman sources listed in footnote 20.

³⁹ Küçükkalay, *Osmanlı İthalatı-İzmir Gümrüğü 1818-39*: 97.

Table 4: Tax revenues per port of origin

PORTS	Number of arriving ships	Number of items	Share of received goods by ports (%)	Total taxes		Share of total taxes (%)
				Asper	Piaster (Asper/110)	
Trieste	33	1.498	52.39	4.579.611	41.633	37.11
Leghorn	14	363	12.69	2.088.291	18.985	16.92
Genoa	15	385	13.46	2.074.784	18.861	16.81
Crimea	11	36	1.25	198.553	1.805	1.60
Holland	7	271	9.47	1.065.449	9.686	8.63
England	6	143	5.42	1.530.286	13.911	12.40
Other	29	163	5.70	802.785	7.298	6.50
TOTAL	115	2.859	100	12.339.759	112.179	100

Sources: BOA, D. HMK. 22212, 22214, 22215, 22216, 22226, 22230, 22234, 22244; Ibid.: CM. 16013, 19272; Ibid.: D. MMK. 22959, 22279; Ibid.: KK. 5239. In the calculation of Piastres fractions have been rounded off to the nearest integer.

2.3. *The Flags of the Ships*

From the late eighteenth century it became more common for ships to carry another flag than that of their country of origin. For this reason it is also valuable to analyze under which flags the 112 ships sailed which came to the port of Smyrna between 1794 and 1802 (Table 5). The Venetian flag was the most popular with a share of 21.42 % (24 ships), but the Austrian flag was not far behind with 20.53% (23 ships). Eighteen ships (16.07%) flew the Ottoman flag, while 9.82% (11 ships) hoisted the banner of Ragusa. Nine ships sailed under the Russian flag (8.03%), while the English Union Jack was hoisted by only 7 ships (6.25%).

Our statistics are comparable with data pertaining to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁴⁰ Between 1802 and 1806, and between 1819 and 1839, on the other hand, these statistics indicate that out of the

⁴⁰ The figures for 1797-9 show that of the 316 ships arriving at the port of Smyrna between 1797-9, 68 (21.51%) sailed under the Ottoman flag. The Ottoman flag was followed by the Austrian and Ragusan flags with respective figures of 57 (18.03%) and 53 ships (16.77%). BOA. D. HMK. 22222. Cf. Küçükcalay, "İzmir Efrencü Gümrüğü'ne Ait Bir İrad Defterinin Analizi": 281.

175 ships arriving in Smyrna between 1802 and 1805, 45 (25.71%) flew the Russian flag; 39 (22.28%) that of Austria; 22 (12.57%) the Ottoman flag; and 18 (10.28%) that of Great Britain. The Dutch, Danish, and the Spanish flags were each used by only approximately 1% of the ships. A closer examination of the captains' names of the vessels flying the Ottoman flag shows that the majority were non-Muslims.⁴¹

Table 5: Flags

Record in BOA		Total Number of Ships	Venetian	Austrian	Ottoman	Ragusan	Russian	English	Denmark	Unknown
1	D. HMK. 22212	5	4	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
2	CM. 16013	6	2	–	1	3	–	–	–	–
3	D. HMK. 22214	4	3	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
4	D. HMK. 22216	7	4	–	1	–	1	1	–	–
5	D. MMK. 22959	14	4	–	4	1	2	2	1	–
6	D. HMK. 22215	4	2	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
7	CM. 19272	7	5	–	1	1	–	–	–	–
8	D. MMK. 22979	13	–	3	2	1	2	–	1	4
9	KK. 5239	10	–	4	–	1	2	–	–	3
10	D. HMK. 22226	11	–	4	–	2	1	–	1	3
11	D. HMK. 22230	14	–	5	3	1	1	1	–	3

⁴¹ BOA. D. HMK. 22238, 22239, 22248, 22249, 22251, 22252, 22253, 22255, 22256, 22257, 22258, 22259, 22261, 22262, 22264. Cf. Küçükkalay, "İzmir Efrenc Gümrüğü Mukataası'na Ait 1802-05": 220. BOA. D. HMK. 22238, 22239, 22248, 22249, 22251, 22252, 22253, 22255, 22256, 22257, 22258, 22259, 22261, 22262, 22264.

Table 5: (cont.)

Record in BOA		Total Number of Ships	Venetian	Austrian	Ottoman	Ragusan	Russian	English	Denmark	Unknown
12	D. HMK. 22234	12	–	5	4	–	–	2	–	1
13	D. HMK. 22244	5	–	2	–	–	–	1	2	–
TOTAL		112	24	23	18	11	9	7	6	14
PERCENTAGE		100	21.42	20.53	16.07	9.82	8.03	6.25	5.35	12.05

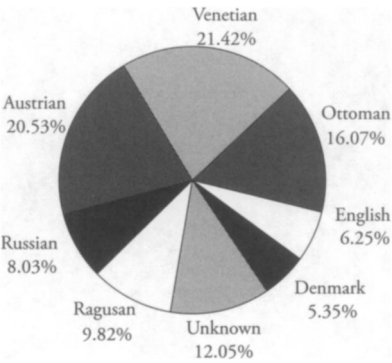


Figure 8: Flag of the Ships

Figure 8 suggests that the Austrians and the Venetians had become superior in terms of sea transportation. While France and England had to concentrate on their competition regarding the colonies, Austria capitalized on its advantageous geographical position to capture a larger share of transportation in the Levant. Furthermore, the Venetians and other Italian merchants, with whom the Austrians had already competed since the early eighteenth century, were now conducting their trade under the Austrian flag. While these developments reflect the circumstances of the period, not all of these changes were structural, because by the mid-nineteenth century the English and Dutch ships had started to regain their prominence in the transportation centered at Smyrna. At the same time, new competitors had

entered the arena, e.g. the United States of America and Greece. To give some concrete figures concerning the transportation in Smyrna toward the mid-nineteenth century, the English, the Greek, and the Austrians had taken the first ranks. Between 1830 and 1841, for instance, out of the 8,848 ships trading with Smyrna around 18% flew the English flag; 16% the Austrian banner; and 50% sailed under the Greek flag.⁴²

Conclusion

The Ottoman records are by no means perfect. The scribes of the customs offices in Smyrna sometimes failed to record details about the cargoes, ports or origin, and flags flown by ships calling to port. As a result, we have to remain aware of various margins of uncertainty, which have been identified in the statistics offered in this article. Nevertheless, these data allow us to draw a number of conclusions.

Smyrna's customs registers reflect the ascendance of Trieste, Leghorn, and Genoa during the Napoleonic Wars, which severely disrupted French, English, and Dutch shipping in the Mediterranean. The Ottoman records of a slightly later period indicate that this was not entirely structural, however, as France, Great Britain, and Holland attempted to regain (with varying success) their previous market shares. The appearance of ships from the Crimea signalled the rise of Russian shipping, even if its market share in the period under analysis remained limited. Our analysis of the flags hoisted by the ships arriving at Smyrna in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century indicates that those of Venice and Austria were used the most. On the basis of flags alone, the near total eclipse of France is also noteworthy. In terms of the commodities traded at Smyrna, the Ottoman records confirm the shift from finished products to raw materials. This development is also evident in the textile trade, which continued to play a major role in Smyrna's economy.

This article confirms many of the trends which have been described in the literature before. Its added value lies in the perspective of the Ottoman sources, and in the details it provides of the imported commodities, the customs duties collected, and their shares in the total imports and revenues.

⁴² Compiled from the table in Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey 1800-1914* (Chicago, 1975); 153.

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Appendix

Book No	Ship No	Arrival date	Port of departure	Flag flown	Number of merchants	Number of items	Taxes paid in Aspers
D. HMK. 22212	1	29.04.1794	Leghorn/Genoa	Venetian	16	33	125.000
	2	29.04.1794	Venice	Venetian	6	16	23.710
	3	07.05.1794	Chios	Ottoman	1	1	8.100
	4	16.05.1794	Trieste	Venetian	36	82	199.960
	5	20.05.1794	Leghorn	Venetian	18	31	120.080
CM. 16013	6	29.11.1794	Genoa	Ragusan	7	12	48.897
	7	29.11.1794	Messina	Ottoman	8	14	134.720
	8	29.11.1794	Genoa	Ragusan	18	52	274.440
	9	29.11.1794	Leghorn	Venetian	5	7	82.540
	10	05.12.1794	Leghorn	Venetian	17	33	195.740
	11	09.12.1794	Trieste	Ragusan	29	45	188.010
D. HMK. 22214	12	13.12.1795	Trieste	Venetian	20	29	153.220
	13	16.12.1795	Trieste	Venetian	27	57	174.260
	14	16.12.1795	Holland	Denmark	6	20	61.780
	15	19.12.1795	Trieste	Venetian	8	27	46.750

Appendix (cont.)

Book No	Ship No	Arrival date	Port of departure	Flag flown	Number of merchants	Number of items	Taxes paid in Aspers
D. HMK. 22216	16	09.05.1795	Trieste	Venetian	29	64	217.700
	17	10.05.1795	Constantinople	English	5	10	53.640
	18	10.05.1795	Trieste	Ottoman	1	3	8.620
	19	18.05.1795	Leghorn/ Genoa	Venetian	16	35	164.390
	20	19.05.1795	Trieste	Venetian	44	105	234.800
	21	20.05.1795	Trieste	Venetian	12	19	53.770
	22	24.05.1795	Crimea	Russian	1	2	9.400
D. MMK. 22959	23	16.10.1795	Holland/ Leghorn	Venetian	36	109	394.050
	24	16.10.1795	England	English	7	46	245.166
	25	16.10.1795	Malta	Venetian	1	8	24.345
	26	16.10.1795	Leghorn	Ottoman	1	4	30.710
	27	17.10.1795	Genoa	Venetian	5	6	18.940
	28	23.10.1795	Ancona	Ragusan	1	2	2.490
	29	24.10.1795	Crimea	Russian	3	8	23.380
	30	25.10.1795	Crimea	Russian	2	3	15.140
	31	27.10.1795	Morea	Ottoman	1	1	3.660
	32	28.10.1795	England	English	5	18	321.130
	33	28.10.1795	Holland	Denmark	30	61	233.490
	34	31.10.1795	Trieste	Venetian	35	105	212.750
	35	10.11.1795	Leghorn	Ottoman	11	24	112.930
	36	10.11.1795	Genoa	Ottoman	11	21	79.360
D. HMK. 22215	37	20.01.1795	Genoa	Venetian	12	21	65.480
	38	22.01.1795	Trieste	Venetian	10	33	46.460
	39	04.02.1795	Messina	Ottoman	12	16	158.230
	40	05.02.1795	Genoa	Ragusan	7	20	62.960
	41	11.09.1796	Trieste	Venetian	23	44	177.810
	42	14.09.1796	Trieste	Venetian	20	42	123.390
	43	28.09.1796	France	Ottoman	1	12	29.255

Appendix (cont.)

Book No	Ship No	Arrival date	Port of departure	Flag flown	Number of merchants	Number of items	Taxes paid in Aspers
CM. 19272	44	01.10.1796	Trieste	Venetian	23	58	187.460
	45	01.10.1796	Messina	Venetian	8	9	72.930
	46	01.10.1796	Crimea	Venetian	4	5	38.410
	47	03.10.1796	Genoa	Ragusan	27	67	266.996
D. MMK. 22979	48	29.08.1797	Ipsala	Unknown	1	2	4.980
	49	01.09.1797	Messina	Ottoman	10	15	118.480
	50	01.09.1797	Crimea	Russian	1	2	10.000
	51	03.09.1797	Istendil	Unknown	1	5	1.070
	52	03.09.1797	Mytilene	Unknown	1	4	14.640
	53	03.09.1797	Trieste	Austrian	22	70	249.138
	54	07.09.1797	Trieste	Austrian	25	61	199.650
	55	09.09.1797	Camlica	Unknown	1	3	2.340
	56	13.09.1797	Crimea	Russian	2	3	27.680
	57	15.09.1797	Trieste	Austrian	20	31	70.920
	58	19.09.1797	Holland	Denmark	4	17	45.930
	59	23.09.1797	Ipsala	Ottoman	1	5	47.360
	60	23.09.1797	Genoa	Ragusan	32	56	447.500
KK. 5239	61	18.11.1798	Trieste	Austrian	22	60	236.780
	62	18.11.1798	Trieste	Austrian	7	11	13.730
	63	22.11.1798	Crimea	Russian	5	7	39.403
	64	22.11.1798	Genoa	Unknown	1	1	28.540
	65	26.11.1798	Crimea	Austrian	3	3	7.450
	66	26.11.1798	Unknown	Austrian	1	2	5.770
	67	26.11.1798	Crimea	Russian	1	1	1.420
	68	28.11.1798	Mytilene	Unknown	1	1	15.070
	69	30.11.1798	Salonica	Unknown	1	2	8.190
	70	02.12.1798	Leghorn	Ragusan	1	1	13.500
	71	13.12.1798	Trieste	Austrian	1	1	6.730
	72	13.12.1798	Genoa	Ragusan	4	12	121.860
	73	13.12.1798	Chios	Unknown	1	2	1.150
	74	17.12.1798	Tripoli	Austrian	1	1	1.320

Appendix (cont.)

Book No	Ship No	Arrival date	Port of departure	Flag flown	Number of merchants	Number of items	Taxes paid in Aspers
D. HMK. 22226	75	19.12.1798	Ancona	Unknown	3	11	11.285
	76	25.12.1798	Trieste	Austrian	26	68	238.925
	77	25.12.1798	Constantinople	Unknown	1	1	3.000
	78	27.12.1798	Leghorn	Ragusan	14	30	145.380
	79	31.12.1798	Holland	Denmark	18	60	117.581
	80	02.01.1799	Crimea	Russian	1	1	2.340
	81	02.01.1799	Trieste	Austrian	1	2	2.730
D. HMK. 22230	82	17.04.1800	Ayvalık	Unknown	1	1	2.750
	83	24.04.1800	Leghorn	Ottoman	18	42	199.901
	84	02.05.1800	Mytilene	Unknown	1	1	910
	85	02.05.1800	Trieste	Austrian	32	79	136.748
	86	02.05.1800	Trieste	Austrian	22	38	66.000
	87	02.05.1800	Trieste	Austrian	2	2	8.610
	88	02.05.1800	Trieste	Austrian	14	19	78.030
	89	04.05.1800	Unknown	Ottoman	4	5	9.860
	90	04.05.1800	Dubrovnik	Ragusan	1	1	3.400
	91	04.05.1800	Trieste	Austrian	20	38	86.495
	92	06.05.1800	Crimea	Russian	3	7	23.930
	93	08.05.1800	Constantinople	Unknown	1	1	900
	94	08.05.1800	England	English	7	42	520.020
	95	08.05.1800	Genoa	Ottoman	20	44	224.006
	96	17.06.1801	Leghorn	Ottoman	14	30	181.065
	97	17.06.1801	England	English	7	18	289.810
	98	19.06.1801	England	English	1	9	44.220
	99	19.06.1801	Trieste	Austrian	16	18	70.800
	100	23.06.1801	Leghorn	Ottoman	10	15	58.535
	101	25.06.1801	Trieste	Austrian	24	49	156.260
	102	27.06.1801	Genoa	Ottoman	4	15	64.720
	103	03.07.1801	Trieste	Austrian	23	42	108.385
	104	03.07.1801	Trieste	Austrian	42	82	231.070

Appendix (*cont.*)

Book No	Ship No	Arrival date	Port of departure	Flag flown	Number of merchants	Number of items	Taxes paid in Aspers
D. HMK. 22234	105	07.07.1801	Trieste	Austrian	25	46	215.900
	106	07.07.1801	Genoa	Ottoman	14	24	226.390
	107	09.07.1801	Constantinople	Unknown	1	1	8.520
D. HMK. 22244	108	??06.1802	England	English	5	10	109.940
	109	05.06.1802	Holland	Denmark	3	22	137.748
	110	07.06.1802	Holland	Denmark	6	36	271.895
	111	11.06.1802	Trieste	Austrian	40	68	377.750
	112	17.06.1802	Leghorn	Austrian	31	62	636.900
TOTAL (a = Asper, b = Piastre)					1.273	2.859	<div>12.339.759^a</div> <div>112.179^b</div>

Sources: BOA. D. HMK. 22212, 22214, 22215, 22216, 22226, 22230, 22234, 22244; Ibid.: CM. 16013, 19272; Ibid.: D. MMK. 22959, 22279; Ibid.: KK. 5239.