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# Rough Cilicia Archaeological Survey Project: Research Report on Ottoman period seafaring, forestry and economy in Alanya and Antalya

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## **2001 research report: Ottoman period seafaring, forestry and economy in Alanya and Antalya**

Nursel Uçkan Doonan

### **Introduction:**

During July and August 2001 I conducted archival research in Istanbul and Ankara on Ottoman shipping, shipbuilding and agriculture in Antalya, Alanya and Gazipaşa and spent three days interviewing local informants about land use and forestry in Gazipaşa. I worked primarily with Mühimme Defters (=MD), Maliyeden Müdevver (=MAD). Cevdet İktisat and Orman ve Meadin İradileri Defters in the Başbakanlık Archives in Istanbul. I took a brief look at some of the Tapu Defters (=TD) in the Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü in Ankara, although I had difficulty getting permission to use them because of my lack of a formal academic affiliation. Permission came after I had already returned to the US this fall. Nevertheless I was able to get some information about a single defter from a recent BA thesis (Karaca, Ankara University 1993) which I have analyzed with other data in section 2. I also studied the archival catalogs in the Ankara Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Archives to find new sources for the following and future research. In the Ankara Orman Müdürlüğü I undertook brief research, but so far have not found much useful information. I have summarized these different kinds of sources in my report last year (Uçkan-Doonan 2000). I interviewed several informants in Gazipaşa and believe that this research will be very useful to continue in the future. I have divided my report into four parts:

- Seafaring in the 16th c.
- Agriculture in the 16th c.
- Agriculture in the 19th-20th c.
- Ethnohistorical research

## **Part I: Seafaring: Piracy, trade and ship building in the 16th century**

Ottoman empire took precautions to protect all of their ports and coasts . They built, restored and maintained coastal citadels as part of a program of coastal defense. I obtained several primary sources in August 2001 relevant to these subjects during the 16th century. All of the following (rescripts) are orders coming from Istanbul to the relevant local *Bey* or *Kadi*.

1) MD 7/ 1553

After they finished repairing the citadel on Rhodes they will repair the the Antalya citadel, replacing stones (17 Zilhice 975H / AD 1567).

2) MD 7/ 1316

They need to repair the "stone barges" from Alanya that will be used in the repair of the Rhodes citadel (6 Zilhice 975H/ AD 1567)

3) MD 7/ 949

If you continue use two *kadirgas* (war ships) that we have been using in the repairs of the Antalya citadel will it cause security problems in the Istanbul Boğaz? Also, if we continue to use a stone barge for the repairs of the Antalya citadel will that cause problems for the repairs of the citadel in Rhodes? (3 Ramadan 975H/ AD 1567).

4) MD 6/ 715

A *kadirga* is needed from the *Bey* of Rhodes to accompany a stone barge used in building a fortified port at Mamuriye (Alanya). (17 Recep 972H/ AD 1564).

5) MD 9/ 248

We received your (*Kadi* and *Bey* of Antalya) letter saying that you made the roads wider and finished building the wharf (*iskele*). 29 Zilhice 977H/ AD 1569).

I was not able to get permission to work in the Ankara Tapu Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü until after I had returned to the US. Nevertheless I was able to get some limited information from Karaca 1997. In the Kuyud-u Kadine Archive Defter 107 (16th

century) it is recorded that the following staff were working in the Alanya citadel (with wages).

Table 1: Staff of Alaiyye and Alara citadels (1520's) and annual wages (TD 107)

Rank	Alaiyye number	Alaiyye wages	Alara number	Alara wages
Dizdar (chief)	1	9131	1	4000
Kethuda	1	3500	0	
Merdan-ı Kale mustahfizan (guards)	90	131808	6	14107
Total staff	92	144439	7	18107

The imperial administration also took precautions against occasional pirate attacks in this area. The many small natural ports of this part of the coast made it easy for pirates to attack. Several documents illustrate how urgent the Imperial administration considered the defense of this coast from pirate attacks at this time.

1) MD3/ 385 sent to the bey of Cyprus

A pirate ship was wrecked in bad weather after they had stolen 20 sheep from Kalduni. The government wants the bey of Cyprus to send the contents and prisoners from the ship to the Kadı of Antalya. (22 Müharrrem 967 H/ AD 1559).

2) MD3/ 28 sent to Aydın beyi

The coastal villages are under attack by pirates. It is necessary to warn the villages and towns all the way to Antalya and to protect the coast both day and night. 5 Müharrrem 973 H/ AD 1565).

3) MD 3/ 216 to Teke beyi

We have received a letter from Teke bey that says that people are safe in the whole Antalya coastal area. But do not trust in this, stay vigilant and keep your people awake about dangers. (12 Safer 973 H/ AD 1565).

4) MD 6/ 1215 to Alanya beyi

It is urgent that you protect the area and the coastal villas every moment from the attack of pirates and enemies. (Zilkade 972 H/ AD 1564).

5) MD 7/1515 to Menteşe and Teke beyleri

There are some mercenary pirates (*levend*) in Menteşe and Teke who attacked food supply ships and took prisoners. They are using small 8-9 person boats. These pirates and the people who help them should be caught. You must also warn villagers not to help them. (5 Rabi-ul ahir 976 H/ AD 1568).

6) MD 5/557, sent to Sancak the Bey of Alanya by Ahmet bey the Bey of Menteşe  
If Ahmet bey needs soldiers for the two *kadırgas* (patrolling the sea between Menteşe and Alanya) he can take as many as he needs from Alanya. (28 Rabi-ul ahir 973H/ AD 1565).

7) MD 12/66 sent to Antalya Kadısı

We have learned that some Venetians from an enemy ship have attacked houses in Finike and Yılanbaşı ports connected to Elmalı. You have to protect this area with enough strength to prevent damage.

### **Shipbuilding in 16th c. Alaiyye and Antalya**

Ottoman period sources indicate that there was a shipyard (*tersane*) in Antalya and that this was an important part of the economy and social life.<sup>1</sup> These sources generally show that materials and personnel for shipbuilding and outfitting were collected from the Alaiyye, Teke, and Antalya areas. Weapons were collected locally as well as sent in from Rhodes. Source 8 shows that ship-building timber from this area was exported as far as Suez and Yemen. According to several documents that I have not summarized below (MD 6/631, MD 5/894) many rowers were drawn from convicted criminals, so the conscription would not have been as drastic as it seems in source 7.

1) MD ? (cited from Karaca 1997)

It is necessary to build *kadırgas* for Alanya and Antalya, but how many can we make? Is it possible to find *zift* (pitch/bitumen?) to seal the ships (14 Cemazi el-ahir 979 H/AD 1571)

2) MD 12/1044

Captains and sailors are being sent from Istanbul for the ships that are being built in Antalya. (undated).

3) MD 16/487, 489, 574 (cited from Karaca 1997).

Cannon balls are being sent from Rhodes for the ships built in Antalya. (undated).

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<sup>1</sup> The most important bibliography for these topics include Karaca 1997; Uzunçarşalı 1984: 125; 145-46; 1983, vol. II:557; Aslanapa 1974: 72, 75; Konyalı 209-32.

4) MD 21/360, 753

Artillery experts, soldiers and gunpowder for the *kadırgas* built in Antalya are being provided by the Antalya citadel. (undated).

5) MD 71/1

When the Antalya shipyard has finished the five ships ordered by the imperial government they should send them to the shipyard in Istanbul. (1 Ramazan 1001 H/ AD 1593).

6) MD 10/203, 216, 222, 265

Ten *kadırga* were ordered from the Antalya tersane. Mehmed Çavuş is the overseer. Three *kadırgas* will be paid for by Mustafa Paşa. One rower is needed from every seventh house from Teke, Alaiyye and Hamid. Cut lumber (*kereste*), hemp (*kandır*), cannon balls and guns should be collected from the same areas. If there are not enough cannon balls and guns in these areas you can get them from Rhodes. Any convicts should be sent to work as rowers rather than going to prison. (5 Şevval 979 H/ AD 1572).

7) MD 9/189 to Bey of Rhodes

Mehmed Alaiyye beyi is building and restoring ships. If you need a stone barge you can take one made in Alaiyye. (22 Şevval 977 H/ AD 1570).

8) MD 7/1973 to Bey and Kadı of Antalya

You must send very large timbers to Suez for the ships that will be sent to Yemen (Safer 976 H/ AD 1568).

As suggested by source 8, Antalya was the most important port connecting Anatolia to Egypt, both for cargo and for diplomats (MD3/40 3/136 3/390, 3/567, 3/634, 3/1017, 3/1647).

MD 9/62 to Antalya Beyi Mehmed Çavuş

The cargo ships (*karamursel* and others) used to trade between Antalya and Egypt should stay in Antalya to transport food. (26 Ramazan 977 H / AD 1570).

Maliyeden Müdevver Defters can give detailed information about the customs, including the number of ships that came into the harbor, where they came from, who their owners were, what they brought and what they took away. As an example, one defter provides this information about the period from March to September 1560 in Antalya. Thirty-six ships and boats came into Antalya during this period, bringing African slaves,

military armor, soap, and leather goods. Forty-five ships and boats left Antalya harbor during the same period, exporting wheat, kilims, carpets and linen. More specific information about cargoes, destinations, amounts, taxes and so on can be provided if you like. The origins of the incoming ships (listed below) shows how important trade with North Africa (particularly Egypt) was at this time.

Table 2: Merchant ships entering Antalya harbor, March-September 967 H/ AD 1560 (MAD 102)

Origin	number
Egypt	20 large ships
Trablus (Tripoli)	4 large ships
Kalkan	2 large ships
Local	10 small boats

We know from other sources that Antalya sent many ships and provisions to Rhodes (MD 5/513, MD 5/514, MD 7/1130, MD 7/1131, MD 27/115, MD 12/237, MD 27/463, MD 30/282, MD46/716). Other exports included weapons to Yemen (MD 7/2070), wood (*metris*) and kindling (MD14/1160), dried bread (*peksimet*) (MD 18/240, MD 16/344) and lemon juice to the palace in Istanbul (MD 22/545).

The Tapu Kadastro Defters will provide rich information about the amount of economic activity in these ports. According to TD 107/1, 235 the Antalya customs office earned 206,667 *akçe* in a single year in the 1520's (Karaca 1997:7. 92).<sup>2</sup> The annual income reported in 1530 for all of Teke Sancak was 2,800,000 *akçe* (Karaca 1997), so the income from Antalya customs alone represented about 8% of the entire provincial earnings. The same year the Alanya customs office took in 70,000 *akçe* (ibid). It is

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<sup>2</sup> The date of TD 107 is uncertain although internal evidence has suggested that it belongs in the 1520's. See Karaca 1997.

notable that the budget for staffing the Alanya citadel was twice the annual income from customs duty. It is clear that piracy was a persistent danger in this area and the administration was willing to expend a lot of resources in order to maintain control of this critical coast.

## **Part II: Agriculture and Forestry in the 16th century**

In 2001 I was able to collect a limited number of 16th century sources related to agriculture and forestry, although my access to the Tapu Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Archives was hampered by the slow permit process. I was able to get some valuable information about one defter (no. 172, 961 H/ AD 1553) in their archives based on a B.A. thesis from Ankara University (Hacıgökmen 1993). In Alanya units of land were divided into *çiftlik* half-*çiftlik* and *zemin* (Ünal 1990), and the farms were divided into three categories according to size (from largest to smallest *has*, *evsat* and *edna*). The tax records for the region give us In Alayyiye there were 151 *çiftliks* and 3269 half-*çiftliks*. Depending on the quality of the land the actual area of these land units was changeable (see table 3). If the taxes can be shown to be directly proportional to the amount of land attached to a farm, we can develop some very interesting estimates for farm sizes that could be compared to data from the survey.



Map 1: village districts in Alaiyye Sancak (16th c.). The districts mentioned in tables 3 and 4 are highlighted.

Table 3: farms and taxes for different parts of Alaiyye Sancak (TD 172, 961 H/ AD 1553). See Map 1 for the location of these districts.

District	# çiftliks	tax <sup>3</sup>	avg. tax	avg. dönüm	# 1/2 çiftliks
Alaiyye	22	7452	338.73	169.4	490
Oba	16	1278	79.9	39.9	65
Mahmutlar	61	11566	189.6	94.8	616
Nağlu	--	16520			703
Dimderesi	13	4108	316	158	200
Kise	11	7224	656.7	328.5	355
Çönkere	12	11521	960	480	623
Alara	16	4860	303.8	151.9	217

There were other categories for land taxes other than farms. *Mezralar* were fields away from home that had some ruined buildings and a water source (Barkan ? : 53). In TD 172 only a few *mezralar* were listed in Alaiyye Sancak: Bozemin (Sarıpınar mez.), Perge village (Batak kilise mez.), Mahmutlar (Çayır mez.), Çönkere (Şarapsa mez.). Other taxes were assessed for animals (per head), pasturage and tents. Wheat and barley were taxed in the same category and were the most common crops in Alaiyye Sancak. Wheat was the most important crop in the region, grown in nearly every village. From the following we can see that there was enough surplus wheat to export.

1) MD 12/237

Send wheat from Antalya and Alaiyye to Rhodes because there is a famine there. Also send flour to Cyprus. (11 Şevval 978 H/ AD 1571).

2) MD 12/1-c

Send 100 *mud* of barley, 200 cart-loads of wood and 60,000 akça from Selinde (Gazipaşa) to the troops who are conquering Cyprus. (Şevval 977 H/ AD 1570).

3) MD 7/2533

Do not stop anyone bringing flour from Teke and Antalya to Istanbul. Be sure not to sell any flour to the enemy and send us information about the ship captains, including receipts showing how much flour they have taken (6 Cemazi-el evvel 976 H/ AD 1569)

<sup>3</sup> The standard land tax was 1 akçe/2 dönüm

According to TD 172 the second most important crop in the Alaiyye region was cotton, particularly in Kise and Çönkere. Only in Oba was cotton absent. Sesame was an important crop in Çönkere and Nağlu, although it was not grown in Dimdere and Kise. Grape derivatives (şıra) were produced mostly in Oba and Nağlu. Taxes were collected on cultivated groves of walnuts, grapes, pomegranate almonds and other similar products. Çönkere and Oba (esp. Alaca bahçe mah.) the most important producers of fruit and nuts. It would be useful to map different soils and topography across the region and compare these conditions to the distribution of agricultural activities listed here.

Table 4: Primary agricultural products and taxes by district  
(TD 172, 961 H/ AD 1553). See Map 1 for locations of these districts.

District	wheat	cotton	groves	grapes	sesame	bees	locust	sheep	# mills	mill tax
Alaiyye	19960	2560	729	116	2050	1166	602	12530	22	680
Oba	7750	60	980 <sup>+</sup>	5220	1200	434	557	1600	22	440
Mahmutlar	28760	4830	620	2706	2100	2615	2315	17887	25/20*	536
Nağlu	30980	250	870	4408	3438	4453	406	14854	68	1211
Dimderesi	5070	10410	336	3396	--	896	486	4415	14	280
Kise	14156	11490	321	2590	10	1472	152	8600	22/19	410
Çönkere	28549	50	1090	1454	5615	2336	758	10430	20/18	360
Alara	12780	4080	619	860	3442	760	1125	3056	8	120
Total	148005	33730	5565	20750	17855	14132	6401	73372	201/191	4037

### Part III: Evidence for Agriculture in the 19th and 20th centuries

I examined Cevdet İktisat Defterler as sources for agriculture in the 19th century in Antalya and Alaiyye. As in the 16th century wheat and flour were the most important products of the region and they exported a lot of these to Istanbul (Cevdet-iktisat / 2045,

<sup>+</sup> Nearly all the taxes on fruits and nuts in Oba come from the Alaca bahçe mahallesi.

14 Safer 1195 H/ ca. AD 1797). Around the middle of the 19th century a few documents suggest that local farmers were starting to develop interest cultivating the wild olives that grew in the area (Cevdet-iktisat/ 1806, 1246 H/ ca. AD 1850). Mehmet Sait efendi (*kaymakam* of Teke) requested to start cultivating olive trees and to build a factory (*sabunhane*) to process the oil into soap Cevdet-iktisat/ 1560, 23 Müharrrem 1246 H/ ca. 1850). In the early 19th century the central government started to show greater concern with corruption, petty thievery and the kinds of products exported. In one order of 200 camel saddles, coffee and rice from Antalya the local officials were warned not to let a single grain be lost (Cevdet-iktisat 1552, 1184 H/ ca. AD 1787). Another communication prohibited the export of sheep, honey and oil from Alaiyye to foreign countries (Cevdet-iktisat/ 458, 1233 H/ ca. AD 1835). The sale of spun cotton, linen and of fabric from Alaiyye was controlled by customs stamps as mentioned in a late 18th century communication (Cevdet-iktisat/ 2162, 1174 H/ ca. AD 1777).

Exports from this region declined in the 19th century, although grain, flour, animals, lumber, sesame, wool and leather were recorded as exports (Cuinet 1890: 857-59). Exports from the region totalled 104,000,000 *куруş* according to one inventory. Imports were valued at 37,160,000 *куруş*, and included exotic spices, foods and finished goods. Surprisingly, cotton and cotton thread were imported, perhaps reflecting some local industrial development. Between March 1889-February 1890 18 steamships (*vapür*), 1084 sailing vessels (*yelkenli*) and 1264 ships (*gemi*) came and went through Antalya port, a tremendous increase over 300 years. Total customs tax for the year was 25,000 TL (all data are from Cuinet 1890).

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\* The first number is the total number of mills in each district, the second number is the number of functioning mills (that is total minus those in need of repair).

The same products continued to be exported from this coast early in the 20th c. At the turn of the 20th century wood exports were singled out as an important export from this coast (Konya Salnamesi, 1317 H/ 1901-02: 199). In 1925 an official inventory shows the most important products from the region were: flour, grain, animals, sesame, and lumber. Significant imports included the same exotic staples and spices and finished goods (Türkiye Salnamesi 1927: 465-68).

Forestry became very important in Antalya and Alaiyye around the turn of the 20th century, and illegal cutting of trees was punished with fines (Orman ve Meadin iradeleri 40/4 1312 H/ AD 1896). In 1313 H/ AD 1897 Ahmet Besim efendi was fined 600 TL for cutting trees illegally (Orman ve Meadin iradeleri 110/7). In order to save the forest of Alaiyye a secretary (*katip*) was sent to assist the forestry inspector in 1318 H/ AD 1902 (Orman ve Meadin iradeleri 311/1). I propose to study the forestry regulations in greater detail during the summer of 2002.

#### **Part IV: Oral History Investigations**

During August of 2001 I spent 2-3 days in Gazipaşa interviewing local informants about forestry and agriculture. I spoke with Ahmet Çoban, engineer and assistant director of the Gazipaşa Orman Müdürlüğü about which were the major species of trees common in Alanya and their primary uses. Red pine is a popular lumber species particularly for building and furnishings. He said that was important for paper production in the past. Oak and cedar are the primary materials used for boat building, although cutting these is now forbidden because they are endangered. The same type of cedar that grows in Lebanon also grows in the Taurus mountains, and nowhere outside of these two regions.

Cedar is particularly endangered in the region because the trees mature very slowly (at least ten years are needed to mature) and they need to grow in shadow, such as in an established forest.

Table 5: Major species of trees in Alanya and their ranges (in masl)

Species	0	250	500	750	1000	1250	1500	1750	2000
Red pine (kızılçam)	X	X	X	X	X	X			
Black pine (karaçam)				X	X	X	X		
Oak (meşe)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Cedar (sedir)					X	X	X		
(gökmar)					X	X	X		
(ardıç)							X	X	X

I also interviewed Belediye Basın Danışman Cemil Şahin about forestry in the region. Traditionally Black pine and cedar have been preferred for boat building because they do not break down easily in water. He said that the most important trees for the paper industry were Red and Black pine and *gökmar*. The SEKA paper factory in Taşucu buys a lot of its wood from Alanya. The Forestry Director Ender Can Çalışkan said that the intensive harvesting of cedar in began in Selcuk times, and that they exported tremendous quantities of cedar to Egypt over the centuries. He said that the Karaman-Ermenek-Gazipaşa road was used to transport cedar wood for export to Egypt. He said that goats love cedar, and that is one reason that the Yörük prefer the yaylas in this area. Unfortunately the browsing goats damage the cedars and have thus contributed to deforestation. Local people have admired cedars for centuries for their strength both in

open air and under water, and for their fine smell, thought to be an aphrodisiac. In Gazipaşa today they are making 40-50 m yachts using cedar, oak and eucalyptus. In Gazipaşa there is no surviving woodworking tradition, but in the Söğüt yaylası (Alanya) there is still traditional woodworking. Every month there is an auction by the Orman müdürlüğü of large raw timbers 15-30 m in length.

I also interviewed Salahattin Başeğmez, the retired Cadastral Director (*Tapu Müdür*) in Gazipaşa. He provided useful information on the changing economy and social life of Gazipaşa over the past 50 years. In the 1960's peanuts, barley, wheat and corn were in abundance and sold for profit. In those days the population of Gazipaşa was 2000. Although the same crops are still grown, not enough is produced to sell for profit. In the 1960's camels were still the only transport over land. All of the things sold out of Gazipaşa were sent to Alanya. The first greenhouses (*seracılık*) were introduced by Osman Tural in 1964. Now most of the gardens are for vegetables and bananas.

Fourty years ago the wood from the forests was carried to the coast by the Hacı Musa and Bıçkıcı rivers. I asked if there had been any Christians in the Gazipaşa area this century, specifically questioning him about Christians at Akıncı because we had previously received information about a settlement and battle there.<sup>4</sup> He said that there was only one very wealthy Christian family Hacıyorgi that left after the War of Independence. He said that the Gazipaşa people (halk) are Karaman. Almost five hundred years ago Piri Reis remarked that the border between Alaiyye and Karaman was the Selindi (Selinus) river (Reis 1935). Centuries later, the folk memories preserve the

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<sup>4</sup> Yusuf bey from Göçük köyü told us about a Christian settlement at Akıncı tepe and a battle between Christians and Turks during the early 1920's. I have conducted extensive research in the US and Turkey trying to find more information about this but have turned up nothing yet. Yusuf bey said that his mother told him this story, and his version may not be reliable.

same tradition, and the people of Gazipaşa still preserve rich information about their history and their land.

"Gazipaşa dediler  
öldü Selinti adı  
üçüncü sınıftan da  
hala kurlulamadı..."  
Salahattin Başeğmez

"They called it Gazipaşa  
Selinti name has passed.  
But that still didn't save it  
from being in third class..."

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