Fruits of Empire: Figs, Raisins, and Transformation of Western Anatolia in the Late Nineteenth Century

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Ottoman port-cities, because of their privileged position at the interface of two or more distinct economic systems, cultures, and environments, have long fascinated historians. In their studies, they have primarily dealt with the processes and developments that linked these cities to the centres of global economy.[1] On the other hand, historians have also studied Ottoman port-cities within the framework of city-country relations for quite some time.[2] They have, however, focused principally on the ways cities exercised influence over the countryside and often viewed transformations in the hinterlands as results of impact of the city on the country. Historical interplay between port-cities and their hinterlands has remained a rather neglected aspect of Ottoman history. This paper aims to fill a gap in our understanding of the complex relationship between port-cities and hinterlands in the Ottoman Empire and give an environmental perspective on the subject through the study of *interactions* between Izmir and Western Anatolia in the nineteenth century.

[1] For a theoretical and methodological framework on Ottoman port-cities and their role in the integration of Ottoman Empire into the expanding world-economy, 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 (Summer 1986): 121-35; 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; 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; and Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, eds., *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), especially "Istanbul" and "Izmir" chapters.

[2] For studies on city-country relations within the Ottoman context, see Orhan Kurmuş, *Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi*, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Bilim Yayınları, 1977); Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy: The Nineteenth Century* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1988); Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "Patras," Review 16 (Fall 1993): 411-34; Meltem Toksöz, "Ottoman Mersin: The Making of an Eastern Mediterranean Port-town," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 31 (Fall 2004): 71-90; idem, *Nomads, Migrants and Cotton in the Eastern Mediterranean: The Making of the Adana-Mersin Region, 1850-1908* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

The rapid ecological, economic, and social transformation of Izmir and its surrounding area in the late Ottoman period, roughly the decades between the 1840s and 1890s, is the main focus of this paper. In this period, Izmir, by extending access to and control over the natural resources in its immediate hinterland, grew most rapidly in external trade and became the major link connecting the 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 Western Anatolia 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, after Istanbul, became the quintessential example of Ottoman port-cities that connected the East and the West and facilitated the movement of people, goods, and ideas.

Figs and raisins take a starring role in this research because these two crops had a profound impact on economic and social life in Western Anatolia and played a remarkable role in shaping the region's human and natural landscape. In the period under investigation, the expansion of fig and grape growing was an integral part of the process of Western Anatolia's integration into the market economy and is demonstrated by the railroad lines, stations, warehouses, entrepôts, and processing and packing units that multiplied during this period. Figs and grapes attracted foreign capital investment and technology, promoted trade, and tied the countryside and city together. The expansion of fig and grape cultivation, furthermore, stimulated the movement of people across the region by creating seasonal employment for thousands of urban and rural residents. Figs and grapes transformed valleys, marshlands, and hilltops into the physical basis for Izmir's growth and development in the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus, it is my contention in this study that tracing the story of fig and grape not only reveals a great deal about social and economic life in a major

Ottoman port-city in the nineteenth century, but also illustrates the ways in which city and country interacted.

Fig and Grape Growing in Western Anatolia: A Long History

The fig and grape have a history that is as old as that of humankind. Both fruits are indigenous to the Mediterranean basin and have been cultivated in the region from the earliest historical times on. Anciently, the fig symbolised fertility and reproduction and, for example, we know that Adam and Eve "sewed fig leaves together and made coverings for themselves."[3] The Greeks learned to cultivate the plant from the Carians, calling it *Ficus carica*, and introduced it into Italy, Morocco, and Spain. The Ruminal fig tree, or the *Ficus Ruminalis*, was a fig tree renowned for Remus and his twin brother Romulus, the main characters of Rome's foundation myth; and it was venerated for centuries as the "reputed oldest sacred tree in Rome."[4]

The grape has also been cultivated across the Mediterranean from the earliest historical times. The primary use of the grape is to make wine. Humans have made wine for about 7,000 years and Anatolia was one of the oldest places on earth where viticulture and wine-making began.[5] The Egyptians and Phoenicians made wine from grapes about 3,000 BC. The Chinese traded it along the Silk Road. The Greeks began to make wine about 2,000 BC and spread it throughout the Mediterranean. To the Greeks, the wine was so important that they had a god of it, Dionysus. And because the wine comes from it, the grape symbolised

[3] John R. Kohlenberger, ed., *The Contemporary Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 3.
[4] Cristina Mazzoni, *She-Wolf: The Story of a Roman Icon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 93; Paul A. Zoch, *Ancient Rome: An Introductory History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 9 and Alisa Hunt, *Reviving Roman Religion: Sacred Trees in the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 100-120.
[5] Zeliha Gökbayrak and Gökhan Söylemezoğlu, "Grapevine throughout the History of Anatolia," *International Journal of Botany* 6, no. 4 (2010): 465-72.

fertility and sacrifice. It was the Romans who first used fresh grapes to make wine, and humans have continued this practice ever since. Like the Greeks, the Romans had a god of wine, Bacchus.[6] Archaeological and historical evidence suggest that the beginning of viticulture in Western Anatolia occurred in the Early Bronze Age about 2,500 BC in Troy and Kumkale near Çanakkale.[7]

The fig and grape played a significant role in Western Anatolia's economy and culture throughout Ottoman history. The Ottomans continued the Greek and Roman methods of fig and grape growing. The fig grew anywhere within a distance of 100-150 miles from the sea, but predominantly on hillsides in the Büyük Menderes valley, where "climatic conditions, soil, and conformation of terrain appear to be especially favourable for fig production."[8] There, hot summers with maximum temperatures ranging up to 40-45˚ C allowed the growing of thin-skinned and fine-textured figs, which were highly esteemed in the market. Whereas hot and dry winds coming from the north in July hastened fruit maturity, westerly winds in August brought some humidity and prevented the figs from overheating or too rapid drying.[9] The calcareous soil rich in iron, furthermore, helped this district to become "the garden of the fig".[10] In other words, microclimatic conditions of this part of Western Anatolia were well adapted to the requirements of the fig.

The largest fig gardens were on southern slopes of the Aydın Mountains around the towns of Aydın, Nazilli, and Sultanhisar. According to one commentator, the best quality of fig came from the town of İncirliova, which literally means "the valley of figs" in Turkish.[11] Western Anatolia's temperate climate and rich soil rendered it an ideal region for growing

[6] "Grapes," in *Encyclopedia of Cultivated Plants: From Acacia to Zinnia, vol. II*, ed. Christopher Cumo (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2013), 473.
[7] Gökbayrak and Söylemezoğlu, 465.
[8] Gabriel Bie Ravndall, *Turkey: A Commercial and Industrial Handbook* (Washington DC: Government Print Office, 1926), 103.
[9] Ira Judson Condit, *The Fig* (Waltham, MA: Chronica Botanica, 1947), 83.
[10] Aram Hamparzum, *Something Interesting About Smyrna Figs* (New York: Hills Brother Co., 1908), 4.
[11] "The Smyrna Fig Trade," *Journal of the Society of Arts* 54 (27 Apr., 1906): 634.

grapes, too. With the transformation of Izmir into a busy port, especially the Gediz valley became the centre of viticulture, where farmers grew grapes and produced raisins for local and export markets.[12]

Dried figs and raisins, which were imported to Western and Northern Europe in Medieval times, were a significant item of elite consumption. Like other foods that could not be produced locally, figs and raisins were an expensive import, which the majority of consumers hardly knew "except at Christmas time."[13] Figs and raisins remained as luxury food items, at least until the eighteenth century, when they were seasonably available in local markets. There is no reliable information about when dried figs and raisins from Western Anatolia penetrated European markets; however, sources testify that the English were given special permission to import figs and raisins from Western Anatolia in the late seventeenth century, "ostensibly for the use of the King of England," even though the Ottoman governments prohibited the export of these items.[14] Smyrna figs and raisins began to be widely consumed in Europe and North America in the second half of the eighteenth century. Between 1784 and 1790, an average of 7,400 tons of raisins was sent to Britain alone.[15] Among the recipes of an English cookbook published in 1792, there was a recipe for "Smyrna raisin wine."[16] From London or Liverpool, raisins also found their way to the United States. In 1785, a Boston merchant advertised that he had "a few casks of Smyrna raisin for sale."[17]

[12] Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey, 1800-1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 264.
[13] Richard Witherby, "Report on Dried fruits," *Journal of the Society of Arts* 21 (13 June 1873): 585.
[14] Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), 98.
[15] Issawi, 264-65.
[16] Francis Collingwood and John Woolams, *The Universal Cook and City and Country Housekeeper* (London: R. Noble, 1792), 338.
[17] Leland J. Gordon, *American Relations with Turkey, 1830-1930: An Economic Interpretation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931), 41.

In the 1780s, the "Smyrna fig" was also listed amongst the "goods imported into the port of London."[18]

From the seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries, Izmir was a significant transit port for Ottoman exports and imports, but not a gateway city in the strict sense of the term. It was the leading export and import centre of the empire and was connected to many other ports across the Mediterranean through maritime trade routes, yet its relation to its surrounding hinterlands remained weak due to certain social, economic, and environmental limitations. Despite the Americans' and Western Europeans' interest in consuming figs and raisins from Western Anatolia, therefore, the production and trade of these crops in the region was on a limited scale in the early modern period. Fig and raisin became a matter of real importance in the city's exports from the mid-nineteenth century on when agriculture and trade prospered, transport and marketing infrastructures were improved, and business and labour networks became established. Fig and grape growing was high priority for farmers in Western Anatolia in the second half of the nineteenth century, a time period that corresponds to the widespread consumption of dried fig and raisin in American and Western European cities.

The Expansion of Fig and Vine Growing in Western Anatolia

The opening up of Western Anatolia to international markets and the expansion and diversification of trade networks was a process that started in the eighteenth century. In the early to mid-nineteenth century, cereals and cotton furnished the impetus for the expansion of agriculture and became the major agent of economic and ecological change throughout the region. The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 opened up new fields to cultivation and channeled the cereals produced in surrounding farmlands of Izmir to European markets. Another event, the Crimean War in 1853-56, also had a great impact on the expansion of

[18] *Times (London)*, 22 Dec. 1785 and 30 Jan. 1786.

cereal cultivation in the region. During the war, demand for cereals from the Ottoman Empire increased incredibly because the war interrupted Russian grain shipments to Europe and the cheapest and the most efficient way to feed the soldiers of Allied armies fighting in the Crimean peninsula was to import grain from the Ottoman Empire.[19] Cotton production, on the other hand, spread rapidly across the region in concomitance with the disruptions of the Atlantic trade during the American Civil War in the 1860s. In these years, Western Anatolia was one of the regions where the Ottoman government and British merchants made efforts to regenerate cotton cultivation in Izmir and its vicinity. These efforts proved successful and cotton became the predominant cash crop, stamping a unique character upon the economic and environmental life of Western Anatolia.[20]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Western Anatolian countryside saw a gradual and cautious shift from cereals and cotton towards fig and grape growing. The expansion of fig and grape growing complemented and overlapped with the intensification of human settlement and land use through cereal growing and expansion of land reclamation and commercial agriculture through cotton cultivation. The emergence of figs and raisins as a commercial crop dramatically altered the social, economic, and ecological landscape of Western Anatolia. The last decades of the nineteenth century witnessed fig trees and vines being commercially grown almost everywhere in the region, from the edge of the waters of the Mediterranean to the hilltops. In this period, social and economic life in many Western Anatolian cities and towns revolved around the fig and grape. It would not be an exaggeration to say that what the banana meant for tropical lands was for Western Anatolia the fig and

[19] Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy*, 1800-1914 (London: Methuen, 1981), 111. For more on the extension of cereal cultivation in Western Anatolia in the mid-nineteenth century, see Onur Inal, "A Port and Its Hinterland: An Environmental History of Izmir in the Late Ottoman Period" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Arizona, 2015), 133-43.

[20] For the impact of the American Civil War on cotton production in Western Anatolia, see Kurmuş, 88-95; idem, "The Cotton Famine and its Effects on the Ottoman Empire," in *The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy*, ed. Huri İslamoğlu-İnan (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 160-9; and Inal, 144-56.

grape. The expansion of fig and vine growing across the region and the commodification of dried figs and raisins were closely related to three overlapping processes that altered the context in which the city and country interacted economically, socially, and ecologically in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The first one is demographic processes related to the changes in the size, composition, and distribution of population in the Western Anatolian countryside. From the mid-nineteenth century on there was a steady growth of population due to natural increase and the improvement in sanitary conditions. Furthermore, migrants and refugees escaping from the wars and conflicts in the Morea, Crimea, Caucasia, and elsewhere, as well as the sedentarisation of nomadic and semi-nomadic groups added to the population of Western Anatolia. The number of people involved in agricultural activity increased in Western Anatolia, while the expanding manufacturing and industrial sector in Izmir created employment opportunities to urban populations. In other words, dramatic changes in agricultural practices and land use in the rural and the expansion of manufacturing and industrial sectors in the city were closely related to each other and were the consequence of a steady growth of population in the city and country.

The most significant outcome of population growth in rural areas was the opening of new lands to cultivation; and as its consequence, an increase in agricultural production. In the years of opening up, roughly the period stretching from the 1840s to 1880s, a great effort was made to extend the area under cultivation by clearing, cleaning, and reclaiming the land on the edge of towns, villages, pastures, and forests to create fertile and productive farmland. The cultivation of fig and vine played a significant role in this "opening-up" and allowed rural inhabitants of Western Anatolia to extend the range of their agricultural activities. Western Anatolians cleared rocky terrain and forests on the hillsides in order to plant fig trees and vines in this period. They preferred to reclaim hilly land because a considerable percentage of

abandoned land was found in highlands and remote areas. Fig producers gave close attention to the hills and mountains because production was directly related to the number of trees planted per acre and the yield on hillsides was higher than in lowlands. While in mountainous areas as many as a hundred fig trees per acre could be planted, the number was eighty in the valleys and sixty-four in the fields.[21] Hillsides were also better suited for the cultivation of vine. As Gwynne Harris Heap, the American consul in Istanbul, noted: "The best results are obtained from vineyards planted in good soils on the hillsides, the next being those situated on undulating tablelands, and afterwards from those planted in the valley."[22] As long as the settlers did not cut forests reserved exclusively for the shipyard or for imperial hunting, the Ottoman government did not take any action against agricultural clearing within its borders.[23] Because the timber from Western Anatolia was not suitable for shipbuilding, there was not any restriction for fig and vine growers to penetrate forests areas within reach of rural settlements.

In the lack of archival and statistical data, it is not easy to get a complete picture of land reclamation and deforestation in Western Anatolia.[24] There is some information, for example, in the accounts of European travellers regarding the ongoing land reclamation activities and deforestation in the Western Anatolian hills in the second half of the nineteenth century. Such information, if not taken for granted, is valuable and can help us to understand human impacts on landscapes.[25] For example, "as you proceed the mountain rises more and more abruptly from the plain, which is fertile and well cultivated," wrote Henry John Van

[21] Djevad Sami Bey, "The Smyrna Fig and Raisin Industry," *Levant Trade Review* 16, no. 1 (Jan. 1928): 17.
[22] Gwynne Harris Heap, "Fruit Culture in Turkey," *United States Consular Reports* 41, no. 5 (1884): 727.
[23] Selçuk Dursun, "Forest and the State: History of Forestry and Forest in the Ottoman Empire" (Ph.D. Diss., Sabancı University, 2007), 38.
[24] The Ottoman Archives include records on fig and raisin exports to Europe and the United States through the port of Izmir. However, such reports do not give us any clue about the correlation between land reclamation, deforestation, and fig and vine cultivation in Western Anatolia.
[25] European observers' descriptions, both textual and visual, of Western Anatolia testify to the extent of land reclamation and deforestation. However, because they intentionally dispraised Ottoman lands in their value judgments to facilitate European governments' political, economic, and cultural involvement with the Ottoman Empire and blatantly distorted and misrepresented what they witnessed in Ottoman lands, such accounts should be read very critically and the information they provide should not be taken for granted.

Lennep, who traveled from Izmir to the interior in 1870, and added, "vineyards, mulberry plantations, and fields of grain, extend to the distant hills."[26] Some two decades after Van Lennep's visit, William Cochran remarked the following: "About six years ago the hills behind the village of Bournabat, a few miles out of Smyrna, were covered with jungle, and useless, they are now, to a considerable extent, clothed with vines, belonging, in every instance, to families who were once the poorest peasants."[27] Cochran's notes on reclamation give further detail about the expansion of viniculture in the region:

> Each person makes a selection on those hills, and during his leisure hours, after his usual employment, clears away the bush, which sells for firewood at a remunerative price. When the land is free, it is planted with vines, the same routine being repeated season after season until the vineyard is as large as he and his family can manage. As the planted areas are successively completed, a government officer measures the land occupied, and the peasant pays at the rate of one medjid per doloon – a doloon being forty square paces – when he becomes the proprietor, and in a surprisingly short time little independent revenues of £30 to £50 a year are realized.[28]

The second process that altered the interactions between Izmir and Western Anatolia was the regulation of land reclamation and use by a series of imperial laws and edicts. In the mid-nineteenth century, the density of human settlement and activity reached a level at which competition for fertile agricultural lands and other natural resources intensified. This situation naturally led to some ambiguities with regard to property acquisition. In 1856, the French historian and journalist Abdolonyme Ubicini made interesting observations on how rural residents in the Ottoman Empire acquired property rights over land:

> "The waste and unenclosed lands (*adiyet* or *mouaet*), which had not been included in the partition at the time of the conquest, or such as through the neglect of the occupants had been suffered to lie fallow, became the property of any individual, Musulman, or otherwise, who, to borrow the expression of the law, *restored their soul to them*. So, also whoever plants a tree in a waste

[26] Henry John Van Lennep, *Travels in Little Known Parts of Asia Minor, Vol. II* (New York: Van Lennep, 1870), 303.
[27] William Cochran, *Pen and Pencil in Asia Minor; or Notes from the Levant* (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1887), 217-8.
[28] Ibid., 218. By "doloon" the author refers to "dönüm," or "dunam," a unit of land area equal to 1000 square metres.

> spot becomes the owner of that tree, and of five feet of ground all around it."[29]

In this state of uncertainty and confusion, the Ottoman government found it necessary to regulate the poorly or vaguely defined property rights and to redraw the boundaries of pastures, forests, and common grazing lands by a number of imperial laws and edicts in order to prevent conflicts among settlers. Among the legal steps taken, the 1858 Land Code was the most important one with respect to the economic and ecological transformation of Western Anatolia. From an agroecological perspective it started a new period when human impact on the environment accelerated and intensified because it redefined property relations that "radically altered the allocation of land as a source."[30] The new Code reiterated the right of individuals to claim *mevat arazi* (abandoned lands), if they brought them under cultivation or planted them with trees within three years.[31] In the aftermath of the 1858 Land Code the pace of reclamation throughout the Ottoman Empire grew impressively; seventy per cent of cultivable lands in the empire became *mülk* (private property) in the decade following the Code, while *miri* lands were reduced to a mere five per cent.[32] In the process of land reclamation, the increased labour force needed for the performance of a variety of tasks such as watering, plowing, and planting, was largely drawn from migrants and refugees, as well as newly settled nomads. In this respect, the Code was supportive of the government's efforts to maximize its agricultural revenues through settlement and reclamation.[33]

By the 1858 Land Code, the land in Western Anatolia was divided into smaller plots and titles were granted to individuals with the intention of creating a denser peasant

[29] Abdolonyme Ubicini, *Letters on Turkey, Vol. I* (London: John Murray, 1856), 258.
[30] Huri İslamoğlu, "Property as a Contested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858," in *New Perspectives on Property and Land in the Middle East*, ed. Roger Owen (Cambridge, MA: Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University, 2000), 34.
[31] Faruk Tabak, *The Waning of the Mediterranean, 1550-1870* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008), 211.
[32] Şevket Pamuk, *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism, 1820-1913: Trade, Investment, and Production* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 91.
[33] Dursun, 38.

population. The majority of the small-scale land-holding peasants in the region were the Greeks.[34] Although there are no definitive statistics regarding the number of small proprietors in Western Anatolia, we can deduce from consular reports that the number of small proprietors increased with respect to the growth of agricultural population in the region following the 1858 Land Code. For example, Robert William Cumberbatch, the British consul in Smyrna, reported in 1870 that in Aydın province the cultivable land in the vicinity of towns and villages was "generally divided into very small tenements, which the proprietors cultivate on their own account."[35] In short, the Code, by allowing individual ownership in land, encouraged rural residents to reclaim and till the uncultivated land and reveal the commercial potential of the region.

The 1858 Land Code was very important with respect to vine and fig cultivation, because it provided some sort of motivation for rural residents to extend the boundaries of agricultural areas beyond the traditional fig and grape growing districts along the Gediz, Küçük Menderes, and Büyük Menderes rivers. Donald Quataert has argued that twenty per cent of all vineyards in the Ottoman Empire were in the vicinity of Izmir in the 1870s and they produced 50,000 tons of raisins, half of which was exported and the other half was for the domestic market.[36] He has further estimated that the number of vineyards in Aydın province had risen tenfold by the 1870s.[37] According to another estimate, in 1882 the land under vine in the province was over 350,000 acres.[38] The transformation of pastures and forests into fig orchards in the last decades of the nineteenth century was also remarkable.

[34] Sia Anagnostopoulou, *Mikrá Asía, 19os ai.-1919: oi ellênorthódoxes koinótêtes: apó to Millét tôn Rômiôn sto ellênikó éthnos* (Athens: Ellenika Grammata, 1988), 199-204, qtd in. Emilia Themopoulou, "The Urbanisation of an Asia Minor City. The Example of Smyrna," in *Smyrnē: hē mētropolē tou mikrasiatikou Hellēnismou = Smyrna: Metropolis of the Asia Minor Greeks* (Athens: Ephesos, 2002), 89.
[35] "Consul Cumberbatch to Earl Granville," Nov. 4, 1870, *Accounts and Papers, Vol. 68* (1871), 847.
[36] Donald Quataert, "Agricultural Trends and Government Policy in Ottoman Anatolia, 1800-1914," *Asian and African Studies* 15 (1981): 72.
[37] Idem, "Ottoman Reform and Agriculture in Anatolia" (Ph.D. Diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1973), 217.
[38] "Trade and Commerce of Smyrna," *Journal of the Society of Arts* 30 (4 Aug. 1882): 915.

According to one observer, the area under fig cultivation in Western Anatolia more than doubled within twenty years from 1870 to 1890.[39] An estimate suggests that there were "about fifteen to eighteen thousand orchards, representing about a million and a half of fig trees."[40] Even though these figures give an idea about the intensity of fig and vine growing, in the absence of reliable statistics it is still hard to make a precise estimate of the total area covered with fig orchards and vineyards.

The third process that significantly contributed to the ongoing processes of land reclamation and rehabilitation in Western Anatolia was the formation of capital and commercial networks. The nineteenth century was a period of economic and commercial boom in Western Europe, when European merchants sought new ways to penetrate Ottoman lands to sell low-priced manufactures, especially English cotton goods, and to buy agricultural goods and raw materials that were high in demand in European markets. As in other Eastern Mediterranean ports, British merchants were very active in Izmir and they became the driving force behind the city's integration with the Western Anatolian countryside. Their operational scope increased with the dissolution of the Levant Company in 1825, an event that allowed British merchants to act independently in Ottoman territories. However, what really caused an increase in scale and networking of the operations of British merchants in Western Anatolia was the Anglo-Ottoman Trade Convention in 1838.

The Convention, known also as the Baltalimanı Treaty, abolished state monopolies on a variety of goods and opened the doors of the Ottoman Empire to British merchants. The Anglo-Trade Convention was a prelude to attracting foreign commercial capital and investment and promoting the export-led growth of Western Anatolia. Even though the Ottoman government signed similar conventions with other European merchants, with the French at the end of 1838, the Hanseatic cities and Sardinia in 1839, the Netherlands,

[39] "The Smyrna Fig Harvest," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 80 (1 Dec. 1889), 287.
[40] Hamparzum, 18.

Belgium, Prussia, Spain, Sweden, and Norway in 1840, and Denmark and Tuscany in 1841, British merchants took the lion's share of the region's imports and exports and remained the most influential of the European merchants in Izmir and its surroundings until the turn of the twentieth century.[41]

In the years following the Anglo-Ottoman Trade Convention of 1838, foreign merchants, who set up businesses in Izmir, also obtained better access to the city's surrounding hinterlands. Impressed by the opportunities Western Anatolia offered for the fig and grape business and aware of the increasing demand for these crops in European and North American markets, these farsighted tradespeople spread their commercial and trading networks across the region. The number of foreign companies, agents, and sub-agents specialising in transporting dried fruits to European markets grew in tandem with the expansion of fig and grape growing in the region. They formed partnerships, alliances, and agreements with other foreign and local merchants, intermediaries, and producers. In short, the 1838 Anglo-Ottoman Trade Convention was an important event in relation to the expansion of fig and grape growing in Western Anatolia and the building up of a symbiotic relationship between city and countryside. The Convention was a game changer in terms of creating an opportunity for not only British and other foreign merchants, but also wholesalers, agents, intermediaries, producers, and all the other individuals who profited from the production and trade of figs and raisins.

Finally, the second half of the nineteenth century saw, as the major infrastructural project in Western Anatolia, the creation of a railroad network of hundreds of miles. When completed in 1866, the Izmir-Aydın and the Izmir-Kasaba (Turgutlu) railroads, the main lines of a larger network, altered urban and rural residents' relation with their environments and

[41] Yusuf Kemal Tengirşenk, "Tanzimat Dönemi'nde Osmanlı Devleti'nin Harici Ticari Siyaseti," *Tanzimat I* (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940), 290-3 and V. Necla Geyikdağı, *Foreign Investment in the Ottoman Empire* (London, I. B. Tauris, 2011), 23-4.

promoted the interchange between city and country. These two lines made it possible to move raw materials, agricultural products, foodstuffs, textiles, manufactured goods, and so on, over vast distances and at cheaper costs. The Western Anatolian railroad network continued to expand in the following years, stretching from Izmir to the interior. Within less than three decades, with eastward and northward extensions, the whole length of these two main lines and their branches covered a vast area, as far as Soma in the north and Afyonkarahisar in the east.

The railroads served as a major catalyst for the cultivation and export of figs and grapes in Western Anatolia in the last decades of the nineteenth century. It is no surprise that the principal fig and vine-growing districts were located along the railroad lines between Izmir and the interior because in the nineteenth century railroads were mainly built where commercial prospects were most rewarding. The railroads in Western Anatolia were no exception to this. Cities and towns along the Izmir-Aydın railroad line and its extensions such as Nazilli, Bozdoğan, Söke, Karacasu, Çine, Ödemiş, and Bayındır became the principal fig growing districts, while grape growing was commercially important in settlements along the Izmir-Kasaba line and its extensions such as Alaşehir, Manisa, and Akhisar. "From the heart of the town a railway starts," reported a European observer in 1890, "running south to Ephesus and eastwards to Sarakeui, and the traffic of the line depends largely on the fruit harvest," confirming the increasing importance of fig and vine growing in previously untapped areas along the railroad lines.[42]

The expansion of fig and vine growing in Western Anatolia increased the value of fig orchards and vineyards along the railroad lines and some foreign merchants hoped to make fortunes, not only through commercial agriculture but also through land speculation. The

[42] "The Smyrna Fig Harvest," 287.

Ottoman government, aware of the increased interest of foreign merchants, investors, and speculators in fig orchards and vineyards, began selling the *mîrî arazi* (public lands) in the vicinity of the railroad lines to these people. In 1880, the average price of arable land near market towns was £6 per acre and in thinly populated parts less than £1. The same amount of land with vineyards on it could be bought and sold for £10 and with orchards for at least £16.[43] About three decades later, the value of land more than tripled and was no less than £18 to £20 per acre.[44] Firmin Rougon, the French consul in Izmir, reported in 1885 that 1,000 to 1,500 acres of land that was suitable for the cultivation of vineyards was on sale in the vicinity of the Izmir-Aydın railroad line.[45]

Western Anatolian railroads, in short, traversed hundreds of miles along the fertile river valleys and served to tap the enormous potential of the region, bringing in figs and raisins. Railroads, nevertheless, did not eliminate the role of camel caravans in Western Anatolia. After the opening of the railways, camel caravans continued to exist and function mostly as "feeders to the railway."[46] For example, one commentator reported the arrival of camels loaded with figs in 1882 with the following words: "Though the Aiden railway now transports great quantities, camels are still employed in their transportation," he wrote and added, "the consignees in Smyrna who have made advances to the growers during the year, dispose of the day's market supply, in an ordinary year 800 to 1,000 camels-loads of 400 lbs each."[47]

From Nature to Market

[43] "Tenure and Produce of Land in Smyrna" *Journal of the Society of Arts* 28 (12 Nov. 1880): 919.
[44] Hamparzum, 3.
[45] Firmin Rougon, *Smyrne: Situation Commerciale et Économique* (Paris: Berger Levrault, 1892), 28.
[46] Kurmuş, 104.
[47] Jeanne C. Carr, "Concerning Figs," *The Pacific Rural Press*, 4 March 1882.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the growth of urban and rural population, the formation of urban-rural commercial networks, the regulation of land reclamation and use, and the construction of railroads all together encouraged fig and vine cultivation on a more organised and commercial basis. Izmir became indisputably the centre of the dried fruit trade in the Ottoman Empire and the number of individuals and companies involved in the fig and raisin business increased considerably. Commissioners, trade agents, dealers, and money lenders made the city the base for their commercial operations in Western Anatolia. As the production and trade of figs and grapes grew, the operations related to their picking, processing, packing, and delivery expanded and diversified, providing employment for innumerable urban and rural residents. Fig and raisin networks penetrated from Izmir to into the interior, with many entrepreneurs, merchants, artisans, local actors, and middlemen involved.[48]

Figs and grapes promoted the transformation of the natural environment into a commodified landscape and contributed to the already increasing interaction between the city and country, and connected residents in either space to each. What is so impressive about these crops, which shaped the Western Anatolian landscape in the nineteenth century, is not only their quantity, but also their quality and diversity. Both fruits were highly sought after for their flavor and shape. The fig produced in Western Anatolia had two major varieties. "Bardacık,"[49] or "hurda," was a small fig with a thin skin that was largely consumed fresh locally, while "lob," or "sarı lob," or "eleme," was a large fig mainly exported because it preserved its flavor and quality after drying.[50] Hurda figs were carried in "yellow bags of

[48] For example, quite a number of businesses, occupations, and professions are listed in trade catalogues and trade registries such as *Indicateur Commerciales*, *Annuaire Oriental du Commerce de l'industrie*, and *Indicateur des Professions Commerciales & Industrielle de Smyrne, de l'Anatolie* that were published in Izmir in the 1890s.
[49] This name is a combination of two Turkish words; *bardak* (pitcher) and *cık* (tiny). The shape of the fig resembles that of a small pitcher.
[50] The Smyrna Fig Harvest," 292; Hamparzum, 3; and Ravndal, 103.

ordinary sacking," while goat-hair bags were used for the transport of the lob figs.[51] The American botanist Gulian Pickering Rixford described the lob fig as "the sweetest and most luscious fig for consumption fresh and unequaled as a dried fruit."[52] It was also called "Calimyrna," or "California Smyrna," because it was introduced to California and proved satisfactory in the 1880s.[53] The three varieties of raisins produced in the region, on the other hand, were *sultanas*, *rosakias* (red raisins), and black raisins.[54] Some sources also mention the production of Corinthian raisins, also known as *currants*, in the Foça district.[55] The seedless sultana raisins constituted more than ninety per cent of the entire production in Western Anatolia. Locals consumed only a small portion of the sultana raisins fresh or used them in bakeries; the rest of the produce was shipped to Britain, Austria, Hungary, and Germany.[56] Rosakias and black raisins were very suitable for winemaking and were therefore chiefly exported to France.[57] The best quality rosakias and black raisins were grown in Karaburun, followed by the second quality grown at Urla and Foça, and the third at Çeşme.[58]

In nineteenth-century Western Anatolia, fig and grape shaped the region's social and economic landscape. The two crops were so important that besides the four calendar-based seasons marked by changes in weather and climate there were "fig and grape seasons" that were based on local ecological, economic and social realities. During these seasons, farmers, labourers, merchants, dealers, agents, wholesalers, and other men involved in the production and trade of the fig and raisin became bonded together around these crops. The fig season began with the ripening of figs in early summer and ended with the shipment of last boxes of

[51] "The Smyrna Fig Harvest," 292.
[52] Gulian Pickering Rixford, *Smyrna Fig Culture* (Washington, DC: US Dept. of Agriculture, 1918), 35.
[53] Ira Judson Condit, *The Fig* (Waltham, MA: Chronica Botanica, 1947), 71 and Leland Ossian Howard, "Smyrna Fig Culture in the United States," in *U.S. Department of Agriculture Yearbook* (Washington, 1900), 80.
[54] Ravndal, 104.
[55] "The Production of Smyrna Raisins," *Journal of the Society of Arts* 31 (2 Nov. 1883): 1035-6.
[56] Rougon, 79.
[57] Ibid; "The Production of Smyrna Raisins," 1036; and Walter Bauer, *Foreign Production, Trade, and Government Aid in the Raisin and Currant Industry* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1933), 40.
[58] Gabriel Bie Ravndal, *Turkey: A Commercial and Industrial Handbook* (Washington DC: Government Print Office, 1926), 104.

dried figs from the port of Izmir to Western Europe and North America in autumn. When figs ripened, wilted, and partly dehydrated on the trees, they shriveled and dropped to the ground. Before the harvest began, *bekçi*s (watchers) were hired and stationed in fig gardens to keep guard day and night and secure the trees from pilferers.[59] The fig harvest took place between late August and early-November and generally lasted about six weeks.[60] Inhabitants of the neighbouring villages or labourers were hired specifically for picking figs from the ground and then gathering, drying, and sacking them crowded fig gardens. Men, women, and children worked from sunrise to sunset; they gathered figs and piled them into baskets.[61] The fig harvest was a time of intense labour and a good opportunity to earn an income. An agricultural worker earned an average of fourteen cents a day, but during the time of harvest this amount could increase to a half a dollar.[62] Once the harvest was complete, the next process was fig drying, a process that lasted about a week in the hot September sun. The process of drying figs was an effective way to keep them fresh. After figs were dipped in boiling salt solution, which was composed of three ounces of salt to one gallon of water, they were spread on wooden trays or mats and placed in the sun to dry. After a week or ten days, they were left in the shade for further curing.[63] When finally dried, figs were divided into first, second, and third qualities and become ready to be moved.[64]

Once packed into bags, figs were handed over to *deveci*s, or camel drivers. Whether they had a quasi-intermediary role between the producer and purchaser or not is not clear, but

[59] "The Smyrna Fig Harvest," 289. Fig orchards were "surrounded by walls, five to six feet high, made of dirt and covered on top with brush and thorny branches to keep out marauders during the harvest season." (George Christian Roeding, *The Smyrna Fig: At Home and Abroad: A Treatise on Practical Fig* (Fresno, CA: 1903), 23.)
[60] "Cultivation of the Fig in Turkey," *Journal of the Society of Arts* 29 (31 Dec. 1880): 100; Heap, 739; and Ravndal, 103.
[61] "The Smyrna Fig Harvest," 289 and "Der Feigencultur- und Feigenhandel Smyrna's," *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* (1881): 14.
[62] "The Smyrna Fig Harvest," 290. Another account shows that there was not much change in daily wages over the years. According to this account from 1900, during the harvest season the women received four piasters (about sixteen dollar cents) and men eight piasters (about thirty-two dollar cents) per day, working twelve hours and boarding themselves (Roeding, 31).
[63] Djevad Sami Bey, 18.
[64] "Cultivation of the Fig in Turkey," 100 and "Der Feigenkultur- und Feigenhandel Smyrna's," 15.

it is clear that they were not just carriers of the product and their functions "are [were] much wider than their name would suggest."[65] A deveci was, indeed, more than a camel driver and his duty was not complete "till a sale has been actually effected, the money received, and the figs handed over to the purchaser."[66] Devecis accompanied the camels as far as the nearest railroad station, where the figs were "put in the freight cars and conveyed to Smyrna." There, the figs were loaded again on camels and sent to the fig market. At the market, they were purchased by the representatives of fig packing companies.[67] Devecis, together with merchants, trade agents, money lenders, and other middlemen, were a part of a complex network of people, who were involved in the purchase, transport, and sale of figs and raisins.

The grape season coincided with the fig season and the methods of gathering, drying, and sacking of grapes was simple and similar to figs. In the mid-summer, once collected, grapes were arranged on trays or spread on mats and left in the sun to dry. After nine to twelve days, the grapes needed to be turned over and kept in the sun three or four more days.[68] Oil was sprinkled on them "to prevent evaporation of the moisture, and also to give the fruit, when packed and shipped, a better chance of preservation."[69] Grapes, once dried into raisins, were ready to be marketed. From the vineyards, devecis took over and brought the raisins to the nearest railroad station in sacks. Special care was taken with these gunny bags and they were never packed on top of one another. In the wagons, there were shelves constructed for the figs and raisins, "so there is [was] absolutely no danger of pressure or

[65] "The Smyrna Fig Harvest," 291.
[66] Ibid.
[67] W.C. Emmett, 15. Jan 1890, in *Fruit Culture in Foreign Countries. Reports from the Consuls of the United States on Fruit Culture in their Several Districts, in Answer to a Circular from the Department of State* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1890), 738.
[68] Djevad Sami Bey, 20.
[69] Witherby, 585.

jolting."[70] Every year towards the end of July, before other varieties, sultanas appeared in the market. Rosakias and black raisins from Urla, Foça, and Çeşme followed sultanas in the middle of September. Finally, the Karaburun rosakias and black raisins arrived at the end of September or the beginning of October. In other words, the three varieties of raisins arrived in the market "in an inverse order to their quality."[71]

Figs and raisins became a centrepiece of the city's economy and the leading export item of Western Anatolia by the 1870s (Table 1).[72] Gwynne Harris Heap, the US consul in Istanbul, recorded the arrival of 54,000 camel loads of figs, each camel carrying four hundred pounds, in October 1882. "Fifteen years before that time," he said, "not more than half that amount was recorded for the whole season."[73] Heap noted that in 1881 in one night only, "no fewer than 195,000 barrels, cases, bags, boxes, drums, and baskets of figs and raisins" were shipped from Izmir.[74] Heap's calculation seems to be realistic, because the French consul had noted the 1861 crop as 23,000 loads and 1862 as 35,000.[75] The value of figs exported from Izmir quadrupled in four decades and exceeded 30,000 tons, i.e., 140,000 loads, per annum in 1908.[76] More strikingly, the increase in fig prices by seventy per cent between 1891 and 1908 made fig growing a profitable enterprise in Western Anatolia.[77]

Table 1: Annual average quantity of fig exports from Izmir (1876-1908)

YEARS	EXPORTS (tons)
1876 – 1880	8,642
1881 – 1885	12,370
1886 – 1890	--
1891 – 1895	--

[70] "The Fig Industry of Smyrna," *Journal of the Society of Arts* 57 (20 Nov. 1908): 753.
[71] "The Production of Smyrna Raisins," 1036.
[72] Quataert, "Agricultural Trends and Government Policy," 71-2.
[73] Heap, 738.
[74] Ibid., 739.
[75] Issawi, 261.
[76] Quataert, "Agricultural Trends and Government Policy," 72.
[77] Quataert, "Ottoman Reform and Agriculture in Anatolia," 300-1.

1896 – 1900	13,982
1901 – 1905	21,107
1906 – 1908	30,450

Source: Quataert "Ottoman Reform and Agriculture in Anatolia," 301.

Raisin production in Western Anatolia, despite fluctuations, rose steadily in the second half of the nineteenth century and, according to the reports of US consuls in Izmir, reached its climax in 1884 with 95,000 tons of raisins (Table 2). Firmin Rougon, the French consul in Izmir, calculated that the amount of raisin exports from September 1885 to August 1886 exceeded 33,000 tons and from September 1886 to August 1887 40,500 tons.[78] Gustav Eisen claimed that the Western Anatolian region was in second place in Europe in the world's raisin production in 1889 and supplied about thirty-eight per cent of raisins in the world markets.[79] In that year, as Rougon calculated, raisin exports reached 56,000 tons.[80] Britain had the largest share of raisin exports from Izmir, followed by Austria, German, and France. Black raisins from Karaburun and Urla were especially favored in the markets in Britain and its colonies.[81] These small grapes contained a large proportion of saccharine, and therefore they were "much valued by British wine-makers."[82] The production of wine from black raisins of Western Anatolia was very popular in France during the years when phylloxera disease decimated the French grape crop. The value of black raisins exported into France was 642,000 Francs in 1873; the figure increased to 11,041,560 Francs in 1879 and 14,486,840 Francs in 1880.[83]

Table 2: Raisin exports from Izmir (1844-1884)

[78] Rougon, 80.
[79] Gustave Eisen, *The Raisin Industry* (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker and Co., 1890), 177.
[80] Rougon, 78.
[81] Witherby, 586.
[82] Ibid.
[83] "Smyrna raisins," *Journal of the Society of Arts* 1554 (1 Sept. 1882): 964.

YEAR HARVESTED	PRODUCTION (tons) (Eisen)	PRODUCTION (tons) (Kasaba)
1844	6,000 to 8,000	
1845		7,433
1846		2,843
1847		3,565
1848		2,357
1849		2,630
1850		2,117
1851		4,312
1852		8,058
1853		15,049
1854		13,984
1855		7,899
1856		4,607
1857		5,614
1858		4,821
1859		11,828
1860		6,510
1861		11,249
1862		6,870
1863		9,491
1864		7,455
1865		8,181
1866		4,825
1867		4,888
1868	19,000	13,150
1869		9,804
1870		27,534
1871	48,000	27,860
1872	31,000	39,981
1873		38,812
1874		31,497
1875		40,438
1876	27,000	45,925
1877		
1878		
1879	75,000	
1880		
1881	49,000	
1882		
1883		
1884	95,000	

Source: Eisen, 176-77, and Kasaba *The Ottoman Empire*, 126

Packing for the Market

In nineteenth-century Western Anatolia, figs and raisins meant a lot to urban and rural residents and were the evidence of an emerging city-hinterland symbiosis, a mutually reinforcing economic, social, and environmental development. "So intimate was the connection with the rural hinterland," as Roger Owen has stated, "that it is certainly wrong to think of the city as belonging to a different economic and political order."[84] The fortunes of the fig or raisin merchant, wholesaler, and dealer were tightly linked with the fortunes of farmers and producers. There was a mutual interdependence between the merchant who sold the Smyrna figs and raisins to Europe and the wage labourer who worked in the orchards and vineyards. Fig and raisin were so vital to the city's trade and prosperity that the arrival of the first figs from the country was always celebrated as a popular festival, in which fig-laden camels were "followed by a throng of shouting people to the fruit market."[85] This excitement was due to the fact that "a large number of poor families in Smyrna obtain their total livelihood during the fig season."[86] Fig packing and processing was perhaps the best industry in which to find seasonal employment and one could make "enough money in the three to four months' packing season to live throughout the winter."[87] Male labourers in the fruit-packing industry earned 10 to 20 piastres in return for ten hours of work per day, while females were paid about a half of the amount paid to males. The wages were not high; even so, labourers in the fig-packing industry in the city earned double what their fellows in the rural districts did.[88]

[84] Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy,* 45.
[85] "Smyrna Figs," *Times (London)*, 3 Oct. 1888. The "fig festival" was celebrated for about five decades from the 1880s to the 1930s. It was held nearby the Alsancak Train Station in the last week of August every year. For more information on the festival, see Mehmet Ziya, *İncir* (Izmir: Bilgi Matbaacılık, 1928), 48-9; A. Nedim Atilla, *İzmir Demiryolları* (Izmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı, 2002), 139; and Hilmi Anaç, "Unutulan İncir Bayramları Üzerine," in *Aydın'ın Balı İncir*, ed. Naim Özdamar (Aydın: İncirliova Ziraat Odası Yayını, 2014): 118-27.
[86] Ibid.
[87] "The Fig Industry of Smyrna," *Journal of the Society of Arts* 57 (30 July 1909): 754.
[88] S. Stab, "Labour and Wages in the Province of Smyrna," *Journal of the Society of Arts* 33 (24 Apr. 1885): 637.

After the purchase, the figs were brought to factories or packing establishments owned by the shipping and packing companies and emptied out on the floor in a square heap. There, labourers of both sexes, but mostly women and children, who specialised in stringing figs, were employed as labourers. For example, some 1,500 labourers were employed in the "Camel Brand" factories of Aram Hamparzum in 1908.[89] In the factories, fig workers flattened each fig with their fingers "to render it soft, and give it the required oblong form."[90] On the heap was a row of low baskets, which were used to separate the figs of first and second quality. The undersized, tough, or spotted figs, which were at least ten per cent, were thrown in a separate heap for domestic consumption.[91] The figs were then laid on long benches occupied by the practiced packers. They packed the figs swiftly and dexterously in boxes that lay in front of them.[92]

Fig packing, however, was not new to the second half of the nineteenth century. European travelers had observed the business of fig and raisin packing much earlier.[93] For example, Godfrey Levinge had noted in 1839 the arrival of "strings of loaded camels," which were "piled with figs." The camels deposited their loads in the courtyards of merchants' houses, he observed, adding, "where a number of women and children, who are squatted round the heaps, proceeded to pick the figs from the branches and leaves; then they pack them into drums, sprinkling each separate layer with sea water."[94] What was new to the 1870s and 1880s was that the old-fashioned style of 'drum' packing was replaced by a newer mode of packing figs in rows and layers explained above. This mode, called "pulled" packing, was preferred by merchants because it enabled each fig to give a larger appearance and improved

[89] Hamparzum, 15.
[90] "Cultivation of the Fig in Turkey," 100.
[91] Ibid., 100-1.
[92] Ibid., 101.
[93] Charles MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828, A Residence of Sixteen Months in the Turkish Capital and Provinces* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1829), 64-5 and Richard Robert Madden, *Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia, and Palestine, Vol. I* (London: Colburne, 1829). 147-8.
[94] Godfrey Levinge, *The Traveler in the East* (London, 1839), 218-9.

the chance of marketing in Europe.[95] When the packing was completed, finally, the boxes were again passed on to the women, who "complete the process by placing laurel leaves between the upper rows before the final nailing down and polishing off by the carpenter."[96]

The manner of packing raisins also had to meet the requirements of purchasers or consumers. The best quality rosakias were packed in wooden boxes of thirty pounds, except for Russia, where they were delivered in barrels of 250 pounds each. The cheaper sultana raisins were sent to Austria in boxes of twelve pounds and to Britain of twenty-two pounds. They were sent to Germany and the Netherlands in cases of thirty and sixty pounds. Black raisins, on the other hand, were exported in large barrels of 370 pounds each.[97] For both sellers and buyers, it was important to assure that the merchandise was weighted precisely. Scale-making developed as a new line of manufacturing and there were eleven scale-makers in the city in 1895.[98] Their profits depended on those of the fig and raisin market every year.

Consumer preferences in Europe also played a role in the variety of raisin produced in the region. In the second half of the nineteenth century, there was a "decided trend toward the producing of sultanas" because of the increased demand in Europe for the seedless type of raisins.[99] In the years 1900-1904, with an annual average of 34,700 tons, sultana raisins constituted seventy per cent of the total raisin exports from Izmir. This figure increased to 43,500 tons and eighty-six per cent in the years 1906-1910.[100] It is also important to note that not all grapes were dried and marketed as raisins. Grapes were also eaten fresh or used to make *şıra* (grape juice), *pekmez* (grape molasses), wine and distilled liquors such as *rakı.*

[95] Witherby, 586.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Heap, 731.
[98] *Indicateur des Professions Commerciales & Industrielle de Smyrne, de l'Anatolie etc.* (Izmir, 1895), 110.
[99] Bauer, 41-2.
[100] Ibid.

There were at least twenty distilleries, thirty wine and liqueur makers, and eighteen bottling facilities in Izmir in the 1890s, all belonging to non-Muslims.[101]

The promotional role of displaying products was important in a market, in which Smyrna figs and raisins competed with other varieties produced across the Mediterranean. Aware of an important role a box of figs or raisins might play in grabbing the attention of the prospective buyers, merchants and marketers introduced new packing ideas and concepts. For example, Aram Hamparzum, an Armenian merchant, was the first to do away with labeling the boxes with marking ink, "which by the slightest contact with moisture, not only soiled the hands but dirted the box to such an extent that it was no more presentable" and to introduce "stenciling," a more modern style of marking the lid with a red hot stamp.[102] Hamparzum later improved on the style of boxes and ordered his "Skeleton cases" to be manufactured "to close on all sides without any gap whatever," making sure their contents were "well protected against dust and dirt during the voyage."[103] The manufacture of boxes and packing cases for figs and raisins required expertise. *Kutuculuk* (box-making) emerged as a new line of business in the centre of Izmir. Nine manufacturers are listed under the name "cardboard boxes and timber for dried fruits" in the commercial almanac of 1893.[104] Later, box-makers became organised under the umbrella of the Fig and Raisin Box-Makers Artisan and Workers Association (*Üzüm ve İncir Kutucu Esnaf ve Amele Cemiyeti*).[105]

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[101] *Indicateur des Professions Commerciales & Industrielle de Smyrne, de l'Anatolie etc.* (Izmir, 1893), 345 and *Indicateur des Professions Commerciales & Industrielle de Smyrne, de l'Anatolie etc.* (Izmir, 1895), 111-2. The production and consumption of alcohol was banned for Muslims in the Ottoman Empire. Non-Muslims, however, were tolerated and given permission to produce everything from wine to *rakı* and consume them at homes or in *meyhane*s (taverns), to which Muslims also went, despite the prohibitions, as we know from the fact that they were repeatedly punished for doing so.
[102] Hamparzum, 11.
[103] Ibid.
[104] *Indicateur des Professions Commerciales & Industrielle de Smyrne, de l'Anatolie etc.* (Izmir, 1893), 273.
[105] Cihan Özgün, *Bereketli Topraklarda Üretmek ve Paylaşmak: İzmir ve Çevresinde Ticari Tarım (1844-1914)* (Izmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2014), 229.

Figs and grapes transformed the Western Anatolian landscape and became the mainstay of thousands of urban and rural residents in the second half of the nineteenth century. Producers in the country shifted from cereals and cotton towards figs and raisins and this shift manifested itself in the diversity of urban occupations. As the examples above show, manufacturers oriented their business around fig and raisin and became much depended on producers and farmers in the countryside than ever before.

Conclusion

The decades from the 1840s to the 1890s saw major social, economic, and ecological changes in Western Anatolia. In this period, the amount of land under cultivation expanded rapidly, agricultural output increased, and the region transformed into an export-oriented agrarian economy, which benefited from growing trade with Western Europe. As a result, Izmir, a city that once turned its back on its surrounding hinterlands, found itself at the heart of an agricultural boom. The city experienced a phenomenal commercial growth, a growth making it a major outlet for the agricultural produce of Western Anatolia.

In this paper, using environmental history as a methodological tool, I have tried to provide a new interpretation of Izmir's growth and prosperity in tandem with Western Anatolia in the late nineteenth century. I have analysed complex sets of relationships among urban and rural residents, resources, animals, places, and technologies to reconstruct not only the process of Western Anatolia's integration into the market economy, but also the city's integration with the Western Anatolian countryside through the stories of figs and raisins. I have drawn attention to how the increased interaction among human and natural actors within the city and its surrounding country in the late nineteenth century created an interdependent space, in which urban and rural people shared the products and commodities they produced and consumed; and suggested that figs and raisins were significant -yet previously

overlooked- historical actors that figured prominently in the connected tales of city and countryside in the nineteenth century Western Anatolia.

From an environmental point of view, figs and raisins were, indeed, the two of the commodities that linked the rural people with the urban residents. These two crops contributed to the remarkable growth of Izmir and transformed the social, economic, and environmental landscape of Western Anatolia. It would not be an exaggeration to claim that no other crop has influenced and dominated Izmir and its hinterlands as much as figs and raisins in the late nineteenth century. The two crops, furthermore, left not only an imprint that shaped the urban and rural landscape in Western Anatolia in late Ottoman Empire, but a legacy that also contributed to the foundations for a national economic and social order in the Turkish Republic. Co-operative unions that were formed in Izmir in 1915 for the sales of figs and raisins, and then also cotton and olive oil, evolved into a roof-organisation called the TARİŞ in early republican period. The TARİŞ has since functioned as a state-owned –and only recently as an autonomous- enterprise to look out interests of dozens of cooperatives and thousands of fig and raisin producers in Western Anatolia. Fig and raisin have continued to be Western Anatolia's most important export to the present day.