

Rethinking capital flows and trading goods between the Eastern Mediterranean and  
Western Europe before the Industrial Revolution

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By Mehmet Bulut  
Başkent University  
Department of Economics

I

Although ocean trades were small in comparison with intra-European trade during the sixteenth century, it increased in the following two centuries. Southern Europeans played a crucial role in the beginning to the expansion of European trade towards the oceanic world. Portuguese were the main pioneers in the East Indies while the Spaniards were in American continent. However towards the end of the sixteenth century the strong position of these nations in the oceanic world was attacked by North Western trading nations, the Dutch, English and French.

In the American continent, Mexico and Peru had rich silver mines while Brazil had large quantities of gold. Most of those precious metals<sup>1</sup> were shipped to Europe by Portuguese and Spaniards during the early modern times. The inflow of precious metals from America to Europe led to inflation (the so-called price revolution) in the sixteenth century<sup>2</sup>. These precious metals were used by Europeans to balance their trade with the rest of the world, especially Southern Europeans. In the following years, because of the negative balance of trade and Spanish military expenditures, most of these metals eventually found their way to the North Western European countries, that of the Dutch, England and France.

From the middle of the sixteenth century the Mediterranean trade started to be penetrated by North Western ships, the Dutch and English. They began to bring supplies of goods of which Southern Europeans were short, mostly grain and dried fish, but also some textile products. At first Baltic grain was the major item brought especially by the Dutch ships. There was a strong correlation between grain prices in the different region of the west and the volume of this traffic. It was a trade in bulk goods for daily use that were exported from the countries in the Baltic, which had large surpluses of many primary products, to the Western Europe and the Mediterranean.

Starting towards the end of the sixteenth century the North Western European merchants established a direct, regular and growing trade with the Eastern Mediterranean. This represented a new stage in their commercial relations with the territories of the Ottoman Empire. While the oceanic trade increased from the beginning of the sixteenth century, it seems that this new trading route was not a real alternative for the Europeans in their

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<sup>1</sup> About 73,000 tons of silver and 1,700 tons of gold were shipped from America to Europe in the three centuries.

<sup>2</sup> For understanding the main reasons of the inflation in Europe it must be also take into consideration of the population growth and its affect during the same times.

trade with the East. Thus, the inflow of the goods and capital between the Atlantic and the Ottoman territories increased in the following years.

The major routes between Europe and Asia converged by land and sea in the Near East and Asia Minor. In the east the Ottomans extended their effort to establish full control of the traditional silk route between the east and west. They managed to flourish trade between the east and west.

The Eastern Mediterranean region (the Levant) was also under the Ottoman control. With its hinterland of economically integrated countries, the Levant was the world's most lively region for the Exchange of goods and ideas between east and west before the great European discoveries. Due to their position in international economy and trade, and since the Ottomans controlled the trade routes between the east and west (both naval and land routes). They continued to gain much revenue from transit trade. Spices and other valuable products from Asia and the Levant had centuries found their way to Europe through the Ottoman territories. Until the end of the sixteenth century, the Ottomans enjoyed significant and even increasing profits by spice and silk routes from the East to the West. However, starting at the beginning of the seventeenth century, this situation began to change when the Northern Europeans appeared as active nations in the profitable Far East trade as well as Levant trade. These developments forced the Ottomans to seek strategies for maintaining their considerable profits from the trade routes from the East to the West. Therefore, they encouraged the newly rising western nations (France, England, and the Dutch) to trade in the Ottoman territories by granting them some privileges (capitulations)<sup>3</sup> in the same period. It means that the Ottomans continued to play crucial role in trade between the east and west after the expansion of European commercial powers in the world.

Like large increase in seaborne trade there was also overland trade between the Ottomans and the West. Manufactures, textile products, cattle and other primary products were very important in this respect, especially in the Balkan region.

It seems that while Southern Europeans wore themselves out with a succession of wars, The Dutch, English and French captured much of trade with the Levant. Overall Italian and Spanish shipping declined: there was a shortage of timber, and ship design was inferior to that of northern ships, which were better built, were faster, and had lower freights.

## II

Formal commercial relations between the England and Ottoman Empire began in 1580, when Sultan Murad III granted capitulations to this Atlantic nation. However, it is known that the regular trade between the England and Levant had been earliest times in the hands of Italian merchants. Hakluyt reports several visits of the English merchants to the Levant between 1511 and 1534, as well as 1550 and 1553<sup>4</sup>. Before getting capitulations, like the Dutch merchants they also traded under the French protection in the Levant.

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<sup>3</sup> The first Ottoman grant of trade privileges, or capitulations, to the Genoese in 1352, and subsequently to Venice and Florence, guaranteed the continuation of the grand commerce of these maritime republics with the Levant. The Ottomans extended the same trade privileges to France in 1569, to England in 1580 and to the Dutch Republic in 1612. In those early centuries when the Ottoman sultans represented a superpower in the East, they granted such privileges only to those nations judged as friendly.

<sup>4</sup> R.Hakluyt, *The principle navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of English nation*, London, 1927, III, 2.

During the times of Queen Elizabeth, as a monopolistic organisation, the English merchants organised their business under the Levant Company<sup>5</sup>.

Traditionally, French maritime trade had been concentrated more in the Mediterranean than in the Atlantic. In 1569, the French had already concluded a commercial treaty with the Ottoman Sultan, who had given them permission to allow nations, with no treaty of their own, to trade under the same conditions, when flying the French flag<sup>6</sup>. Due to these privileges, the Ottoman sultan granted the right to the French to protect the *harbi*<sup>7</sup> merchants in the Levant. In 1598 France extended these privileges to the Dutch, hence Dutch merchants obtained formal permission from King Henry IV to trade in Ottoman ports under the French flag<sup>8</sup>. However, before this time Dutch merchants already traded under the French and English flags in the Ottoman ports.

The following statement clearly explains the situation of the Levant for the Western Europeans towards the end of the sixteenth century. "In the year 1595 our trade with Turkey had only been in existence about 15 years. Sir Edward Barton was the second ambassador from England to the Turkish Empire and his position was an extremely difficult one... it was necessary for him to protect himself and the English merchants against the intrigues of the French and Venetian Ambassadors, who were very naturally anxious to oust the British competitor for the lucrative trade of the Levant"<sup>9</sup>.

Baltic grain was the key to their commercial supremacy in the Mediterranean from the end of the sixteenth until the mid-seventeenth century<sup>10</sup>. Israel, however, considers the trade in luxurious commodities such as textiles, sugar, spices and silver more important for the prosperity of Dutch trade in the Mediterranean than their trade in bulky goods like grain<sup>11</sup>. According to Braudel, the external drain on Ottoman grain supplies to the west

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<sup>5</sup> W.Beawes, *Lex mercatoria rediviva: or, a complete code of commercial law. Being a general guide to all men business,.. with an account of our.*, London 1792, p.1039; Sir P. Griffiths, *The History of English Chartered Companies*, London, 1974, 41-56.

<sup>6</sup> F. Braudel Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols., Trans.: S. Reynolds, New York, 1972, 625-28; A.N. Kurat, *Türk-İngiliz Münasebetlerinin Başlangıcı ve Gelişmesi*, Ankara, 1953, 305-315.

<sup>7</sup> *Harbis*, or 'foreigners', were, according to Ottoman Muslim theory, those enemy aliens or non-Muslims not protected by treaty who inhabit the *Darül-harb*, that is, any part of the world which had not yet become *Darül-islam*, which was the part of the world that was ruled according to Islamic law (Qur'an). The life and property of a *harbi* venturing into Muslim lands were completely unprotected by law unless he was given a temporary safe-conduct, *eman*. He was called *müstemin* and, in general, his position resembled that of a *zimmi* (*dhimmi*), a tax-paying non-Muslim protected by treaty, except that he was not obligated to pay taxes for one year. Should he have remained longer than one year, however, he was made a *zimmi*.

<sup>8</sup> This situation was also explained by Sir Robert Cecil in K.Heeringa, K., (ed), (1910-17), *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel, (1590-1726)*, 3 vols., RGP: 9,10,34, The Hague, vol.1, 169, as follows: "[1599]...The Flemmings merchants doe beginne to trade into these countryes, which will cleane subvert ours, although it be now butt little worth; yett seing ther is noe meanes to prohibitt them, I thought it better to take their protection then suffer them to go under the French, whoe ceaseth not to give them all the trouble he can, saying they ought to come under his kinge, and although the Grand Signor hath absolutly commanded they shall come under H.M.'s her bannor and noe other, yet with his continuall bribing he still troubleth me... and now [1600] last of all the vizrey being changed, with hope to brybe him he beginneth a new sute with me for the sayd Flemmings, alleaging they are the king of Spaine his subjects and most come under him as other foresteers, whoe are of right belonging to us by a former graunt. Thus what with his mony and hope these have, that he will turne Turke, he findeth suth freindshipp..."

<sup>9</sup> R.H.G. Rosedale, *Queen Elizabeth and Levant Company*, London, 1904, p.41-42.

<sup>10</sup> Braudel 1972, 572-74.

<sup>11</sup> J.Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740*, Oxford, 1989, 9-10.

tapered off rapidly around 1590. Stimulated by attractive prices, Italian merchants turned to investing in agriculture on a large scale. Venice had expanded its rice production and was practically self-sufficient in food in the last decade of the sixteenth century<sup>12</sup>. A dramatic improvement in the Italian supply situation as a whole occurred with the arrival in Leghorn and other ports of grain transported all the way from Danzig by the Dutch<sup>13</sup>. This began during the last decade of the sixteenth century.

Regular trade in grain was not at all a new feature of Mediterranean life. Putting the Roman past aside, Salonica, Crete, Cyprus, Anatolia and Egypt were all areas outside the Black Sea where traders could usually or very often find surpluses of grain in the period immediately preceding the Ottoman era. Therefore, the Ottomans supplied a great deal of grain to the West.

As major exporters of grain, the Ottomans every year had to take decisions about the control of these exports to the West. During good harvest years grain continued to be exported to the West with permissions of the Sultans<sup>14</sup>. The grain prices in the west were mostly higher than in the territories of the Empire. Therefore, during bad harvest years in spite of Ottoman restrictions, western merchants exported grain from the Levant to the West Mediterranean<sup>15</sup>.

In spite of the ban on grain exports, the Ottoman sources indicate that grain smuggling intensified throughout the Levant from the last decade of the sixteenth century, especially during the years of poor harvests in Europe<sup>16</sup>. It continued in the following century too. Both the Western and Ottoman archival sources reveal that like other the Dutch, the other Western merchants traded in grain between the East and the West Mediterranean<sup>17</sup>. This situation continued till 1630s, even later<sup>18</sup>.

Starting in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, merchants from Antwerp also traded luxury commodities with the Ottoman Empire. And later on they imported raw textile materials like mohair yarn, cotton, wool, silk etc., and exported Dutch manufactured textile products to the Ottomans. But when did the combination of luxurious and bulky goods traded change? According to Van Dillen, this happened towards the middle of the seventeenth century. He is of the opinion that military and political factors were possibly decisive in shaping the patterns of trade, and that the Dutch role in the Mediterranean entered its most flourishing period only after 1645<sup>19</sup>. According to Israel, for the Dutch, the balance between 'bulky-carrying' and 'rich trades' changed and consequently the importance of 'rich trades' increased in the seventeenth century<sup>20</sup>. After 1645, the Dutch

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<sup>12</sup> Braudel 1972, 594-604.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Basbakanlik Osmanli Arsivi (BBA) (Prime Ministry Archives in Istanbul) *Mühimme Defterleri (MD)*, 90, 91.

<sup>15</sup> BBA *Mühimme Zeyli Defterleri (MZD)*, 8; MD 73; 90; 6973.

<sup>16</sup> BBA MZD 6, 8.

<sup>17</sup> BBA MD 90; 91; 333; 364; 599; 1143; MZD 6; 8. According to a notarial record in Amsterdam, in 1608, a Dutch ship *Sampson* was loaded to North Africa with wheat, rye and barley *Gemeentelijke Archief Amsterdam, (ARA), Notarieel Archief (NA) 113/62-63*.

<sup>18</sup> BBA MD 90, 333, 364.

<sup>19</sup> Van Dillen, *Van rijkdom en regenten; Handboek tot de economische en sociale geschiedenis van Nederland tijdens de Republic*, 's Gravenhage, 1970.

<sup>20</sup> J. Israel *The Dutch Republic, Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1995, 315-17; 1989, 10, 406-11.

Republic emerged much more strongly in the international arena as a producer of industrial products than before<sup>21</sup>.

In the first decade of the seventeenth century, the Dutch had lacked the textiles and spices needed for a more significant role and had been greatly impeded by the Spanish embargoes and high freight costs in the Levant trade. In the second decade Dutch enterprise in the Mediterranean continued to flourish<sup>22</sup>. They returned to Spain in large numbers, began servicing transports between Spain and Italy, used more silver and shipped a much wider range of fine goods, including for the first time large quantities of pepper, spices, Ibero-American dyestuffs, Swedish copper, and munitions. Consequently, carrying Baltic grain and timber to the Mediterranean ceased to be the driving force behind Dutch enterprise in the region<sup>23</sup>.

As Braudel stresses, in the beginning, trade in bulk commodities such as grain, salt, fish, copper etc. was very important for the Dutch Mediterranean trade. In the region, the Dutch trade in luxury commodities such as silver, silk, spice, cotton etc. flourished as well. The end of the Spanish embargo's in 1609<sup>24</sup> and the Ottoman capitulations in 1612 presented fresh possibilities for the Dutch in the West as well as in the East Mediterranean. Therefore, from the last decade of the sixteenth century, the Dutch merchants brought bulk commodities to the Western Mediterranean ports and from there they brought silver to the Levant. The silver was used to buy luxury commodities such as cotton, linen, silk, mohair, wool, gallnut etc. in the Ottoman ports. After obtaining capitulations, they also continued to trade in bulk commodities but these had a smaller share in the total Dutch Levant trade than that of the luxury goods. However, since the commodities transported were highly valuable, the 'rich trade' was also more exposed to the attacks of commercial rivals or corsairs. Silver Spanish reals were especially very useful in trade with the Levant<sup>25</sup>. Spanish silver was minted in the Republic as the Dutch *leeuwendaalders* (lion dollars). These lion dollars were the main export brought to the Levant by Dutch merchants.

### III

In the first half of the seventeenth century, Ottoman-Atlantic commercial relations in the Levant consisted of trade in both bulky and luxury commodities, as previously discussed. While Ottoman exports to the Netherlands consisted in great part of domestic products like raw silk, cotton, mohair yarn, wool, cloth and other textiles, the Dutch supplied items like spice and pepper, certain strategic materials such as lead, tin steel, copper, saltpeter, swords, gunpowder and grain, and increasingly larger numbers of silver coin to the

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<sup>21</sup> Israel 1989, 197-270, 409-10.

<sup>22</sup> As the main reason for this development, Israel stresses the importance of the 1609-1621 Truce between Spain and the Dutch Republic (Israel 1989, 80-85).

<sup>23</sup> Israel 1989, 81-101.

<sup>24</sup> The first general embargo was imposed against both the English and the Dutch in 1585. In the 1590s, Philip II decided to lift the embargo on the Dutch, but in 1598, Spain decided to revert to an embargo against the Republic, and a full embargo was re imposed in September 1604. It continued till the Twelve Years' Truce in April 1609. For more information on the effects of the political conditions and the Spanish embargo on the Dutch Mediterranean trade in the seventeenth century see Israel 1989.

<sup>25</sup> A. Attman, "The Bullion Flow from Europe to the East: 1500-1750", in *Precious Metals, Coinage and the Changes of Monetary Structures in Latin-America, Europe and Asia (Late Middle Ages- Early Modern Times)*, Ed.: E.H.G. Van Cauwenberghe, Leuven, 1989, 65.



Empire. It is not to say that all traded goods were produced in the Republic or the Empire. All types of Western and Eastern commercial products were traded between the two merchant communities.

Steensgaard argues that the European consumption of Asian goods in the early modern period increased, and that this was an important development in the pre-industrial economy. He adds that the available information on Levant trade fully confirms this claim. “Naturally it is impossible to determine the exact date when the transit trade ceased. Strictly speaking it never did cease, and Asian goods were occasionally conveyed to Europe through the Levant well into the 17th century”<sup>26</sup>. During that century the Dutch dominated the transport of these commodities from the East to the West.

The letters<sup>27</sup> of Jacob Turner, an English merchant in the Levant, reveal that like English the Dutch merchants were very active in the trade in silk, cotton, mohair and wool and that their activities ranged from Aleppo to Salonica and from Istanbul to Cyprus. They not only traded between the Empire and their countries, but also between the Empire and the other parts of Western Europe. In addition, they not only traded in the textile products, but also through the seventeenth century they continued to trade in the other commercial products such as lead, tin wheat, grain, fish, salt, and pepper and spices.

**Table 1** Western Remittances in cash and goods to Aleppo, 1604 and 1613 (Venetian Ducats)

Trading nation	1604 (Teixeira)	1613 (Morosini)
Venice	1,250,000	850,000
France	800,000	1,750,000
England	300,000	250,000
United Provinces	150,000	500,000

Source: Israel (1989, 99)

The table 1 illustrates the volume of trade of the western trading nations in Aleppo in the beginning of the seventeenth century. According to table 1, there was an important expansion in French and especially Dutch trading activities in Aleppo between 1604 and 1613<sup>28</sup>. This means that Dutch trade with the Ottoman Empire as a whole substantially surpassed that of England in the first decades of the seventeenth century<sup>29</sup>. Furthermore, there is additional evidence that the Dutch presence in the Levant was more important

<sup>26</sup> N. Steensgaard *The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century: The East India Companies and the Decline of the Caravan Trade*, University of Chicago Press, 1973, 171.

<sup>27</sup> For more information on the letters of Jacob Turner, see J.A. Elin, *A Seventeenth Century Levant Merchant: The Life and Letters of Jacob Turner*, Ph.D. Thesis, New York University, 1976.

<sup>28</sup> In 1605, the city of Aleppo is reported to have carried out trade amounting to between one million and one-and-a-half million gold ducats with Venice, 800,000 gold ducats with France, 300,000 gold ducats with England, and 150,000 gold ducats with the Netherlands (Israel 1989, 55; Steensgaard 1973).

<sup>29</sup> 1 ducat= 2.1 rix-dollars and 1 rix-dollar=2.5 Dutch guilders, then 1 ducat=5.25 guilders. In this case, around 1600, Venetian trade volume in Aleppo nearly amounted 6,562,500 guilders, French trade volume amounted 4,200,000 guilders and English trade was 1,575,000 guilders in Aleppo. While the Dutch trade was 787,500 guilders in 1604 it reached to 2,625, 000 guilders in 1613.

than these figures indicate. Calculations based on consulate dues indicate that around 1600, Dutch trade volume with the Ottoman Empire amounted to about four million guilders annually. The consulate dues paid by the Dutch on their exports from the territories of the Empire amounted to 160,000 guilders yearly<sup>30</sup>. As there was no record on consulate dues paid by other trading nations in the Levant, we are not able to make similar calculations and comment on whether their trade were higher than those given in table 1.

**Table.2 Holland's Bullion Exports 1600-1700 (In millions of rix-dollars per year)**<sup>31</sup>

Trade Area	Around 1600	Around 1650	Around 1700
The Baltic	2	2.5	2
The Levant	0.6	0.8	1
The Eastern Asia	0.3	0.4	2
Total	2.9	3.7	5.0

Source: A. Attman, *Dutch Enterprise in the World Bullion Trade, 1550-1800*, Goteborg, 1983, 103.

The growth of the Ottoman population during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries must have contributed to an increase in monetary demand. A broader diffusion in the use of money and a growing population augmented the propensity to hold money and thus lowered the velocity of circulation<sup>32</sup>. In the seventeenth century, therefore, the Western Europeans became the main exporter of the precious metals to the Levant. They brought silver dollars to Ottoman regions. The Dutch rixdollars (*rijksdaalders*) and lion dollars (*leeuwendaalders*) were minted from American silver. In the territories of the Empire, Dutch dollars (*esedi-aslan gurus*) became the main coins in demand in the market for transactions among the merchants<sup>33</sup>. Thus these coins served for large scale trade and

<sup>30</sup> Heeringa 1910, 429-30. They paid the 4% consulate fees.

<sup>31</sup>The only precise figures regarding precious metals required for the Western European-Levantine trade relate to the Dutch merchants who in 1614 imported into Aleppo- apart from goods- 0.6 million rix-dollars in Spanish reals as well. According to Attman (1983, 8),

1 rix-dollar= 25.98 grammes of silver

1 rix-dollar= 2,5 Dutch guilders (after 1606)

1 guilder= 20 Dutch stuivers

1 rix-dollar= 50 Dutch stuivers

For more information on the currency equivalence see Appendix 5.

<sup>32</sup> As Goldstone states "...when population increased, many of those unable to secure land for farming turned to rural crafts or else migrated to the burgeoning cities and towns...This growth was accompanied by an expansion in the use of credit...both expansion of credit and government currency debasement augment the velocity of money. Thus, from a variety of sources, velocity grew rapidly, financing the expanding demands of rising populations" (J.A.Goldstone, *Revolution and Rebellion in the early Modern World*, Univesity of California Press, 1990, 360-61).

<sup>33</sup> According to Pamuk, one of the more prominent silver coins in circulation from the Balkans to Egypt was the Dutch coin. He states that "it was called *esedi gurus* or *aslanli gurus*, pas it had the inscription of two lions. Even more important was the Spanish 8-real (reales de a ocho), called the riyal gurus, a large coin containing close to 25.6 grams of pure silver...There were others, such as the Polish isolette or zolota, which was later imitated by Dutch and English merchants and brought into the Levant markets" S.Pamuk, "Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326 to 1914" in *The Ottoman Empire, Its Economy and Society: 1300-1914*, (eds.): H. Inalcik and D. Quataert, Cambridge Univ. Press, 965.

monetary transactions, in which the governments and state elites themselves were involved as well.

The characteristic feature of the Levant trade had long been the fact that a large proportion of the payments for Oriental products had to be made with precious metals. The Dutch merchants were therefore faced with the necessity of acquiring precious metals for their trade with the Levant.

The estimates of the bullion export show that during the second half of the seventeenth century, Dutch trade in coins did not decline in the Eastern Mediterranean, but it increased. According to table 2, Dutch bullion exports increased in the East Asia and the Levant, but in the Baltic, they were at the same level at the beginning and at end of the seventeenth century. The growth of Eastern Asian trade was much more significant, however.

In 1614, there was a registration in Aleppo of the Dutch trading growth which were estimated at 0.6 million rix-dollars (1.5 million guilders). The other register is related to 1683. This estimate amounted to 0.8 million rix-dollars for the volume of goods in İzmir<sup>34</sup>. It means that the Dutch trade to the Ottoman Empire amounted to nearly 2 million Dutch guilders.

Furthermore, during the seventeenth century, both France and England transported 1 million rix-dollars yearly and Venice 0.4 million rix-dollars to the Levant. The total supply of precious metals to the ports of the Levant during the 17th century can be estimated to be around 2 million rix-dollars (table 3). It means that, in the 17th century, the Dutch merchants were more active and effective than other westerners in exporting precious metals to the Ottoman territories.

**Table 3 Estimated Annual Exports of Precious Metals from Europe to the East (in million of rix-dollars per year)**

Year	1600	1650	1700
Levant	1	2	2
The Baltic region	1.7-2	2.3-3	2.3-3
The route the Cape	1	1.7	3.3
Total	3.7-4	6.6-7	7.6-8.3

Source: Attman (1983, 12)

When a cargo of 200,000 Dutch lion dollars arrived at Aleppo in 1677, the grand vizier ordered the whole consignment to be seized and although the dollars proved to be of full measure, it cost 15,000 dollar to secure their release<sup>35</sup>. The Dutch *leeuwendaalders* were not only used by the Dutch merchants, but also by other western nations, especially the English. They also exported Dutch lion dollars to the Empire<sup>36</sup>. The Dutch lion dollars

<sup>34</sup> Attman 1983, 93.

<sup>35</sup> A.C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, London, 1935, 101.

<sup>36</sup> This silver coin was minted in Holland particularly for the Middle East. It was first imported into England from Holland and then exported to the Levant (G.F. Abbott *Under the Turk in Constantinople, A Record of Sir John Firch's Embassy 1674-1681*, London, 1920, 237-38).



became the main western coins of demand in the Ottoman markets in the seventeenth century. Dutch merchants played a major role in the import of these coins to the Empire.

**Table 4 Levy payment of the English Merchants in the Ottoman Cities (1733-1740)**

City	Dollars
Istanbul	214,074
Izmir	57,628
Aleppo	80,065
TOTAL	

Source: J.Hanway, *An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea*, 1754, London, Vol:2, 58.

#### IV

Cotton, silk, mohair and wool products were the main textiles traded by the Western merchants in the Levant. At the same time, the Ottomans began to import cloth, linens, camlets, and *lakens* from the Western Europe, and continued to export cloth, wool, silk, cotton, and especially mohair yarn. According to an English Observation, “the principle exports from Britain, and indeed of most other nations, to the Levant, are cloth, shalloons, muslins, clocks, watches, fire-arms, hard-ware, earthen-ware, tin, lead, spices, sugar, coffee, cochineal and indigo. The imports from the Levant to Britain are cotton, silk, black goats wool, some drugs, dried fruits and other sundries here after enumerated”<sup>37</sup>.

Persia, India, China and Anatolia were the production regions of the silk. The route of the silk trade (*ipek yolu*) between the East and West began in China and ended in Europe. This route followed the Central Asian direction and throughout Persia and Anatolia reached to Europe. Silk was a very profitable item for the traders as well as for the states in these regions. Therefore, it was always a matter of competition among the states, especially between the Ottoman Empire and Persia.

From the Middle Ages, the Levant was an important supplier of silk for Europe. Silk was the main trading item in the commercial relations between the Ottomans and Europe since the establishment of the Empire. Although Persia was an important producer of silk in Asia, the Ottomans became the main exporters of silk produce in Persia to the West when they controlled the route of silk trade between the East and West. The term “Ottoman raw silk” included the silk produced domestically as well as silk from outside of the Empire such as Persian silk. Chinese and Indian silk did not play a role in this period. However, Persian raw silk was very important in the commercial relations between the Ottomans and western nations<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> *Observations on the Commerce of Great Britain with the Russian and Ottoman Empires and on the projects of Russia against the Ottoman and British Dominions*, London. 1801, p.10.

<sup>38</sup> According to İnalçık, in the Levant trade both the English and the Dutch merchants were active in Indian cotton rather than Indian silk. But they were very active in Persian silk trade (H. İnalçık Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Kuruluş ve İnkişafı Devrinde Türkiye'nin İktisadi Vaziyeti Üzerinde Bir Tetkik Münasebetiyle”, in *Bellekten XV*,1951, 167-173; H. İnalçık Osmanlı Pamuklu Pazarı, Hindistan ve İngiltere” in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Toplum ve Ekonomi Üzerinde Arşiv Çalışmaları/ İncelemeler*, Ed: H. İnalçık, İstanbul, 1993, 268, 272).

Silk was also an important item in the economic relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic. The earliest commercial contacts began with silk trade between the two countries. Many European merchants who came to Aleppo, Bursa, Istanbul and İzmir bought silk there.

The needs of a nascent silk industry in Europe heightened Aleppo's importance, at least temporarily, as Persian raw silk formed the bulk of the cheap silk available in the world markets until the end of the seventeenth century<sup>39</sup>. The Persians were unable to increase their production, however, and accordingly competition for stocks available in Aleppo intensified. The Venetians had held the unchallenged lead in Aleppo's trade for well over a century, but their position was now threatened by the French, English and Dutch, as new products and types of organisations were introduced for raw silk.

By 1600, Aleppo was the most significant silk-exporting market in the Levant. According to Consul Emo's estimate, Venice alone purchased half of the Iranian and Syrian raw silk, amounting to about 140 tons with a value of 1.5 million ducats per annum<sup>40</sup>. It is possible to trace fluctuations in the Iranian silk trade in the years between 1578 and 1627 from reports of the Venetian consul. In 1603, Aleppo customs experienced a record annual revenue of 300,000 gold ducats, which was the greater part of the total revenue surplus of 460,000 gold ducats which were sent from Syria to the Sublime Porte<sup>41</sup>. The Europeans competed for silk not only in Aleppo, but also in other Ottoman cities<sup>42</sup>. As in earlier centuries, the final destinations of the caravans reflected political, economic and geographical factors. Formerly, Damascus had been the major rival of Aleppo, but with the advent of silk as the major commodity traded between the Ottomans and Europe, the attractiveness of Damascus diminished, as it was too distant from the sources to remain competitive<sup>43</sup>.

In the first two decades of the seventeenth century, the Dutch and English share in the Levant silk trade increased, especially in Aleppo. In the 1620s, both Dutch and English ships transported 500-600 bales of raw silk to Europe from Aleppo<sup>44</sup>. Paulo de Willem and Abraham de Ligne from Amsterdam were two very active Dutch merchants in the silk trade in Syria in this period. According to a report of the Dutch ambassador in Istanbul, Cornelis Haga, after 1625, however, the Dutch silk trade in Aleppo began to decline<sup>45</sup>.

There were various reasons for the decline of Aleppo, such as rivalry between the Ottomans and Persians, the appearance of certain difficulties for the Dutch merchants within the Empire, and the rise of İzmir in international trade, as the main entrepot in the

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<sup>39</sup>K.N. Chaudhuri *The Trading World of Asia and the English India Company, 1660-1760*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1978, 343-53.

<sup>40</sup> Steensgaard 1973, 160.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, 175-8.

<sup>42</sup> BBA *Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler* (MM) 6632, 7; 11.

<sup>43</sup>G.R.B. Erdbrink *At the Threshold of Felicity: Ottoman-Dutch Relations During the Sublime Embassy of Cornelis Calkoen at the Sublime Porte, 1726-1744*, Ankara, 1975, 153.

<sup>44</sup> Steensgaard 1973, 160-65.

<sup>45</sup> In 1624, Haga sent a letter to the States-General and reported that the Dutch silk trade had declined during that period in Syria because of the newly established relations between the VOC and the Persian king (ARA LB 6898).

Levant. Therefore, with the decline of the silk trade in Aleppo, certain new commercial centres emerged in the Ottoman Empire.

The shift in the silk trade routes away from Aleppo is a discussion topic among the historians. According to Masters, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the traders from the Low Countries and England started to look for alternative trading routes for silk<sup>46</sup>. Even without the famous corruption of Ottoman officials<sup>47</sup> in the established entrepots of the Ottoman Empire and the sporadic delivery of supplies from the east, the Dutch and English would have sought new trading routes terminating in İzmir, Iskenderun, and Istanbul. The Dutch and English wanted alternatives in part because of high and unpredictable surcharges and irregular caravan arrivals in Aleppo due to disruptions along caravan routes. Apart from this, the semi-autonomous principalities of Canbulatoğlu Ali Pasha (who established himself in northern Syria in the early 1600s) and other rebellious *emirs*, and the corruption of Ottoman officials within the city became obstacles for western merchants<sup>48</sup>.

**Table 5. Silk Imported from Ottoman Empire to England (1734-1743)**

YEAR	lbs.
1734	274,720
1735	106,401
1736	227,976
1737	87,774
1738	168,634
1739	170,391
1740	none
1741	324,175
1742	2
1743	138,308
TOTAL	1,598,382

Source: Hanway 1754, 62.

As a domestic reason, the cost of silk transportation to Europe through the Empire played a significant role in the changing the route of the silk trade. Transport costs by camel amounted to “40 *gurush*, or about 26 gold ducats per load; when various dues paid en route were added, the costs rose to 122 *gurush*; the customs duty at İzmir was 46 *gurush*”<sup>49</sup>. In addition to internal conditions and difficulties, there were certain external and especially political reasons for the change of silk route.

<sup>46</sup> B. Masters, *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the East: Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo, 1600-1780*, New York, 1988, 19.

<sup>47</sup> Ottoman officials were not so much “venal” or “rapacious”, as some westerners have claimed, as caught in a great fiscal crisis; see H. Sahillioğlu *Sivış Year Crisis in the Ottoman Empire*”, in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East from the Rise of Islam to the Present Day*, Ed.: M,A, Cook, Oxford Univ. Press, 1970, 230-52.

1970, 230-52.

<sup>48</sup> Masters 1988, 18-21.

<sup>49</sup> Steensgaard 1972, 34.

Steensgaard is of the opinion that the conflict between the Ottomans and the Safavids caused a shift in the trading silk centre from Aleppo to İzmir<sup>50</sup>. He states: “it was in the years following the resumption of the Persian-Turkish war in the winter of 1622-23 that Smyrna (İzmir) became a serious competitor to Aleppo as the terminus for the Persian silk caravans”<sup>51</sup>. Frustrated European and Ottoman merchants rushed to İzmir as a more dependable and less expensive silk market. This means that this new trade route was relatively safe and that the custom duties were comparatively low. The former route had many more customs stations<sup>52</sup>. Thus, the change of the silk trade in general and therefore also the Dutch silk trade from Aleppo to İzmir may be explained by two factors: transport costs and the political conditions of the region.

**Table 6. English annual import of raw silk (1720-1740)**

	(great pounds of 24 ounces)
From Italy	30,000
From Spain	20,000
From East Indias	120,000
From Ottoman Empire	206,000

Source: Hanway 1754, 54.

The silk trade route from East to the West was always a political issue among Ottomans and Persians, and therefore, Persians tried to sever this route. They tried to persuade Dutch and English merchants to change their trading routes from the Ottoman areas to Europe. The Persian Shah’s capitulations to the English and the Dutch in 1623 created certain possibilities for an extension of the VOC’s trade in silk. Shah Abbas planned to sell Iranian silk directly to Europe, diverting the silk route from Ottoman territory to the Indian Ocean. He found that the Dutch and English, who had established their supremacy in the Indian Ocean by that time, were eager to cooperate in eliminating the Ottomans as an intermediary because of the taxes which had to be paid in the Ottoman ports.

According to Glamann, the Dutch secured “a share” in the mighty international silk trade carried out under the royal monopoly. Before 1623, exports were transported exclusively by way of Aleppo and Syria via the Levant and 3,000 bales were distributed to Marseilles, 1,500 to Venice, 400 to Italian towns (Genoa, Lucca, Florence, Messina etc.), 600 to England, and 500 bales to the Dutch Republic<sup>53</sup>. It is clear that the Persian policy of changing the silk route affected the Dutch silk trade in Ottoman territories.

Ottoman-Persian rivalry assumed the nature of an economic war leading to a mutual blockade. As the Persians prohibited silk exports, the Ottomans took measures to prevent the shipping of gold and silver to Persia, which intensified the monetary crisis in Persia. Following these developments, Shah Abbas tried to find a solution to this problem by selling a large quantity of silk to the Europeans at Bandar-Abbas. This economic warfare continued for a long time. This struggle affected all silk markets in the Middle East. The Dutch ambassador in Istanbul, Haga wrote in 1626 to the States General that the directors

<sup>50</sup> Steensgaard 1973, 185-86.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, 34, 186.

<sup>52</sup> For a comparison and more information on the old and new silk trade routes in the Levant see Steensgaard 1973, 31-42.

<sup>53</sup> K. Glamann, *Dutch Asiatic Trade 1620-1740*, The Hague, 1958, 114-5.

of the Dutch trade to the Levant stated “*dat de principale capitalen, die in Aleppo vertiert werden, bestaen in den incoop van de syde en dat deselvige nu door de Oostindische schepen uyt Persiae ende over Moscovia in den lande gebracht wordt.*”<sup>54</sup>.

Apart from Persia, the Russian government agreed to allow the transport of Persian raw silk from the Caspian port of Astrakhan, along the Russian waterways to the Baltic or White Sea where Dutch vessels loaded it for shipment to Amsterdam<sup>55</sup>. Thus, besides the traditional silk route which passed through Ottoman territories, there were two alternatives for the Dutch now: the Cape of Good Hope and Russia.

In this period, according to Israel, 400 bales of silk were being shipped annually via Moscow and Archangel to the Dutch Republic; 400 bales from Surat on VOC ships, 400 bales from the Persian Gulf on VOC ships, and only 300 bales per annum from Ottoman Aleppo and Italy<sup>56</sup>. Therefore, only one fifth of the raw materials reaching the Netherlands in that period came from the Mediterranean, and the Dutch East India company deployed efforts to cut off the flow of Persian raw silk to Aleppo and divert the entire supply via the Persian Gulf.

The number of Dutch (VOC) ships sailing on the ‘Russian silk route’ increased between 1620 and 1630. In 1623, both Paulo de Willem and Abraham de Ligne began to move their business to Moscow from the Levant as the Persian silk trade started flowing to Russia<sup>57</sup>. In addition to Paulo and Abraham, the Witsen and Pauw families played an important role in the decline Dutch silk trade in Aleppo as they also began to move their business from the Levant and concentrate on the Russian route after 1625<sup>58</sup>.

In January and March 1625 a letter sent by the Dutch consul mentions a shortage of silk in Aleppo<sup>59</sup>. The VOC and the Armenians of Iran played an active role in the transport of Persian silk directly to Europe. Between 1625 and 1635 the English and Dutch East India Companies brought considerable quantities of Iranian raw silk to Europe via the Cape route<sup>60</sup>. According to Glamann, however, they did not succeed in redirecting all Persian exports from the Levant to the Persian Gulf and the sea route around the Cape of Good Hope<sup>61</sup>.

After 1630, the Dutch silk trade could not achieve its former dynamism in the Levant. Furthermore, the Dutch trading houses disappeared in Aleppo and other parts of Syria and Palestine. But the decline was not the result of a lack of trading houses in the region. I think they did not need the trading houses because they found a new route for purchasing Persian silk. After the 1630s they moved their business and trade to the new

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<sup>54</sup> Heeringa 1917, 528.

<sup>55</sup> E.H. Wijnkros “Jan Van de Walle and the Dutch silk trade with Russia, 1578-1635” in J. Braat, A.H. Huussen (eds), *Russians and Dutch Men. Proceedings of the Conference on the Relations between Russia and the Netherlands from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, Groningen, 1993, 47-57; Glamann 1958, 126.

<sup>56</sup> J. Israel “The Dutch Merchant Colonies in the Mediterranean during the Seventeenth Century”, in *Renaissance and Modern Studies* 30, 1986, 95.

<sup>57</sup> AGA NA 144/48 and NA 225/226v.

<sup>58</sup> Wijnkros 1993 and Glamann 1958. But later in the 1630s, Russia became the scene of conflict, which explains why Dutch silk trade in Aleppo started to increase relatively again.

<sup>59</sup> Algemeen Rijksarchief The Hague, (ARA), Directie van de Levantse Handel (LH) 161.

<sup>60</sup> E. Herzig “The Iranian raw silk trade and European manufacture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries”, in *Journal of European Economic History*, vol. 19, 1990, 75.

<sup>61</sup> Glamann 1958, 114-17.



trading centre of the Empire, İzmir<sup>62</sup>. It seems that the Spanish embargo no longer played a serious role in the change of the silk route but the Russian and Persians' role were important<sup>63</sup>.

The silk trade was a monopoly of the Persian Shah, according to Glamann, and the Dutch only rarely succeeded in evading it in the third decade of the seventeenth century<sup>64</sup>. However, in spite of the agreement between Persians and the Netherlanders<sup>65</sup>, the successor of Shah Abbas in Persia, Shah Shafi, was unable to maintain the royal monopoly on silk, and the trade in silk among the European and the Ottoman merchants began to increase again. It is a fact that after the 1630s, the Dutch made rather unimpressive progress in the Aleppo trade, where the main item was Persian raw silk. But in the Empire, the new regions began to become important in the silk trade. Bursa was not only the trading centre for this item, but it was also an important silk producing centre in the Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries<sup>66</sup>.

Consequently, following Aleppo and Bursa, we see the rise of İzmir in the seventeenth century, and this city became the centre of Iranian and Ottoman silk for the Western Europeans<sup>67</sup>. By the 1640s, the VOC's purchase of silk in Persia had fallen off sharply, due to a variety of factors, and goods were reaching the West via Aleppo and İzmir. The Dutch and English used İzmir as a transit centre for Asian and European trade. This Ottoman port provided the cheaper sea route to the Anatolian peninsula and a safer environment against corsairs and the vagaries of the Aegean Sea. Leghorn, converted to a free port for the Atlantic mercantile nations, shared İzmir's role as a market for Asian and Levantian silk. The French and the Venetians also became important traders in Ottoman

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<sup>62</sup> For information on İzmir as becoming a new centre of silk for the westerners see N. Ülker "The Rise of İzmir, 1688-1740", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Michigan, 1974 and "XVII ve XVIII. Yüzyıllar İpek Ticaretinde İzmir'in Rolü ve Önemi", in *Bekir Küttükoğluna Armağan*, Istanbul Univ. Press, 1991, 327-341.

<sup>63</sup> According to İnalçık, an unusual coalition was taking shape to divert the silk trade from the borders of the Ottoman Empire and Mediterranean in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Such threats were not new. Transit trade had long been hostage to political considerations (H. İnalçık, *The Ottoman economic mind and aspects of the Ottoman Economy*", in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, ed.: M.A. Cook, Oxford Univ. Press, London, 1970, 212-13. The Persians began to consider the possibility of marketing their silk to the West by an alternative route that would avoid the Ottoman realm during this period. In this they were aided in the first decades of the seventeenth century through the efforts of the English East India Company and the Dutch East India Company (VOC), which drove the Portuguese out of the Persian Gulf and diverted the silk trade away from the Mediterranean (Steengaard 1973). Moreover, the effect of Russian government's decision on the Dutch shipping along the Russian waterways to the Baltic and the Netherlands must be taken into consideration.

<sup>64</sup> Glamann 1958, 118.

<sup>65</sup> An agreement between the Republic and Shah Shafi in 1631 guaranteed extraterritorial privileges to their subjects. For more information see J.C. Hurewitz J.C., *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: A Documentary Record, 1535-1919*, New York, 1972.

<sup>66</sup> Foça in the western part of Anatolia and near İzmir, became an important centre of silk production in the Empire. Certain Ottoman cities such as Tokat, Amasya, Edirne and Manisa were also important for silk production in the seventeenth century. For more information on this topic see D. Gudıashvili "XV-XVII. Yüzyıllarda Türkiye'de İpekli Kumaş Dokumacılığı", in *Osmanlı*, vol 3, Yeni Türkiye Press, Ankara, pp. 1999, 86-95.

<sup>67</sup> D. Goffman, *İzmir ve Levanten Dünya (1550-1650)*, Trans.: A. Anadol and N. Kalaycıoğlu, TVYY, Istanbul, 1995, 50-76.

silk exports during the same period<sup>68</sup>. It must be emphasised that the Dutch silk trade in the Levant comprised both Ottoman domestic production and silk brought from Persia. Other raw materials were also brought from different places in the East for export to Europe.

According to estimation of Hanway, English cotton wool import from the Ottoman Empire in between 1721 and 1740, yearly was about 330,000 great pounds of 24 ounces<sup>69</sup>. Freight contracts reveal that Dutch ships and cargoes from the Mediterranean, loaded at Cyprus, Syrian and western Anatolian ports, predominantly transported cotton yarn<sup>70</sup>. The moderate volume of cotton exports seems to have been evenly distributed among Syrian and Anatolian ports. During the seventeenth century, cotton was of same importance to the Dutch and English, who mostly obtained their cotton wool from Cyprus and İzmir. However, this item was more important for the English, whose spinning industry in Lancashire was built upon Levantine cotton, than for the Dutch. Both English and Dutch merchants sometimes purchased cotton from the Cyprus Ottoman merchants on credit<sup>71</sup>.

Cyprus was an important trading centre for the Dutch cotton trade in the first half of the century. At the beginning of the century, the Dutch Levant merchants in Amsterdam declared that they already controlled the cotton trade in Cyprus and that they were the main suppliers of cotton to Germany and the Netherlands. The Dutch merchants also traded cotton in Istanbul. In the last year of the sixteenth century, a Dutch ship had imported goods valued at 100,000 ducats. That ship carried cotton and wool<sup>72</sup>. Freight contracts clearly show that this trade continued to flourish in the first half of the century<sup>73</sup>. According to Israel, “in the trade with Cyprus, which then exported 6,000 sacks of cotton (around three million lbs.) per year and where the Venetians and English had reigned supreme before 1609, the Dutch quickly gained an overwhelming ascendancy, ousting their rivals from the scene. Much the same is true of the trade with Egypt”<sup>74</sup>. On Cyprus the main interests of Dutch merchants were cotton, sugar, and local cloth, as well as provisions for ships in preparation for the return voyage to the western Mediterranean<sup>75</sup>. In 1614, no less than ten Dutch ships loaded cotton in Cyprus ports for

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<sup>68</sup> In spite of Aleppo having been the leading Ottoman export entrepot at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in the second half of the century it had slipped to fourth place among the French merchant colonies, surpassed by İzmir, Alexandria and Sidon. This relative decline has been attributed by Europeans to three causes: the rapacious *avaries* and other impositions of the succession of pashas of Aleppo, interruptions in the silk caravan route from Isfahan owing to the long Ottoman-Safavid wars which dominated the first four decades of the century (to 1639), and the draining of Persian silk by Dutch and English traders who, with Safavid support, had established themselves as successors to the Portuguese at Hurmuz (1623) and had at least until the 1640s succeeded in carrying away considerable quantities of Persian silk through the Gulf (Glamann 1958, 114-19).

<sup>69</sup> Hanway, 1754, 54.

<sup>70</sup> AGA NA 89/ 225 (1601), NA 98/151 (1604), NA 102/103 (1605), NA 112/185 (1608), NA 116/174 (1609).

<sup>71</sup> R. Davis *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, London 1967, 27; Wood 1935, 74.

<sup>72</sup> Steensgaard 1973, 179.

<sup>73</sup> AGA NA 164/158 (1620), NA 659/22 (1625), NA 633/11-12 (1626), NA243/5 (1630), NA 671/86 (1635) and NA 1500/54 (1640).

<sup>74</sup> Israel 1989, 99.

<sup>75</sup> R. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571-1640*, New York University Press, 1993, 158-9.

export to the West<sup>76</sup>. It seems that the Dutch were the dominant nation in this trade between the Empire and the West during the first decades of the century. In the letter to the States General of May 1615, Cornelis Haga, states that neither the French nor the English handled more than a small fraction of Cyprus exports<sup>77</sup>.

Developments in the production of cotton textiles and the trade in these goods are central to an understanding of the internal dynamics of the Ottoman economy as well as of its connections with the western European economy. Cotton goods were the main item of consumption for large masses of the population in the Ottoman Empire and therefore domestic demand for these goods was extensive. Cotton was not only in demand in the Empire, but also in the East and West.

Throughout the seventeenth century, textile products were traded between Asian, European and Far Eastern merchants. These merchants visited the Ottoman trading centres, especially the cities along the caravan trade routes. Goods from India brought Asian and western European merchants together<sup>78</sup>. By expanding trade eastward to India, the Levant merchants assured themselves control over cheap source of these goods<sup>79</sup>.

Indian cottons occupied an important place among Ottoman imports in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries<sup>80</sup>. Fine Indian muslins were among the luxury items used for men and women's clothing. A price register from 1640 shows that expensive Indian muslin varieties dominated the Ottoman market while cheaper cotton goods were products of domestic manufacturing<sup>81</sup>.

**Table 7. English Import from the Ottoman Empire (1720-1740)**

	(great pounds of 24 ounces)
Mohair yarn	200,000
Cotton wool	330,000
Cotton yarn	60,000

Source: Hanway 1754, 54.

The Genoese and Venetians had long dominated the Anatolian export of cotton<sup>82</sup>. During the first decades of the 17th century, the English and Dutch merchants broke their monopoly and participated ever more actively in the cotton trade. By 1621, both English and Dutch merchant vessels from the Levant transported to the port of London over 43,000 pounds of cotton per year<sup>83</sup>. The competition between western nations in the cotton trade of İzmir considerably increased in the second quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>84</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> Heeringa 1910, 463.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, 463, 481.

<sup>78</sup> Chaudhuri 1965, 173-90.

<sup>79</sup> B. Braude, "International Competition and Domestic cloth in the Ottoman Empire, 1500-1650: A study in undevelopment," in *Review*, II, 3, Winter, 1979, pp. 443.

<sup>80</sup> BBA, Düveli *Ecnebiye Defterleri* (ED) 13/ 1: 3; 12.

<sup>81</sup> Y. Yücel (ed.), *Kitab-ı Mustetab*, Ankara, 1974, 41-59.

<sup>82</sup> E. Asthor, "The Venetian Cotton Trade in Syria in the Latter Middle Ages", *Studi Medievali* 17, 1976, 675- 715.

<sup>83</sup> A.M. Millard, "The Import of London, 1600-1640" Ph. D. dissertation, University of London, 1956.

<sup>84</sup> BBA ED 13/1, 30.

On the other hand, the Ottomans occasionally prohibited the export of cotton and cotton yarn during the first quarter of the century, especially to the Italians. By contrast, the Dutch merchants were allowed to export these products<sup>85</sup>. Thus, Cyprus became an important island for international trade between the Ottoman Empire and the western countries in the 17th century, notably the Dutch. While Cyprus lost its pre-eminent role in the luxury trade of silks and spices under the Ottomans, trade in other textile products, especially the locally manufactured cotton cloth, continued to be an important part of international trade<sup>86</sup>.

After discussing the importance of İzmir as an international entrepot for bulky commodities and textile goods, by referring to the explanations of Lewes Roberts, Daniel Goffman points out that “the trade of this port is most noted for the abundance of cottons which hence is transported to England, France, Holland, and Italy, estimated yearly to be about 20,000 quintal, and is found here to grow in the adjoining plains”<sup>87</sup>.

Mohair yarn was the most important raw material for the textile manufacturers in Ankara from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. As a raw material, producers used the hair of a special type of goat, known as the *tiftik keçisi* or Angora goat. It seems that this type of goat was not easy to acclimatise outside the Anatolian steppe. Towards the middle of the seventeenth century the Angora goat became a very significant source of raw material for the Dutch Leiden textile industry.

In the Ottoman Empire, the real increase in the export of mohair yarn occurred in the early 17th century with the entry of Northern Europeans, especially Dutch merchants into the Mediterranean. Ottoman archival documents indicate that mohair export from Ankara began to increase in the second decade of the century. This export increased so considerably that the Ottoman entrepreneurs in Ankara complained about scarcity of mohair yarn<sup>88</sup>. Mohair yarn had become one of the basic raw materials of the enormously successful Leiden cloth industry<sup>89</sup>. Especially after the 1630s, the Dutch merchants increased their import of mohair yarn from the Empire. The Dutch imports were in all probability even greater than the English and French. However, in the following century the picture had already changed (table 7,8).

**Table 8. Mohair yarn exported from Ottoman Empire to England (1734-1743)**

YEAR	lbs.
1734	97,327
1735	none
1736	236,722
1737	241,179
1738	216,806

<sup>85</sup> BBA MM 6004, 34.

<sup>86</sup> Jennings 1993, 375.

<sup>87</sup> D. Goffman, *İzmir and Levantine World 1550-1650*, 1990, 53.

<sup>88</sup> The kadi's records (*kadı sicilleri*) (AKS) of Ankara reveal that certain Ottoman entrepreneurs asked Sultan to ban mohair yarn export from Ankara in 1615 (AKS 15/223). These documents are housed in the archives of the *Milli Kütüphane*, Ankara.

<sup>89</sup> N.W. Posthumus, *De Geschiedenis van de Leidsche Lakenindustrie, 3 vols.*, 's Gravenhage-Martinus Nijhoff, 1939.

1739	49,388
1740	none
1741	152,146
1742	none
1743	208,699
TOTAL	1,202,267

Source: Hanway 1754,62.

Indeed, the 1630s marked a considerable alteration in the Dutch import of mohair yarn from the Ottoman Empire<sup>90</sup>. There were certain changes which occurred around 1635 in the Dutch cloth industry. Israel states that “fine-cloth manufacture was much more labour-intensive than that of ‘new draperies’, so that, from the moment Holland began to produce *lakens* in quantity, labour was inexorably drawn off from the cheaper lines where it was being less profitably employed. This is the reason that the upsurge in Leiden fine-cloth production precisely coincided with a decisive and irreversible downturn in output of the coarser sorts, that is of all the other major branches except for camlets, which were made from expensive Turkish mohair yarn and which were produced only in small quantities in Holland”<sup>91</sup>.

## V

Throughout the seventeenth century, the Dutch and English merchants became more important than Portuguese merchants in the spice trade in the Levant, in the Indian Ocean and also in Malaysia and Indonesia. Merchants from England and the Dutch Republic changed the spice trade routes of the Portuguese and the Venetians in the 17th century<sup>92</sup>. Dutch pepper and fine spices began to arrive in large quantities at Genoa and Leghorn from 1609 onwards. Within a few years, spices which were distributed from Aleppo, by the Venetians, and from Lisbon, by the Genoese, had vanished from the scene. By the middle of the Twelve Years Truce the Dutch were the undisputed masters of the Mediterranean spice traffic<sup>93</sup>. “The first big Dutch convoy to the Levant, ten heavily armed and manned ships, crammed with spices, which sailed to ‘Cyprus, Syria, Palestine and Egypt’ in 1609, were equipped with guns, munitions, and additional men, free of charge, by the States General”<sup>94</sup>. In the second decade of the century, Dutch ships reached Istanbul with cargo consisting for the most part of spices<sup>95</sup>. Turkish contemporary observer Ömer Talip wrote: “Now the Europeans have learnt to know the whole world; they send their ships everywhere and seize important ports. Formerly the

<sup>90</sup> The archival documents indicate that the Dutch merchants began to increase their import of mohair yarn from the Levant in 1630s. And this trade rose; and it reached its peak in the middle of the century (ARA, LH 98, 124, 125).

<sup>91</sup> Israel 1989, 194.

<sup>92</sup> M.A. Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630*, The Hague, 1962, 135.

<sup>93</sup> Israel 1989, 97.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 97-98. After 1610 the Dutch Republic tried to build up a network for Levant trade, and based on this, aimed to establish diplomatic relations with the Ottoman sultans in the Levant. The main postings were those of a resident ambassador in Istanbul (1612), and the consulates at Aleppo (1613), Larnaca (1613), and Algiers (1616) (Israel 1989, 98).

<sup>95</sup> Heeringa 1910, 102- 110.



goods of India, Sind and China used to come to Suez, and were distributed by Muslims to all the world. But now these goods are carried on Portuguese, Dutch and English ships to Frangistan [Europe], and are spread all over the world from there. What they do not need themselves they bring to Istanbul and other Islamic lands, and sell it for five times the price, thus earning much money. For this reason gold and silver are becoming scarce in the lands of Islam”<sup>96</sup>. This meant that the Levant towns that previously exported Asian goods to the European markets now imported the same goods from these markets. Pepper and spices were the main products to change direction, indigo followed somewhat later. According to Meilink-Roelofs, there was a ‘close connection between the expansion of the United Company’s spice monopoly and trade in Mocha’<sup>97</sup>. She believes that the price of spices was lower in Mocha than in Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century. That is why most Dutch merchants did not want to sell spices there. But there was a large demand for pepper in Mocha<sup>98</sup>.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, spices were important for the trade between the Ottoman and Dutch merchants in Aleppo. But towards the end of the second decade of the century, trade in spices declined. In 1617, Cornelis Pauw, who was the Dutch consul in Aleppo, sent a letter to the Dutch Republic about this situation. The main reason why trade in spices had declined was that English and Dutch ships had begun to bring these materials straight from India to Europe without coming to Aleppo<sup>99</sup>.

For the Levantine spice merchants, the activities of the corsairs continued to be an obstacle in the East Mediterranean. As was mentioned, the Dutch government tried to find a diplomatic solution with the North African governments. Some merchants were against these negotiations. One of them was Arnould Liebergen. He was one of the merchants who in August 1619 protested against peace negotiations with Algiers and Tunis. Another active Dutch merchant in the Levant was Lambert van Tweenhuysen<sup>100</sup>, who traded with the ‘Van Tweenhuysen Company’ already mentioned. Franchoy Pelgrom and his half-brothers, Paulus and Steffen Pelgrom were also active in the same company. They had been known as Levantine spice-merchants.

The Persian rulers wanted to damage Ottoman international trade. Therefore, apart from redirecting the silk route, they tried to change the spice trade route from India which passed by Ottoman areas to Europe. Although the Dutch merchants were interested in the Levant spice and pepper trade, the Ottoman sultan began to consider certain of the new activities of the VOC to be against the Persian plan. Thus, in 1618 the Porte gave permission to the VOC to trade with Mocha in Yemen.

In spite of this development, according to Steensgaard, the war between the Ottoman Empire and the Persians formed a significant obstacle for overseas trade in the Levant, because caravans with Asian products, like spices, were prevented from arriving in the Eastern Mediterranean ports<sup>101</sup>. Hence, after the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the spice trade in the Levant declined. Although, the VOC initially succeeded in earning significant profits in the Southeastern part of the Ottoman Empire (especially Yemen),

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<sup>96</sup> B. Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, London and New York, 1968, 118.

<sup>97</sup> Meilink-Roelofs 1962, 222-26.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, 226.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, 362-63.

<sup>100</sup> Heeringa 1910, 802-3.

<sup>101</sup> Steensgaard 1973, 40.

later in the century it had to reduce its activities in several regions, such as the Persian Gulf and Red Sea. Consequently, the VOC suspended its commercial activities in Yemen during the ten years between 1628 and 1638. In the 1640s, some Dutch ships appeared again in Mocha<sup>102</sup>.

## VI

It is known that in granting the English and Dutch capitulations, one of the Ottoman purposes was to secure war materials from the English and Dutch merchants. Powder, iron, copper, tin, lead and saltpetre were important inputs for the Ottoman Empire at that time<sup>103</sup>. It was clear that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries some raw materials like iron were brought to the Ottoman Empire through Holland and Leghorn in large quantities<sup>104</sup>. Moreover, fire-arms are regularly exported to the Ottoman Empire by the English, French, and the Dutch merchants<sup>105</sup>.

English and Dutch merchants sold gunpowder and saltpetre. Their companies were also bringing these items from the cities in the North-western part of the Indies such as Ahmadabad and Agra. They purchased these items from local sellers and brought them to Surat<sup>106</sup>. Frequently they faced serious problems, which were mostly solved by giving bribes to local authorities. Sometimes local authorities prohibited the Dutch and English merchants to purchase gunpowder and saltpetre because they would sell them to the enemies of the Ottomans<sup>107</sup>. Braudel believes that the English and the Dutch created a lucrative trade with the Ottomans in war materials<sup>108</sup>. According to Parry, documents from the archives at Marseilles provide information about the transport of raw materials such as copper, steel and tin to the Levant. In these registers it is noted that one of the cargoes of the Dutch unloaded at İzmir contained 30,000 bombs<sup>109</sup>.

Copper in the 17th century was another big business, requiring large capital resources and also good political connections, since the Swedish crown closely regulated the country's copper exports. These items were also exported to the Ottoman Empire by the Dutch merchants<sup>110</sup>.

The Dutch merchant vessels regularly transported English products such as textiles, lead, tin, and several kinds of fish to the Empire as well. Woollen cloth was the great support of English Levant Company. However, since the French found means to supply the same products in the eighteenth century, this article declined in sale for English Levant trade. But England still maintained the sway in fine cloths. The Dutch also supplied the same products.

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<sup>102</sup> Meilink-Roelofs 1962, 226; Glamann 1958. In the service of the VOC the port of Mocha was visited by the 'ships' the *Samson*, the *'t Wapen van Zeelant*, the *Noort Hollant*, the *Gouden Leeuw*, the *Orangien*, the *Mauritius*, the *Hollandia*, the *Goede Fortuijn*, the *Engelschen Beer*, the *Walcheren*, the *Nassau*, the *Weesp*, the *Heusden* and the *'t Vliegende Hart*. (AGA card index to Notarial Archive, 'Levant').

<sup>103</sup> BBA MM 6006, 32.

<sup>104</sup> Parry 1970b, 224.

<sup>105</sup> *Observations on the Commerce of Great Britain...*, p.13.

<sup>106</sup> It seems that the Dutch and English merchants brought the war materials cheaper than the others like Ottoman and Asian merchants.

<sup>107</sup> Furber 1976, 225, 256.

<sup>108</sup> Braudel 1972, 479.

<sup>109</sup> V.J. Parry, "Materials of War in the Ottoman Empire", in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East, From the Rise of Islam to the Present Day*, Ed.: M.A. Cook, Oxford Univ. Press, 1970, 219-229.

<sup>110</sup> BBA MM 6006, 32.

**Table 9. Cloth exported from England to the Ottoman Empire (1734-1743)**

Lbs.

YEAR	Long Cloths	Short Cloths
1734	4,766	500
1735	18,946	3,150
1736	8,368	1,485
1737	11,463	2,182
1738	21,574	1,664
1739	1,991	660
1740	8,254	1,680
1741	3,910	583
1742	5,168	2,222
1743	12,100	1,750
TOTAL	96,541	15,876

Source: Hanway 1754, 62.

According to the Directors of English Levant Company, in 1774, during the preceding twenty years, the British cloth export to the Levant was 180.000 l. annually, exclusive of many other collateral articles of value<sup>111</sup>.

Coffee trade between the Ottoman and the Dutch merchants was booming in Yemen at the beginning of the 17th century. Brouwer documented the first Dutch voyage to Mocha in 1616<sup>112</sup>. According to Glamann, the coffee shipped from Mocha at the beginning of the century was sold against gold and silver supplied from Egypt and other countries and with these precious metals the rice and textile imports from South and East Asia could be paid. Since 1618 the VOC and the other western companies had attempted to gain a share of this 'lucrative import trade'. After 1628 they concentrated their efforts on the intra-Asian coffee trade. Meanwhile, the Indians gained control of the import trade<sup>113</sup>. Under Ottoman control, Mocha became a port of transshipment with coffee as the main product. At the same time, the transit trade shifted from Aden to Mocha, and the rise of Mocha occurred almost parallel to the decline of Aden<sup>114</sup>.

**Table 10. French export to the Ottoman Empire (1720)**

Product	Value (£)
Cloth	240,000
Cutlery and other small goods	20,000
Indigo	50,000
Sugar	20,000
Coffee	15,000
Net Silver	155,000

Source: Hanway 1754, 50.

<sup>111</sup> *Observations on the Commerce of Great Britain*...p. 10-11.

<sup>112</sup> Brouwer 1986.

<sup>113</sup> Glamann 1958; 1974.

<sup>114</sup> Brouwer 1997, 266.

From 1627 to 1640 Ottoman-Dutch trade relations decreased in this region, because of war in the Red Sea. After 1640, the coffee trade increased again. The number of ships sailing from Surat, Diu, Dabhol, Malabar and Masulipatam to Mocha amounted to 30 or 40 annually<sup>115</sup>. There was also a large volume of coffee traded in Cairo between the Ottoman and the Dutch merchants. According to Faroqhi, the Ottoman-trading route went from Istanbul to Mecca and Medina, by way of Cairo and Damascus. He states that the Dutch merchants became more effective than the Egyptian merchants in coffee trade<sup>116</sup>. They also had strong ties with the Far East Muslim traders for this item. The Ottoman and Dutch merchants also traded together in the Far East<sup>117</sup>.

## VII

Although Venetian, merchants were very active in the sixteenth century, in the following two centuries French, and English and Dutch merchants increased their commercial interests in the Levant. Wars and political conditions in the eastern part of the Mediterranean also influenced the commercial activities of the Western merchants. In the seventeenth century, from the middle of the twenties, due to the Persians' effort to change the trade route from the East to the West, the commercial activities of the Dutch merchants moved to the Persian Gulf or to Moscow. Thus, in the 1630s, the English and Venetian merchants became more important in the Levant than the Dutch. However, this does not mean that Dutch trade in the Levant *totally* collapsed from 1620 to 1640. There was a relative decline between 1625 and 1635 in the Dutch Levant trade. But, one cannot claim that it was only a result of the Spanish embargo. Moreover, after the middle of the 1630s, the commercial relations between the Ottomans and the Dutch started to flourish again, thanks to the new goods traded.

Western European merchants traded various commodities in the Levant before the industrial revolution. In the beginning both bulky and luxury commodities were important in the commercial relations between the Western Europe and the Levant. The main products traded between the Western European and the Ottoman merchants were: linen, muslin, quilts, blankets, carpets, wool, mohair yarn, silk, indigo, cotton, galls, cochineal, coffee, sugar, pepper, spice, lead, tin, copper, steel, coral, grain, wheat, etc. The greatest volume of trade was in textiles. The Ottoman exports consisted mostly of raw materials for textile production, such as cotton, silk, wool, and mohair yarn and manufactured products such as blankets, quilts, muslin, carpets, and a variety of cloth, in addition to other goods such as foodstuffs. They imported raw materials used in war and weapons from the Western Europe and colonial goods such as coffee, sugar, spices, and dyestuffs, grain, rye, rice, fish, alum, etc.

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<sup>115</sup> Meilink-Roelofs 1962, 225.

<sup>116</sup> S. Faroqhi, "Camels, Wagons, and the Ottoman State in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", in *IJMES* 14, 1982, 523-539.

<sup>117</sup> In the 17th century, there were many merchants who came as peddlers and were involved in trade in precious stones and drugs in Bantam and in other Indonesian ports. This trade was mostly carried out by Persian merchants, however, from the West Asia, Turkish and Armenian merchants were also engaged in trade there. Both the Dutch and Ottoman merchants traded in this region together (Meilink-Roelofs 1962, 243).

The entry of the French, English, and Dutch into the Levant trade led to great changes in the European trading patterns. These western trading nations were able to corner the Ottoman market and sell goods in the Levant. Furthermore, they aimed to buy and sell more and more goods and involved in the commercial network and participated in economic changes in the Mediterranean.

In the sixteenth century, the Italians had control of Europe's trade with the Levant, not only in textiles, wines, oils and fruits coming from the Mediterranean region and purchased in the Ottoman ports in the East Mediterranean, but also in the spices and silks shipped overland from the countries bordering the Indian Ocean. But towards the end of the century, the picture of Europe's trade began to change in the Levant by the Northern Europeans' entering the boundaries of the Empire. Firstly, they concentrated on Aleppo to control trade from the Eastern Mediterranean to Europe.

After Aleppo, Northwestern European merchants found new trading centres for the trade between the East and the West, such as Cyprus and İzmir. Thus, the European transportation and trade continued as regards both the commodities coming from the East and the Ottoman products. The decline in the Southern European industry became obvious in the second decade of the seventeenth century. England and the Netherlands and later France appeared as the new rivals in the South. The result of the Western Mediterranean decline was a competitive struggle for the shares in Levant market between the English and Dutch industries, later joined by the French for particular kinds of cloth.

The basic exports from the Ottoman territories to the European world were the raw materials used in textile production. Because of the Ottoman economic concept, the Ottoman authorities did not or could not control the expansion of the new western trading nations within the boundaries of the Empire. The policies of Ottomans facilitated their expansion. Furthermore, together with the activities of the merchants those policies caused the early stage of the integration between the trading centres of the Ottoman Empire and the Western European economic centres.

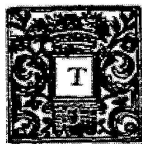
Textile industries in Western Europe such as silk, cotton and camlets profited from the commercial contacts with the Ottoman Empire. Thanks to the large supplies of cheap and fine raw materials obtained from the Levant (and other regions such as Persia and Spain), textile manufacturing in the Western Europe flourished before the industrial revolution. Together with Spain and Persia, the Ottoman Empire became a very significant exporter of the raw materials for the Dutch, English and French textile industries.

The main reason for the replacement of Italian textile products by western European textiles was the cost of production. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Dutch, English and later on French textile products were offered at lower prices than the Italian products. The Empire, with its huge population in Anatolia, the Balkans and the Middle East, was to become a significant importer of the textile products from the north instead of the South of Europe.





SECT VIII.  
OF THE  
DUTCH TRADE  
TO THE  
*LEVANT.*



THE Trade carried on from HOLLAND to the LEVANT, is of very great Importance to the *Republic*, both for the Quantity and Quality of Merchandize exported thither, as well as that which the *Dutch* bring from thence, and distribute afterwards, with very great Profit to the different *People* of *Europe*.

Of

# An ACCOUNT

Of the Number of Wollen Cloths of all Sorts, Exported by the  
*Lectant-Company* from *England* to *Turky*, in Forty-six Years, from  
*Christmas*, 1671, to *Christmas*, 1717.

Distinguishing between the Exports in those Years, when the Trade was Redrained  
to General Ships, and the Exports in those Years when the Trade was Open, and  
carried on by Private Ships: *Ytz.*

## EXPORTED

Cloths  
In Twelve Years, from *Christmas* 1671 to *Christmas* 1683, by nine General  
Shippings to all parts of *Europe* ..... 19,863

74776 In Five Years, from *Christmas* 1683 to *Christmas* 1688, by Private Ships : ..... 14,990

94986 In Seven Years, from *Christmas* 1688 to *Christmas* 1693, by General Ships : ..... 13,568

148789 In Ten Years, from *Christmas* 1693 to *Christmas* 1703, by Private Ships ; And  
by one General Shipping in the Year 1703 : ..... 14,978

122253 In Seven Years, from *Christmas* 1703 to *Christmas* 1710, by four General Ship-  
pings : ..... 17,464

89268 In Five Years, from *Christmas* 1710 to *Christmas* 1717, by Private Ships ; *viz.*

In 1711, ..... Cloths 13,578

1714, ..... 13,537

1715, ..... 13,308

In 1716, ..... 37,263

1717, ..... 22,271

1717, ..... 20,234

Cloths 89,268

That is *commonly* *done* ..... 16,233

But if to this last Medium the Year 1718 should be added, wherein there has  
been no Exportation, in such Case the Annual Exports would amount to no more  
than ..... Cloths - 13,298

And it must be observed upon the preceding State of the Exports to *Turky*,  
That notwithstanding the Exports in the first Twelve Years by General Ships, exceeds the Exports  
in the five preceding Years by Private Ships, Cloths 4391 *per Annum*, before the Conclusion of the  
Peace with *Tunis*, in *February*, 1673 ; and by the *Restoration*, before the Conclusion of the  
Peace with *Tripoly*, in *March*, 1673. And

And that the Company should find for several Years before *Christmas*, 1683, to submit to such in-  
crease of Exports, and to receive such a great deal of Profit, as they did receive from the *Victor* and the other  
Masters, at the *Ottoman* Peace, that the Trade was under the general Discouragement.

Whereas, in the five Years from *Christmas*, 1683, to *Christmas*, 1688, the Trade was protected  
with all imaginable Freedom, until the cutting War with *France* prevented the Dispatch of those Ships  
which were preparing to sail, so that the Exports in the first seven Years of the War by general Ships  
from 1683 to *Christmas*, 1689, did not exceed Cloths 14,568 *per Annum*, the Trade being unvoun-  
dably restrained by the several Misfortunes that attended the *Company* in 1693, under the Command of  
*Sir George Roderick*, and afterwards under the Command of *John*, which the *Company* had Reason to carry on their Trade by  
other Masters, and that the Exports on a Medium of Ten Years, from *Christmas*, 1693, to *Christmas*,  
1703, (in which time the former Peace with *France*, that continued about four Years and a half, is  
included) should not exceed Cloths 14,990.

Whereas, in the following seven Years, during the War, from *Christmas*, 1703, to *Christmas*,  
1710, there in five Years, since the Peace to *Christmas*, 1717, the Exports by Private Ships should be  
reduced to Cloths 15,033 *per Annum*.

Now, farther, That the Extraordinary Exportation in 1716 and 1717, should oblige the Company  
to restrain their Trade, for those twelve Years, and to receive such a great deal of Profit, as they did receive from the  
*Victor* and the other Masters, at the *Ottoman* Peace, and that the same should be a just and reasonable Method and Practice of carrying on the  
Trade by Annual General Ships.

*It is therefore humbly plain, that, Whether the Trade to Turkey has not been carried on with  
greater Advantage to this Kingdom by General, than by Private Ships.*

**Table 11. Shares of the major European nations in the Levant trade, 1686-1784 (in livres tournois and percentages)**

Year	Dutch	%	France	%	England	%	Venice	%	Austria%
1686	3,697,440	38.3	1,519,290	15.7	4,184,700	43.4	246,900	2.6	
1750	134,164	3.4	2,550,868	65.1	595,850	15.2	637,421	16.3	
1776	4,300,901	14.4	13,448,791	45.1	7,432,045	24.9	2,875,279	9.6	2.9
1784		18.3		36.5		9.2		12.0	24.0

Source: B. McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land, 1600-1800*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1981.

**Table 12. French Trade with the Ottoman Empire, 1671-1789, in total (in livres tournois 000s)**

Year	Import from the Ottoman Emp.	Exports to the Ottoman Emp.
1671-1675	6,676	
1681-1685	5,804	
1691-1695	6,644	
1702-1704	8,320	
1711-1715	13,920	
1721-1725	9,480	4,597
1731-1735	12,000	4,499
1741-1745	13,372	18,452
1750-1754	23,030	12,683
1761-1765	16,841	16,439
1771-1775	27,800	17,977
1781-1785	25,160	16,700
1786-1789	28,989	15,465

E. Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth century*, Leiden 1999.

**Table 13. British Trade with the Ottoman Empire, 1621-1856 (in £ 000s)**

Year	Imports from the Ottoman Emp.					Exports to the Ottoman Emp.			
	Man. goods	Text. mat.	foodstuffs	dyestuffs	other	Total imp.	Man. goods	Raw mat.	Total Exp.
1621, 1630-34		107	65	5	72	249			
1663, 1669		245	79	58	39	421			
1699-1701		276	8	13	17	314	217	17	234
1722-1724		326	7	7	16	356	190	19	209
1752-1754		114	11	1	26	152	137	15	152
1784-1786		241	8	-	24	273	38	40	78
1794-1796		285	16	47	30	378	49	83	132
1804-1806		37	66	73	65	241	105	65	170
1814-1816	2	96	127	113	78	416	175	141	316
1824-1826	7	842	78	148	79	1,154	590	117	707
1834-1836	3	279	83	161	452	1,274	1,203	181	1,384
1844-1846	33	940	257	361	207	1,798	2,893	373	3,266
1854-1856	321	2,594	2,142	541	711	6,309	5,694	1,384	7,078

Source: R.Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square: English Traders in the Levant in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1967, 31; "English Imports from the Middle East, 1570-1780" in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, Ed. M.A. Cook, Oxford, 1970, 202; *The Industrial Revolution and British Overseas Trade*, Leicester Univ. Press, 1979, 88-93, 110-125.