The 'Island Anatolia,' a Maritime History Approach

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The editors of this volume have written that "Anatolia can be visualized as an island-continent, completely encircled and permeated by waterways: the Mediterranean Sea to the South, the Black Sea to the North, the Aegean and Marmara Seas along with the Straits to the West, Lake Van and the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates to the East, and then the many rivers, lakes, and marshes that alleviate its continental mass."[1] Indeed, as Fig. 1 demonstrates, Anatolia can be visualized as an island encircled by waterways. But to what extent can this insightful concept help us? By stressing Anatolia's aquatic element, it means that we can stress its relationship to water. The water, whether salty or fresh, has been very much addressed in the last two decades in historiography, particularly from the perspective of the spatial, maritime/oceanic, and environmental spheres. In fact, there are histories of the sea, called thalassology from the Greek word "*thalassa*," histories of the rivers, called potamology from the Greek word "*potamos*" (river), and histories of the lakes, called limnology from the Greek word "*limni*" (lake). It is also possible to add aktology, from the Greek word "*akti*" (coast), which are studies that have appeared as histories of the coast.[2] Certainly, it is possible to be lost in concepts, including new concepts; in fact, we can invent and reinvent geography and approaches to history. Clearly, it is a truism that the use of the water, whether salty or fresh, to understand history has provided not only fresh approaches but new tools and interpretations for historians. After all, traditionally, historical research has been mainly terracentric.[3] However, in the last 25 years, the history of the sea has flourished, albeit with many problems.[4] The separation of the land from the aquatic element "darkens much more than it enlightens in relation to the understanding of historical processes."[5] The interest of scholars to the human relationship to the largest body of water, the sea, was instigated by Braudel, who introduced the sea as a unit of research in the mid-twentieth century. Subsequently, the research theme grew, especially from the beginning of the twenty-first century, particularly with the next emblematic work of

1 Call for papers for the 17th International ANAMED Annual Symposium "Aquatic Worlds of Anatolia," 08–09–2023.

2 Antonis Hadjikyriacou and Alexis Wick, "On the Shores of Empire," in *The Cambridge Companion to Ottoman History*, ed. Alexis Wick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024); Michael Pearson, "Littoral Society: The Concept and the Problems," *Journal of World History* 17 (2006): 353–73; John R. Gillis, *The Human Shore: Seacoasts in History* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2017); Antonis Hadjikyriacou, *Islands of the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Marus Wiener, 2018).

3 Antonis Hadjikyriacou, Χερσαίο Νησί. Η Μεσόγειος και η Κύπρος στην Οθωμανική Εποχή των Επαναστάσεων [*Peninsular Island: Cyprus and the Mediterranean in the Ottoman Age of Revolutions*] (Athens: Psifides Publications 2023), 97–98.

4 Histories of the Mediterranean Sea, the Atlantic Ocean, the Indian Ocean, the Pacific Ocean, the Baltic Sea, the Black Sea, and the Arabian Seas, etc. The problem is that the sea is used as "scenery" and space and not as a dynamic agent. Many histories of the sea are not histories of the relationship of man with the sea: the sea is just "decorative." Gelina Harlaftis, "Forum Introduction: What is Maritime History?," *International Journal of Maritime History* 32, no. 2 (2020): 354–63; Gelina Harlaftis, "Maritime History or the History of *thalassa*," in *The New Ways of History*, eds. Gelina Harlaftis, Nikos Karapidakis, Kostas Sbonias, and Vaios Vaiopoulos (London: IB Tauris, 2009), 211–38.

5 Hadjikyriacou, *Peninsular Island,* 93.

the Mediterranean by Horden and Purcell in 2000.[6] This book came at the time of a 'spatial turn' in American historical studies. The use of the sea as a unit of research has been described as "thalassology."[7]

The aim of this paper is to 'invent' Anatolia as an island to apply a maritime approach. This is an interdisciplinary approach that provides a 'grand design'—that is, a methodology that offers a holistic or partial view of the relationship of humanity with the sea. This approach can be extended to discuss not only our relationship to the sea but generally to large masses of water, including rivers and lakes. Therefore, how do we approach the history of the sea? How does one study the sea, the water, as a dynamic agent and not just a setting or a static part of a geographical area? The aquatic concept that this book tries to demonstrate has many common aspects with the maritime history approach.[8] Maritime history is the relationship of man with the sea and can be studied in five broad categories: what man did *on the sea* (ships, seamen, navigation, sea trade, war, and piracy), *around the sea* (port cities, islands, maritime communities, and shipping businesses), *in the sea* (fishing and maritime resources), *because of the sea* (maritime transport systems and entrepreneurial networks, maritime empires, and international maritime institutions and policy), and *about the sea* (myths and poems, impact of the sea on art, and maritime culture).[9] After all, the history of the sea can be traced to continuity and change *on the sea, around the sea*, and *in the sea*. It can identify change *because of the sea* through maritime transport systems connecting seas and lands and the entrepreneurial networks that have been formed within or beyond maritime empires. It can trace culture *about the sea* and seek its impact on human societies. And all of this can be achieved within a specific time framework within a specific maritime region, sea, or ocean. Writing the history of the sea is to identify how, where, when, and why the sea has acted as a dynamic agent that brings change to human societies with its eternal movement and continuity.[10]

By including the whole aquatic dimension—that is, rivers, lakes, and wetlands—the chapters of this volume can be classified ac-

6 Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen a l'époque de Philippe II*, 3 vols. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1949; revised several times); Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2000).

7 The 'new thalassology' has 'sailed' together with the upsurge of global history, particularly the history of globalization in the twenty-first century and the sea as an analytical category. The history of the seas and oceans of the early modern and modern ages was 'discovered,' to a large extent, by geographers, anthropologists, and cultural historians mainly from the United States. They have formed the most important body of scholars involved in the 'new thalassology.' This trend seems to be linked with a crisis in the financing of regional/area studies/projects and the promotion (that is, the funding by National Resource Centers) of 'globalism,' which has triggered a re-thinking of ways in which the world is divided. See Gelina Harlaftis, "History of *thalassa*;" Martin W. Lewis and Kären Wigen, "A Maritime Response to the Crisis in Area Studies," *The Geographical Review* 89, no. 2 (April 1999): 161–68. It proceeded with a more general trend in spatial history where space generally became an analytical category using new technologies; see Ian Gregory, Don DeBats, and Don Lafreniere, eds., *The Routledge Companion to Spatial History* (Abington/New York: Routledge, 2018).

8 Frank Broeze has delineated maritime history with his classic article, while the International Maritime History Association has endorsed this approach subsequently: see Frank Broeze, "From the Periphery to the Mainstream: The Challenge of Australia's Maritime History," *The Great Circle* 11, no. 1 (1989): 1–14. See also Gelina Harlaftis and Carmel Vassalo, "Maritime History since Braudel," in *New Directions in Mediterranean Maritime History,* eds. Gelina Harlaftis and Carmel Vassalo, Research in Maritime History no. 28 (St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada: International Maritime Economic History Association, 2004); Sarah Palmer, *Seeing the Sea: The Maritime Dimension of History, An Inaugural Lecture* (Greewich: The University of Greenwich, 2000).

9 Gelina Harlaftis, "Maritime History: A New Version of the Old Version and the True History of the Sea," *International Journal of Maritime History* 32, no. 2 (2020): 383–402.

10 Gelina Harlaftis, "A New Version of the Old Version."

cording to the above concepts. The first category, *on the sea/water*, involves human activities on the surface of the water. The structure of the sea, of the river, of the lake, discovering/ignoring it, sailing on it, navigation technology, waterborne routes, seamen, ships, and ship technology on the sea/river/lake, the trade of cargo, and 'human' cargo on sea/water routes.[11]

The second category, *around the sea/water* includes human societies that earn their living from the sea/river/lake and the implications this might have on their societies. In this way, it deals with maritime communities, port cities, shipping businesses, shipbuilding, and areas ancillary to shipping businesses. Port cities on seas and rivers are the staple of maritime history.[12] They are where ships and cargoes go, they are the end and the beginning of the voyage, they are the point of distribution of goods and ideas, and it is where the geopolitical power of the world's leading nations begins. The water marks the identity of a port city.

The third category, *in the sea/water*, includes human activities that deal with the resources of the sea and the environment of the sea. These include fishing fields, marine and water resources, oceanography, and the environment of the sea. Historians and natural scientists have been brought together for the future management of the oceans, rivers, lakes, and wetlands. The history of the sea/river/lake cannot be written without following the human activities that deal with these resources and the environment.[13]

The fourth category, *because of the sea*, includes the dynamic agents that challenge and ultimately change the path of the history of the sea. There are two dynamic agents that coordinate the economic, technological, political, and social forces that bring change to the history of the sea, of the river, and of the lake.[14] The first one is maritime empires, substituted in the twentieth century by international maritime institutions. Maritime empires enacted their own aquatic policies on rivers, lakes, and seas. They regulated and policed trade and delineated their territorial jurisdiction following long debates and/or wars, ultimately deciding to whom the sea, the rivers, and the lakes belonged. The second one is maritime transport systems, which are the mechanisms that integrate maritime regions and port cities in the world economy. All seas and rivers are fashioned from the articulation of many maritime (or generally aquatic) regions. The main mechanism of connectivity for aquatic regions and subregions (including ports) is the transport system that is developed within each aquatic region.

It may be useful to further discuss the notion of transport systems. According to Werner Scheltjens, "Transport systems are complexes of physical attributes (rivers, roads, canals, seas, etc.) and communities populating them, thus allowing for the exchange of people, goods and information between the locations of a trade network."[15] Sea ports are fundamental to understanding maritime transport systems. According to the economic geographer B. S.

11 For example, this category can encompass the chapters of Müge Durusu-Tanrıöver, "Landlocked? The Hittite Empire and Late Bronze Age Maritime Mediterranean Trade Networks," and of Faisal Husain, "The Marginalization of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers in Premodern Anatolian History."

12 Frank Broeze, "Introduction," in *Brides of the Sea: Port Cities of Asia from the 16th–20th Centuries*, ed. Frank Broeze (Kensington, NSW: New South Wales University Press, 1989), 11, 42.

13 The chapters in this volume that deal with these issues can include those of Jean-François Pérouse, "Reconstruction, Improvement, and Denial of Creeks: Planning Ankara, Ignoring Local Hydrological Characteristics (1924–1948)," and Christina Luke, "The *Longue Durée* of Paradise Lost: The Anthropocene of Anatolia's Wetlands."

14 This category may include three chapters of this volume: Akın Sefer, "To Know the Sea or Not? Struggles over Naval Conscription across the Ottoman 'Coastal Districts' in the Nineteenth Century," Antonis Hadjikyriacou, "Winning at Land, Losing at Sea: The Greek Revolution and the Intellectual Genealogy of the 'Blue Homeland' Doctrine," and Caterina Scaramelli, "Watery Ecologies of Belonging: Ethnographic Reflections on the Aquatic in Deltaic Spaces."

15 Werner Scheltjens, *Dutch Deltas. Emergence, Functions and Structure of the Low Countries' Maritime Transport System, ca. 1300–1850* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015), 9.

Hoyle, an important division in port geography is between those elements that have to do with the land side, that is, the hinterland, and those that have to do with the maritime side, including the port waterfront and the foreland.[16]

A "hinterland" can be described as an organized and developed land space that is connected to a port by means of transport.[17] Therefore, road, river, and railway connections are very important to the relationship between the port and the hinterland. The hinterland covers a productive area that produces goods to be transferred to the sea port, which then forms the export gateway. The supply of goods and the level of exports is not only dependent on the level of production but can be limited or controlled by state, economic, and geostrategic policies. Technology also played a highly important role in both the expansion and contraction of ports and in the formation of port systems. Indeed, the advent of steamship and railway transport modes dramatically affected ports, as well as their hinterlands in Anatolia. It also dramatically transformed and actually revolutionized river navigation and river trade in all Ottoman rivers. Navigation in most rivers of the Ottoman world were one way: vessels sailed downriver with their cargoes, and upon arrival they were broken up and sold for timber. As Quataert emphasizes, "With steam power, ships traveled both up as well as down rivers, enormously impacting the interior regions ... of the Tigris–Euphrates basins."[18] The concept of "foreland" as opposed to that of hinterland is what lies in front of the port: that is, the shipping connections of a port. It is mainly related to the land areas on the seaward side of the port and includes the other ports with which a port is connected via sea routes, where cargo is shipped or indeed transshipped by either coastal or deep-sea going vessels.[19]

The fifth category, *about the sea,* explores maritime culture and heritage, as well as the sea as inspiration to art and ideology. People of the sea have developed a distinctive maritime culture in all the world's maritime communities. This maritime culture usually concerns their perception of the world, of society, and the hierarchies and rules that evolved within it, for example, religion and family relations, to mention just a few. This includes, of course, language, gender, material culture, and different ways of visualizing or conceiving the sea and/or rivers.[20]

This chapter will concentrate on three of the above categories to discuss the idea of Anatolia as an island, focusing on trade and commercial sea/water routes. In the category *on the sea*, it will analyze the geography that relates to sailing/trade routes, including what connects sea and river transport; in *around the sea*, it will consider the main ports or commercial hubs and their entrepreneurial networks; and, in *because of the sea*, it will reveal the maritime transport systems that connect the hinterland with the foreland.

The category *on the sea* involves human activities on the surface of the sea or on the surface of the water; for the purpose for this analysis, "water" will be used interchangeably for sea, river, or lake. The structure and geography of the seas and rivers of Anatolia determined the voyages, the navigation, the sea and river routes, the ships and ship technology, and, in effect, the seamen of the region. The structure of a sea/river is directly related to the movement of people on the water and influences human settlements in coastal areas and islands. Sailing on the sea requires knowledge of the

16 Brian Hoyle, "Maritime Perspectives on Port and Port Systems: the Case of East Africa," in *Brides of the Sea. Port Cities of Asia from the 16th–20th Centuries*, ed. Frank Broeze (Kensington New South Wales: New South Wales University Press, 1989).

17 Guido G. Weigend, "Some Elements in the Study of Port Geography," *Geographical Review* 48, no. 2 (April 1958): 185–200.

18 Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 120.

19 Weigend, "Some Elements in the Study of Port Geography."

20 There are two chapters in this volume that could belong in this category: Ahmet Conker, "The Link between Cultural Aspects, Identity, and Power in Water Resources Development: The Case of Turkey," and N. Ilgi Gerçek, "Rites Aquatic: Constructions and Perceptions of Sacred Landscapes in Hittite Anatolia."

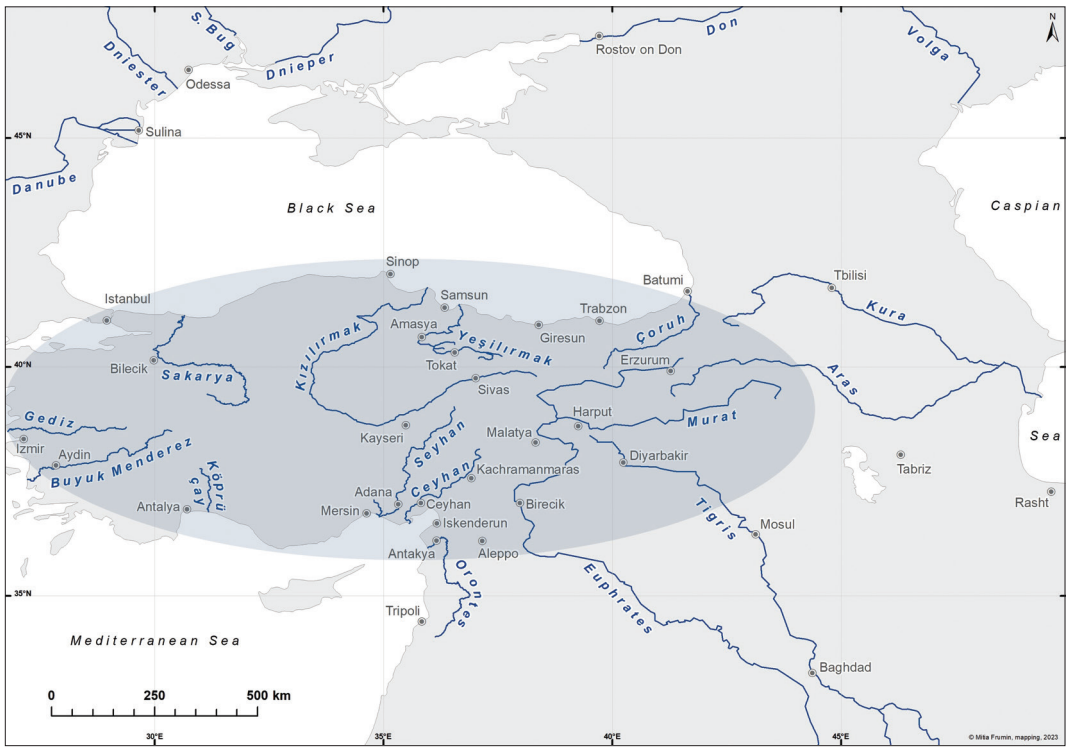


Fig. 1. Anatolia as an island.

geography of the sea and the land that surrounds it, that encloses it.

Therefore, let us start with the geography of the "island," Anatolia (Fig. 1). Why is it helpful to conceptualize Anatolia as an island? Is it possible to re-invent its geography? It is true that geography must not be considered as a given or as unchangeable in time. This helps us to understand the mechanisms of 'respatialization,' that is, how space can be reconceptualized due to local, peripheral, or historical processes.[21] Anatolia is a peninsula, but it is possible to 're-construct' it as an island. In the same way that an island can be regarded as a 'peninsula,' a peninsula like Anatolia can also be regarded as an island. In quite an innovative approach, Antonis Hadjikyriacou in his latest book has defined Cyprus as a 'peninsular island.' And he writes: "An island can be perceived as land in two ways: (a) when its relationship with the sea is narrow, with the result that its people are more landward, and (b) when its links with the continental framework that surrounds it are dense enough to create an imaginary connection that place it in a spatial category between island and peninsula."[22] Cyprus, then, is perceived as a 'peninsular' island, simply because its people did not develop skills to travel on the high seas and to engage in long-haul trade that would connect it to the rest of the world. It was people beyond Cyprus that developed deep-sea going sea transport and reached the island.

This analysis argues that Anatolia as an 'island' is 'aquatic,' in that its people developed maritime skills both on the sea- and riverfronts:

21 Hadjikyriacou, *Peninsular Island,* 102, 333–34.

22 Hadjikyriacou, *Peninsular Island*, 25.



Fig. 2. Anatolia and its hinterland.

along its northern, western, and southern coasts and its eastern riverine 'coastline' (Fig. 1). An island is surrounded by water. Anatolia is surrounded on three sides by water and on one side by rivers that connect it to its hinterland and foreland. On the northern coast, the Black Sea coastline, despite the fact that it has been overshadowed by the Dardanelles Straits and Bosphorus, is sufficiently exposed to international trade. On the western side is the Aegean coastline, while the southern side is dominated by the southeastern Mediterranean Sea. As will be demonstrated later, the Black Sea, the Aegean, and Mediterranean port cities and seaside towns have developed deep-sea going fleets along with smaller coastal and fishing boats. The eastern side is a riverine 'coastline' defined by significant fluvial systems that connect it to the seas—that is, the Black Sea, the Caspian Sea, and the Persian Gulf. As Figs. 1–2 and Table 1 indicate, the Southern Caucasus northeastern border is dominated by the Coruh River (438 km long) and the Kura River (1,575 km long). The latter heads eastward and connects with the much larger Aras River before pouring out into the Caspian Sea. The rest of the eastern borders are defined by two main rivers, the Tigris (1,900 km) and the Euphrates (2,760 km). Both rivers flow southwards and connect to pour out together into the Persian Gulf. The Murat River (722 km), also known as the eastern Euphrates, pours into the main Euphrates River. The Tigris and Euphrates have both been used as commercial water routes by sailing craft for several centuries.[23]

All the above-mentioned rivers flow through or by major cities, seaports, or river-

23 Faisal Husein, *Rivers of the Sultan: The Tigris and Euphrates in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).

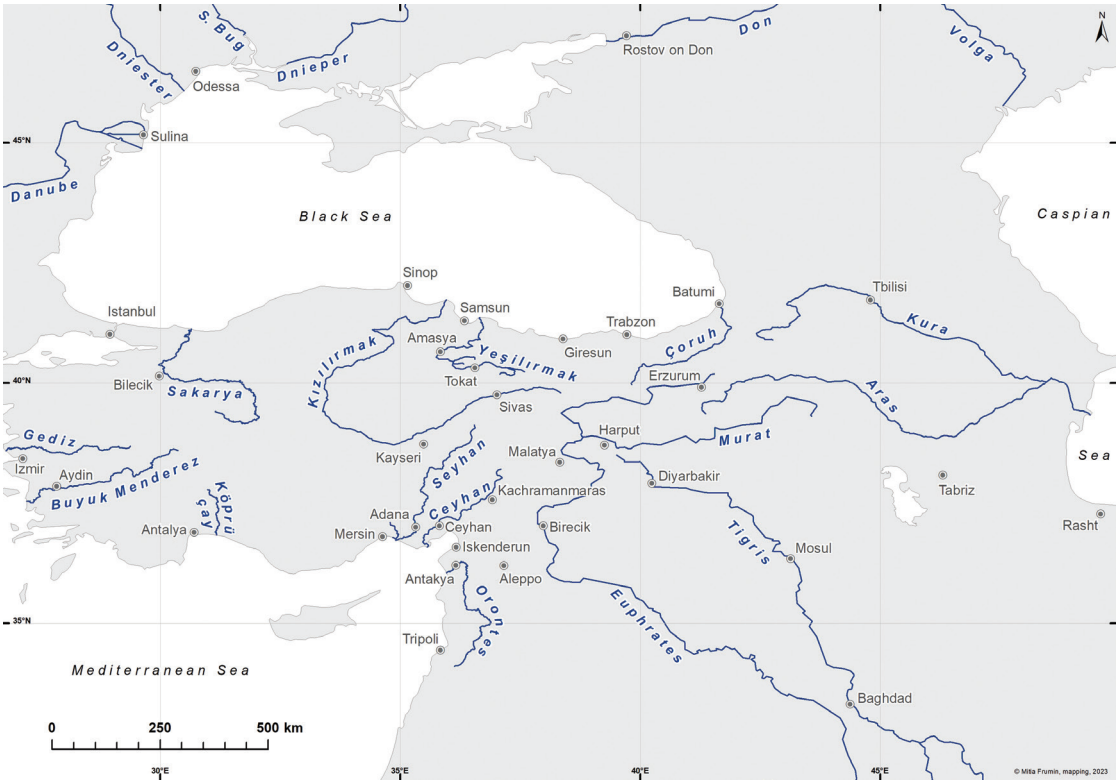


Fig. 3. The rivers of Anatolia.

ports, either on their estuaries or along their banks or basins. The seaports or riverports form major commercial nodes or gateways for produce from their hinterlands. They have formed the main commercial routes and a chain of markets that have connected Asia with Europe for several centuries, with long-standing transport systems. The Coruh River passes by the seaport of Batumi. Kura River, which until the twentieth century was navigable, also passes by the river port of Tbilisi before crossing the southern Transcaucausian mountain range to pour out into the Caspian Sea. In the basin of the Aras River lies Erzurum, a commercial hub connecting routes to the Black Sea and towards the Caspian Sea, including to Tabriz (Iran) and to Rasht (Iran), a Caspian seaport that is also a major trade center. The largest riverport of Anatolia is Diyarbakır on the Tigris River. It connects with the other major riverports southwards to Mosul and Baghdad (Iraq) and, ultimately, to Basra and the Persian Gulf. In addition, the commercial town of Harput is located approximately 14 km from the left bank of the Murat River. The Euphrates River flowing downstream passes Malatya, which lies on the banks of a small tributary to the Euphrates and proceeds through the riverport of Birecik. It should be noted that the other main riverports of the Euphrates River are to be found in Syria.

The northern Black Sea coast of Anatolia has an array of seaports, the most important of which are Trabzon and Samsun. The area has several rivers that connect to its hinterland and to the fluvial systems of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. The Kızılırmak is the longest river (1,355 km), with Sivas as its main riverport; it crosses the northern part of Cappadocia about 150 km from Kayseri to flow downstream to the Black

Table 1. The main Anatolian rivers.

River	Length in km	Mouth of the river/Estuary	Port city/city on river basin
The eastern frontier			
Çoruh	438	Black Sea	Batumi
Kura	1,515	Caspian Sea	Tbilisi
Aras	1,072	Caspian Sea	Erzurum
Tigris	1,900	Persian Gulf	Diyarbakır
Murat	722	Connects with Euphrates	Harput
Euphrates	2,760	Persian Gulf	Birecik, Malatya
The northern frontier			
Kızılırmak	1,355	Black Sea	Sivas
Yeşilırmak	519	Black Sea	Amasya, Tokat
Sakarya	824	Black Sea	Bilecik
The southern frontier			
Seyhan	560	Mediterranean	Kayseri, Adana, Mersin
Ceyhan	509	Mediterranean	Kahramanmaraş, Ceyhan
The western frontier			
Gediz	401	Aegean Sea	İzmir
Büyük Menderes	548	Aegean Sea	Aydın

Sea, west of the port of Samsun. The other river, Yeşilırmak (519 km), has Tokat and Amasya as its main riverports. It also reaches the Black Sea close to the seaport of Samsun. Farther west, the Sakarya River (824 km) has one of the largest basins of the region. It has many tributaries, with towns such as Adapazarı, Bilecik, and Eskişehir lying on or by their banks, often close to the main road from Istanbul to the south. There are also numerous small rivers that drain into the Sea of Marmara, among which the largest is the Mustafakemalpaşa River.

The southern coast of Anatolia is connected to the north and east via the Seyhan River (560 km). It flows through the regions of Cappadocia to eventually reach the south of the Anatolia 'island' at the Mediterranean Sea. Adana is its main riverport, 35 km from the seaport of Mersin. The Ceyhan River (509 km) flows to the Gulf of Alexandretta (or Iskederun), passing through both Kahramanmaraş and Ceyhan. Today, Ceyhan is the transportation hub for Middle Eastern and central Asian oil and natural gas. This area, along with Alexandretta, Aleppo, and Tripoli, has been for several centuries the focus of long-distance trading routes from the Caucasus, the Caspian region, and central Asia. The waterways that connected these focal points are rarely mentioned when discussing these long-standing trading routes, which are usually described as exclusively land routes.

The Aegean, the Anatolian 'face' to the west, bound by the Taurus Mountains, has several rivers that flow parallel to the sea, but it also has many rivers and tributaries that flow directly into the sea. The largest example is the Gediz River (401 km), which flows to the largest seaport of western Anatolia, Izmir. The Büyük

Menderes River, well-known from ancient times as the Meander River, flows through Aydin. The Aegean coast is the most exposed to international trade, with numerous large and small seaports (and seaside towns), with many coastal and fishing craft actively using the port facilities.

The category around the sea/water discusses human societies that earn their living from the sea/river and the implication that this has on their societies. In this way, it deals with port cities and maritime communities that earn their living from fishing, shipping, shipbuilding, and businesses ancillary to both the shipping industry and entrepreneurial networks. To examine the Anatolia 'island' as a maritime location, the analysis will concentrate firstly on the deep-sea going shipping fleet registered in its main ports. It will then choose one coastline, the Black Sea coast, to highlight the ports and port systems that developed their hinterland and foreland to show the methodology followed in order to understand the connectivity and integration of the region into the world economy.

Table 2 illustrates the Anatolian fleet as part of the Ottoman fleet in 1890, including steamships and sailing ships.[24] As expected, half of the Ottoman fleet was concentrated around Istanbul. In fact, in 1890, it comprised approximately 800 ships with 180,000 net registered tons, which compared well with the Russian fleet but was significantly smaller than the leading maritime nations of Europe, such as Great Britain and Germany.[25] Almost all of the Ottoman steamship fleet was concentrated in Istanbul, while most of the Ottoman sailing fleet was concentrated along the Black Sea coast of Anatolia and in the Aegean islands. In addition to Istanbul, there were several large and small coastal vessels registered in the Dardanelles Straits (in Gallipoli and Çanakkale), the Marmara Sea (in Mürefte and Pendik), the Bosphorus (in Unkapanı), and in the northern Aegean (in Enos). The Aegean islands of Chios and Kassos, with a long-standing tradition of shipping, formed the main sailing ship fleets, alongside Bozcaada, Lemnos, Lesbos, Psara, Samos, Icaria, Castelorizzo, and Crete.[26]

The Anatolian fleet, mostly concentrated on the Black Sea coast, represented 20% of the total Ottoman fleet. In 1890, this consisted of a great many merchant vessels whose owners were mainly Muslims and, in most cases, also the captains. Ottoman sailing shipowners and captains profited from the great upsurge of sea trade in the region during the nineteenth century.[27] A large number of sailing vessels were

24 This data has been compiled from the *Lloyd's Register of Shipping* books, which includes vessels of 100 tons and above, but this is far from exhaustive. It is, however, indicative of the numbers involved in relation to deep-sea going merchant vessels. This means that many of the few thousand sailing craft that were the indispensable feature of the Anatolia port complex and the islands of the Ottoman part of the Aegean Sea and Mediterranean Sea are excluded.

25 See Appendix 5 in Gelina Harlaftis and Vassilis Kardasis, "International Bulk Trade and Shipping in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea," in *The Mediterranean Response to Globalization*, eds. Jeffrey Williamson and Sevket Pamuk (London: Routledge, 2000), 233–65.

26 For the Ottoman-Greek seafarers in the area, see Gelina Harlaftis and Sophia Laiou, "Ottoman State Policy in Mediterranean Trade and Shipping, c. 1780–c. 1820: The Rise of the Greek-Owned Ottoman Merchant Fleet," in *Networks of Power in Modern Greece*, ed. Mark Mazower (London: Hurst, 2008), 1–44; Gelina Harlaftis, "The 'Eastern Invasion.' Greeks in the Mediterranean Trade and Shipping in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," in *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel's Maritime Legacy*, eds. Maria Fusaro, Colin Heywood, and Mohamed-Salah Omri (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 223–52. See also Gelina Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping. The Making of an International Tramp Fleet, 1830 to the Present Day* (London: Routledge, 1996).

27 For the development of Black Sea port cities, see Constantin Ardeleanu and Andreas Lyberatos, eds., *Port-Cities of the Western Shore of the Black Sea: Economic and Social Development, 18th–Early 20th Centuries,* Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 1 (Corfu: Ionian University, 2016), www.blacksea.gr; Evrydiki Sifneos, Oksana Iurkova, and Valentina Shandra, eds., *Port-Cities of the Northern Shore of the Black Sea: Institutional, Economic and Social Development, 18th–Early 20th Centuries,* Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 2 (Rethymnon: Centre of Maritime History, 2021), www.

Table 2. The Ottoman fleet (steamships and sailing ships), indicating the maritime fleet of the Anatolia 'island,' according to ports of Registry, 1890. Source: *Lloyd's Register of Shipping, 1890*, published in Gelina Harlaftis and Vassilis Kardasis, "International Bulk Trade and Shipping in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea," in *The Mediterranean Response to Globalization*, eds. Jeffrey Williamson and Sevket Pamuk (London: Routledge, 2000), 233–65.

Port of Registry [28]	Ships	Tons	%
Istanbul	293	86,966	48%
Chios	60	13,865	8%
Lemnos	17	2,882	2%
Cassos	16	3,330	22%
Other *	234	40,113	20%
Anatolia 'island' fleet			
Bartın	52	7,482	4%
Ereğli (Karadeniz)	30	7,068	4%
Ünye	28	5,924	3%
Trabzon	16	3,204	2%
Abana	15	2,770	2%
Rizeh	12	2,283	1%
Tirebolu	12	2,003	1%
Giresun	10	1,681	1%
Other †	22	3,360	2%
Total Anatolia fleet	**197**	**35,775**	**20%**
Total Ottoman fleet	**817**	**182,931**	**100%**

* Other includes towns and cities in the Dardanelles (Gallipoli and Çanakkale), in the Sea of Marmara (Mürefte and Pendik), the Bosporus (Unkapanı), and in the Aegean Sea (Enos, Bozcaada, Lesbos, Çeşme, Izmir, Psara, Samos, Icaria, Castelorizzo, and Crete).

† Other includes Sinop, Sürmene, Gülyalı, Abana, Hisarönü, Kara Sou (near Sinop), Erzurum (Aras), 'Sakarya', İliç (Euphrates), Harput (on the Murat River), Çesme, and Iskederun.

registered in an array of seaside port towns and cities, including Rize, Trabzon, Tirebolu, Giresun, Unye, Sinop, Bartın, and Ereğli (see Table 2 and Fig. 4).

blacksea.gr; Gelina Harlaftis et al., eds., *Between Grain and Oil from the Azov to Caucasus: The Port-Cities of the Eastern Coast of the Black Sea, Late 18th–Early 20th Centuries,* Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 3 (Rethymnon: Centre of Maritime History, 2020), www.blacksea.gr; Edhem Eldem, Vangelis Kechriotis, and Sophia Laiou, eds., *The Economic and Social Development of the Port–Cities of the Southern Black Sea Coast, Late 18th–Beginning of the 20th Century,* Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 5 (Corfu: Ionian University, 2017), www.blacksea.gr; Edhem Eldem and Sophia Laiou, eds., *Istanbul and the Black Sea Coast: Shipping and Trade, 1770–1920* (Istanbul, The ISIS Press, 2018); Maria Christina Chatziioannou and Apostolos Delis, eds., *Linkages of the Black Sea with the West. Trade and Immigration,* Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 7 (Rethymnon: Centre of Maritime History, 2020), www.blacksea.gr; Evrydiki Sifneos, *Imperial Odessa: Peoples, Spaces, Identities* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018).

28 The toponyms in *Lloyd's Register of Shipping* are often incomprehensible, either from the phonetic spelling of British or other officials or from the fact that they have changed the actual place name. For example, 'Heraclee' is Ereğli, 'Abahnah' is Abana, 'Tereboloo' is Tirebolu, 'Oonia' is Ünye, 'Ebbul Hhair' is Gülyalı, 'Evranyieh' is Abana, and 'Filios' is Hisarönü, just to provide a few examples. The analysis has retained the present day names of the Aegean islands, according to the

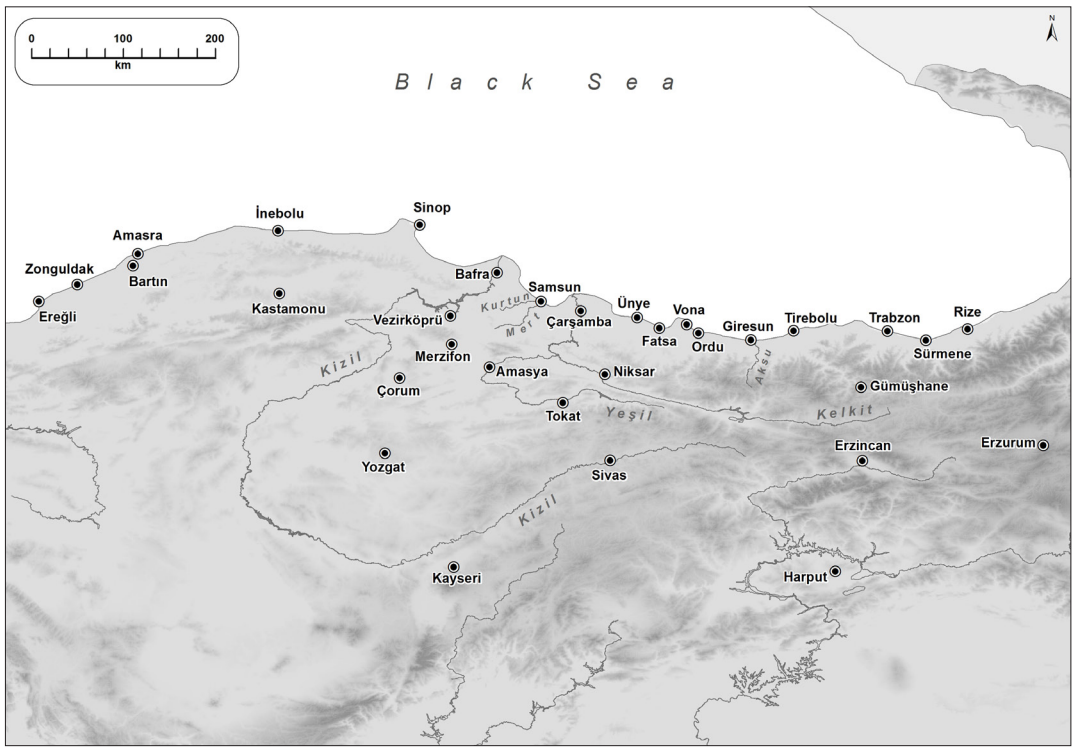


Fig. 4. The Black Sea coast of the Anatolian 'island.'

The largest number of these vessels were concentrated in Bartın and Ereğli because of the nearby coal mines, which provided cargo.[29] Other locations like Sinop, Kara Sou (near Sinop), Sürmene, Gülyalı, and Hisarönü also had deep-sea going fleets registered in their ports. The sailing ship fleet of the Black Sea coast of Anatolia reflects what was previously concluded regarding the shipping fleets of the Aegean and Ionian Seas.[30] It is mainly small places, seaside villages in many cases, that often nurtured maritime entrepreneurship and not the largest ports of the region. For example, Trabzon and Samsun, the largest ports of the area in the last third of the nineteenth century did not have large, or often any, fleets. They were served by the secondary ports and seaside towns of their regions.[31]

present day names, like Bozcaada for Tenedos or Castelorizzo for Meis (note: Thank you to Edhem Eldem for the help on the toponyms).

29 For Zonguldak mines, see Donald Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Evrydiki Sifneos, "Was the Extraction of Coal at Kozlou and Zonguldak Mines Profitable?" in *The Economic and Social Development of the Port–Cities of the Southern Black Sea Coast, Late 18th–Beginning of the 20th Century,* eds. Edhem Eldem, Vangelis Kechriotis, and Sophia Laiou, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 5 (Corfu: Ionian University, 2017), www.blacksea.gr.

30 Gelina Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping*.

31 This also happened in Genova, Marseilles, and Piraeus, which used and/or attracted the fleets of the small maritime communities nearby. See, for example, Apostolos Delis et al., eds., *Mediterranean Seafarers in Transition. Maritime Labour, Communities, Shipping and the Challenge of Industrialization 1850s–1920s* (Leiden: Brill, 2022) and particularly chapters by Kalliopi Vasilaki, "The Port of La Ciotat and Its Maritime Community towards Industrialisation (1836–1916)" for

Of course, what is highly interesting from analysis of the *Lloyd's Register of Shipping* is that large vessels over 100 tons were registered in river ports or just generally on rivers. For example, there was a sailing ship registered on the 'Sakarya' River and other sailing vessels registered in Erzerum, which lies in the basin of the Aras River. A few others were registered in İliç, which is near the Euphrates, and in Harput on the Murat River. The registration of river craft in Anatolia, sail or steam, is understudied; research on river vessels in the Ottoman archives is certainly needed. Finally, along all of the Anatolian Aegean coast, only Çeşme, which served Izmir, and Iskederun appear within the *Lloyd's Register* with sailing vessels above 100 tons, which, as previously noted, is not an exhaustive representation of sailing ships in the region. It is interesting to note that in the sailing ship era in the Mediterranean (but also in northern Europe), sailing ship fleets where often registered in small places and not in big cities.[32]

The main seaports of the 'island' of Anatolia during the nineteenth century were Trabzon and Samsun in the Black Sea, Izmir in the Aegean Sea, Iskederun in the Mediterrannean Sea, and Diyarbakır on the Tigris River. The main Black Sea ports on which this analysis will concentrate are Trabzon and Samsun. Trabzon, the most well-known port-city of the region, was also an international one, the gateway to Persian trade; its hinterland lay in the east through the land, river, and sea routes to the Caspian Sea. Its foreland—that is, the ports with which it was connected—were also international (that is, European ports). The goods in demand—for example, 'oriental' goods from Asia, including opium, dried plants for dying, clovers, tea, and rugs—were carried via sailing ships and steamships to the west. Samsun was the other main port of the region. It witnessed an apogee during the second half of the nineteenth century, as it formed the main gateway to inner Anatolia.[33] However, up until the 1840s, Samsun functioned like a satellite port of Trabzon, a position that changed from the 1850s onwards. The growth of tobacco exports, but also of regional agricultural produce, including that of the hinterland farther south, began to encompass a very wide area of Anatolia and its connections as far south as the Persian Gulf. Goods travelled easily to and from the hinterland along the river routes of the Kızılırmak and Yeşilırmak, using the main river ports that helped reach Harput and Diyarbakır in one direction and Kayseri and Malatya in the other direction. Technological development (for example, steamships, as already mentioned) on the rivers enhanced the connectivity of areas and regions but also restructured the old routes following the construction of the Anatolian Railway in the 1890s.[34] The main exports from Samsun were tobacco, fruit, nuts, and other kinds of agricultural produce, together with silver and copper extracted and manufactured in the inland cities of the province of Sivas. The Anatolian coastline of the Black Sea from Istanbul to the east of Rize was an area populated, until the beginning of the twentieth century, by

Marseille, Leonardo Scavino, "Camogli as a Maritime Community in the Age of Transition (1850s–1914)" for Genova, and Katerina Galani, "From Traditional Maritime Communities to Maritime Centres. Urbanization, Social Hierarchies, and the Labour Market in the Age of Steam. The Case Study of Galaxidi, 1850s–1910s" for Piraeus.

32 Gelina Harlaftis, "Shipping," in *The Routledge Companion to the Makers of Global Business,* eds. Teresa da Silva Lopes, Christina Lubinski, and Heidi Tworek (Abingdon, Oxon/New York: Routledge, 2019), 438–54; Gelina Harlaftis, *Creating Global Shipping: Aristotle Onassis, the Vagliano Brothers and the Business of Shipping, c. 1820–1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), chapter 1.

33 Ekin Mahmuzlu, "The Transformation of the Mercantile Shipping in Eastern Anatolian Black Sea Ports between 1834 and 1914," in *The Economic and Social Development of the Port–Cities of the Southern Black Sea Coast, Late 18th–Beginning of the 20th century,* eds. Edhem Eldem, Vangelis Kechriotis, and Sophia Laiou, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 5 (Corfu: Ionian University, 2017), www.blacksea.gr.

34 Ekin Mahmuzlu, *Agricultural, Commercial and Maritime Change in the Southeastern Black Sea Region: Production, Ecology, and Institutions (1830s–1910s)* (Leiden: Brill, in press), chapter 2.

Muslims and a significant non-Muslim population, mainly Greeks and Armenians, both in the port cities and in the hinterland.[35]

All ports of the Anatolian coastline witnessed important growth during the nineteenth century. Fig. 5 depicts the growth of ship arrivals both in Trabzon and Samsun. Trabzon's connections with Asian trade from Persia and India also led to direct export connections to Istanbul. In 1914, shipping arrivals to the port of Trabzon had reached 1.2 million tons, competing strongly in relation to Asian trade with its main next-door competitor, Batumi, that in 1908 had reached 1.6 million tons (ship tonnage). Samsun also grew rapidly and surpassed Trabzon in the 1870s. It continued its growth up until the twentieth century. To give a comparative perspective, in the early 1890s, Trabzon and Samsun received about 500,000 total tonnage of ships in their ports, Izmir, the largest Anatolian port received 1.4 million nrt, and Iskederun received 300,000 nrt.[36]

Apart from Trabzon and Samsun, an array of secondary ports also grew along the route.[37] The Anatolian coastal zone of the Black Sea was more engaged on local and peripheral Black Sea trade, while its international connections developed mainly through Istanbul.[38] Diagram 2 indicates thirteen ports of the southern coast in 1900, in terms of ship tonnage arrivals. Trabzon and Samsun arrivals were approximately 600,000 ship tonnage each for that year, and are followed by Giresun and Inebolu, with a volume varying between 400,000 and 650,000 tons. There were a further five medium sized ports, including Ordu, Ereğli, Sinop, Rize, and Ünye, with a ship tonnage between 100,000 and 300,000 tons, and four smaller ports, Zonguldak, Platana, Bartın, and Amasra, with less than 20–30,000 tons. The Anatolian Black Sea coast, following the Greek revolution of the 1820s, which deprived most of the Ottoman Christian traditional seafaring Aegean population of the Ottoman Empire, developed as a maritime zone for Muslim shipowners and seafarers, with important shipbuilding activities, such as those carried on the traditional Sinop naval shipyards.[39] Ünye, during the 19th century, developed as an important shipbuilding site for the merchant marine, mainly for the construction of brigs and ships between 50–200 tons. This shipbuilding activity was also followed by Rize, Tirebolu and Giresun.[40] The Ottoman Muslim ships of the Anatolian Black Sea coastal towns were mainly involved in local and peripheral trade within the Black Sea, whereas Ottoman Christian ships (mainly Greek) were involved in international trade.[41]

35 Eldem, Kechriotis, and Laiou, eds., *The Economic and Social Development of the Port–Cities of the Southern Black Sea Coast*.

36 Gelina Harlaftis, "Maritime Transport Systems in Southeastern Mediterranean," in *The Economic Development of Southeastern Europe in the 19th Century*, eds. Edhem Eldem and Socrates Petmezas (Athens: Historical Archives Alpha Bank, 2011), 397–446.

37 Edhem Eldem, "Scanning the Ottoman Black Sea in 1900 through the *Revue commerciale du Levant,*" in *The Economic and Social Development of the Port–Cities of the Southern Black Sea Coast, Late 18th–Beginning of the 20th Century*, eds. Edhem Eldem, Vangelis Kechriotis, and Sophia Laiou, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 5 (Corfu: Black Sea History Working papers, 2017); Gelina Harlaftis and Vassilis Kardasis, "International Bulk Trade and Shipping in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea" in *The Mediterranean Response to Globalization*, eds. Jeffrey Williamson and Sevket Pamuk (Routledge: London, 2000).

38 Sophia Laiou, "The Ottoman State and the Black Sea Trade, End of the Eighteenth–Beginning of the Nineteenth Century," in *The Economic and Social Development of the Port–Cities of the Southern Black Sea Coast, Late 18th–Beginning of the 20th century*, eds. Edhem Eldem, Vangelis Kechriotis, and Sophia Laiou, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 5 (Corfu: Black Sea History Working papers, 2017), published in www.blacksea.gr.

39 Tuncay Zorlu, *Innovation and Empire in Turkey: Sultan Selim III and the Modernization of the Ottoman Navy* (London: IB Tauris, 2011).

40 Mahmuzlu, "The Transformation of the Mercantile Shipping."

41 Christos Hadziiossif, "Parallel Lives: Greek Shipping and the Port of Istanbul," in *The Economic and Social Development of the Port–Cities of the Southern Black Sea Coast, Late 18th–Beginning of the 20th Century,* eds. Edhem Eldem, Vangelis

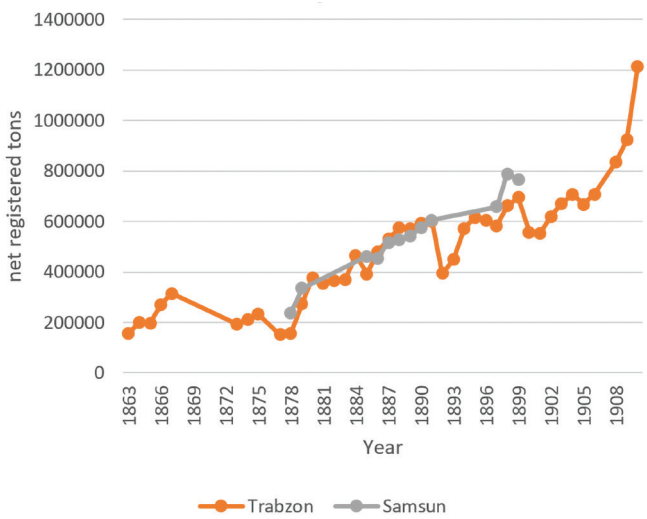


Fig. 5. Arrivals of ships at the port cities of the southern Black Sea maritime region (net registered tons). Source: Socrates Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou, eds., *Black Sea Historical Statistics, 1812–1914*, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 8 (Rethymnon: Black Sea History Working papers, forthcoming), www.blacksea.gr.

The third and last category is because of the sea. This category includes the dynamic agents that challenge and ultimately continue or transform the geographies of the history of the seas and rivers. The analysis proposes two dynamic agents that coordinate the economic, technological, political, and social forces that bring change to the history of the sea. The first is maritime transport systems and the second is maritime empires, up to the twentieth century.

The analysis selects maritime/riverine regions. In the case of Anatolia, for example, it is the Black Sea, the Aegean Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, and the riverine eastern regions. There are four aspects to be considered to understand the formation of waterborne transport systems in every region. Firstly, in every maritime/riverine region, small, medium-sized, and large port cities/towns were the loading places that formed the port system of a coastal zone. Secondly, in every maritime/riverine region, there is a hinterland where goods are brought by land, river, and sea transport to the coastal loading export/import zone. Thirdly, in every maritime/riverine region, there were maritime/riverine communities that developed or attracted fleets and acted as maritime/riverine centers. And fourthly, small, medium, and large maritime/riverine centers formed a maritime zone that integrated local markets and connected the maritime region with the foreland.

The maritime/riverine transport system linked the coastal import-export zone for the cargo/produce that came from the hinterland with the maritime/riverine zone of the maritime/riverine centers that connected it to the foreland.[42] Very important for the connection of the port with the hinterland were road, river, and, later, rail connections. The concept of 'foreland' as opposed to that of hinterland, is what lies in front of the port, the shipping connections of a port. Each maritime/riverine region relates to the adjacent one, uniting, in this way, the sea-transport of a whole region with the hinterland/foreland matrix and, from there, with the global economy. The type of cargo, ship, and area in which it trades determines the shipping market in which a ship operates. The introduction of steam in the last third of

Kechriotis, and Sophia Laiou, Black Sea History Working Papers, volume 5 (Corfu: Black Sea History Working papers, 2017), www.blacksea.gr; Mahmuzlu, "The Transformation of the Mercantile Shipping." See also Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping*, chapter 3.

42 Weigend, "Some Elements in the Study of Port Geography."

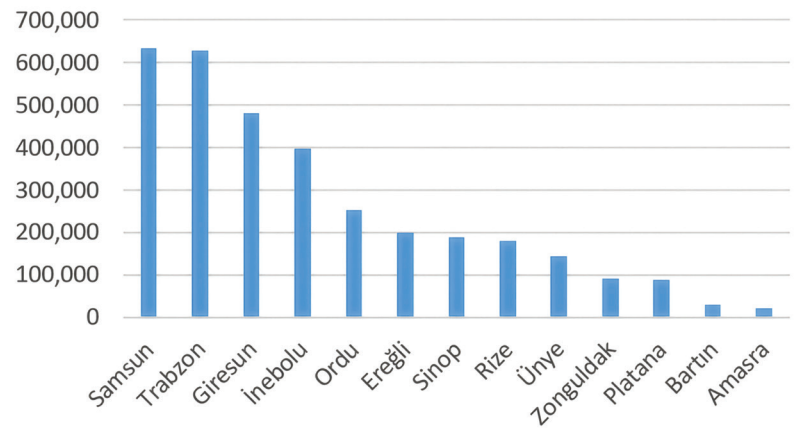


Fig. 6. Volume of shipping of the Anatolian Black Sea coast, 1900. Source: Edhem Eldem, "Scanning the Ottoman Black Sea," table VI, 92, www.blacksea.gr.

the nineteenth century brought about a significant change in the organization of waterborne trade.

Waterborne transport systems are the mechanisms that integrate maritime regions and port cities with the world economy. Therefore, this development is reliant upon the articulation of many maritime regions. The main mechanism of the connectivity of maritime regions, sub-regions, and ports is the sea transport system that each maritime region develops. The transport system of each maritime region is at the forefront of the formation of a productive system that integrates the markets within a maritime region and with other maritime regions. The main characteristic of the waterborne transport system is connectivity, where the sea-routes of the foreland are connected to the land/water routes of the hinterland, forming in this way a dense chain of interactions and communications. The waterborne transport systems on the four coasts of the Anatolia 'island' are the eastern riverine transport system, the Black Sea transport system in the north, and the Aegean/Mediterranean transport systems in the west and south. In this chapter, the analysis will focus on the first two systems to provide some examples of analytical methodology.

The eastern riverine transport system was defined by the Ottoman Empire since the sixteenth century. Ruling the seaways and waterways is a major geopolitical and economic tool to create and control an empire, as the British demonstrated. "For whosoever commands the sea commands the trade; whosoever commands the trade of the world commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself,"[43] a quotation attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh, the English privateer, merchant, and statesman during the Elizabethan era of the sixteenth century. It has been mentioned and challenged repeatedly in the literature that the Ottoman Empire was regarded as terrestrial: that is, it had nothing to do with the sea.[44] However, the Ottoman Empire, an empire of three continents and many seas, was connected by waterborne routes and certainly fully exploited

43 Quotation attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh in Alan Cafruny, *Ruling the Waves. The Political Economy of International Shipping* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 38–70.

44 Edhem Eldem, "Strangers in their Own Seas? The Ottomans in the Eastern Mediterranean Basin in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century," in *Il Mediterraneo nel Settecento. Identità e scambi,* ed. Piero Sanna, Studi Settecenteschi 29–30 (Napoli: Bibliopolis, 2009–2010), 25–58; Alexis Wick, *The Red Sea: In Search of Lost Space* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016); Husein, *Rivers of the Sultan.*

the seas and rivers in order to expand and keep control and power over its land.[45]

Although its naval and merchant fleets in the Black, Aegean, and Mediterranean Seas have been—albeit minimally—examined, its waterborne activities in the eastern riverine front have been little examined until recently (albeit partially). Faisal Husein has provided a fascinating account of how the Ottoman Empire used the fluvial systems of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, using ships, seamen and shipyards, and fortified river ports to rule the Empire, repel its foreign enemies, and maintain its hegemony up to the late eighteenth century along its eastern and riverine frontier. It built a river transport system for military and internal/external economic purposes. Although Husain argues that the use of these rivers had a limited effect on internal commerce, more research is still needed to study the use of combined river/road trade in connection to the hinterland of Anatolia.

What is now known is that since the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire built an "imperial system of water borne communication," an infrastructure on the Tigris and Euphrates, "a network of docks, pontoon bridges, and boat construction facilities that allowed it to manage—and profit from—the movement of peoples and goods between Syria, Anatolia, Persia, and Iraq."[46] It kept an Ottoman Navy on the two rivers, which allowed it to dominate the trade routes between the Persian Gulf and the eastern Mediterranean.[47] It organized shipbuilding sites along the river banks and maintained regular movements of cargo on the water routes, including grain, metal, and timber from upstream regions to downstream regions. This also included supplies of foodstuffs, armaments, and watercraft for military garrisons. As in the Baltic Sea during the same era, timber was cut and allowed to flow downstream to other riverports. They also moved people via rafts along the water routes.[48]

The fluvial system of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, including their tributaries and other adjacent rivers, was fully utilized to move people and cargo from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf during the early modern era of the Ottoman Empire. The importance of the river systems and the settlements along the way are well depicted in Figs. 1–3, where the main Tigris River ports of Diyarbakır, Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra were not only the main strategic and administrative centers but also economic nodes. Aleppo was also connected with this river system, as analyzed earlier. Fleets of river craft such as the *kelek*, "an ancient raft made of timber and brushwood bundles laid upon inflated goat and sheep skins,"[49] were combined with caravans of horses, camels, mules, and oxen. Therefore, one of the main policies of imperial powers was to construct waterborne transport systems to rule their conquered regions. Economic development relied on the development of transport systems not only in internal waterborne communication but also of external or international communication through seas, rivers, and lakes.

The Anatolian Black Sea waterborne transport systems can be approached by understanding the foreland and hinterland and by identifying port systems. The foreland of the Black Sea Anatolian ports was initially the ports and rivers of the other Black Sea coasts—that is, the peripheral trade inside the Black Sea. Secondly, it included the eastern Mediterranean ports, the Red Sea and Indian ocean ports, and, also, the western Mediterranean and Atlan-

45 Hadjikyriacou and Wick, "On the Shores of Empire."

46 Husein, *Rivers of the Sultan*, 39.

47 Husein, *Rivers of the Sultan*, 139–41.

48 Husein, *Rivers of the Sultan*, 4. For an overview of the Baltic timber trade, see John H. Parry, "Transport and Trade Routes," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe,* eds. Hrothgar John Habakkuk and Michael Postan, Vol. I, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); see also Michael North, *The Baltic: A History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).

49 Husein, *Rivers of the Sultan*, 28.

tic Ocean ports. The peripheral coastal Black Sea trade has been overshadowed by deep-sea going trade, particularly that of Trabzon and Samsun to mainly western European markets. However, there was highly significant Black Sea peripheral coastal trade with the port cities of the western Black Sea coast in what is present-day Bulgaria and Romania, which penetrated further into the markets of Budapest and Vienna through the Danube River (Fig. 1). There was an even larger and vibrant sea trade with the Russian Empire, particularly with the port of Odessa, the Crimean ports, and the Azov ports. Goods were traded between the Black Sea coasts. This brought cargo that travelled via ports and farther upstream through the dense river network of the large navigable rivers such as the Don, the Volga, the Dniester, and the southern Bug. Deep-sea going vessels connected the Anatolian Black Sea coast with ports in the eastern Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea, and also to the central and western Mediterranean and beyond to the northern European seas.

Two port systems can be distinguished on the Black Sea Anatolian coastline. The first, the eastern part, includes the area that expands from Rize to Sinop, while the second, the western part, covers the area from Sinop to Istanbul. In the first system, as already mentioned, two ports dominated the gateway to the hinterland and were the end locations of the main routes from land, river, and sea. From their hinterlands, land transportation was carried out predominantly with camel caravans, mules, and horse driven carts, while the inland river transport was carried out with rafts and river craft.

The hinterland of Trabzon was beyond the Anatolia 'island'—it looked to the East through two main routes. One route was the traditional old 'Persian' caravan route that led to Erzurum and Bayezit and from there to Tabriz. Erzurum lies in the basin of the Aras River, the western part of the Euphrates Basin. There is a further fluvial system little mentioned or integrated into the narratives of the 'Persian road:' that is, as you move east from Trabzon to Tabriz, the Çoruh River is encountered near the Kura River (Figs. 1 and 2).[50] The Kura River in the Southern Caucasus flows through Tbilisi, and the Aras River flows through Azerbaijan. This connects to the Kura River in order to flow into the Caspian Sea. Close to the Aras River is Tabriz, a commercial center of the region; the Quru River Valley, which has traditionally been connected farther east with Rasht, another commercial town on the Caspian Sea, is also connected with the Sefid River. Tabriz and Rasht, the classic routes to the Black Sea from the east, embrace the southwestern part of the Caspian Sea, and they have traditionally been the gateways of the trading routes to and from central Asia. Very little is still known of the maritime/lake transport system from the Caspian Sea to the opposite shore. The other route from Trabzon southeastwards passed through Erzurum; however, it veered southwards through the confluence of the Murat and Coruh Rivers and other numerous tributaries that form the principal source of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. From Erzurum, the road would lead to the major port cities of the Tigris: that is, Diyarbakır and Mosul and, ultimately, to Baghdad and Basra.

The hinterland of Samsun was central Anatolia but also reached beyond. Flowing from the Pontic Mountains, there are several rivers moving towards the Black Sea that have developed lengthy inland sections and tributaries that run south and east. The Kızılırmak and Yeşilırmak Rivers and their tributaries connected Samsun with the riverine 'coastline' of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. These two rivers flowing from the Taurus Mountains connected routes from the Black Sea southwards. Through the Kilirmak and Yesilirmak Rivers, goods reached the river ports of Amasya, Tokat, and Sivas, and from there, one route branched out via Kayseri to Tarsus and Mersin, while the other route connected via Harput to Diyarbakır and

50 Mehmet Yavuz Erler, "Samsun. The Hinterland of the Port-City," *Black Sea Port Cities—Interactive History, 1780s–1910s*, www.blacksea.gr. See also Hamdi Özdis, "Trabzon Road Transportation Network" and "Trabzon. River Network," *Black Sea Port Cities—Interactive History, 1780s–1910s*, www.blacksea.gr, last accessed 25 October 2022.

the other Tigris river ports downstream to the Persian Gulf.[51]

The western port system of the Black Sea, including the Sakarya River and its tributaries, was totally dominated by Istanbul and the numerous seaside towns and villages of the Bosphorus, the Marmara Sea, and the Dardanelles. This connected it in an imaginary axis through sea and river/land lanes to Izmir, Adana, and farther south to the Syrian and Palestinian coastlines and, ultimately, to the Red Sea. It was also connected to the Aegean port system of Anatolia. Izmir was the largest export port of the Empire, a center of long-distance trade. Its foreland lay in the Mediterranean Sea, the Indian Ocean, and the Atlantic ports. Its hinterland covered the area from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. Izmir, along with Trabzon, Alexandretta, and, farther inland, Aleppo on the Mediterranean side, were the ends of the long-distance 'silk road' and/or 'Persian road.'[52] To understand their development is to understand the waterborne trade in their hinterland and their connections with the foreland.

Today, through use of the term "logistics," this phenomenon is known as the combined transportation of goods through various means of transport, which form local, peripheral, and global transport systems to serve trade at different levels. Transport on water is incomparably less expensive and more efficient than transport on land. More specifically, 90% of the world's trade is currently carried by sea.[53] This was even more so the case in the nineteenth century. For example, a sailing ship of 200 net registered tons could carry 425 metric tons of grain.[54] A land caravan needed a 'fleet' of 300 horses and mules to carry such a cargo at a much slower pace.

The concept of Anatolia as an 'island' through the maritime history approach provides the tools to understand how geography can be invented and re-invented to understand the economy of a region. It can also emphasize the importance of waterborne trade and the sea-river-land transport systems of whole maritime/riverine/land regions. It offers tools of analysis to demonstrate how far inland the hinterland of the Anatolian port/river cities reached, how far beyond national boundaries it expanded. It provides tools to investigate how rivers played and continue to play important roles in connecting the seas: for example, the Black Sea with the Caspian Sea or the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers with the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, or the Red Sea. It also gives us tools to assess the connectivity of the Anatolia 'island,' its trade routes, the development of settlements, the formation of ports and towns along the nearby water environment, and the influence of distant economies and cultures at a local level.

51 Katerina Papakonstantinou, "Θαλάσσιες και χερσαίες μεταφορές και διακινούμενα φορτία τον 18ο αιώνα: η συγκρότηση μεταφορικών συστημάτων στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο [Maritime and Land Transport and Transported Goods in the 18th Century; the Formation of Transport Systems in the Eastern Mediterranean]," in *Η* ναυτιλία των *Ελλήνων, 1700–1821* [*Greek Shipping, 1700–1821: The Heyday Before the Greek Revolution*], eds. Gelina Harlaftis and Katerina Papakonstantinou (Athens: Kedros and Ionian University, 2013), 283–352. See also Charles Issawi*, The Economic History of Turkey 1800–1914* (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 146.

52 Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century (1700–1820)* (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992); Daniel Panzac, "Activité et diversité d' un grand port Ottoman: Smyrne dans la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle" in *Commerce et navigation dans l' Empire Ottoman au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Daniel Panzac, Analecta Isisiana XXII (Istanbul: Isis, 1996).

53 Gelina Harlaftis and Ioannis Theotokas, "Maritime Business: A Paradigm of Global Business," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Business and Management,* 30 April 2020, DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190224851.013.184.

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