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Osmanlı Kudüs'ünde Bağcılık Faaliyetleri ve Şarap Üretimi: Yafa, Sarona ve Uyun kara Örneği (1875-1917)

Öz | Abstract: 19. yüzyıl siyasi atmosferinde değişken dinamikler, Kudüs'e olan ilgiyi artırmıştır. Bu nedenle bölgeye yapılan göçler hız kazanmıştır. Esasında Osmanlı coğrafyasına karşı emperyalist politikalar dahilinde bölgede hegemonik amaçlı yerleşimler artmıştır. Öyle ki, yabancı yerleşimcilerin bölgede kalıcı olmasını sağlamak maksadıyla Rothschild ailesi ve Temyer Cemiyeti gibi nüfuzlu kuruluşlar Yafa ve civarına yatırım yapmış ve bu doğrultuda Siyonist emellerle tarım kolonileri oluşturmuşlardır. Yapılan çalışma genelde Kudüs'e özelde ise Yafa, Sarona ve Uyun Kara'ya yapılan göçlerle şekillenen bağcılık faaliyetlerini incelemektedir. Ayrıca göçün başarılı olması için tarımsal faaliyetlere olanak sunacak bir coğrafyanın seçilmiş olması dikkat çekmektedir. Alman Musevi yerleşimcilerin Yafa ve civarında oluşturulan tarım kolonilerinin üretim yapmasında diğer bir etken Yafa limanının 19. yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz ticaretine yön veren uluslararası piyasaya entegre olmasıdır. Nitekim, üretilen üzümün fabrikalarda işlenerek dış piyasaya aktarılmasında Yafa limanının niteliği ortaya çıkmaktadır. 20. yüzyılın başlarına gelindiğinde, Yafa, Sarona ve Uyun Kara önemli şarap üretim merkezleri haline gelmiştir. Bilhassa Uyun Kara'da üretilen şaraplar, uluslararası alanda kaliteleriyle tanınırlık kazanmışlardır. Özetle, Osmanlı Arşiv belgeleri başta olmak üzere çeşitli araştırma ve inceleme eserler dikkate alınarak hazırlanan bu çalışmanın amacı, Osmanlı Kudüs'ünde yabancı yerleşimcilerin 1875 ve 1917 yıllarında gerçekleştirdiği bağcılık faaliyetlerini, içki üretimi ve ticareti bağlamında incelemektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı Devleti, Kudüs, Sarona, Uyun Kara, Şarap, Bağcılık, Kolonileşme.

Viticulture Activities and Wine Production in Ottoman Jerusalem: The Case of Jaffa, Sarona and Uyun Qara (1875-1917)

Abstract | Öz: In the dynamic political atmosphere of the 19th century, interest in Jerusalem grew significantly, leading to an acceleration of migration to the region. Within the framework of imperialist policies directed at Ottoman territories, settlements with hegemonic aims increased. Influential organizations such as the

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Rothschild family and the Templer Society invested in Jaffa and its surroundings to ensure the permanence of foreign settlers in the area, establishing agricultural colonies aligned with Zionist ambitions. This study examines viticultural activities shaped by migration to Jerusalem, focusing specifically on Jaffa, Sarona, and Uyun Qara. Additionally, it is noteworthy that the chosen geography was selected for its suitability for agricultural activities, which contributed to the success of these migrations. Another factor enabling the productivity of German Jewish settlers in agricultural colonies around Jaffa was the integration of the Jaffa port into the international markets of the Eastern Mediterranean trade network during the 19th century. The significance of the port is evident in the processing of grapes in factories and their export to foreign markets. By the early 20th century, Jaffa, Sarona, and Uyun Qara had become prominent centers of wine production. Notably, the wines produced in Uyun Qara gained international recognition for their quality. In summary, this study, based on Ottoman archival documents as well as various research and analytical works, aims to investigate the viticultural activities conducted by foreign settlers in Ottoman Jerusalem between 1875 and 1917, with a particular focus on alcohol production and trade.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, Jerusalem, Sarona, Uyun Qara, Wine, Viticulture, Colonization.

Introduction

Wine production activities within the scope of viticulture in Ottoman Jerusalem, particularly in Jaffa, Sarona, and Uyun Qara between 1875 and 1917, were shaped by migration movements that emerged within the political context of the 19th century. However, before delving into this topic, it is essential to first examine Jerusalem's incorporation into Ottoman territories and its administrative status under Ottoman rule, with a specific focus on agricultural production.

Jerusalem, which became part of the Ottoman borders in 1517 during Sultan Selim I's conquest of Egypt and Syria, held great significance due to its sacred status. Because of this religious importance, especially during the reign of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, significant construction activities were focused on in the city. This importance was also reflected in the Ottoman administrative organization. For example, the judiciary of

Jerusalem was ranked among major judiciaries like Cairo, Medina, and Aleppo¹.

Centralized policies to control the region brought changes to Jerusalem. After the city was captured in 1516, it was administratively part of the Damascus Province as a sanjak. However, this continued until 1831 when it came under the rule of Mehmed Ali Pasha of Egypt. After the Ottoman rule was restored, in 1841, Jerusalem Sanjak was attached to the Sidon Province². Reorganizations followed, and Gaza and Jaffa were initially connected to the Jerusalem Sanjak. Nablus was also included in 1842. The status of Jerusalem remained that of a sanjak, and in 1865 it became part of the Syrian Province³. In 1871, it was made an lieutenant governor (mutessarif) directly controlled by the central government until the Ottoman rule ended in 1917⁴.

Due to its geographical position, climate, and ports connected to the eastern Mediterranean, Jerusalem was a focal point of European rivalry throughout various periods. In addition to trade opportunities, pilgrimages tied to religious interests fueled competition among states⁵. The 1878 Berlin Treaty was significant in this regard, designating France as the protector of Catholics. Germany, in response, adopted policies to claim a protector role over both Catholics and Protestants, engaging in activities like establishing churches and schools in the area, especially from the 1860s onward⁶. This competition, particularly around Jerusalem, saw Jaffa emerge as a notable location.

¹ Yasemin Avcı, *Değişim Sürecinde Bir Osmanlı Kenti: Kudüs (1890-1914)* (Ankara: Phoenix, 2004), 35.

² Kâmil Cemil el-Aselî, "Kudüs", *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2002), 26: 335-336.

³ el-Aselî, "Kudüs", 335; İhsan Satış, "Kudüs Mutasarrıfları (1841-1902)," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 30, no.2 (2015): 547. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/egetid/issue/17759/185962>.

⁴ Yasemin Avcı ve Ömür Yazıcı Özdemir, "Osmanlı Devirlerinin Son Yıllarında Kudüs'ü Yönetmek: Mutasarrıf Azmi Bey ve 1916 Tarihli Raporu," *Dr. Kemal Daşcıoğlu'na Vefa Kitabı*, ed. Mithat Aydın ve Süleyman İnan (Ankara: Pegem Akademi, 2020), 342; el-Aselî, 335; Feyza Betül Köse, "Osmanlı Dönemi Kudüs'ünde İdari ve Sosyal Yapı," *Ardahan Üniversitesi İnsani Bilimler Ve Edebiyat Fakültesi Belgü Dergisi* 1, (2015): 167. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/belgu/issue/37862/437505>

⁵ Asuman Gölpinar, "II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Kudüs'te Alman Hristiyan Hacılar için Kurulan Müesseseler," *Filistin Araştırmaları Dergisi* 15, (2024): 160. <http://www.filistin.org.tr/pub/issue/85844/1398651>.

⁶ İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu* (İstanbul: Kronik Kitap, 2023), 159.

Jaffa, located forty miles from Jerusalem, was an ancient city and a key stop for pilgrims traveling to Jerusalem due to its religious significance⁷. By the 16th century, Jaffa became a transit point for non-Muslims, especially Jews and Christians, visiting or settling in Jerusalem. Many Christian pilgrims arrived in Jaffa via English and French ships to continue their journey to Jerusalem⁸.

In the 16th century, Jaffa was a village linked to the Ramla district of Gaza, within the Damascus Province. By the 1800s, it became administratively connected to Jerusalem. In 1874, although Jerusalem was separated from the Damascus Province, Jaffa maintained its status as a kaza under Jerusalem⁹. Its growth, spurred by its port, also saw an influx of foreign settlers during the 19th century. The opening of a second gate in Jaffa's city walls in the 1850s allowed for expansion beyond the walls¹⁰. Since the end of the 19th century, due to the increase in various public works activities, Jerusalem, which has religious features in the inner region, and the city of Jaffa, which has port features, have come closer. Jaffa, which is administratively affiliated with the Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem, has actually strengthened its cultural and commercial aspects. Because Jaffa is a gateway to the Mediterranean, which determines the economic and cultural status of Jerusalem. The fact that almost all of the pilgrims and tourists who come to Jerusalem come through this gateway to the Mediterranean and that those who have an important place in the city's economy have reached a position where they try to get a share from the profitable orange export are notable for the city's development as well as its economy. Jaffa, which is suitable for production and commercial activities due to its climate characteristics and

⁷ Şiblî Numanî, *Türkiye Mısır Suriye Bir Seyahatname*, çev. Muharrem Varol (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2021), 229-230; Ergün Özsoy, "16. Yüzyılda Alman Seyahatnamelerine Göre Doğu Akdeniz Limanları: Trablusşam, Yafa, İskenderiye," *Türk Deniz Ticareti Tarihi Sempozyumu Mersin ve Doğu Akdeniz-Bildiriler Kitabı III*, (Mersin: Mersin Deniz Ticaret Odası Yayınları, 2011), 124.

⁸ Alaattin Dolu, *Osmanlı Kudüs'ü Kent Kimliği, Nüfuz ve Meşruiyet (1703-1789)*, (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2020), 221.

⁹ İsmail Yaşayanlar, "An Example of Efforts to Increase Agricultural Output in The Ottoman Middle-East: The Irrigation Project of The Jaffa Valley (1890-1894)," *Belleten* 80, no. 287 (2016): 201. 10.37879/belleten.2016.201.

¹⁰ Yasemin Avcı, "19. Yüzyılın Son Çeyreğinde Filistin'in Limanı Yafa: Bir Çatışma ve Rekabet Odağı," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 30, no.2 (2015): 387. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/etgid/issue/17759/185948>.

location, has developed in the 19th century, and its demographic characteristics have also changed¹¹.

Not only oranges but also grape production and export, which played a prominent role in agricultural activities, were extensively practiced in the region. In fact, viticulture, which significantly influenced urban development and the city's economy, could be observed across all provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, one of the key factors contributing to the growth of urban economies was agricultural production, and grape cultivation held a particularly important position within this context. Grapes, a longstanding agricultural and commercial product that impacted the Ottoman economy, occupied a significant share among the empire's agricultural activities. Viticulture was widespread in production areas, both in Rumelia and Anatolia¹². Indeed, viticulture was notably practiced in various regions during the 16th century, including İçel, Menemen, Muğla, Malatya, Antep, Adıyaman, Bitlis, Harput, and Gallipoli¹³. Similarly, in the same century, grapes were the primary agricultural product in the villages of Bethlehem and Beit Jala, which were under the jurisdiction of Jerusalem. These areas were known for their remarkably high grape harvests¹⁴.

An analysis of 1909 data reveals that vineyards dedicated to grape production in numerous provinces, including Istanbul and its surroundings, Aydın, Ankara, Biga, Hüdavendigâr, Karesi, Konya, Kastamonu, Sivas, Aleppo, Syria, Baghdad, Basra, Beirut, Benghazi, and Tripoli, highlight the significant impact of viticulture on the Ottoman economy. These figures demonstrate the substantial role of grape cultivation in the country's production capacity. According to Tevfik Güran, in 1909, the vineyard areas in Jerusalem alone covered 37,360 acres, yielding approximately 27,325 tons

¹¹ John Büssow, "Zihin Haritaları: Geç Osmanlı Döneminde İki Filistin Gazetesinin Akdeniz Dünyası," *Osmanlılardan Günümüze Doğu Akdeniz Kentleri*, çev. N. Berktaş (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2015), 123-124.

¹² Tevfik Güran, *19.Yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi Üzerine Araştırmalar* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2014), 85.

¹³ İbrahim Solak, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Döneminde Anadolu'da Meyve ve Sebze Üretimi," *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 24, (2008): 222.
<https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/sutad/issue/26266/276701>.

¹⁴ Amy Singer, *Kadılar Kullar Kudüslü Köylüler*, çev. Sema Bulutsuz (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2008), 106-107.

of grapes. The value of the grapes produced amounted to 15,961 kurus¹⁵. As evidenced, grape production held a significant place in the agricultural economy of the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, agricultural statistics were recorded in 1907 for the Empire's European territories and in 1909 for its Asian and African lands to document production levels. Within this framework, the agricultural statistics compiled by the Ottoman administration ranked grapes second among vineyard and orchard products. From this perspective, it is evident that grape production was among the leading agricultural products in the Ottoman Empire¹⁶. A portion of the grapes produced was offered to foreign markets as an export commodity. Notably, dried grapes began gaining prominence in European markets during the second half of the 19th century and ranked fifth among the Ottoman Empire's export products by the early 20th century. Although this ranking shifted during the First World War, dried grape exports experienced minimal decline compared to other export goods. Indeed, the figures from the pre-war period and the war years indicate no significant discrepancy¹⁷.

Viticulture activities were predominantly concentrated in urban outskirts and towns. Particularly because grapes were a market-oriented product, vineyards constituted a significant portion of agricultural lands in certain regions of the Ottoman Empire¹⁸. Not only grapes but also the wine produced from grapes were important export products in the Ottoman economy. Changes occurred in the 19th century regarding the export of the wines produced. At this point, agricultural diseases were effective in the distribution of Ottoman wines in the world market. Especially in 1870, the vine weevil disease, which negatively affected French vineyards, forced France to import wine from the Ottoman Empire. In fact, this disease, which negatively affected the vineyards in France, positively affected the Ottoman viticulture activities and caused the producers engaged in viticulture in the

¹⁵ Tevfik Güran, *Resmî İstatistiklere Göre Osmanlı Toplum ve Ekonomisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2017), 217.

¹⁶ Güran, 19. *Yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi*, 83-84.

¹⁷ Safiye Kıranlar, "Birinci Dünya Savaşı Yıllarında İzmir'den İstanbul'a Kuru Üzüm ve İncir Sevkiyatı," *Klasikten Moderne Osmanlı Ekonomisi*, ed. Arif Bilgin ve Burhan Çağlar (İstanbul: Kronik Kitap, 2009), 191.

¹⁸ Güran, 19. *Yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi*, 88.

Ottoman Empire to make great profits¹⁹. However, vine leaf disease became widespread in Europe in the 1880s and prompted many European producers to invest in the Ottoman Empire. For example, French wine producers from Perpignan, who were involved in export-oriented cultivation, established a wine industry around Lüleburgaz²⁰.

Viticulture activities were generally concentrated in areas with dense populations and access to external markets. Indeed, the demand for products derived from vineyards, such as nardenk, dried grapes, molasses, and alcoholic beverages, primarily came from towns and cities, which played a significant role in shaping these activities²¹. An example of this can be seen in the village of Inab, which was under the jurisdiction of Jerusalem. Inab is located on the main road leading from the coast to Jerusalem. The village engages in agricultural activities, particularly the production of (Şıra) slightly fermented grape juice²². At this point, considering that grape production was concentrated in market-oriented areas, it can be argued that viticulture activities were carried out in regions close to the coastal areas.

Similarly, the locations of Jaffa, Sarona, and Uyun Qara highlight the significance of exporting the grapes and wine produced to foreign markets. Taking into account the agricultural and economic opportunities, the reasons behind the migration to the region become clear. Due to its climate and strategic location, Jaffa experienced growth in the 19th century, and this development, along with changes in the political arena, significantly impacted the demographic characteristics of Palestine.

As a matter of fact, due to the anti-Semitic attitude in Russia in the 1880s, Jewish immigration from Russia to Palestine began. This migration movement has increased since the 19th century. Measures were taken to prevent the Ottoman Empire from reaching a point that would damage its

¹⁹ François Georgeon, *Rakımın Ülkesinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Erdoğan Türkiye'si'ne Şarap ve Alkol* (14.-21. Yüzyıllar), çev. Renan Akman (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2023), 163.

²⁰ Rudi Matthee, *Angels Tapping at the Wine-Shop's Door: A History of Alcohol in the Islamic World* (London: C. Hurst&Co, 2023), 153-154.

²¹ Derviş Tuğrul Koyuncu, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alkollü İçeceklerin (Arak ve Şarap) Üretimi, Ticareti ve Tüketimi: 1792-1839 İstanbul Örneği," (Doktora Tezi, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2019), 122.

²² Singer, *Kadılar Kullar*, 110.

political authority, especially in Jerusalem²³. Despite various measures, Jewish immigration to Palestine could not be prevented. It would be appropriate to give information about the German Jewish settlement in Palestine, especially since it has been determined within the scope of this study that it was Jews of German origin who were engaged in viticulture, grape and wine production and trade in the vineyards in and around Jaffa.

The process of immigration of Jews of German origin to Jerusalem accelerated in the 1830's²⁴. In particular, after foreigners were allowed to purchase land in Ottoman territories with the decree dated June 1, 1867, Germans were also given the right to settle in Jerusalem with the agreement signed between the Ottoman Empire and Prussia in 1869²⁵. The Templar Society, founded in Germany, took advantage of this situation and bought land in Jaffa in 1871 and established an agricultural colony in the region²⁶. The aforementioned society worked on agricultural improvement²⁷. Especially after the Berlin Treaty, Jewish-German settlement increased²⁸.

The Ottoman Empire tried to take measures both to prohibit Jewish immigration and to prevent Jews from purchasing land in order to settle in Palestine. For example; with an instruction dated 1883, the right of Jews under Ottoman administration to buy and sell land was protected, but the registration of land on foreign Jews was prohibited²⁹. In the following period, the Ottoman Empire continued to take measures. However, these measures remained indifferent. Because in the process of colonization in

²³ Sezen Karabulut, "Savaş Yılları Osmanlı Kudüs'ünde Mülkiyet Hakkı (1914-1918)," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 33, no. 2 (2018): 469. <https://doi.org/10.18513/egetid.502715>; Avcı, *Değişim Sürecinde Bir Osmanlı Kenti: Kudüs*, 79-80.

²⁴ Abdullah Çakmak, "Osmanlı Kudüs'ünde Devlet ve Toplum (1798-1841)," (Doktora Tezi, Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi, 2019), 269; Özge Togral, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Alliance İsrailite'nin Eğitim Olgusu: Yafa Alman Musevi Ziraat Mektebi Örneği," *Akdeniz İnsani Bilimler Dergisi* 12, (2022): 200. 10.13114/MJH.2022.582.

²⁵ Ortaylı, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu*, 159.

²⁶ Kevser Topkar, *Osmanlı Filistini'nde Alman Kolonileri (1869-1917)* (İstanbul: Taşmektep Yayınları, 2015), 92.

²⁷ Topkar, *Osmanlı Filistini'nde Alman Kolonileri*, 90.

²⁸ Ortaylı, 159; Kevser Terzioğlu, "Filistin'de Alman Kolonizasyonu:1883-1914," (Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2013), 60; Özge Togral, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Alliance İsrailite'nin Eğitim Olgusu," 200.

²⁹ Avcı, "19. Yüzyılın Son Çeyreğinde Filistin'in Limanı Yafa," 398.

Palestine, in addition to the Germans, other European states also tried to establish colonies.

The reason behind this colonization was the imperialist policies of European states. As a matter of fact, the Germans not only encouraged the immigration of German Jews to Palestine, but also supported the construction of colonies in the region by German immigrants. In particular, Bismarck's support for German colonization in 1884 is an example of this situation³⁰. After this date, German colonies were established in Haifa, especially in and around Jaffa. After the immigration of Protestant and Catholic Germans, German Jews also arrived³¹. As a result of the migration and settlements, the demographic characteristics of Jaffa, Sarona and Uyun Qara changed. The change in the demographic structure brought along production activities and commercial mobility. These changes in production and commercial mobility have also shaped wine production within the scope of viticulture activities³².

1. Viticulture and Wine Production in Jaffa

Due to its location and climatic characteristics, Jaffa is a place where viticulture has been practiced intensively for a long time. The local Arab farmers in Jaffa used traditional agricultural production methods. Cereal

³⁰ Ömer Telliöğlu, *Filistin'e Musevi Göçü ve Siyonizm (1880-1914)* (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2018), 30.

³¹ Ortaylı, 159.

³² This is evidenced by the foreign-owned wine production in the Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem. It was not only German settlers who were interested in wine production in Jaffa, Sarona and Uyun Qara. For example, as stated in the telegram sent to the Mutasarrif of Jerusalem in 1865, the issue of not taxing 3000 *kıyye* (~3900kg.) of grapes for the purpose of making alcohol for the Austrian guesthouse in Jerusalem was brought up for the year 1865 only. It was also stated that it would be in accordance with the order to exempt local and foreign monasteries from the tax on wine: The Ottoman Archives of the Directorate of State Archives of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey (BOA), Hariciye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi Evrakı (HR. MKT), 503/59, p. 1, 12 Teşrin-i sani 1280/24 Kasım 1864; HR. MKT, 503/59, p. 2, 8 Cemaziye'l-ahir 1281/8 Kasım 1864. Another state that raised the issue of tax exemption was Russia. As a matter of fact, it was confirmed by the Russian Consulate that the liquor produced in a Russian establishment in Halilürrahman *kaza* within the Sanjak of Jerusalem had been officially taxed for years and a request was made for tax exemption. Thereupon, the Russian Embassy was informed by the Minister of Finance that according to the alcohol tax regulations (*müskirat resmi miri nizamnamesi*), foreign institutions were not exempt from the tax. BOA, Hariciye Nezâreti Tahrirât-ı Hariciye Odası Evrakı (HR. TH), 257/41, (27 Ra 1319/14 Temmuz 1901).

crops play a major role in agricultural production based on dry farming. Grape vines and olive trees, which require less water, are cultivated in the fields where dry agriculture is practiced³³. However, within the scope of the research, it was determined that viticulture activities and wine production in Jaffa in the nineteenth century were carried out by foreign settlers. When we look at the historical background regarding the realization of viticulture activities by foreign settlers, we see that in the nineteenth century, the Templer Society, in particular, attached importance to settling in Palestine. In this context, they settled in the villages of Jaffa, Haifa, Sarona and Bethlehem in Palestine. From the 1860s onwards, they started to buy land and establish neighborhoods and agricultural colonies³⁴. In these agricultural colonies, viticulture became the main agricultural occupation, and with the increase in viticulture activities, wine production also increased. In Jaffa, German winegrowers contributed intensively to agricultural production³⁵.

However, the complaints of the Germans engaged in viticulture in Jaffa, regarding the taxes imposed on grape and wine exports, initiated a contentious process, and by the 1880s, it had become a topic of international discussion. Through the German Embassy, the situation of the German viticulturists in Jaffa and Sarona was reported to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In fact, in a petition sent from the German Embassy to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1895, it was stated that excessive taxes were being imposed on the Germans involved in wine production and export in Jaffa, and that this taxation policy was harming both them and the treasury. It was requested that the issue be clarified, especially regarding the fifty *para* valuation of each liter of wine and the additional tax imposed on fresh wine, which already faced a nine percent tax. Moreover, it was suggested that a representative of the viticulturists should be included in the commission that determined the value of the wine, and that the 15% tax on wine, referred to

³³ Yaşayanlar, "An Example of Efforts," 204.

³⁴ Ruth Kark, "Changing patterns of landownership in nineteenth-century Palestine: the European Influence" *Journal of Historical Geography* 10, no.4 (1984): 365. 10.1016/0305-7488(84)90069-0.

³⁵ BOA, Şûrâ-yı Devlet Evrakı (ŞD),2666/37, p.3, (7 R 1319/24 Temmuz 1901).

as the "Resm-i Miri," should be reduced to 10% in accordance with the regulations³⁶.

The tax disputes were not limited to the Germans alone. The presence of French viticulturists in the Jaffa Valley is also known. Similar to the complaints of the German viticulturists regarding taxes, the French viticulturists also voiced their concerns. In fact, the wine producers in Jaffa reported the issue to the French Consulate in Beirut, requesting that the "production tax" set at 15% be reduced to 10%. Subsequently, the consulate informed the French Embassy of the situation. While reporting the matter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the embassy expressed the opinion that the 10% "Resm-i Miri" tax on wine production, as determined by the 1881 regulation, would be appropriate. As support for this argument, they stated that the tax rate determined by the Ottoman Public Debt Administration for areas such as Musul and Akka, Egyptian was 5% lower³⁷. Additionally, complaints were raised not only about the tax on wine production and export but also regarding the collection of the tithe (öşür) on grapes³⁸.

Although disputes arose regarding the wine trade in Jaffa and the tax on grapes, it is known that the wine produced by the Jews was exported, particularly to America. In fact, in 1917, a request was made by the Chief Rabbinate to facilitate the export of wine to America via three American ships, and there was some hesitation regarding whether permission should be granted for the export. However, it was ultimately decided that there was no objection to the export of the wine produced in Jaffa to America, and permission was granted³⁹.

2. Viticulture and Wine Production in Sarona

Sarona, which became prominent in the agricultural sector, particularly in grape production, was a German colony⁴⁰ established with Zionist aims in 1871, located 3 miles away from Jaffa⁴¹. This colony originally emerged in

³⁶ BOA, ŞD, 2666/37, p. 14, 27 Kanun-ı evvel 1311/ 8 Ocak 1896; BOA, ŞD, 2666/37, p. 22, 26 Mart 1318/8 Nisan 1902.

³⁷ BOA, ŞD, 2666/37, p.4, 6 Ra 1323/11 Mayıs 1905.

³⁸ BOA, ŞD, 2666/37, p.14, 27 Kanun-ı evvel 1311/8 Ocak 1896.

³⁹ BOA, Meclis-i Vükela Mazbataları (MV), 205/76, 20 Rebiü'l-evvel 1335/14 Ocak 1917; BOA, Babîlî Evrak Odası Evrakı (BEO), 4450/333741, p. 2, 1 Rebiü'l-evvel 1335/26 Aralık 1916.

⁴⁰ Tellioglu, *Filistin'e Yahudi Göçü ve Siyonizm*, 27.

⁴¹ Ortaylı, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu*, 159.

1866 when 156 people from America settled in the village of Sarona. A large part of the American colony returned because they could not adapt to the region's climate and, consequently, the agricultural conditions. However, in 1869, the German Templer Society settled in the place vacated by the Americans⁴². In fact, the Sarona colony was one of two neighborhoods established by Germans near the Old City in Jaffa⁴³. Although the colony, consisting of seven buildings and 14 families, initially showed some development, the spread of diseases such as malaria reduced the number of immigrants. By 1875, it is known that eighty people were living in Sarona. The Jews who settled in Sarona engaged in mixed farming on the farms they established, and they were also involved in viticulture⁴⁴.

In 1882, Sarona, a farming colony, had a population of 194 people, based on its socio-economic characteristics. In addition to farmers, the colony housed 2 wine merchants, 1 grocer, 1 butcher, 1 carpenter, 2 cabinet makers, 2 bricklayer, 1 blacksmith, and 1 shoemaker⁴⁵. By 1889, the population associated with the Templer Society was estimated to be around 250 families. Of these, only 59 families were found to be living in the agricultural colony of Sarona. In the same year, it was recorded that out of 76 farm owners in Sarona, only 25 continued to make a living from agriculture. While farming was not particularly profitable, it remained the colony's primary source of income⁴⁶. Sarona also served as a model for other colonies established in Jaffa and its surroundings. For instance, in 1896, the society named Yafo Nof attempted to establish a "modern" Jewish neighborhood, modeled after the German colony of Sarona⁴⁷. In October 1899, an organization was founded in Stuttgart that aimed to encompass all Germans, though its activities were limited to Württemberg. The capital

⁴² Avcı, "19. Yüzyılın Son Çeyreğinde Filistin'in Limanı Yafa," 390; Mark Levine, *Overthrowing Geography Jaffa, Tel Aviv and the struggle for Palestine 1880-1948* (California: University of California Press, 2005), 52.

⁴³ Levine, *Overthrowing Geography Jaffa*, 52.

⁴⁴ Ran Aaronsohn, *Rothschild and Early Jewish Colonization* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2000), 33.

⁴⁵ Alexander Schölch, *Palestine in Transformation, 1856-1882 Studies in Social, Economic and Political Development*, trans. William C. Young Michael C. Gerrity (Washington: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2006), 152.

⁴⁶ Aaronsohn, *Rothschild and Early*, 33.

⁴⁷ Levine, *Overthrowing Geography Jaffa*, 63.

raised by this organization was very limited; in ten years, only one-third of the one million target was collected. Due to the shortage of funds, settlers began to leave Sarona⁴⁸. Despite these challenges, Germans, particularly those involved in viticulture, stood out for cultivating the land and excelling in grape production in Sarona. The colony's location, along with its geographical features and climate, made it highly suitable for grape cultivation. As a result, many German farmers continued to engage in active wine production⁴⁹.

Regarding taxation, Sarona experienced a contentious process similar to what occurred in central Jaffa. Grape growers and wine producers in Sarona frequently complained about the excessive taxes imposed on them. In fact, complaints regarding grape cultivation and demands for adjustments in tax practices in the region gained international attention. The grievances expressed by the German viticulturists in Sarona were communicated to the German Embassy. Specifically, the Germans in Sarona informed the embassy that they were incurring losses due to the taxes levied on wine production and exportation. As a result, the German Embassy addressed the issue to the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a correspondence dated September 2, 1895. Three key points were highlighted in this correspondence. First, the viticulturists were required to pay taxes in cash. Second, excessive taxes were being levied based on the value of the wine produced. The third is to levy an additional five percent tax instead of the ten percent tax imposed by the liquor regulations. Moreover, the tax policy led to competition between foreign wines, which were subjected to lower taxes, and the wine produced in Sarona⁵⁰. The German grape growers and wine producers in Sarona argued that they could not compete with foreign wines, explaining the situation as follows: imported wines were subject to an eight percent import tax, just like the foreign wines imported into Jaffa. This tax structure put Sarona's wine producers at a disadvantage in terms of competitiveness⁵¹.

The complaints of the grape growers in Sarona regarding taxes increased, and through the German Embassy, the issue continued to be raised in later periods. They requested information on the decision of the

⁴⁸ Aaronsohn, 34.

⁴⁹ BOA, Hariciye Nezâreti İdare Evrakı (HR.İD), 2109/53, 2 Eylül 1895; BOA, HR.İD, 2109/72, 7 Haziran 1901.

⁵⁰ BOA, HR. İD, 2109/53, 2 Eylül 1895.

⁵¹ BOA, HR. İD, 2109/53, 2 Eylül 1895; BOA, ŞD, 2666/37, p. 22, 26 Mart 1318/8 Nisan 1902.

Council of State (Şuray-ı Devlet) regarding the tax-related complaints in Jaffa and Sarona, noting that no response had yet been received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs⁵². As mentioned, the wine producers in Sarona initiated a period of economic conflict due to the fluctuating tax rates and issues encountered during the importation process.

3. Viticulture and Wine Production in Uyun Qara

In 1882, the foundations of the Rishon LeZion colony were laid by six Jewish immigrants from Russia in Uyun Qara, which was part of Jaffa⁵³. Uyun Qara is known as the first colony established by the Rothschild family in Palestine. Although the 3,340 acres of land in the colony had previously been given to the settlers by Haim Amzalak, the British Vice-Consul in Jaffa, the arrival of 100 Bilu settlers from Mikveh Israel increased the colony's population. However, due to financial difficulties, the colony came under the protection of Baron Edmond James de Rothschild in 1883⁵⁴. Changes in Rothschild's settlement policy became more apparent in 1887. Until that point, Rothschild had undertaken efforts beyond merely establishing colonies. During the process of encouraging settlement in rural areas, it was noted that members of the middle class were settled in Uyun Qara without consideration of their farming experience, and financial capability was the sole criterion for settlement⁵⁵. In this regard, in addition to planting vineyards, Rothschild sold land in Uyun Qara to new settlers. When Rothschild purchased land around the colonies or allocated land to settlers with small farms, his primary goal appeared to be securing more farmland for wheat cultivation⁵⁶. By the end of 1883, 4,000 acres of land were acquired near the colony, and cereals like barley and wheat were planted. Later, swamps were drained, vine trees were planted, and wine cellars were constructed⁵⁷. In fact, Hirsch continued to buy land near Uyun Qara for the Rishon LeZion colony until a report in 1884 indicated limited harvests due to a lack of sufficient land. Although his primary goal was to protect wheat

⁵² BOA, HR.İD, 2109/73, 9 Şubat 1317/ 22 Şubat 1902; BOA, HR.İD, 2109/56, 27 Şubat 1311/10 Mart 1896.

⁵³ Tellioglu, *Filistin'e Musevi Göçü ve Siyonizm*, 184-186.

⁵⁴ Mustafa Balcioğlu ve Sezai Balcı, *Rothschildler ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu* (Ankara: Erguvanî Yayınevi, 2022), 239.

⁵⁵ Aaronsohn, *Rothschild and Early Jewish Colonization*, 80.

⁵⁶ Aaronsohn, 63.

⁵⁷ Balcioğlu ve Balcı, *Rothschildler ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, 240.

cultivation and expand farm sizes, it is known that the main agricultural activity was grape production. By 1886, approximately 100,000 vine saplings were being grown on nearly 400 acres of land in Rishon LeZion⁵⁸. In this context, if we consider the center of Uyun Qara, where the foundations of the Rishon LeZion colony were laid, the characteristics of the Rishon LeZion colony also include Uyun Qara. When evaluating the Rishon LeZion colony in relation to Uyun Qara, the characteristics of the colony are also connected to Uyun Qara. Initially, the colony's land, which consisted of 3,340 acres (Uyun Qara), was purchased by Edmond Rothschild from Musa and Mustafa Dacanî, who were prominent landowners in Jaffa and the surrounding areas. The Dacanî family was well-known as one of the wealthy and influential families of Palestine⁵⁹. By 1897, the colony's land had grown to 6,600 acres, with a population of around 400. By 1910, the population of the colony had reached 1,190 people⁶⁰.

Uyun Qara⁶¹, known as a colony focused on viticulture, was particularly renowned for its wine production⁶². Reflecting the extension of agricultural activities into the industrial sector, a wine factory was established in the colony. It is also known that a spirit factory was set up there in 1899. The wines produced under the name "The Carmel Wine" in Uyun Qara gained international recognition, even winning a gold medal at a competition in Paris in 1900⁶³. The gold medal awarded to Carmel Wine Company was also utilized as part of its international marketing strategy. An advertisement published in *Le Phare d'Alexandrie* on July 22, 1908, reveals that, in addition to the gold medal won in Paris in 1900, the company had also earned gold medals in Hamburg in 1896 and Vienna in 1906. Furthermore, the advertisement detailed the varieties and prices of the

⁵⁸ Aaronsohn, *Rothschild and Early Jewish Colonization*, 62-63.

⁵⁹ Tellioğlu, *Filistin'e Musevi Göçü ve Siyonizm*, 184-185.

⁶⁰ Tellioğlu, 184-186.

⁶¹ Although the colony is known as Rishon LeZion, Ran Aaronsohn in his book "Rothschild and Early Jewish Colonization" states that Uyun Qara is located near Rishon LeZion. Aaronsohn, *Rothschild and Early Jewish Colonization*, 80. In Ottoman archival documents, it is referred to as "Uyunkara".

⁶² BOA, ŞD, 2320/33, p. 6, 10 Teşrin-i sani 1331/23 Kasım 1915, BOA, ŞD, 2320/33, p. 3, 10 Teşrin-i sani 1331/23 Kasım 1915.

⁶³ Balcıoğlu ve Balcı, *Rothschildler ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, 240.

alcoholic beverages produced by the company, including the per-bottle prices of red and white wine, as presented in the table below⁶⁴.

Red Wine Varieties	Piastre (PT. Kuruş)	White Wine Varieties	Piastre (PT. Kuruş)
Talbe Red	24	Blanc de Talbe	27
Bordeaux	30	Chablis	33
Rouge Supérieur	34	Blanc Supérieur (Superior White)	34
St. Julien	40	Graves	40
Médoc	54	Sauternes	45
Médoc Extra	75	Haut Sauternes	55
Margaux	75	Richon-LeZion Blanc (White)	75
Richon-LeZion Rouge (Red)	75		
Médoc Vieux (Old Médoc)	120		

(Source: Le Phare D'Alexandrie, 22 Juillet 1908, p.4.)

The advertisement published in Le Phare d'Alexandrie newspaper, dated July 22, 1908, lists the prices of various beverages and vinegar per bottle under the headings sweet wine varieties and specialty products. The details are presented in the table below⁶⁵.

Sweet Wine Varieties	Piastre (PT. Kuruş)	Specialty Products	Piastre (PT. Kuruş)
Alicante	64	Marsala	84
Alicante Fine	75	Vin Quinquina (Quinquina Wine)	96

⁶⁴ "Société Carmel Oriental Richon-Le-Zion," *Le Phare D'Alexandrie*, 22 Juillet 1908, 4.

⁶⁵ "Société Carmel Oriental Richon-Le-Zion," *Le Phare D'Alexandrie*, 22 Juillet 1908, 4.

Oporto	75	Tokaji	112
Oporto Vieux (Old Oporto)	90	Ferruginous Wine	120
Málaga	90	Vermouth	120
Málaga Supérieur (Superior Málaga)	75	Natural Vinegar	24
Muscat	84		
Muscat Supérieur	100		

(Source: Le Phare D'Alexandrie, 22 Juillet 1908, p.4.)

In the same edition of Le Phare d'Alexandrie newspaper, dated July 22, 1908, the advertisement not only provides the per-bottle prices of cognacs and araks but also lists the prices of wines and cognacs by hectoliter (Sans tonneau - without barrels) in the table below⁶⁶.

Cognacs	Piastre (PT. Kuruş)	Arak	Piastre (PT. Kuruş)
Eau de Vie (Fruit Brandy)	96	Arak de Vin	80
Fine Cognac	110		
Superior Cognac	116	Wines and Cognacs	Hectoliters
Champagne-Quality Cognac	140	Red Wine	200
Extra Fine Cognac	180	White Wine	225
Cognac Vieux (Old Cognac)	290	Cognac	600
Cognac Vieux V.O.	475	Arak de Vin	500

(Source: Le Phare D'Alexandrie, 22 Juillet 1908, p.4.)

⁶⁶ "Société Carmel Oriental Richon-Le-Zion," *Le Phare D'Alexandrie*, 22 Juillet 1908, 4.

As indicated in the tables, a variety of rich wine types are produced at the Uyun Qara winery. The Uyun Qara wine factory produced wines such as rosato and prosecco⁶⁷. In the memoirs of Fahrettin Altay, who served on the Palestinian Front during World War I, there are references to Uyun Qara. He specifically mentions the existence of the liquor and wine factory in Uyun Qara and discusses the characteristics of the colonies established by Baron Rothschild⁶⁸.

According to Fahrettin Altay, *"The Jews gratefully accepted Rothschild's offers and began viticulture. Rothschild supported them for five years, had their villages built, sent specialists to everyone's land, and initiated systematic work. In fact, he even had a beautiful liquor and wine factory built in the village of Uyunkara, where we stayed."*⁶⁹

This statement highlights Rothschild's pivotal role in supporting Jewish settlers by providing financial backing, infrastructure, and technical expertise, particularly in viticulture. It also underscores the importance of the liquor and wine industry in Uyun Qara, as noted by Altay during his time there.

Fahrettin Altay also provided detailed information about the agricultural activities of the Jews involved in viticulture in Uyun Qara. He noted that they used motors to draw water from a depth of twenty meters to irrigate their vineyards. Each vineyard owner had two mules and a four-wheeled cart. When the grape harvest was ready, the grapes were loaded onto these carts and transported to the factory. The vineyard owners handed over their grapes to the factory in exchange for a receipt, and their profit was distributed based on the quantity of grapes, but only after the grapes had been processed and sold, with expenses and interest deducted⁷⁰.

Regarding the pricing of the produce, information from the 1915 report numbered 162 from the administrative council of Jaffa district provides details on the prices of alcoholic beverages, which are outlined in the table mentioned⁷¹. This system reflects an organized and structured approach to

⁶⁷ BOA, ŞD, 2320/33, p. 7, 9 Nisan 1331/22 Nisan 1915.

⁶⁸ Balcıoğlu ve Balcı, *Rothschildler ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, 240.

⁶⁹ Fahrettin Altay, *10 Yıl Savaş 1912-1922 ve Sonrası* (İstanbul: İnsel Yayınları, 1970), 123.

⁷⁰ Altay, *10 Yıl Savaş 1912-1922 ve Sonrası*, 124.

⁷¹ BOA, ŞD, 2320/33, p. 7, 9 Nisan 1331/22 Nisan 1915.

viticulture and the wine industry in the region, where profits were carefully calculated and distributed among the growers.

The price list for various alcoholic beverages, as recorded in the 1915 document from the Jaffa district administrative council, is as follows:

Type of Beverage	Quantity	Price
Prosecco Wine	Per Kg.	30 para
Sweet Wine	Per Kg.	1 kuruş 5 para
Arak	Per Kg.	2 kuruş 30 para
Cognac	Per Kg.	4 kuruş 30 para
Beer	Per Kg.	1 kuruş 15 para

(Source: BOA. ŞD. 2320/33, lef 7.)

This table provides an insight into the pricing of different beverages produced and sold in Uyun Qara during that period. The list reflects the relative value of each product, with cognac and arak being among the more expensive items, while prosecco wine was one of the more affordable options.

Uyun Qara wine factory was not limited to wine production alone but also produced a variety of alcoholic beverages such as cognac, arak⁷², and beer⁷³. Particularly, beer is one of the alcoholic beverages that entered the domestic market following the signing of the 1838 Treaty of Balta Liman⁷⁴. Beer, which gained a foothold in the domestic market, saw increased consumption during the modernization period, leading to the establishment

⁷² In historical contexts, the term “arak” has been used to refer to a type of distilled alcoholic beverage, similar to rakı, while “hamr” and “wine” generally referred to alcoholic drinks made from fermented grapes and other fruits. The term “müskirat” was employed more broadly in documents to denote all types of alcoholic beverages. For more detailed information, refer to Yeter Öztürk, “XIX. Yüzyıl Arşiv Belgelerine Göre Osmanlı Devleti’nde İçki ve Yasaklar,” (Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ordu Üniversitesi, 2017); In the regions of Jaffa, Sarona, and Uyun Qara, the term “müskirat” often referred specifically to wine, as it was the predominant type of alcoholic beverage produced and consumed in these areas. For detailed information see: BOA, ŞD.3116/74, 28 Muharrem 1332/27 Aralık 1913; BOA, Dâhiliye Muhaberat-ı Umumiye İdaresi Evrakı (DH. MUİ), 50/29 p.1, 15 Kanunı evvel 1325/28 Aralık 1909; BOA, DH. MUİ, 50/29, p. 2, 6 Kanunı evvel 1325/19 Aralık 1909.

⁷³ BOA, BEO, 4451/333822, p.2, 29 Rebiü'l-evvel 1330/18 Mart 1912.

⁷⁴ İhsan Erdinçli, “İstanbul Meyhanelerinde İşret Âlemlerine Eşlik Eden İçkiler ve Tükekim Araçları,” *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 62, (2024): 90. 10.21563/sutad.1538391.

of beerhouses⁷⁵. As noted, beer production for domestic consumption increased over time. According to the table, beer was also produced within the Ottoman borders at the Uyun Qara winery by foreign settlers. Moreover, the winery is known for its diverse production of alcoholic beverages, including a wide variety of wines. Notably, sweet wines and Prosecco were produced at the Uyun Qara winery. However, in some documents, the term "sour wine" was used instead of Prosecco, while maintaining the same price value⁷⁶. Additionally, the factory produced common wines, old wines, and fresh wines, although there is no specific information available about the prices of these varieties. Only the tax rates levied on them are mentioned in records⁷⁷. The scale of wine production at Uyun Qara was substantial. For instance, in 1914, the factory manager reported that there were over three million kilos of unsold wine stored in the facility. This reflects the magnitude of wine production and the factory's role as a significant producer of alcoholic beverages in the region⁷⁸.

Moreover, the wines produced in Uyun Qara have maintained their significance in domestic trade, just as in foreign trade. In this regard, a 1908 report in the *Journal de Salonique* newspaper noted that although the products from the cellars of the Rishon Le-Zion colony were appreciated by the public, some merchants were adulterating wines, cognacs, and vinegars during this period, leading to consumer hesitation. To demonstrate the quality of Uyun Qara (Rishon LeZion) products, readers were encouraged to purchase some vinegar from the city's most renowned store or directly from the representative of Rishon LeZion, inspect it, and thereby recognize the purity and excellence of the products coming from the Palestinian colony⁷⁹.

Uyun Qara wine production played a significant role in foreign trade. For instance, in a response to a petition submitted in 1909 on behalf of the Uyun Qara wine factory director to the Jerusalem Mutasarrifate, the issue of exempting wines destined for export from customs duties was evaluated. It was highlighted that the 35 *para* tax imposed by the Ottoman Public Debt Administration (*Düyyûn-ı Umûmiye*) was deemed detrimental to the treasury.

⁷⁵ İhsan Erdinçli, *Keyif, Günah ve Suç Arasında Osmanlı'da Meyhaneler ve Müdavimleri* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2022), 366.

⁷⁶ BOA, BEO, 4451/333822, p.2, 29 Rebiü'l-evvel 1330/18 Mart 1912.

⁷⁷ BOA, ŞD, 3116/74, p. 3, 27 Mart 1329/9 Nisan 1913.

⁷⁸ BOA, BEO, 4451/333822, p. 2, 29 Rebiü'l-evvel 1330/18 Mart 1912.

⁷⁹ "Echos de la Ville-Richon Lézion," *Journal de Salonique*, 1264, 16 Juillet 1908, 4.

As a result, it was suggested by the Liva Administrative Council that selling wine produced at the price of 1 kurus per unit to foreigners would be reasonable. Although wine production and trade were regulated, pricing practices varied. Despite efforts to comply with legal frameworks, tax issues were a frequent source of complaints from winemakers and vineyard owners in Jaffa and surrounding areas. After these complaints, wine pricing was regulated with greater oversight in accordance with official decrees. In 1909, an investigation was conducted by the Liva Administrative Council on the taxes imposed on exported wines, overseen by the director of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration and the president of the Chamber of Commerce. It was found that exported wine was priced at 17 lira per kg. and sold at 25 centimes, with export prices ranging from 15 to 23 centimes per unit. Additional records from Jaffa indicated that wine prices varied between 20 and 60 centimes per kg., and similar price fluctuations were noted in Jerusalem, where it ranged from 20 to 40 centimes⁸⁰. An examination of tax records and invoices for wine shipments to Europe revealed that the total value of beverages produced at Uyun Qara and similar companies reached 3.31 million lira. This figure represented wine sales at different prices, transported to Jaffa and sold at varying rates upon arrival at the Jaffa dock. Furthermore, wines shipped within the Ottoman Empire were subject to a 2% military supply tax (*teçhizat-ı askeri ianesi*)⁸¹. As noted, both pricing and measurement systems for wine varied, with sales conducted in terms of both weight (*kilos*) and volume (*centimes*)⁸². The determination of sales prices and taxes on wine exacerbated existing disputes in the region. Albert Anini⁸³, the representative of the Uyun Qara wine factory, and Ishak Toronto, the representative of vineyard owners in Jaffa and its vicinity, filed complaints about wine pricing, reflecting the contentious nature of the situation⁸⁴.

⁸⁰ BOA, DH. MUİ, 50/29, p. 2, 6 Kanun-ı evvel 1325/19 Aralık 1909.

⁸¹ BOA, ŞD, 3116/74, p. 15, 6 Zilhicce sene 1327/ 19 Aralık 1909.

⁸² The difference in the units of measurement used in the Ottoman period is striking at this point. Indeed, it is difficult to determine exactly how many liters the liquid specified in centimes and kilos is equivalent to. It is impossible to determine how many centimes or kilos 1 liter of wine is equivalent to.

⁸³ BOA, Dâhiliye Nezareti Mebânî-i Emîriye ve Hapishaneler Müdüriyeti Müteferrik (DH. MB. HPS. M), 11/17, 26 Rebiü'l-evvel 1332/22 Şubat 1914, BOA, ŞD, 3116/74, p. 3, 27 Mart 1329/9 Nisan 1913.

⁸⁴ BOA, ŞD, 3116/74, p. 3, 27 Mart 1329/9 Nisan 1913.

4. Legal Dimensions of Wine Production and Trade in Jaffa, Sarona and Uyun Qara

In the Ottoman Empire, the production and trade of wine were controlled through various regulations published at different times. Initially, this regulation was in the form of a ban. Restrictions on alcohol were primarily enforced under Sharia law, prohibiting its consumption by the Muslim population. Islam forbids the consumption of hamr, a term used in several verses to refer to intoxicating beverages. The word hamr generally denotes all alcoholic drinks that cause intoxication⁸⁵. This was because the Ottoman state viewed alcohol as a threat to society, which led to restrictions on its use. Although there were prohibitions on both the consumption and trade of alcohol, the high revenue it generated for the state meant that its trade and consumption were conducted under government oversight. This oversight was ensured legally through new regulations made as needed in the various liquor regulations (*müskirat nizamnameleri*) prepared at different times⁸⁶.

For instance, the 1867 regulation broadly outlined the rules to be followed. The regulation, which came into effect on October 12, 1867 (12th of Teşrin-i Evvel, 1283 in the Islamic calendar), mandated compliance without exception for both Ottoman citizens and foreign nationals in Dersaadet, Bilâd-ı Selâse and the provinces. Consisting of 25 articles, the regulation specified the conditions under which alcoholic beverages could be sold, placing particular emphasis on taxation. Over time, additional rules were introduced to govern the production and transportation of alcoholic beverages⁸⁷.

The 1881 regulation, consisting of nineteen articles, contains various applications regarding how the produced alcoholic beverages should be recorded in districts (*kaza*) and villages (*karye*) and how much tax should be collected⁸⁸. In accordance with the provisions of the regulation, wine

⁸⁵ İhsan Erdinçli, "Sarhoşluktan Keyif Haline: Osmanlı İstanbul'unda İçki İçme ve Meyhane Âdâbı," *OTAM* 47, (2020): 25. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/otam/issue/67195/1048889>.

⁸⁶ Ahmet Yaşar, "Koltuk: Osmanlı İstanbul'unda Han Meyhaneleri," *Meyhane Kitabı*, ed. E.G. Naskali (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2019), 39-48; Özge Togrul, *19. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Kaçakçılık* (İstanbul: Selenge Yayınları, 2021), 200.

⁸⁷ *Düstur Tertib I*, c.2, 1289, 712-720.

⁸⁸ For detailed information, see: *Düstur Tertib I*, Zeyl 2, 1299, 52-55.

production and trade were conducted in Yafa, Sarona, and Uyun Qara. Notably, changes made in the fourth article of the 1881 Liquor Regulation were frequently the subject of complaints from wine producers in the Yafa region. The fourth article of the 1881 Liquor Regulation states: "At the beginning of the grape harvest season, when the produced wine (hamr) is recorded, rakı (arak) must also be produced without delay. The district chief and expert (*erbab-ı vukuftan*) must notify the council (*muteberan meclis*), and a report will be drawn up to determine the market value of the wine (hamr) and rakı (arak). The report will then be sent to the province for further review and approval. Based on the amount of wine (hamr) and rakı (arak) recorded, a 'ten percent government tax' will be collected. The tax amount will be entered into the ledger. The officer must sign the document, confirming that the tax will be paid in three installments by the end of February, with the headman also certifying it."⁸⁹

The fourth article of the "Liquor Tax Regulation" dated 1298 (1881), which was the subject of constant complaints by liquor officers and vineyard owners in Yafa and its surroundings, was amended on November 14, 1904. The amended fourth article states: "At the beginning of the grape harvest season, when the wine (hamr) and rakı (arak) are produced, the market value will be determined without delay by the municipal council committee, along with the Public Debt Administration officer (Düyun-u Umumiye), and two liquor officers in the district and province administration councils. After drafting the necessary reports, the district and provincial administration councils will review and set the central provincial price, and this will be examined by the provincial administration council. Once the prepared reports are approved, the price will be determined in the Municipal Council in the presence of the central province officer, the Public Debt Administration officer, and two liquor officers. After the determined price is examined and approved by the Provincial Administration, a 'fifteen percent government tax' will be collected from everyone who has recorded wine and rakı according to the amount. The total amount of the collected government tax will be written under the name of the officer in the ledger. The officer whose name is recorded in the ledger will sign to confirm that the tax amount will be paid in three installments by the end of February, and the sealed document will also be certified by the headman."⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Düstur Tertib I, Zeyl 2, 1299, 52-53.

⁹⁰ Düstur Tertib I, C.8, 1943, 99-100.

In Yafa, Sarona, and Uyun Qara, wine production and trade were conducted in a controlled manner, adhering to the principles outlined by the regulations. Indeed, complaints regarding the tax rate imposed on liquor (*müskirat*) often referenced the regulations, claiming that the taxes were too high. In particular, complaints sent to the central government at different times requested a reduction in the increased tax rate. To clarify the situation, following these complaints, and considering the conditions of the regulation, inspections were carried out by the District Administrative Council (*Liva Meclisi*) when the Director of the Public Debt Administration (*Düyun-u Umumiye*) and the President of the Chamber of Commerce were present, after which the price was determined⁹¹. As an institution, the Public Debt Administration played a significant role in overseeing wine production in Ottoman Jerusalem. Complaints about the tax rates surfaced at different times, especially from the vineyard community. The Public Debt Administration itself also raised objections. Consequently, the Council of State (*Şuray-ı Devlet*) initiated an investigation to resolve the issue legally⁹².

In general, wine prices were determined within the legal framework by adhering to the regulations. Considering the demographic characteristics of Yafa, Sarona, and Uyun Qara, when the legal process began to resolve the dispute over pricing, the decision of the council members, the finance director's vote, and the judge's ruling became valid. However, it is known that even the chief rabbi (*hahambaşı*) was opposed to the decision that was made⁹³.

In addition, legal decisions regarding taxes were made in light of the regulations. For instance, the tax rates were evaluated based on the decisions of the deputies present at the District Administrative Council (*Liva Meclis İdaresi*)⁹⁴. However, the final decision did not rest with the District Administrative Council. An example of this can be seen in 1912. In Uyun Qara, the District Administrative Council decided that the determined wine price needed to be reviewed, and a petition signed by Albert Anini was sent to the Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem, and the situation was reported to the

⁹¹ BOA, DH. MUİ, 50/29, p. 2. 6 Kanun-ı evvel 1325/19 Aralık 1909.

⁹² BOA, Dahiliye Nezâreti Hukuk Müşavirliği Evrakı (DH. H.MŞ), 26/46, 9 Şubat 1329/ 22 Şubat 1914.

⁹³ BOA, ŞD, 3116/74, p. 3, 27 Mart 1329/9 Nisan 1913.

⁹⁴ BOA, ŞD, 3116/74, p. 15, 6 zilhicce sene 1327/ 19 Aralık 1909.

Council of State (*Şuray-ı Devlet*)⁹⁵. As mentioned, every matter related to wine production and trade was subjected to bureaucratic oversight and controlled through administrative networks. At the same time, all aspects of wine production, transportation, and sales within the Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem, in particular, were kept under control in accordance with the provisions of the regulations, which were legal texts. As stated in the sixteenth article of the Liquor Tax Regulation (*Müskirat Resmi Miri Nizamnamesi*): "For liquors on which the government tax (*resm-i mirî*) has already been paid, no further tax will be collected in another location; only customs duties will be taken when loaded onto a ship at a port."⁹⁶

This article of the regulation also presents the taxation method applied during supervision. However, uncertainties arose in some cases, particularly regarding the transportation of wine, which became a subject of inter-institutional communication. For instance, in a letter written by the undersecretary on behalf of the Minister of Finance on December 27, 1909, the disputes about the price set for the wine collected from producers were clarified. The situation was as follows: The wine produced a year earlier, in 1908, was priced at 35 *para* by the District Administrative Council (*Liva İdare Meclisi*). However, it was later discovered that the price was 5 *para* too low, leading the Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem Administrative Council (*Mutasarrıflık Meclis İdaresi*) to review the matter. Additionally, the vineyard producers calculated the value of the wine at 40 *para* and submitted a petition to the Mutasarrifate of Jerusalem.

Following the correspondence between the Mutasarrifate and the Presidency of the Council of State (*Şuray-ı Devlet*) regarding the petition, the investigation results were reported on November 13, 1909. It was revealed that for the transportation of wine within the city, a customs duty of 60 *para* was collected. At the same time, half of the taxes collected on wine exported abroad were refunded. Therefore, the price of 40 *para* set by the District Administrative Council was approved by the Council of State, and this decision was confirmed in a memo issued by the Public Debt Administration commissioner⁹⁷.

⁹⁵ BOA, Dâhiliye Nezâreti İdare Evrakı (DH. İD), 70/12, 9 Şaban 1330/ 24 Temmuz 1912

⁹⁶ BOA, BEO, 4279/320894, p.2, 3 Safer 1332/1 Ocak 1914.

⁹⁷ BOA, BEO, 3683/276182, p. 2, 14 Kanun-ı evvel 1325/27 Aralık 1909.

Conclusion

In the 19th century, European states' interest in Jerusalem increased, leading to an expansion of settlement and investment opportunities. As a result, foreign settlement in Jerusalem grew. Notably, settlers arrived at various times in Jaffa and its surroundings, which were part of the Jerusalem Mutasarrifate. Jaffa, seen as an agricultural production area by settlers, emerged as a central economic activity thanks to the favorable climate and fertile soil of the neighboring regions. The involvement of influential organizations like the Templer Society and the Rothschild family further boosted agricultural colonization efforts, turning these areas into vital centers for wine production within the scope of viticulture activities. While local Arab farmers had long been engaged in traditional viticulture, foreign settlers introduced modern agricultural techniques, significantly increasing both the scale and quality of wine production.

With the establishment of wine factories, reflecting the industrial impact of viticulture activities, the wine trade quickly spread. However, the Ottoman government's taxation policies, particularly the increasing taxes on wine production and export, frequently led to disputes between settlers and officials. Legal frameworks, such as the 1881 Alcoholic Beverages Regulation, created by the Ottoman Empire to enforce state control, provided a structured approach to regulate the industry. Yet, both winegrowers and producers initiated a contentious process, claiming that the tax rates were excessive. Despite petitions and diplomatic efforts from foreign governments, these issues persisted, reflecting broader tensions between the Ottoman state and foreign settlers. The Ottoman Empire, seeking to maintain control over wine production and trade, relied on institutions like the District Administrative Council (*Liva İdare Meclisi*) and the Public Debt Administration (*Düyyûn-ı Umûmiye*) to enforce oversight with great care.

The economic and demographic changes brought about by the colonization of areas like Sarona and Uyun Qara not only transformed agricultural practices but also left a lasting impact on the social fabric of the region. While German Jewish settlers dominated the viticulture and wine production activities in Jaffa, Sarona, and Uyun Qara, the presence of French winegrowers in the Jaffa Valley was also well-known. As a result, foreign investments in Ottoman Jerusalem, especially tied to colonization, were particularly focused on viticulture and wine production.

By the early 20th century, these colonies had become major wine production centers, exporting their products internationally and gaining recognition for their quality. The establishment of wine factories and distilleries also reflected the industrialization of the region's agricultural output, marking an important phase in the economic development of Ottoman Jerusalem. The international nature of the wines produced at the Uyun Qara wine factory is evidence of this transformation.

In conclusion, this study highlights how viticulture and wine production in Jerusalem under Ottoman rule served both as an economic lifeline and a point of contention. The activities in Jaffa, Sarona, and Uyun Qara symbolize the broader dynamics in which foreign settlers, driven by both religious and economic motivations, engaged in agricultural colonization under the supervision of Ottoman authorities. While these efforts led to notable economic growth, unresolved disputes over taxation and control persisted. The implementation of legal regulations, which also served as oversight mechanisms, played a significant role in viticulture activities. Thus, the resistance to these regulations in such a strategically important area reflects the complex relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the foreign powers vying for influence. Additionally, dissatisfaction among wine producers, especially due to the high taxes levied on wine, fueled discontent among the producer class. Winegrowers expressed their complaints through embassies, stating that the tax rates on wine were too high. Despite petitions and diplomatic efforts, complaints about tax rates continued. This situation reflected broader tensions between the Ottoman Empire and foreign settlers. However, the rapid spread of viticulture and the wine trade was not without challenges. Legal frameworks, such as the 1881 Alcoholic Beverages Regulation (*1881 Müskirat Nizamnamesi*), established by the Ottoman Empire, provided a structured approach to regulate the wine industry. Notably, while local Arab farmers traditionally engaged in viticulture, foreign settlers from 1875 onward introduced modern agricultural techniques, significantly increasing the scale and quality of wine production. The establishment of wineries and distilleries marked an important stage in the economic development of Ottoman Jerusalem, further industrializing the region's agricultural production.

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Geniş Özet

Osmanlı döneminde, Yafa, Sarona ve Uyun Kara gibi çevre bölgeleri de dahil olmak üzere Kudüs hem siyasi hem de ekonomik açıdan büyük önem taşımaktaydı. Kudüs'ün önemi, Avrupalı güçlerin dikkatini çeken kutsal bir şehir olarak dini konumundan kaynaklanıyordu. Yavuz Sultan Selim döneminde 1517'de Kudüs'ü ele geçiren Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, şehri Mısır ve Suriye'yi de içine alan daha geniş bir bölgesel çerçevenin parçası olarak yönetti. Yüzyıllar boyunca bu bölge, özellikle 19. yüzyıldan itibaren, artan yabancı müdahalesi ile karşılaşmıştır. Nitekim Kolonizasyon çabaları kapsamında bağcılık ve şarap üretimi gibi ekonomik faaliyetler nedeniyle önemli bir dönüşüme sahne olmuştur.

Kudüs başlangıçta Şam vilayetinin bir parçası olarak Osmanlı vilayet sistemine entegre edilmiştir. Zaman içinde, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun merkezi kontrolü sürdürme çabalarını yansıtan çeşitli idari değişikliklere uğramıştır. 19. yüzyıla gelindiğinde Kudüs, 1871'de ayrı bir idari birim haline gelmeden önce Sayda vilayetinin bir parçasıydı. Bu değişiklikler hem dini motivasyonlar hem de emperyal hırslar nedeniyle Avrupa'nın bölgeye olan ilgisinin arttığı bir döneme denk gelmiştir. 1878 Berlin Antlaşması Avrupa nüfuzunun şekillenmesinde önemli bir rol oynamış, Fransa'ya Katoliklerin koruyucusu rolünü verirken, Almanya Protestan ve Yahudi topluluklar üzerinde nüfuz arayışına girmiştir.

Kudüs'ün stratejik konumu ve Yafa gibi Akdeniz'e uzanan limana sahip olması, burayı Avrupalı hacılar ve yerleşimciler için kilit bir nokta haline getirmiştir. Özellikle Yafa, Yahudiler ve Hristiyanlar da dahil olmak üzere Kudüs'e seyahat eden ve yerleşen gayrimüslim nüfus için bir odak noktası haline gelmiştir. Başta Almanya ve Fransa olmak üzere Avrupalı güçlerin bölgede okullar, kiliseler ve koloniler kurması aralarındaki rekabeti körüklemiştir.

Kudüs'e yakın bir noktada bulunan Yafa, önemli bir liman kenti ve Kutsal Topraklara seyahat eden hacılar için bir geçit niteliğindedir. Elverişli iklimi ve verimli toprakları nedeniyle tarımsal faaliyetler, özellikle de bağcılık için bir merkez haline gelmiştir. Üzüm ve zeytin, yerel Arap çiftçiler tarafından geleneksel yöntemler kullanılarak yetiştiriliyordu. Ancak 19. yüzyılın ortalarında, başta Alman ve Yahudi yerleşimciler olmak üzere yabancı yerleşimciler bölgenin bağcılık endüstrisinde daha önemli bir rol oynamaya başlamıştır.

Bir Alman dini grubu olan Templer Cemiyeti, Yafa ve çevresine yerleşen ilk yabancı kuruluşlardan biriydi. Toprak satın alıp, tarım

kolonileri kurarak şarap üretimi için üzüm yetiştiriciliği de dahil olmak üzere tarım uygulamalarını modernleştirmeye odaklanmışlardır. Bu yerleşimciler Yafa ve Sarona'da şarap endüstrisinin gelişmesine önemli katkıda bulundular. Ancak bu genişlemenin zorlukları da yok değildi. Yabancı yerleşimciler ile Osmanlı yetkilileri arasında şarap üretimi ve ihracatına uygulanan vergiler konusunda anlaşmazlıklar ortaya çıktı. Özellikle Alman şarap üreticileri yüksek vergilerden şikâyetçi olmuş ve bu durum Alman Büyükelçiliği aracılığıyla diplomatik müdahalelere yol açmıştır.

Yafa'ya üç mil uzaklıkta bulunan Sarona, 1871 yılında Alman yerleşimciler tarafından kurulan bir diğer önemli yerleşim yeri idi. Başlangıçta Amerikalı yerleşimciler tarafından kurulan koloni, Amerikalıların yerel koşullarla mücadele etmesinin ardından Templer Cemiyeti tarafından devralınmıştır. Sarona, bölgenin iklimi ve toprağı nedeniyle diğer tarımsal faaliyetlerden daha başarılı olduğu kanıtlanan bağcılık ve şarap üretimine odaklanan örnek bir tarım kolonisi haline gelmiştir.

Yafa'ya bağlı olan bölgede tarım faaliyetlerinin yoğun olduğu diğer bir yer Sarona'dır. 19. yüzyılın sonlarına gelindiğinde Sarona, bağcılığın ana ekonomik faaliyetlerinden biri olmuş ve gelişen bir koloni haline gelmiştir. Koloninin üzüm bağlarında hem yerel tüketim hem de ihracat için kullanılan yüksek kaliteli üzümler üretiliyordu. Yafa'da olduğu gibi, Sarona'nın şarap üreticileri de vergilendirmeye ilgili sorunlarla karşılaşmış, şarap ihracatından alınan aşırı vergilerden şikâyetçi olmuşlardır. Bu şikâyetler Osmanlı yetkililerine bildirilmiş, ancak yabancı yerleşimciler ile Osmanlı yönetimi arasındaki daha geniş gerilimleri yansıtan anlaşmazlıklar devam etmiştir.

Yafa yakınlarında bulunan Uyun Kara, esasında 1882 yılında Yahudi yerleşimciler tarafından kurulan Rishon LeZion kolonisinin yeri idi. Bu koloni, Rothschild ailesinin Filistin'deki tarımsal yerleşimlerin gelişimine katılımının başlangıcını işaret ediyordu. Başlangıçta tahıl yetiştiriciliğine odaklanan koloni hızla bağcılığa kayarak bölgedeki en başarılı şarap üretim bölgelerinden biri haline gelmiştir. Rothschild ailesinin mali desteği koloninin gelişmesini sağlamış ve üzüm bağları binlerce dönüme yayıldı. 19. yüzyılın sonlarına gelindiğinde Uyun Kara, Avrupa'ya ve diğer pazarlara şarap ihraç eden güçlü bir şarap endüstrisi geliştirmiştir. Koloni bir şarap fabrikası bile inşa etmiş ve daha sonra bir brendi damıtma tesisi eklemiştir. Uyun Kara'da üretilen rosato ve prosecco gibi şaraplar uluslararası tanınırlık kazanmış, bazıları Avrupa'daki yarışmalarda ödüller kazanmıştır.

Koloninin başarısına rağmen, vergilendirme tartışmalı bir konu olmaya devam etmiştir. Osmanlı hükümeti şarap üretimini denetim altına almak amacıyla çeşitli vergiler koymuştur ve bu da yerleşimciler ile yetkililer arasında anlaşmazlıklara yol açmıştır. Yerleşimciler, özellikle de bağcılıkla uğraşanlar, vergilerin aşırı olduğunu ve Avrupa'dan ithal edilen şaraplarla rekabet etme kabiliyetlerini engellediğini savunmuşlardır.

Osmanlı Kudüs'ünde şarap üretimi ve ticareti, başta 1881 tarihli Alkollü İçkiler Nizamnamesi gibi nizamnameler olmak üzere çeşitli yasal çerçevelerle düzenlenmiştir. Bu kanun, şarap üretiminin kayıt altına alınmasına ilişkin prosedürleri ve uygulanacak vergileri ana hatlarıyla belirliyordu. Ancak bu kanunlarda sık sık yapılan değişiklikler, örneğin 1904 tarihinde vergilerin %10'dan %15'e çıkarılması, bölgedeki şarap üreticileri arasında hoşnutsuzluğa yol açmıştır.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda kamu borçlarını ve vergilendirmeyi denetleyen Düyun-u Umumiye İdaresi, bu anlaşmazlıkların yönetilmesinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Özellikle Yafa, Sarona ve Uyun Kara'daki şarap üreticileri, vergilerin azaltılması ve düzenlemelerin sektörlerinin gerçeklerine daha uygun hale getirilmesi için idareye sık sık dilekçe vermişlerdir. Osmanlı Kudüs'ünde bağcılık ve şarap üretimi, özellikle Yafa, Sarona ve Uyun Kara gibi yerlerde bölge ekonomisinin ayrılmaz bir parçası haline gelmiştir. Alman Museviler başta olmak üzere yabancı yerleşimcilerin katılımı şarap endüstrisinin gelişimine önemli ölçüde katkıda bulunmuştur. Ancak endüstri, özellikle vergilendirme ve Avrupa şaraplarıyla rekabet konusunda çok sayıda zorlukla karşılaşmıştır. Bu zorluklara rağmen, bölgedeki şarap endüstrisi, özellikle Rothschild ailesi gibi nüfuzlu kişilerin hem yerel hem de yabancı yatırımlarıyla desteklenerek gelişmeye devam etmiştir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu tarafından kurulan yasal ve idari çerçeveler endüstrinin düzenlenmesine yardımcı olmuştur, ancak yerleşimciler ile yetkililer arasında vergi oranı, anlaşmazlıklara neden olmuştur.