

## THE HISTORICAL TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN SPACE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF PROPERTY-SOCIETY RELATIONS IN MUĞLA, TURKEY

Feray KOCA\*

Received: 20.05.2014, Final Text: 18.03.2015

**Keywords:** Property-society relations; transformation; urban space.

### INTRODUCTION

Property originated from Roman Laws is the act of occupying, possessing, and dominating something with the aim of using, collecting its fruits and exhausting it (Günay, 1999, 32, 57). Possessors and owners of the things have the right of use, possession and control over property subjects. In terms of the creation of urban environment, property can be described as the exercising of power over a subject, and has been used for many centuries by communities and states as a mechanism for the control and regulation of land. By this means, property issue should be held as a socio-political institution, which is acting on the space. In many planning theories, the influence of property relations on the evolution of urban space and urban land has been an untouched research area and their complex interrelation has been the missing subject. In this framework, this paper investigates the historical evolution of urban space within the context of property-society relations.

However, it is difficult to assert complicated and dynamic interaction between property-society relations and the formation of urban space perceptibly. This paper asserts this interaction in the case of an Anatolian town by searching different modes of land ownerships, institutional regulations of the states and their observable implementations on urban space and by making inferences from society relations. In history, the power of property relations on the transformation of urban space can be observed via spatial implementations and regulations of the state in Anatolian town obviously during the domination of Anatolian Turkish Principalities, the Ottomans and the Turkish Republic. Every administration created its own autonomy, structuring of the state and spatial organization based upon the property relations. The states were able to control social life and town form on the basis of the right to property. Anatolia witnessed many civilizations and governments, but in terms of uniformity of the formation of town space, the forms of land ownership

\* Department of City and Regional Planning,  
Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University, Muğla,  
TURKEY.

and the mode of production, this study evaluates Anatolian town space in history since the beginning of the first settlements of Turks.

The case area of this article, Muğla is an Anatolian town and significant in terms of having concrete traces of ownership pattern that can reflect the characteristics of different historical periods. In addition, the effect of the changing property-society relations on the town space of Muğla has been untouched research area. Therefore, the main purpose of this article is to investigate the dynamic interaction between the property-society relations and the formation of urban space in the case of Muğla. In this context, the article elaborates the extent of this interaction on town layout during different administrative periods in history. The main advantage of the town is that it provides the opportunity of observing the implementations of administrations in each historical periods separately parallel with the spatial shift of its town centres. The pattern of urban space in Muğla represents the relationship between property rights and the possessor of the power. Because of unmoveable and non-producible characteristic of the land, the existence of different forms of land ownerships in the town has been the main guideline while searching the transformation of urban space in this research. In each historical period, the rearrangement and redistribution of property rights on land in the town have lead to transformation of urban space. Therefore, the analysis of these historical layers necessitates the study of property-society relations. In this respect, this paper is concerned with the transformation of urban space and ownership pattern, which constitutes the fabric of Muğla from a historical and social context.

The urban space of Muğla has been subjected to a number of different administrative land regulations since the 12<sup>th</sup> century. For approximately nine centuries, the urban space of the town of Muğla has been shaped, structured and transformed as a result of the prevalent property relations, which is the subject under evaluation in this paper. In this context, this paper first clarifies the determining role of property relations on urban space depending on a theoretical discussion, then explains the property relations of the Anatolian Turkish Principalities, the Ottomans and the first years of the Turkish Republic, with the intention being to familiarize the main forms of land ownerships and to understand the basis of the land regulations of former administrations in Anatolia. The section including the period of the Turkish Republic is limited with the first years due to the evolvement of the property-society relations with international economic policies and intensified capitalist production after 1940s generated with a rapid industrialisation. Therefore, the evaluation of property-society relations after the first years of the Republic will be more appropriate in another research paper. Accordingly, the paper goes on to explain the property-society relations and their repercussions on the urban space in the case of Muğla in a chronological order. Main dynamics leading urban space transformation during three different historical period of domination is compared and analysed in a discussion part.

### **PROPERTY RELATIONS AND URBAN SPACE**

The evolution of urban space has been an outcome of production relations, accordingly property relations. As stated by Lefebvre (1991, 31), every society or every mode of production creates its own space. "In other words, every mode of production gives a 'form' to urban space according

to its own 'content', which is the social relations of production, and more definitely, the property relations" (Baş, 2010, 38).

From a Marxist approach, the production relations between three determinants; capital, labour and land produce urban space. Particularly after the Industrial Revolution, urban space emerged as a physical commodity as an outcome of production relations, becoming a product and reflection of the social relations between labour and capital and their locational relations on land. Among such relations, space becomes an object of property relations, and so it can be said that property relations formed the legal basis of production relations.

Marxist analyses are in a tendency to explain spatial concerns in terms of transformation of society with the driving forces of capital accumulation and class struggles. In traditional political economy, space has been considered in the context of economic, political and ideological structures. However, "space cannot be reduced merely to a location or to the social relations of property ownership-it represents multiplicity of sociometarial concerns" (Gottdiener, 1985, 123). Therefore, in terms of urban form or design, space itself should be considered as one component of the productive forces of the society.

In Neo-Marxist perspective, Harvey (1973) states that the formation of urban space is the coexistence of social processes more than being just a physical existence. In parallel to Harvey, Castells (1977) asserts the space as a social construction and Lefebvre (1991) explains space as a social relationship in his expression, "any space implies, contains and dissimulates social relationships-and this despite the fact that a space is not a thing but rather a set of relations between things (objects and products)" (Lefebvre, 1991, 82-3). In this connection, urban space is a collective product and at the same time functions as a means of production. Space evolves with different production relations and urban space is the object of property relations.

The idea of using physical space as a commodity for other fields of production has first emerged with the advent of private property (Lefebvre, 1991); and since then, it is the property rights over land that have determined the spatial and social ordering of the urban space. Thus, property is institutionalised to regulate social institutions and to dominate the space.

In the production of urban space, property relations play a determining role on the evolution of the urban spaces. As an institution, it governs 'social relations', 'evolution of power conflicts' and 'generation of symbolic values'. Furthermore, the form of urban space is the result of the ownership patterns of real property and their transformation (Günay, 1999, 9). In this system, states are the control mechanisms of land management and land rights.

"Space has become a political instrument of primary importance for the states. The state uses space in such a way that it ensures its control of places, its strict hierarchy, homogeneity of the whole and the segregation of the parts. It is thus an administratively controlled and even policed space" (Lefebvre, 1979, 288).

This means, spatial organization is a kind of representation of hierarchical power and states use spatial design to evoke its social control with parallel to its administrative interests (Gottdiener, 1985, 126-7). States got the power of this social control via regulation over property relations. Therefore, legal

regulations of the states over property-society relations have been one of the substantial determinants on urban space. It is crucial to remark that the legitimization of production relations has modified the type of political domination and legal regulations of the states. With the advent of capitalist production, the sacredness of the property was transformed into control of surplus production (Günay, 1999, 224).

In brief, in pre-modern societies, while property as an institution was rather an instrument of policy, in modern societies it became the instrument of production. Property relations cannot be reduced to land; however, land ownership has been a kind of embodiment of property rights. Therefore, attempts of both pre-modern and modern societies and states have been primarily for the arrangement of land ownership to keep control on urban space.

### PROPERTY RELATIONS IN ANATOLIA

Many civilizations have dominated Anatolia; however, historical conditions of each society produced their own property relations and accordingly reconstructed their built environment. In this section, the property relations of the Anatolian Turkish Principalities, the Ottomans and the first years of the Turkish Republic is explained to perceive land ownership structure in Anatolia.

#### Property relations of the Anatolian Turkish Principalities

Seljuk Turks first invaded Anatolia in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and with the demise of the Seljuk Sultanate at the end of the following century, the Anatolian Turkish Principalities were founded. In this period new settlements often developed around dervish lodges, as well as villages for the nomads on the peripheries of cities. In the process of the Turkish-Islamic colonization, new settlements began to develop around charitable establishments, which were set up and managed by *waqfs* (1). Commercial activities began clustering around town squares, and became symbolised with religious buildings such as madrasahs, mosques or masjids, which were in turn associated with social institutions such as boys' schools, public soup kitchens, libraries, hospitals, alms houses, inns, pools and fountains (Özcan, 2006, 41). Accordingly, they became influential in the orientation of residential development in Anatolian towns.

The period of the Turkish Principalities was characterised by three forms of land ownership: *ikta*, *mülk* (private property or manor) and *waqf* (Figure 1). While *mülk* and *waqf* were still widespread, *ikta* almost vanished during this period. *İkta* had been a military form of land ownership that was a remnant of the Seljuk land ownership system, but after the dismemberment of the Seljuks, the lack of a central authority led to the collapse of the *ikta* system, and *ikta* lands were transferred to the *mülk* and *waqf*. *Mülk* was estate in the settlements, the producers of which held the proprietorial rights to the lands, which they were able to sell, donate, bequeath or convert it into *waqfs*. *Waqfs* were exempt of taxes and their purchase and sale was forbidden. The bequeather had to own all of the property rights of the *mülk* in order to convert it into a *waqf*, and the state had no power of intervention. However, inheriting *mülk* was practiced very few. As a repercussion of this practice, it was rare for a *mülk* to end up in the hands of one family for several decades, without conversion of a *mülk* into a *waqf* (Moutafchieva, 1988, 67-8).

1. A *waqf* was a pious foundation of endowments and perpetual estate whose income was used for charitable purposes.

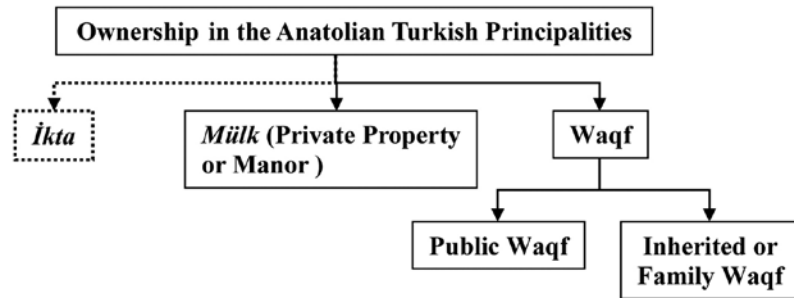


Figure 1. Ownership in the Anatolian Turkish Principalities (Rendered by Feray Koca)

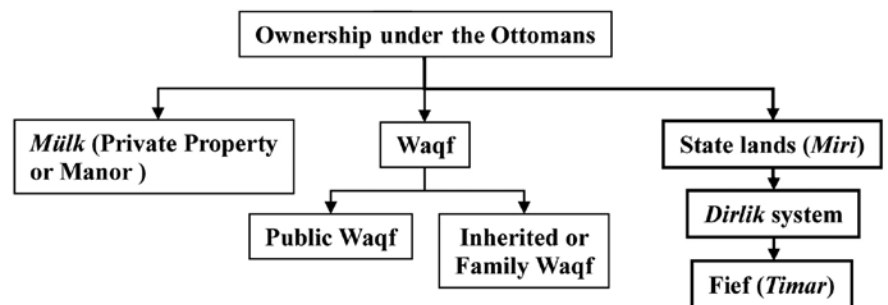


Figure 2. Ownership under the Ottomans (Rendered by Feray Koca)

There were two kinds of *waqf* in terms of the use of the income they brought in: public waqfs, and inherited or family waqfs. Public waqfs were pious foundations and perpetual estates whose income was to be used for charitable purposes for the public weal. These were quite different to the inherited or family waqfs, in which all or part of the income or usufruct of the waqf property was paid to the foundation beneficiaries rather than to a charity or foundation. Only in the event of no surviving heir being found could the property be used by poor Muslims or for the benefit of charity (Tuş, 1999, 186-7). The purpose of this kind of division of land ownership was to recover the property from the division law of Islamic inheritance, and to guarantee the return of the estate to inheritors through ownership of the land or manor as family property. In this way, the continuity of the land aristocracy was ensured, and this is why waqfs were so widespread in Anatolia (Yenen, 1980, 40).

### Property relations of the Ottoman Empire in Anatolia

From the 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottomans, who had held one of the Anatolian Principalities, became the supreme power, and over time came to dominate all of the other independent Anatolian Principalities. Before the period of Ottoman expansion, a number of established land ownership systems existed among the Turkish Principalities (*mülk*, *waqf*) as forms of absolute ownership that were independent from the central authority. The Ottomans, rather than invalidating the possession type of the existing ownerships, sought to strengthen and centralize these forms of ownerships, establishing an improved version of *ikta* that became known as the *timar* or *dirlik* system (Cin, 1986, 48) (Figure 2).

*Timar*, as a form of feudal land ownership, could be found and codified only within the *miri* (state) lands. At the beginning of the expansion period, the property rights of the new conquered lands belonged to the state, and were known as *miri* lands. To explain the origins of the *timar* system, the proprietor of the lands was the state, while individuals were

able to benefit from the land (İslamoğlu-İnan, 1991). After the lands were conquered, they were distributed among the commanders of the sultan's army as *timar* (fief). Senior dignitaries and courtiers were granted a fief, and became known as *timarholders*, representing the state. The peasants worked on the *miri* lands for the *timarholders*, and the income of the land was allocated to the *timarholders* in return for the fulfilment of their military duties. The *timarholders* were obliged to keep the peasants on the land to carry out agricultural tasks (İnalçik, 2003, 114–5), as the sustainability of the agricultural economy of the Ottoman Empire depended on the successful application of well-defined rules in the state property and production system (Niray, 2002, 9).

The Ottomans maintained a strong centralized power structure that set them apart from the feudal European states, and the aim of *timar* was to obtain revenue from the land with the help of a centrally controlled system. The establishment of *miri* lands and the *timar* system meant that the Anatolian Principalities became dependent on the central authority, turning the aristocracy of the Principalities against the Ottoman State, such that in the following centuries the situation became a threat to the Ottoman Empire (Moutafchieva, 1988, 16-8).

At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, developments in the Western world resulted in some economic problems for the administrative structure of the Ottoman State, leading to a structural transformation of the tax system. Moreover, during the reign of Murat III, some of the *timarholders* were able to avoid fulfilling their duties by giving bribes to the grand viziers (Cin, 1986, 73).

During the reign of Mehmet IV (1618–1687), owing to the weakened authority of the central power, the *timarholders* started to appropriate *miri* lands as their own, effectively turning the *miri* lands into *mülks* and farmsteads of the *timarholders* (İnalçik and Quataert, 1994). Although this usurping of *miri* lands by *timarholders* was illegal, the lands would over time be transformed into assets of unconditional ownership (Cin, 1986, 75). In the meantime, the administrators who were supposed to be governing the provinces assigned *mütesellim* (representatives) to carry out their duties, and so the provinces started to lose their former state-owned character. The local authorities, who were officially recognised as "*ayan*," also became property owners of the *miri* lands, bringing about the rise of a new land aristocracy that was similar to feudalism (Niray, 2002, 10). In this century, trade and usury provided capital to the *ayanlar* and the *timarholders*, bringing them into direct opposition to the central authority in defiance of their superiors. After the 16<sup>th</sup> century, some *timarholders* and military officers established farmsteads by purchasing lands from the peasants through usury, after which, the *timarholders* made the peasants work as tenants, and operated the *miri* lands as their own *mülks* (Cin, 1986, 83). With the decline of *timar* system, lands fell into disuse, culminating in a rise in economic problems. Starting from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the migration of peasants to the cities increased, and the resulting change in societal relationships triggered the Administrative Reforms of 1839.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the ownership of land fell out of the control of the central authority. Within the Administrative Reforms of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, especially the Land Edict of 1858, *miri* lands started to be transformed into private property. In 1913, with the adoption of laws related to the freedom of debt and purchase business on *miri* lands, the communal ownership systems developed by the Ottomans was eradicated (Yenen, 1980, 11). This land edict brought a guarantee of private property to individuals

through Deeds Regulations, and taxes on lands were removed. "This was the result of the initiation of capitalist production in agriculture within the domination of Western industrial production on Eastern production goods. This process consolidated the rise of private property" (Günay, 1999, 235-6).

### Property relations in the first years of the Turkish Republic

With the establishment of Turkish Republic in 1923, creating a new modern society became one of the objectives of the nation-state. With the aim of coping with the capitalist mode of production to adapt to the new world order and economical system, new property relations were constructed.

In this period, there were three main forms of land ownerships: national treasure, private property and waqf. From the enactment of Turkish Civil Law in 1926 and the Land Registry Law in 1934, abolished *miri* lands were transferred to the national treasure (Günay, 1999, 237). Abandoned lands and the estate of Non-Muslims were also transferred to the national treasure after admission of Population Exchange. Common and dead lands transferred into private property. The nation-state of the Republic retained the status of privatised *miri* lands of the Ottomans. With the Law of Endowments dated 1935, all profitable administration of the cash waqfs was transferred to General Directorate for Foundations.

In the first years of the Republic, the planning efforts basically focused on the redistribution of land ownerships to provide urban-rural integration and conversion of irregular ownership pattern into more regular forms. With modernization project of the Republic, state got the control of lands with public investments and prescribed the concepts of public space, public interest and public welfare for their modern citizens.

## PROPERTY-SOCIETY RELATIONS IN MUĞLA

Muğla is one of the Anatolian towns of which property-society relations were particularly depending on the administrative land regulations of Turkish Anatolian Principalities and the Ottomans.

### The history of Muğla

Muğla is a province in southwestern Turkey (**Figure 3**) with a history that dates back to the Bronze Age (2) (B.C. 3000). In antiquity, the name of the region was Caria, named after the eponymous King Car (Tosun, 1983). Over time, Muğla has been under the domination of, in chronological order, the Caria, the Egyptians, the Scythian, the Assyrians, the Doris, the Medes, the Persians, the Macedonians, the Romans and the Byzantines. In 1284, with the domination of the Seljuk Turks, the Caria region started to be referred to as *Menteşe*. It is thought that Muğlu Bey who conquered 'Muğla' was the eponym of the town (3). In 1424, the Ottoman domination began in the region, and Muğla became one of four sanjaks of the province of Aydın (Günsan, 1973). **Figure 4** shows the changing boundaries of Muğla in different centuries under the domination of the Seljuk Turks, the Ottomans and the Turkish Republic. Given Muğla's status as the administrative centre of the region for a significant period (Eroğlu, 1939), the paper will continue with an evaluation of the property and society relations in the region to obtain clues about the historical transformation of the town.

2. Approximately between 36° 16' to 37° 34' North and 27° 13' to 29° 45' East.

3. "Bey" was governor or ruler of a region in the administrative system of the Seljuks.



Figure 3. Location of Muğla (Rendered by Feray Koca)

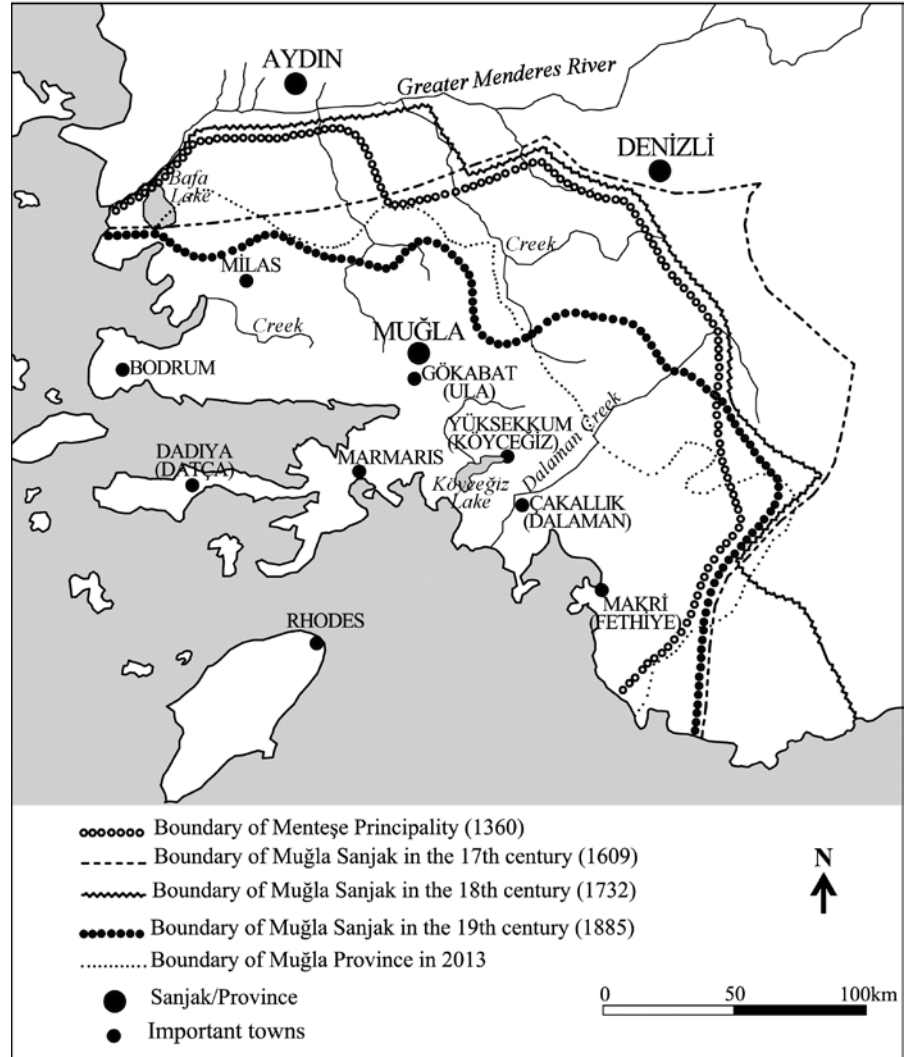


Figure 4. Changing administrative boundaries of Muğla in different centuries under the domination of Seljuk Turks, Ottomans and Turkish Republic (Rendered by Feray Koca by adapting figure in Aktüre, 1993, 35; Wittek, 1944, 193)

4. "Hisar" means fortress. Today, many stones that formed the fortress still stand on Hisar (Asar) Mountain, indicating quadrangle plan. Inside the fortress is an interior fortress, rooms and tomb with squinches.

### The transformation of town space in Muğla in history

Muğla is an old settlement that was founded on the hillsides of a mountainous area in B.C. 335. In antiquity, people first settled in a fortress on Asar (Hisar) Mountain, and later, in the Middle Ages, the location of the town in the fortress would have only a minor influence on trade in the region, given its distance from the coast (4). Only after the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, with the domination of the Seljuk Turks, did the town re-settle outside the fortress on the southern slopes of Asar Mountain, which was the source of the three main creeks of Değirmendere, Karamuğla and Basmacı (Tabakhane) that ran down through the fertile lands of the large Muğla Plain. The initial growth of the city towards the south took the form of a linear extension of the downtown area along the banks of Basmacı Creek (Aktüre, 1993). The large plain located at the foot of the slopes was used as summer pasture, and was cultivated with vineyards and orchards by the townspeople. Figure 5 shows the macroform development of Muğla under different dominations.

At the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, under the domination of the Menteşe Principality, Muğla maintained its status as a village, and therefore had



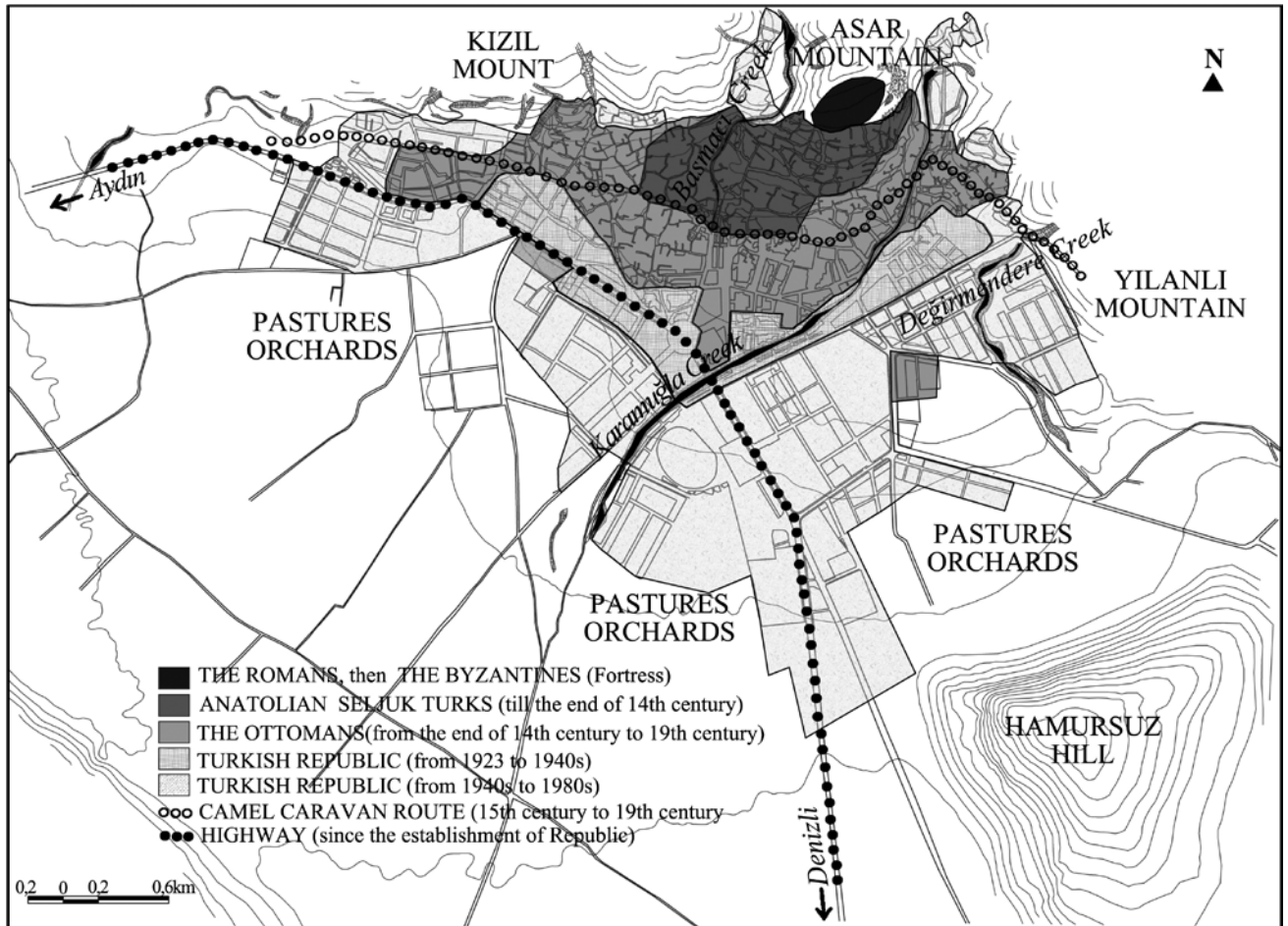


Figure 5. Macroform development of Muğla town under different dominations (Rendered by Feray Koca according to the distribution of some important buildings of different periods and information gathered for the Muğla Development Plan in 1977)

only a secondary role in the Menteşe region after Milas and Beçin (5) (Faroqhi, 1993, 19). The characteristics of the property relations in Muğla were much the same to those of other Anatolian towns, categorised as *mülk* and inherited *waqfs*. One repercussion of the presence of *waqf* institutions in the town was the rise of social, cultural and financial public buildings. In this century, on the south slopes of Asar Mountain, the townspeople established neighbourhoods around common areas that were characterised by buildings with social or religious functions. Semi-nomadic communities known as "*kayı*" were established, led by dervishes who gave their names to the neighbourhoods in the town (Emirbeyazıt, Hacı Rüstem, Kara İmam, Şeyh Bedrettin and Muslihittin Neighbourhoods), with the composition of these neighbourhoods dependant on the ethnic and religious classification of the community (Türkeş, 1971). The oldest structure in Muğla from this century is Ulu Mosque, built by İbrahim Bey, the son of Menteşe, in 1344 (Figure 6).

Muğla was still a small village in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, being far from main trade routes, and its administrative role was rather limited when compared to other provinces. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as some of the *mülks* and inherited *waqfs* were transformed into *miri* lands following the rise of Ottoman rule, a number of influential people in the town became the new owners of the *miri* lands. The first pious structure built by the Ottomans in the town was Kurşunlu (Yeni) Mosque in 1493, which featured a madrasah and a teachers' house (Figure 7).



**Figure 6.** Ulu Mosque, built in 1344 under the domination of the Menteşe Principality (Feray Koca personal archive)

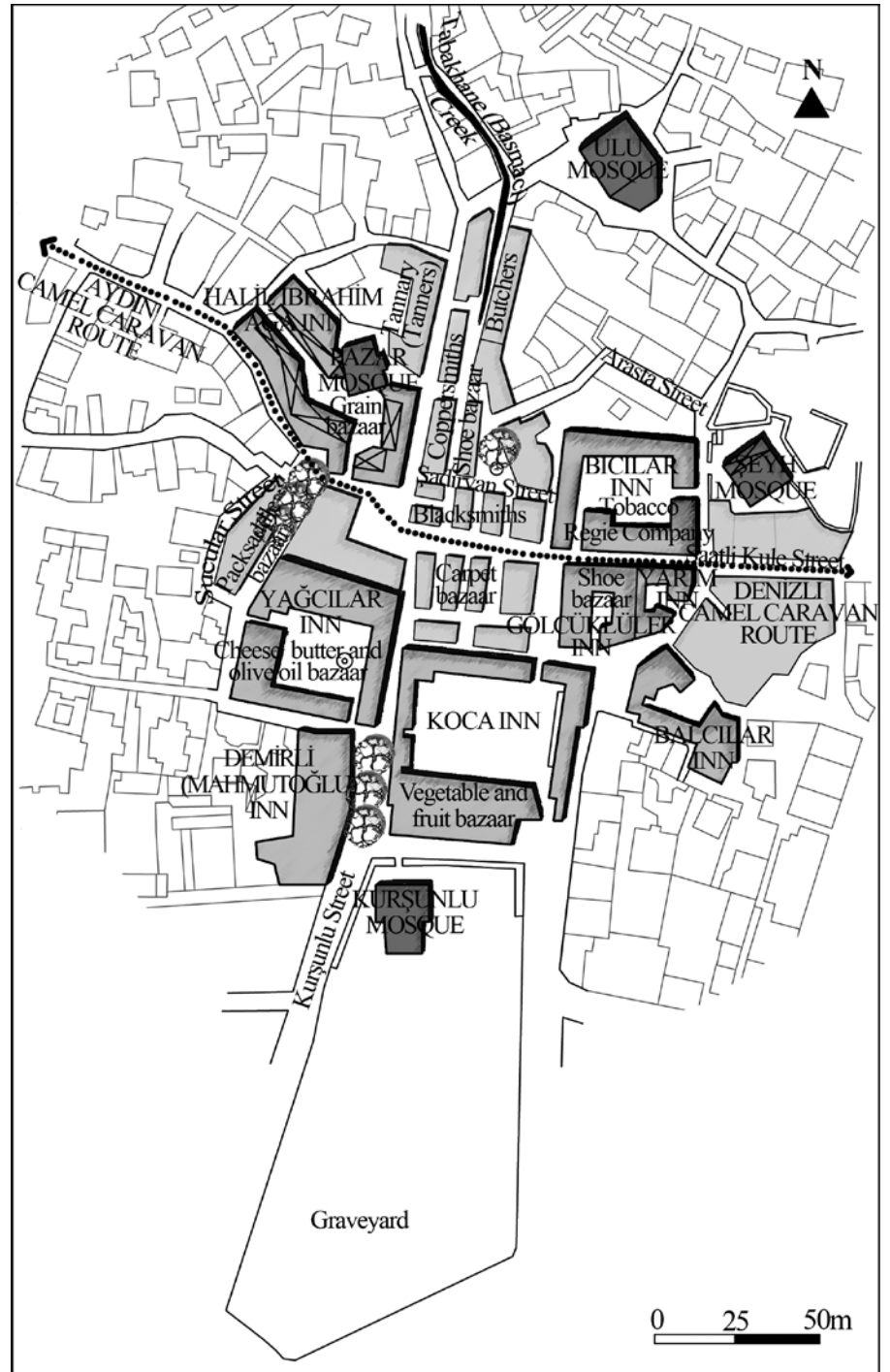
**Figure 7.** Kurşunlu Mosque, built in 1493 under the domination of the Ottomans (Feray Koca personal archive)

During the Ottoman reign in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the rescripts and acts of Kanuni Süleyman regarding compulsory settlement saw the semi-nomadic communities (*kayı*) set down roots in the Menteşe region. The conquest of Rodos Island resulted in a change in the grain trade route through Muğla, and spurred a revival in trade; and due to the progress in the trade system, the concept of a commercial centre first appeared in Muğla at the end of this century. The commercial centre was based around Basmacı (Tabakhane) Creek, and included the *arasta* (Ottoman bazaar) and inns (han), while tanning, a popular craft among some *ahi* communities, saw widespread growth and the opening of several tanneries in the commercial centre of the town (6,7) (Akça, 2001) (Figure 8).

At the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century, when the central authority was beginning to lose control of the Anatolian towns, the resulting economic and politic power struggle on space created the ideal environment for private ownership. With the change of land-society relations, the *timarholders* who had been engaged in trade became the new most powerful and notable *eşraf* (landowners) in the town. The *Eşraf* were the families who had worked previously as *timarholders*, and that later took the control of *mülk* and capital through urban *mülk* speculations. These families were able to retain their private property and assets through the establishment of family

6. "Tabakhane" means tannery in Turkish.

7. "Ahi" is a kind of cooperative organization of craftsmen that was first established by Ahi Evran (the first leatherman).



**Figure 8.** Distribution of buildings in the commercial centre and Arasta (Ottoman Bazaar) in Muğla, until the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century (Rendered by Feray Koca by adapting figures from Yenen, 1980 and Yalçınlar et al., 1981)

*waqfs*, and in managing these *waqfs*, they were ensured a voice in any decisions taken about the residential and commercial cores and the urban infrastructure. Zorbazlar and Şeref Efendiler were two of the most notable *eşraf* families in Muğla. At the time, there was no institution dealing with urban and public services due to a lack of financial resources; and instead, it was the *waqfs* that led in the provision of the services normally associated with a municipality. With the power they gained from the *waqfs*, the *eşraf* families built two-storey wooden houses around the commercial centre.

It was in this century that the influence of economic power and status began to affect the residential structure of the town, leading to a social differentiation between the *eşraf* and the rest of the public (Yenen, 1980, 13-5). In the following century, the *eşraf* gained significant economic power and acquired the representative duty of the town by becoming *ayan* against the central authority.

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the socio-economic status of the residents began impinging on the use of common space in the town. As public buildings fell into the private hands of the *eşraf*, restrictions were imposed on their use by the public. When famous Turkish travel writer Evliya Çelebi visited Muğla in the mid-1600s, he described the settlement as follows (Eroğlu, 1939, 139-42):

“This town was conquered and its citadel was demolished by Sultan Murad II of the supreme Ottomans. The small quadrangle citadel still stands on the steep rock outcrop to the north side of the city, but now contains no guardians or soldiers. There are two warehouses for the preservation of the tithe income of the sultan. There is a frontier facing west, which is always fortified; however, in ancient times it was a very steep fortress, surrounded on four sides by escarpments. There are no moats. The town is the seat of Mentеше Pasha of the Anatolian state, and there are warlords and gypsy chiefs that belong to the sultan who cost 300 800 coins (akçe). The registry also lists 52 powerful-timarholders and 381 timarholders, and altogether with timarholders there are 2000 soldiers. The town conducts military expeditions with its 1000 soldiers, and even with its pasha, according to the ‘has’, and this town is a provincial township that is sacred to 300 honour degrees (8). It has 105 townships. Its Shaykh al-islam, chiefs of the prophet’s descendants, chamberlains, janissary commanders, landed proprietors and ulema are many. This pretty town first appeared at the foot of the above-cited fortress. The residences, all built-up houses, number 2170. Here and there can be found some earth-sheltered residences but for the most part the residences are wooden sheltered. There are eleven neighbourhoods and 70 mihrabs in total, and there is an old earth-sheltered mosque in the vicinity of the tannery that serves a crowded community. Its door in the kiblah is reached via thirteen stairs. There is no water on this side; however, there is an ablution pool with a domed roof on the way to the tannery and an Ottoman primary school that belongs to Şahidi where the town’s children, who number more than 1000, are educated (9). .... In total, there are 200 shops in the town, but no covered bazaar. There are, however, precious properties that belong to the community and a creek in the bazaar, which can be crossed by any one of seven different wooden bridges and six masonry bridges. There is a slaughterhouse on the creek, but it does not give off a bad smell. In the town, the ulema and the students are many, and so there are seven madrasah and eleven Ottoman primary schools. There are also two guesthouses. Near the Kurşunlu Mosque is a masonry palace house, most of which is enclosed with timber, and this is special to the pashas. There are 70 fountains in the city, and the town has many people who love their waters. Muğla is a common Anatolian town, but its people are quite townie, are particularly friendly and know Persian well (10). The inner and the outer spaces of the town are adorned by vineyards and orchards” (Translated by the author).

8. A “has” is similar to a *timar*, although the income was greater than that of a *timar*. While a *dirlik* whose income is more than 100000 akçe is referred to as “has,” a *dirlik* whose income is 1000–20000 akçe is known as a “*timar*”.

9. Şahidi was a prominent Mevlevi dervish at the time.,

10. A person who knew Persian was considered sophisticated at the time.

Evliya Çelebi describes clearly the town space of Muğla in that era. Prior to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, property relations were influential in the formation of the town pattern and in the selection of land for the neighbourhoods. The lands on which the town was established were under the control of state, and rent was so low that residential units were constructed generally on large lots, as independent, one-storey units. These residential units were the smallest units assigned for private use in the town, and were



**Figure 9.** Irregular street form (Şemsi Ana Street) (Rendered by Feray Koca and personal archive)

sited arbitrarily around common courtyards. Briefly, in this period, the settlements can be described as private units constructed on large and irregular building lots with courtyards within a low density urban pattern (neighbourhood), with many circulation areas (streets, public squares). Both organized commercial elements (inns, retail units and coffee houses) and religious facilities (mosques or masjids) served the neighbourhoods around a common centre or square, which were adorned with plane trees, and served as resting places for the townspeople. Some social service buildings, such as an Ottoman elementary-primary school, madrasah, fountains and public soup kitchens, constructed by *waqfs*, were integrated with the masjid and mosque in the public square. The streets leading from the residential areas were connected to these common spaces, leading them to function both as collection and distribution points.

One- or two-storey houses with courtyards adorned the terraces in the steep terrain in lines of three or four, following the contours of the land. There were no planned streets, and so in the housing development process, areas left over from private spaces were defined and used as streets for circulation. As the housing lots were the determining factor in the street layout, some of the streets were irregular and narrow (**Figure 9**). Houses were constructed for privacy, with one side of the winding streets enclosed with 2–2.5 m-high courtyard walls, facing the blind façades of houses, which were built with an inward-oriented layout, on the other side of the street (Akçura, 1993, 249). In this system, no house overlooked any other house, nor did the courtyards block the vista of their neighbours. As the urban pattern became overcrowded, common ownership and common property rights lead to the division of the *mülks*, resulting in a diminishing of the unit pattern. Attempts at the enlargement of space brought about a transition from horizontal to vertical land use, such as in the addition of further stories to residential units. As a result of the division of private ownership, and in order to provide access to houses that had become cut off from the street by more recently constructed buildings, cul-de-sacs were formed (**Figure 10**). In addition, building ownership was independent from the land, and the need for ventilation and sunlight led to the addition of further stories or projections into the street (Yenen, 1980, 29) (**Figure 11**).

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, under the changing conditions of the Ottoman state, *waqfs* were no longer able to resolve urban problems, meaning that the needs of the urban residents could not be met through the charity of



**Figure 10.** Topalti Cul-de-sac I and II (Rendered by Feray Koca and personal archive)



**Figure 11.** Projection of two-storey house into the street and projection of an upper storey into the street (Topalti Street) (Feray Koca (personal archive))

the rich. However, the central authority connived in private with the powerful landowners to strengthen their own position, and this process precluded the development of such an autonomous urban organization as a municipality.

Up until the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the *miri* lands of Menteşe had been administrated by sanjak officers, with rents taken by deputy *mütesellim* (governors), *mültezim* (tacksmen) and *ayanlar* (local authorities). After the Administrative Reforms of the Ottoman Empire in 1839, the tacksmen and *ayanlar* were relieved of their duties, which were then assigned to officers of the central government known as *muhassıl*, although according to records, the tacksmen and *ayanlar* continued to carry out their duties until the proclamation of the Land Edict of 1858 (11).

The imbalance between social classes increased in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which was observable in the rise of private land ownership. As part of the Ottoman settlement policies, title deeds were distributed to individuals in line with the Land Edict, which was based on private ownership, and particularly independent small farm management. Rather than handing

11. This legislation was accepted after the declaration of Administrative Reform (Tanzimat) in the Ottoman state, Aktüre, S. in Tekeli, I. (1993, pp.38-39) Tarih İçinde Muğla.

12. Ulema class was the class who execute justice, education and judgment.

out inviolable property rights to individuals with the title deeds, the edict ensured usufructuary rights with incentives for cultivation (Arıcanlı, 1998, 128). The aim of the Land Edict was to secure the status quo of small land ownership (Stirling, 1993); however, it could not prevent the emergence of large landholdings and powerful landowners after the privatization of *miri* lands, and the capital accumulation from the harvested products provided even more power and wealth to the rich landowner families (Aktüre, 1993, 38).

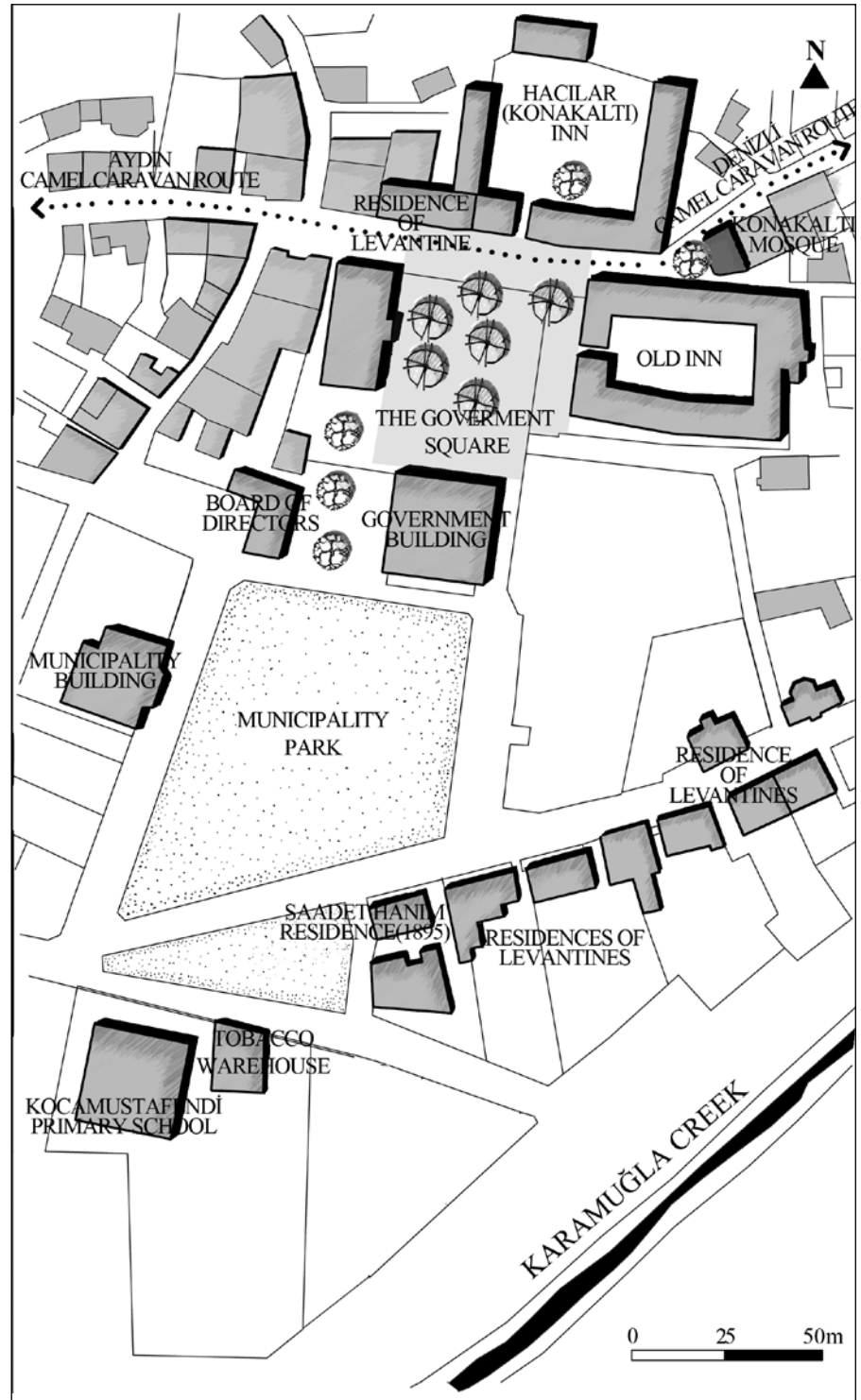
After the proclamation of Land Edict and the passing of the state-owned lands of Menteşe into private ownership, the most powerful landowners became even richer; and land allocations continued to the following deputy governors, in order, *kadı* (müslim judge), sipahi, officers, tobacco planter and tradesmen (Yenen, 1980, 40). In Muğla, Hacı Kadı (a famous müslim judge) who was the delegate of the *ulema class* bought all of the inns, public baths, coffee houses, shops and farmlands that had been accepted as *miri* lands (12) (Aktüre, 1993, 40).

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Muğla urban area saw little change, although the number of houses increased to 2388, thus increasing the density of the town. The built-up area preserved its structure until the 1930s, with twelve neighbourhoods containing 2700 residential properties and 10 983 people.

The wealthy people who had migrated from the lands that had been lost by the Ottomans in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, especially from the Balkans, Crimea and Crete, brought with them Rum master builders, millers, tailors, doctors and pharmacists, who carried out all the building activities in the town from then on, and Rum architecture began to leave its mark on the town in the 1820–25 period. The Rum community settled around Saburhane Square close to Karamuğla Creek, which in the 19<sup>th</sup> century became the entertainment neighbourhood of the town (Muğla Municipality, 2012). In 1867, with the enactment of a law that allowed Ottoman lands to be bought by foreign nationals, the Barutçu family emerged as powerful Rum landowner in Muğla.

Also in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, reforms in the administrative, military and technological fields triggered the formation of a number of public institutions. The city had been connected to the central government of the Ottoman State, after but would become an administrative centre in its own right, containing the administrative and educational buildings for the Muğla Konakaltı Region (**Figure 12**, **Figure 13**). The last Ottoman administrators had been impressed by the Italian Architectural Trend of the West and preferred to use government office buildings to create a new square outside of the organic pattern of Ottoman towns (Ortaylı, 1984, 4). The first municipality was founded in 1871, followed by the first Organization of Justice in 1879 and the first Chamber of Commerce in 1884, all of which were located on Government Square in the new town centre. This new administrative centre was geometric in form, and the residential units of the most notable families (the Levantines) of the covered the surrounding area (**Figure 14**) (Yenen, 1980, 48). At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, all of the *eşraf* of the town owned large camel caravans, which were housed in newly constructed inns such as Koca, Zorbazlar (Konakaltı), Yağcılar and Şerif Efendi (Aktüre, 1993, 71).

The first planned development of Muğla began with the establishment of the Republic in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as there had been no specific plan prior to 1936. In the first year of the Republic, Rum and Hungarian master builders



**Figure 12.** Government Square in Konakalti Region. (Rendered by Feray Koca by adapting figures in Yalçınlar et al.,1981)

constructed the main buildings in the town. As there were no technical plans for these buildings, the municipality defined the boundaries of the land, which was under private ownership, and the master builders were given the freedom to demonstrate their building capabilities. In 1924, as a result of the compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey, the Rum population were forced to abandon their homes in the Saburhane





**Figure 13.** Government Square and Hacilar (Konakaltı) Inn at the beginning of the Republican Period (Muğla Municipality)



**Figure 14.** Residences of some notable families (Levantine) around the Government Square. The residence on the right belonged to Saadet Hanım and was built in 1895 (Ferah Koca personal archive)

neighbourhood, changing the heterogeneous structure of society. In terms of property rights, the most powerful families took possession of the lands that had belonged to the Rum population.

Under new laws and the new Constitution, the Turkish Republic became the defender of private property, making expropriation difficult; however, with the enactment of the Turkish Civil Code, the most powerful families in the town availed themselves of the opportunity to obtain the title deeds of the lands they had possessed, either legally or virtually, during the Ottoman period (İnci, 2010, 350; Özcan, 2000, 11–3).

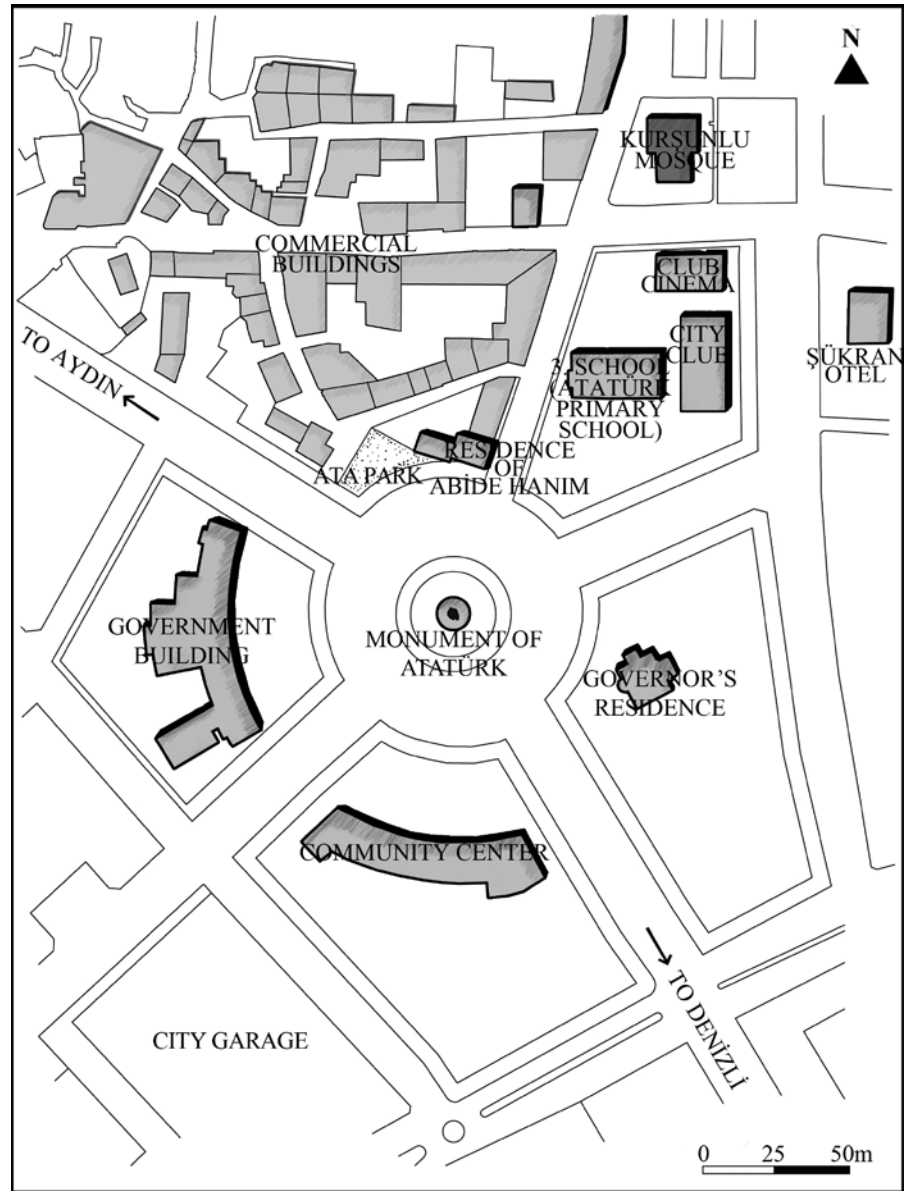


Figure 15. Republican Square and some main buildings built in the Republican Period (Rendered by Feray Koca)

The new government defined certain areas of land in the town for public improvement as part of the national modernization project, which sought to modernize all Anatolian towns (Tekeli, 1971). The main objectives of the town planning approach were to provide publicness and socialness by expropriating urban space, creating an idealised Republican Citizen and creating a modern life and town character for the modern society (Keskinok, 2010). In this way, the “Republican Square in every Anatolian town” project was implemented in Muğla in 1937, with a new and beautiful administrative centre determining the direction and form of development (13). The town centre shifted from the Konakaltı Region to Republican Square (Figure 15), and new residential neighbourhoods were planned on the pastures and orchards of Muğla Plain to the south of the old town centre (Yenen, 1980). With the aim of creating the space of the nation-state, modernist approaches parallel to European Neo-Classism are implemented and symmetrical, axial and geometrical plans shaped the town pattern (Batur, 2001). Consequently, the town started to grow

13. “New and beautiful administrative centre” was the ideal of the National Modernization Project.

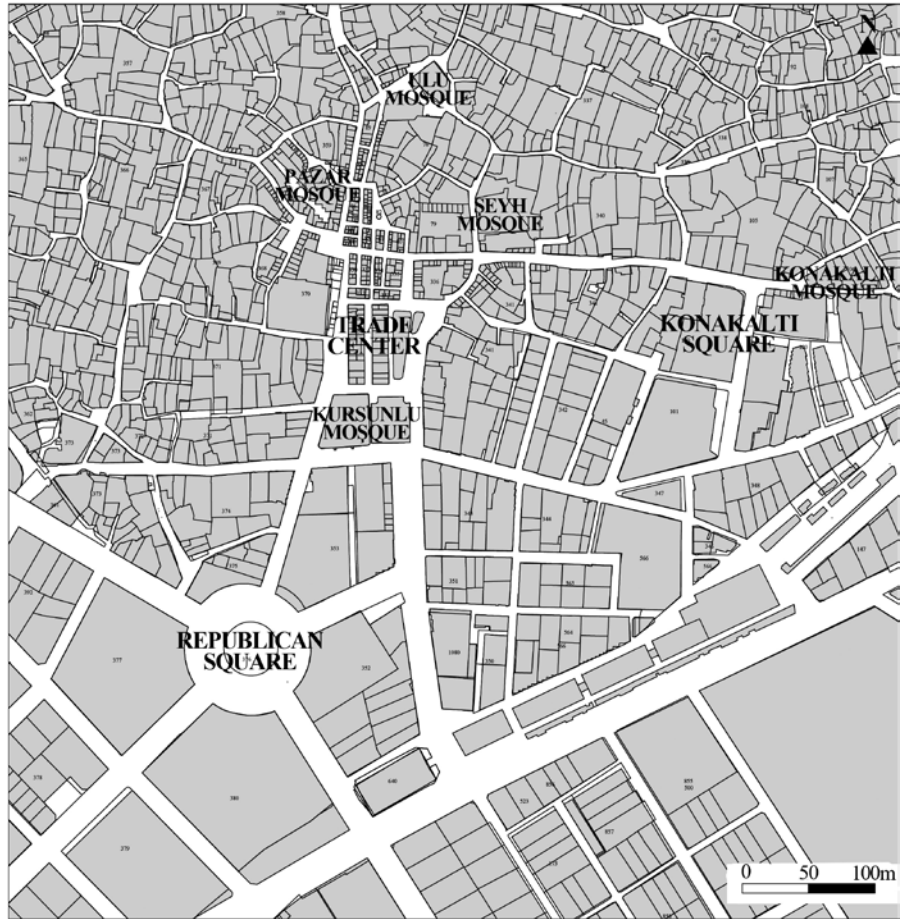


Figure 16. Today's ownership pattern of three town centres and overlapping gridal and fragmented land parcels.

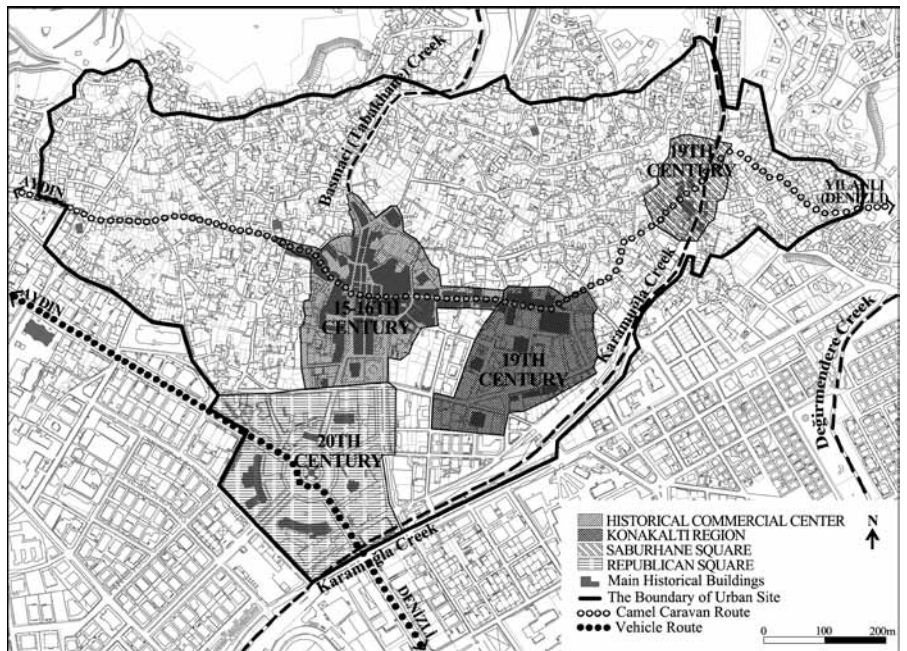


Figure 17. Distribution of main regions and squares and their historical evolution in Muğla town (Rendered by Feray Koca)

geometrically in a southerly direction around the new town centre. Figure 16 shows the today's ownership pattern of mentioned town centres; in other words, two-dimensional design of urban space of Muğla and it has

mostly traces of Republican legalised property rights. The spontaneous and fragmented urban pattern of the Ottoman era replaced by newly created gridal pattern of the Turkish Republican era. According to this layout, the urban space of town centres is reproduced according to changing property-society relations.

In the first years of the Republic, the urban pattern of Muğla had two administrative centres and a commercial centre. The commercial centre of the town was made up of Arasta and the area in which local handicraft producers, retailers, merchants and inns had set up business around Tabakhane Creek. Konakaltı Square was one of the administrative centres, where the municipality building and courthouse were situated; while the new administrative centre of Republican Square was home to the government office, the governor's residence and a community centre, and was connected to broad regular boulevards (Niray, 2002, 11–2). **Figure 17** shows the distribution of the main regions and the squares in the town and their historical evolution.

## DISCUSSION

Over the last nine centuries, urban space of Muğla has been transformed according to main dynamics of society, socio-economic structure, administrative structure, property relations, interaction of property-society relations with urban form during three different historical periods of domination (**Table 1**).

When the historical background of the society in Muğla is searched, it is observed that initial nomadic structure of the society during the period of the Anatolian Turkish Principalities has transformed into more permanent settlement structure till the establishment of the Turkish Republic. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the Turcoman nomadic tribes who came from the Middle Asian steppes brought the transhumance lifestyle to this region and they constituted semi-nomadic communities (*Kayı*). In this term, the community was classified according to ethnic and religious background. During the early periods of the Ottomans, due to the dominance of the central authority on the society, there were loyal servants such as timarholders who were trained according to the norms of the state. There was no powerful civil society in the Ottoman towns due to the dominance of the central authority, however; there were also no social classes with specific privileges and private ownership rights in the society. The state was the controller of the economic life therefore *Ahi* communities and timarholders engaged in trade. The main characteristic of the relation between state and the society was the loyalty and devotion (Çaha and Karaman, 2006). During the late period of the Ottomans, with the degeneration of this loyalty and devotion, the power of the central authority weakened and powerful and notable *eşraf* (landowner class) in the society emerged as the ruling class and gained priorities. There had been always *ayanlar* (local authorities) in the town acted as mediators between the state and the society. With the establishment of the Turkish Republic, society gained civil rights and became a citizen. Nation state aimed to create its 'ideal society' consisted of independent intellectual individuals.

In terms of socio-economic structure, agriculture was the main economic activity during the Anatolian Turkish Principalities. Muğla was formed according to nomadic culture with a transhumance between the town and Muğla Plain functioning as the summer pasture of the town. During

DYNAMICS LEADING URBAN SPACE TRANSFORMATION DURING THREE DIFFERENT HISTORICAL PERIOD OF DOMINATION			
Dynamics in Muğla	The Anatolian Turkish Principalities	The Ottomans	The Turkish Republic
<b>Society</b>	Ethnic and religious classification of the community, semi-nomadic communities ( <i>kayı</i> ), dervishes	Ahi communities and timarholders engaged in trade, emergence of powerful and notable landowners ( <i>eşraf</i> )  <i>Ayanlar</i> acted as the mediators between the state and the society	Citizen of the Turkish Republic  The concept of ideal society
<b>Socio-economic structure</b>	Agriculture and nomadic culture, Muğla Plain was used as summer pasture.	Agriculture, grain trade and Handcraftsmanship  Progress in trade system and emergence of camel caravan route	Self-sufficient economy- depends on agriculture and handcraftsmanship  Economic growth and small industrial activities
<b>Administrative structure</b>	Muğla is a village in Menteşe Region under the domination of Menteşe Principality. It has a secondary role after Milas and Beçin	Muğla is one of four sanjaks of the province of Aydın.	Muğla is a province of Turkish Republic.
<b>Property relations</b>	<b>Main forms of land ownership:</b> <i>ikta</i> , <i>mülk</i> and waqf  <i>İkta</i> was almost vanished during this period.  Two kind of waqf: Public waqfs and family waqfs	<b>Main forms of land ownership:</b> timar, <i>miri</i> , <i>mülk</i> , waqf  Waqfs were the institutions doing the provision of service.  With Land Edict of 1858, privatization of <i>miri</i> lands: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Private <i>mülk</i> of Muslims</li> <li>• Private <i>mülk</i> of Non-Muslims</li> </ul> Administrative reforms in the 19 <sup>th</sup> century triggered the formation of a few public institutions.	<b>Main forms of land ownership:</b> national treasure, private property, waqf  Distribution of private property with Turkish Civil Code  Abandoned lands and the estate of Non-Muslims were transferred to the national treasure after Population Exchange  Administrations of cash waqfs were transferred to General Directorate for Foundations with the Law of Endowment in 1935.
<b>Interaction of property-society relations with urban form</b>	Neighbourhoods formed around religious structures and dervish lodges, common squares around religious buildings such as mosque, madrasah.  Linear extension of the downtown along the banks of Basmacı Creek.	Emergence of Commercial Centre including the Ottoman Bazaar ( <i>arasta</i> ) and inns.  First Administrative Centre at the end of 19 <sup>th</sup> century in Konakaltı.  Levantine type residences around Konakaltı Square.  Development of the downtown along the camel caravan route.  Emergence of Non-Muslim neighbourhood.  Organic town pattern	Two administrative centers in Muğla: Republican Square and Konakaltı Square  Large boulevards, a new proposed residential area  Beyond organic town pattern, geometrical growth of the town around large boulevards.  National modernization project of the Turkish Republic, planned development of the town, emergence of Public Space.

**Table 1.** Dynamics leading urban space transformation during three different historical period of domination in Muğla

the period of the Ottomans, agriculture was still the main economic activity, however handicraftsmanship became widespread among *ahi* communities. Owing to progress in trade system, camel caravan route defining the main commercial center of the town appeared. Before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the economy of the town was related with religious, military and administrative needs such that müslim judge, deputy governors, tacksmen and *ayanlar* determined and organized the economic activities in the town. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with technological progress in industrialisation, small industrial activities commenced with economic growth in the town.

Socio economic development of Muğla enhanced the administrative importance of the town. Muğla was a village in Menteşe Region during the period of Anatolian Turkish Principalities because it was far from main trade route, however in time its administrative importance changed slightly with the progress in trade system. The town developed around the main caravan routes and gained a commercial meaning.

In Muğla, the most important means of production has been the land therefore land ownership symbolises the characteristic of the main dynamic of property relations. During the period of Anatolian Turkish Principalities, there were three main forms of land ownership: ikta, mülk and waqf. During the period of the Ottomans, ikta transformed into timar and state lands were started to be known as miri lands. In the early period, waqfs acted as the institutions of providing service to the society. There was an absolute control of state on waqfs. With the Land Edict of 1858, miri lands were privatized as private mülks of Muslims and private mülk of non-Muslims. Administrative Reforms arisen as a result of modernization attempts in the 19<sup>th</sup> century triggered the formation of a few public institutions such as Municipality, Organization of Justice and Chamber of Commerce. During the period of Turkish Republic, miri lands transformed into national treasure, however, many private mulks of eşraf, bureaucrats, timarholders, which were privatised from miri lands, retained their status of being private property thanks to Turkish Civil Code.

Interaction of the property-society relations with urban form has been one of the main dynamics leading urban space transformation. During the period of Anatolian Turkish Principalities, religious and ethnic background of the society prompted the society to form their neighbourhoods around main religious structure and dervish lodges. Religious buildings administered by waqfs were the main nodes of the town around which common squares were created. Due to the transhumance lifestyle, the town land was the place of residence while the large plain of Muğla was the place of agricultural production. However, there was a small-scale economic activity in the town, which lead the linear extension of the downtown along the banks of Basmaç Creek. During the period of the Ottomans, with the progress in trade, a commercial centre including Ottoman Bazaar (*arasta*) and inns appeared on the southern side of existing downtown. However, Muğla was primarily the centre of bureaucracy and the army more than being the centre of commerce as it was much the same to those of other Ottoman towns. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, due to Administrative Reforms, first Administrative Center in Konakaltı Region was established. In the late period of the Ottomans, class segregation and priorities started to arise in the society and this segregation reflected on the urban space with Levantine type residences. Non-Muslim minorities predominantly carried out economic activities and provided the revival of the trade in the town. The downtown developed around the camel

caravan route, which cross over the non-Muslim neighbourhood Saburhane. Establishment of Turkish Republic has been a milestone at the transformation of urban space and rebuilding of the town in accordance with modernization project. All the known type of urban implementations once had done on behalf of Sultan started to be done for public weal on behalf of the nation-state of the Turkish Republic. A Republican Square symbolising the ideal urban space became the new administrative centre of the province. With modernization project of Turkish Republic, first town plan were done and the concept of public space came up with.

All these dynamics leading urban space transformation have been generated from the land regulations of the states. This study presents historical transformation of Muğla in the context of changing property-society relations that have been the main determinants of the urban space formation.

## CONCLUSION

Muğla has witnessed the advent of several different administrative land regulations under three different sovereignties: the Anatolian Turkish Principalities, the Ottomans and the Turkish Republic. During the period of the Anatolian Turkish Principalities, many pious buildings of the *waqfs* flanked the main trade routes and were correlated with commercial structures, making the *waqf* institution a key player in determining and controlling the layout of Muğla. During the Ottoman period, alongside the *waqf* foundations, *miri* lands formed the basis of the Ottoman land ownership system. With the rise of capitalism, in order to overcome the financial crisis of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the *miri* lands were sold to the *timarholders* and *ayanlar*, bringing about a transformation of state lands into *mülks* or farmsteads, triggering a rise in the amount of private property owned by the more powerful landowners. The resulting social differentiation among the population brought with it a marked patchwork of higher- and lower-status residences on the town space. Coming to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Republican period saw many national reforms, and had a significant reflection on land ownership. State-mandated lands were reserved for the national modernization project, and it was in this period that the first town plan was prepared, and when urban space began to be shaped to serve the public.

In these three main periods, property and society relations played a determining role on the transformation of urban space of the town of Muğla. Over the years, every government sought to structure and form its own administrative centre in different locations in the towns; however, Muğla is significant, being one Anatolian town that managed to preserve until today its spatial organization throughout the three different terms.

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Received: 20.05.2014, Final Text: 18.03.2015

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Mülkiyet-toplum ilişkileri; dönüşüm; kent mekanı.

## MUĞLA'DA MÜLKİYET-TOPLUM İLİŞKİLERİ BAĞLAMINDA KENT MEKANININ TARİHSEL DÖNÜŞÜMÜ

Muğla yüzyıllarca temel ticaret güzergahında bulunmuş güneybatı Türkiye'de bir kenttir. On ikinci yüzyıldan itibaren kentin kale surları dışında oluşmaya başlamasıyla, Anadolu Türk Beylikleri ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu dönemlerinde mülkiyet-toplum ilişkilerinin kent mekanının yapılanmasında önemli bir etkisi olmuştur. Mahalleler, Osmanlı dönemine kadar ilk olarak dini yapıların etrafında hiçbir plana bağlı kalmaksızın rastgele bir biçimde oluşmaya başlamıştır. Osmanlı yönetimi ve mülkiyet sistemi ile birlikte ticaret merkezi, idari merkezler ve konut alanlarında mekan organizasyonunun kontrolü ve denetimi mümkün olmuştur. Vakıf, mülk ve miri araziler Osmanlı'nın temel mülkiyet biçimleridir ve bu mülkiyet biçimlerinin uygulamaları Muğla kent mekanı ve dokusunda önemli yansımalar yaratmıştır. Kentteki mülkiyet ilişkileri yapıyı çevreyi şekillendirmenin yanı sıra, konut alanlarının sosyal yapısını da dönüştürmüştür. Bu bağlamda, bu makalenin temel amacı, mülkiyet-toplum ilişkileri ile Muğla kent mekanının oluşumu arasındaki dinamik etkileşimi incelemektir. Makale; mülkiyet ilişkilerinin kent mekanı üzerindeki belirleyici rolünü tartışmayla başlar, Anadolu Türk Beylikleri döneminde, Osmanlı idaresi altında ve Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında arazi mülkiyet yapısını açıklayarak devam eder ve Muğla kentinin tarihsel evrimini ve farklı tarihsel dönemlerde değişen mülkiyet-toplum ilişkileri üzerinden dönüşen kent mekanını derinlemesine araştırır ve bahsedilen farklı dönemlerde Muğla kent mekanının değişimine neden olan temel dinamikler üzerinde bir tartışma ile biter.

**FERAY KOCA;** B. L.Arch, M.Sc., PhD.

Received her B. L.Arch in Landscape Architecture from Ankara University (1996-2000). Received her M. Sc. in Urban Design from Middle East Technical University (2001-2004). Earned her PhD. degree in City and Regional Planning from Middle East Technical University (2004-2012). Worked as a research assistant at Middle East Technical University, Department of City and Regional Planning (2004-2012). Currently works as an Assistant Professor at Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University. Research interests are landscape design, urban design, country planning and the landscape pattern of Anatolian country settlements. feraykoca@gmail.com, feraykoca@mu.edu.tr