

**SHOPS AND SHOPKEEPERS IN THE
ISTANBUL *İHTİSÂB* REGISTER OF 1092/1681**

A Master's Thesis

**by
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**THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
BILKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA**

September 2006

To my parents

**SHOPS AND SHOPKEEPERS IN THE
ISTANBUL İHTİSAB REGISTER OF 1092/1681**

The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
of
Bilkent University

by
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ABSTRACT

SHOPS AND SHOPKEEPERS IN THE ISTANBUL İHTİSAB REGISTER OF 1092/1681

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The idea of the administration of economy in the Ottoman Empire was shaped by certain views with historical backgrounds. The Ottoman Sultans viewed their subjects as their dependents that should be protected, and rested on the Islamic principle of hisba in terms of market control and supervision. In this way, market control gained a religious aspect in addition to the fiscal. The official in charge with the market affairs, the İhtisâb ağası, collected taxes in return for his service. The main source and subject of this thesis, the İhtisâb-tax register of Istanbul dated 1092/1681, was prepared for the daily tax, which was collected mostly from victual shops. The register provides information about the kinds of trades, the owners of the shops, and the amount of tax paid daily. With this information, subjects like consumption habits and the ethnic and social identity of the shop-owning class could be understood better.

Key Words: Istanbul, ihtisâb, esnaf, consumer culture, market supervision, provisioning, taxation, guilds, shopkeeper.

ÖZET

1092/1681 TARİHLİ İSTANBUL İHTİSAB DEFTERİNDE DÜKKANLAR VE DÜKKAN SAHİPLERİ

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Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda ekonomi yönetimi, uzun bir geçmişe sahip çeşitli görüşlerle şekillendirilmiştir. Osmanlı sultanları, halklarını himaye edilmesi gereken bireyler olarak görmüş, ve çarşı ve pazar kontrolü ve gözetimi konusunda İslami prensipleri benimsemişlerdir. Bundan dolayı, Osmanlılarda çarşıların denetimi, mali yönüne ek olarak dini bir yöne de sahip olmuştur. Ticari hayattan mesul olan İhtisâb ağası, hizmetleri karşılığında bazı vergiler de toplamaktaydı. Bu tezin konusu ve ana kaynağı olan 1092/1681 tarihli İstanbul ihtisâb vergisi defteri de çoğunlukla gıda ve ihtiyaç malzemeleri satan dükkanelardan alınan bir tür günlük vergi için düzenlenmişti. Bu defterin, ticaret türleri, dükkân sahipleri ve ödenen vergiler konusunda sunduğu bilgiler sayesinde tüketim alışkanlıkları ve esnafın etnik ve sosyal menşei gibi konular daha da aydınlanacaktır.

Key Words: İstanbul, ihtisâb, esnaf, tüketim kültürü, çarşı ve pazar denetimi, iâşe, vergi, loncalar, dükkân sahipleri.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study is a basic attempt to understand and explain certain aspects of the urban trade in intramural Istanbul in the light of a tax survey of the shops in the intramural Istanbul in 1092 A.H. / 1681 A.D. Our main document, the *ih̡tisâb* tax register of 1092 was compiled for the office of the *İhtisâb Ağası*, broadly the market inspector, in order to prevent illegal tax collection and corruption in the office. The *defter* consists of two important bodies: The first part is a survey of more than 3,000 shops in 15 sectors (*kollar*) within the walls of the city, and each record includes information about the shopkeeper, the owner of the shop, the business and the tax amount paid. From the record of a single shop we obtain an idea about which ethnic or social group was involved most in a business or which type of business was more profitable and favorable. The second part includes records of vessels that docked the ports of Istanbul, providing us with information on the kinds of goods brought to the city, and their place of origin.

On the whole, the *defter* of 1092 is a valuable source for many aspects of the Ottoman history. It presents the ethno-religious, socio-political and economic

composition of the *esnaf* of Istanbul, while depicting the nature and extent of production, consumption and urban trade. In this way, for example, one can gain clues about the relation of the *Askari* class (and the Janissary troops in particular) to the urban trade; patterns of shop keeping and business according to the social and political classes, or the impact of the economic and political situation on the urban population. The document is quite helpful in discussing important problems like the consumption habits of the citizens, city population, urban superstructure and topography, naval trade, and the concept of Ottoman city. The best use of the defter would perhaps be an exhaustive examination of the text, together with some other archival and contemporary sources; however, such a task exceeds the limits of our thesis. For this reason, we will limit ourselves to a brief interpretation of the document, with regard to its value on the community of shopkeepers and the businesses run in these shops. The use of the statistical data provided for each shop in tables and graphs seems to be essential in interpretation. Urban economy will also be discussed by analyzing the government's taxation attitude towards the shopkeepers coming from different ethnic and social backgrounds.

It is our opinion that Istanbul serves as a useful model for urban history firstly because it was the capital and the greatest city where the Ottoman way of living had deep entrenched roots. Its demographic qualities and ethnic composition provide a dense history of social, political and cultural affairs of a multicultural capital of a medieval Middle Eastern and Islamic empire. The geographical position of the city made her an integral part of Mediterranean and Eastern trade for centuries, and its ports attracted ships from everywhere to make Istanbul a big exchange. The consumption needs of the

huge population were always a matter of concern for the Ottoman government; the provisioning of the city (the bread for instance) was the primary duty of the Sultan and his viziers.

Istanbul was never a great center of production, except for certain goods even in the Roman and Byzantine times. The city population roughly consisted of the *beraya*, (namely, the ruling class, the soldiery, the *ulema* and the scribes and other *ehl-i berat*) and the urban *reayâ* which was comprised of the civil residents of the city, the merchants, the artisans and the craftsmen. The production of the guilds, the main organization of production in the city, was not directed towards export, firstly because they did not have such a capacity to produce more than the city required. Tight control of the craftsmen and limited production according to the needs of the city through the guild system was a part of the sustenance of the economy of plenty, which favored import and disfavored and sometimes prohibited export.

Istanbul, above all, was the heart of the Ottoman civilization. It was a stereotype of Ottoman urbanization with all the governmental and civil institutions and attitudes. Its large and cosmopolitan population, the existence of foreign colonies, the vigorous economic and social life with frequent troubles, in Mantran's words, makes her look like a model of the Empire. While this doesn't mean her conditions would completely apply to that of the Empire in general; however, we still have reasons to look at Istanbul in order to understand Ottoman economic, social and (needless to say) political history.

The period of the study, accordingly determined by the date of the source survey, is an important period of the seventeenth century, which was famous for the decline discourses. The government machine did not have sufficient resources and potential to

respond the internal and external problems. Unlike the sixteenth century, the Empire was lacking the ability to regenerate its institutions and vitality. The general custom of the statesmen of the period was to suppress the problems, rather than to produce lasting solutions. The classical age of Suleyman I was regarded as the Ottoman golden era when the institutions and the vigor of social life were supporting a balanced system of government. The seventeenth century on the other hand could be viewed as the Ottoman stagnation in the face of Western revolution, with constant troubles and instability. From the late sixteenth century to the late seventeenth century, this period witnessed the both voluntary and conditional transformation, and relative decay of the functioning of the system. Challenged by revolution from outside and instability from inside, the Ottoman world of the 1680s was a product of the classical Ottoman system.

Considering the above ideas, the author of these pages hopes to make a modest contribution to the Ottoman urban studies, in the context of the late seventeenth-century Istanbul. In order to present the subject in the proper context, the first chapter was reserved to the history and the general outlines of the Ottoman *esnaf*. The information gathered from the register was compiled in the second chapter, with particular attention to the trades and the fifteen sectors of Istanbul.

I.1. Primary Sources

The 41-pages survey of the shops of Istanbul was compiled by the kadı of Istanbul for the collection of a daily tax known as *yevmiye-i deka*kin. This tax was among the other taxes collected by the office of the *Ihtisâb* of Istanbul. A significance of this tax was that it was collected from only the shops that were related to foods and

goods of daily consumption. This is to say that no silk merchants, barbers or goldsmiths were recorded in the register of 1092. Nevertheless, the data about 3200 shops derived from the register could inform us about the daily consumption habits and provisioning of the Istanbulites. More information about this defter will be provided in the following pages.

Besides the main source of this thesis, other original sources were also utilized in order to describe and enlighten the framework of this study. Firstly, there were other documents about the *yevmiye-i dekakin* of Istanbul compiled later than 1092. Those we had opportunity to peruse were almost exact copies of the 1092 survey, however, with very less detail. These could be considered as the summaries of 1092 survey. All of these documents were either used frequently or published earlier.

First among these was the summary of 1092 compiled in the following year, 1093/1682. The information about tax amounts or numbers of shops is a mere repetition of the prior. This document is located at the Prime Ministry Archives in Istanbul in Kamil Kepecioğlu Fihristi, Baş Mukataa Kalemî, no.5026. Another similar document belonged to the year 1096/1685. In the same fashion, this document too repeated the main lines of the 1092 survey. This time, however, the compilers added the section about the ships. This document is located at the Prime Ministry Archives, Bab-ı Defteri/Istanbul Mukataası, 25386.

Apart from the tax registers, original sources most directly related to *iẖtisâb* were the *iẖtisâb kanunnameleri* (*iẖtisâb* codifications and regulations). These codifications were prepared to organize and regulate the market, while assigned the *kadı* and the *muhtasib* to control and supervise many aspects of trade and urban economy. They were

quite detailed and provided the legal framework for each trade. The earliest extant *ihtisâb* codifications belong to the year 907/1501 for the cities of Istanbul, Bursa and Edirne, and all of these were published by Ömer Lütfi Barkan in the journal “Tarih Vesikaları” in the early 1940s.

Robert Mantran published the document, with an Ottoman transcription and French translation in *Melanges Louis Massignon*, 1957. This publication was translated to Turkish in a volume of collection of Mantran’s papers about Istanbul. Also mentionable is the publication of Türk Standartları Enstitüsü (Turkish Institute of Standards) of the *ihtisâb* kanunname of Bursa. This version includes a facsimile with a modern Turkish translation. Overall, the *ihtisâb* kanunnames constitutes one of the most important sources on the *ihtisâb* and the trades.

In studying the trades and officials related to trade, general law-codes would obviously be among the primary sources. There exists a considerable body of collections of law-codes in our libraries. Throughout our study, we have referred to some of these collections. Among them were Barkan’s pioneering collection of provincial kanunnames and Ahmet Akgündüz’s colossal work titled “Osmanlı Kanunnameleri”. Other than these, we have also referred to kanunnames collected by contemporary Ottoman authors, such as the “Kavanin-i Yeniceriyan,” “Kavanin-i Al-i Osman der Hulasa-i Mezamin-i Defter-i Divan” of Ayni Ali Efendi and “Telhisu’l-beyan fi kavanin-i Al-i Osman” of Hezarfen Huseyin Efendi.

The work of Huseyin Efendi, who was a ranking Ottoman bureaucrat, included ample information to guide us about the trades and *kols* in Istanbul. It is believed that the book was written c. 1086/1675, very close to the date of our register, making it more

valuable for our subject. Notwithstanding some statistical inconsistencies with the values of the register of 1092, we generally preferred to trust the accuracy of the information – particularly non-numerical- he provided to a large extent.

The Ottoman economic administration did not favor fluctuating prices for the obvious reason of preserving the economic stability in the market and protecting the customers. This policy of fixing prices –and the quality of goods and services- is called *narh*, which will be elaborated in the following pages. There survived some *narh* registers compiled by Ottoman officials in the archives to our time. These are quite valuable to the study of *esnaf*, since they enumerate trades and conditions and prices of goods and services. One of these registers, dated 1640, was published by Mubahat Kutukoglu was used extensively in this defter.

Last but definitely not the least, the travelogues, the work of Evliya Celebi in particular, were most helpful in drawing the picture of the life in the seventeenth century. While the figures and statistical data provided by Evliya Çelebi are unreliable, the the some details and descriptions in his observations are invaluable. We utilized the information he provided in his travelogue and still included his figures within the text, however, we also included information gathered from other sources in order to compare and evaluate.

1.2. The *İhtisâb* Register of 1092

Our main source, the *ihtisâb* tax survey of 1092/1681 is found in the Istanbul Belediye Kütüphanesi Atatürk Kitaplığı Muallim M. Cevdet Yazmaları, B2 01. It was

prepared for the collection of the daily tax, *yevmiyye-i dekin*, and the ship tax, *ihtisâbiyye-i sefineha*, from the shops by the *İhtisâb* ağası. The defter consists of 41 pages; on the first page is included a *sûret* (copy) of the ferman of the Sultan Mehmed IV that legitimized the survey.

The records of 3200 shops comprising of 33 pages are all written in the *siyaqat* script; the common typeface of the fiscal records, also one of the most difficult scripts of the Ottoman archives. The foremost difficulty is that there are no dots above or below any letters. This means that a single letter can be read in many ways, for instance the letter (Ç) can be read as h, kh, j, or ch. Or a single short empty line could read as b, p, y, n, t, s, or th. Another difficulty stems from the uncertainty of the shape of each letter. This is to say that d, z, r, z, and v all look quite alike in the *siyaqat* script. Therefore, reading such a text required a constant and careful attention. These two problems decrease the chance of readability of difficult words and at the same time increase greatly the spelling combinations of each word. There were other problems, such as the confusion in the spelling of certain words. The writer (or writers) of the defter wrote sütçü (milkman) as both südcü and sütçü. Yogurt-seller was also written both as yoğurdcu and yoğurtcu. The yogurt-seller was easy to recognize, however, the milkman could create problems in reading. In determining the spelling possibilities and meanings of the problematic words, we have referred to these dictionaries in general: Şemseddin Sami's *Kamus-ı Türki*, Sir James W. Redhouse's *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, Andreas Tietze's *Tarihi ve Etimolojik Türkiye Türkçesi Lugatı*, and Mehmet Zeki Pakalın's *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*. We cross-checked the results using essential contemporary sources including the *İhtisâb Kanunnames*, the *narh* lists,

Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi's *Telhisü'l-beyan Fi Kavanin-i Al-i Osman* and Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, Osman Nuri's *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediyye*, as well as certain European travelogues. The rest of the defter consisted of texts written in diwani-like scripts, which were easier to transcribe.

In the survey, Istanbul is divided into 15 *kols* (sectors) and the shops are recorded sector by sector. For each sector, we have a heading which describes the borders of the sector, and the person responsible with the *ihtisâb* affairs of that sector, commonly called *terazubaşı*. The information we find for each shop is always the same: the type of the trade in the shop, the owner or the manager of the trade, the daily tax paid, and occasionally the vacancy status of the shop. A summary and total of the taxes were given at the end of each *kol*. After the fifteen *kols*, there is a four-page survey of the vessels that brought food related goods to the ports of Istanbul in the same year. Finally, a quarter-page-note written by the *kadı* of Istanbul, who supervised the whole work, concludes the report.

As told above, the preparation of the *defter* of 1092 was ordered by the Sultan Mehmed IV himself, upon the complaints by the shopkeepers and the evident malpractices in the affairs of the *ihtisâb ağası*. Like other similar tax collectors in the empire the *ihtisâb ağası* of Istanbul collected taxes according to a survey (*defter*) composed earlier by the officials of the government. In this case, it seems that the *ağa* and/or his men (*koloğlanları*) started to abuse their authority overtax the *esnaf* on the grounds of illegal taxes, such as the *ıydiyye*, *ramazaniyye* and *hoşamedî*. We are excerpting below the *sûret* of the *ferman* now and then proceed to interpret the conditions of the composition of this defter:

Sûret-i ferman-ı ali

Bundan akdem İstanbul'da muhtesib ağaları ve kol oğlanlarının kanun ve deftere muğayir ihdâs eyledükleri bid'atler men' ve ref' olunmak ferman olunub rûsûmat-ı ihtisâbiyye her ne ise kalîl ü kesîr irad ü masarîfiyle tahrir ve defter itmeğe sabıkan İstanbul kadısı İbrâhim efendi me'mur olub tahrir itmeğin mumaileyhin tahrir eylediği işbu defter-i cedîd ba'de'l-yevm düsturü'l-'amel olmak üzere baş muhasebede ve bir sûreti İstanbul kadısı efendide hıfz olunub defter-i cedîde muğâyir kimesne bir akçe ve bir habbe ziyâde almak ihtimali olmaya her kim mütenebbih olmayub bir akçe ziyâde alur ise saire müceb-i ibret için eşedd-i ukûbet ile cezasın virilüb fımaba'd işbu defter-i cedidin şûrut ve kuudu(?) mer'i ve mu'teber dutulub hilâfından ziyâdesiyle ihraz oluna deyu bin doksan iki zilka'desinin on beşinci gününde ferman-ı âlî sâdır olmağın mucebince işbu mahalle 'aynı ile kayd olundu.¹

According to the aforementioned *fermân*, İbrâhim efendi, the *kadı* of İstanbul was charged with the duty of preparing a survey of the shops for the *ihtisâb* taxes, and the illegal taxation –which is called *bid'at*, evil innovation- by the *muhtesib ağa* and his *kol oğlanları* were banned. The *fermân* asks the officials to collect taxes according to this new defter, and punish offenders severely. The author, the *kadı* himself, dated 15 Zilka'de 1092/25 November 1681. It is clear from this text that the main purpose of this survey was to restore justice in tax collection.

On the first page after the *sûret*, there is a one-paragraph narration of how and why the survey was done, which we are extracting below.

Bais-i tenmûik-i hurûf oldur ki mahmiye-i İstanbul'da vaki ekmekciyân ve bakkalân ve bazarcıyân ve sair rûsûmât-ı ihtisâbiyye alınugelen ehl-i hiref hîn-i tahrirde dekakîn üzerine vaz' olunan miri rûsûmların ber-mûceb-i defter kol oğlanları

¹ MC B2, 1a.

yediyle muhtesib ağalarına eda ve teslim idüb lakin bir iki kaç seneden berü kol oğlanları ehl-i sükden miri rüsûmu defter mücebince almağa kana'at itmeyüb ziyade ta'addi eylediklerinden ma'ada muhtesib ağaları dahî muğayir-i defter ve kadime muhalif ehl-i sükden safa-amedî ve 'ıydiyye ve ramazaniyye ve haftalık ve aylık ve müsamaha ve hamlık namına ziyade akçelerin alub ta'addi ve tecavüzleri hadden efzûn olmağla bu makule şena'at ve bid'at men' ü def' olunmak ricâsıyla arz-ı hal olundukda mahmiye-i mezburede vaki cemi'-i dekakin ve sair rüsûmat-ı ihtisâbiyye müceddeden tahrir ü defter olunub minba'd ehl-i sükden vesaire rüsûm-ı ihtisâbiye alınan her kim olursa olsun rüsûmları defter-i cedid mücebince alınub muğayir-i defter kat'a bir akçe ve bir habbe alınmaya ve defter-i cedide muğayir vaz' idenlerin muhkem cezaları virilür mazmûnında bu fakîire hitaben fermân-ı âlî sâdır olmağın imtisâlen li'l-emri'l-ali zikr olunan dekakiin ve sair rüsûmat-ı ihtisâbiyyenin müceddeden tahrir-i defteridir ki zikr olunur fi ğurre-i zilka'de el-haram li-sene isneyn ve tis'ıyn ve elf.²

This introduction by the Kadi İbrâhim Efendi makes clear that the kol oğlanları, the footmen of İhtisâb ağası, collected too much tax, and the *ihtisâb* ağaları founded illegal taxes such as the safa-amedî, 'ıydiyye, ramazaniyye, haftalık, aylık, müsamaha and hamlık. İbrâhim Efendi tells he complained about this situation to the divan, probably on the request of the guildsmen. Afterwards, the Sultan ordered him to prepare a new survey, and ordered that the taxes were to be collected accordingly. The date at the end of this note is 20-30 Zilkade 1092/1-10 December 1681, which means the survey and compilation process took less than 15 days. Considering such a long task in the limits of the seventeenth century, 15 days is not a long time.

As told above, one purpose of this survey was the collection of the *yevmiyye-i dekakiin*, the daily tax, from the shops. Our *defter* consists of the survey of 3200 shops in Istanbul, which is the *intra muros* Istanbul in Ottoman usage. However, the foremost

² MC B2, 1a.

aspect of this *defter* is that only shops related to alimentation were surveyed. This must be because the *yevmiyye-i dekakîn* was collected only from these shops. We do not have any evidence to support this thesis, however, there is a possibility that the term *dükkan* (shop) in the phrase *yevmiyye-i dekakîn* was used to denote such stores that sold the most common and required goods, food and drink mostly. What we can find in the *defter* assists us, even though limited. The copy of the *fermân* talks about the *rüsumat-ı ihtisâbiyye*, which seems to consist of the *yevmiyye-i dekakîn* and the *ihtisâbiyye-i sefinehâ*. The introduction note by the Kadi somewhat describes the subjects of the *ihtisâb* tax: *ekmekciyân* (bakers), *bakkalân* (grocers), *bazarcıyân* (greengrocers) and the rest. One gets an impression that the taxpayers here were provisions-related dealers.

Mantran and Kazıcı considers that the taxpayers of *yevmiye-i dekakîn* were the shopkeepers who dealt with daily needed goods, as well as the inns (*han*) which were not shops, but opened everyday. Thus, he believes that the *yevmiyye-i dekakîn* constituted a daily opening tax (“*kepenk açma parası*”), which means the shopkeeper would not pay this tax if he did not open his shop. This argument corresponds with the *defter*. We sometimes see comments next to the record of each shop, which reveals that that shop was vacant for sometime. Comments like “*battal sene 1*” or “*battal şehir 6*” demonstrated that the shop was not active for a year or for six months. In view of these, we can conclude that *yevmiye-i dekakîn* was collected from the provisions-dealers for each day they opened their shops.

One shall not ignore the importance of the *hisba* principle in the duties of *muhtesib*. Protecting the interests of the subjects and preventing fraud in the market was the main duty of the *muhtesib* in the Ottoman Empire. That the Ottoman *ihtisâb ağası*

collected the daily tax from only the alimentation and necessity shops can be a reflection of his interest in such commodities.

Perhaps this classification practice was not peculiar to the Ottomans. In his *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediyye*, Osman Nuri Ergin reported a classification of the professions by French authors Bonnar and Velespinas. In Bonnar's classification, there were four groups, alimentation (*tagdiye*), artistry, metalwork, and textile and clothing. The first group according to this classification included bakers, millers, retail grain sellers, oil-dealers, cooks, chicken-sellers, fishers of all kind, as well as candle-makers and fodder-sellers.³ This grouping corresponds to the subject shops of the *yevmiyye-i dekakîn* in our defter.

³ Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediyye*, Cilt 1 (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi), 1995, 464.

CHAPTER II

GUILDS AND THE GOVERNMENT IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Esnaf, or the guildsmen, was the producing body in the cities and had a vital place in urban economy. Ottoman *esnaf* was organized as *loncas*, trade organizations independent in internal affairs but bound to the state by law. The *reyâ* of the cities was comprised of the *esnaf* and the *tüccâr*, the former being the greater in number. In the legal perspective, the Ottoman *lonca* system was shaped by the state, however, there surely were historical antecedents for the organizations of craftsmen in Islamic history. We need to attempt a brief excursus here on the history of the guilds in Islamic states before going on to the Ottoman guilds.

II.1. The History of the Craft Organizations in Islam

II.1.1. The Earlier Islamic Guilds: The Carmathians

The exact time and conditions of the appearance of the Islamic guilds is unknown. The guilds were active in the Byzantine cities in Syria and Egypt in the seventh century, right before the Islamic conquests.¹ There is hardly any doubt that the Muslim

¹ See Louis Massignon, "Sinf," MEB IA.

conquerors kept the economic and administrative infrastructure of these cities, therefore one might assume that these guilds continued to exist under the Muslim rule. Moreover, records exist in chronicles referring to the guilds in Islamic city architecture around the end of the ninth century: According to one of these records, the Muslim founders of the city of Qairouan “regulated the market and allotted to each craft its place.”² This can be an evidence of the existence of guilds in Islamic lands, however, it is not certain that these guilds were Islamic in character. The appearance of ‘Islamic guilds’ is mostly related with the heterodox movements in the tenth and eleventh centuries. These movements appeared all over the Islamic lands under different names as the *Karmatîs* (Carmathian, from Hamdan Karmat), the *batiniyye* and the *İsmailiyye*; and heavily influenced the general public, in particular the craftsmen.³ They professed an almost heretical interpretation of Islam, which was called *ta’wil* (interpretation), and seemed to represent the popular sentiment with hatred against the ruling class.⁴ The *Karmatîs*, besides others, were highly successful in infiltrating the craftsmen, especially in Egypt where the guilds became merely an organized instrument of the *Karmatîyye*. It may not have been the *Karmatîs* who created the guilds in Islamic countries, however it was with their verve that a new kind of guild organization peculiar to Islamic cities appeared. The *Karmatîs* and similar movements lost their influence during the conquest by Selahaddin

² Bernard Lewis, “The Islamic Guilds,” *The Economic History Review*, Vol.8, No.1 (Nov., 1937), (to be cited henceforth as “Islamic”) 21.

³ See Neşet Çağatay, *Bir Türk Kurumu Olan Ahilik* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu), 1997 (to be cited henceforth as *Ahilik*), 20-50 on *Karmati* and *Batini* movement.

⁴ According to a passage –the authenticity of which is doubted– quoted by Lewis, the *Karmatîs* were rather anti-Islamic than Islamic in nature: “The true aspect of this is simply that their master (Muhammad) forbade them the enjoyment of the good and inspired their hearts with fear of a hidden Being who cannot be apprehended. This is the God in whose existence they believe. He related to them about the existence of what they will never witness, such as resurrection from the graves, retribution, paradise and hell. Thus he soon subjugated them and reduced them to slavery to himself during his lifetime and to his offspring after his death...” Lewis, “Islamic”, 24. Unfortunately we could not examine the original source and had to suffice with the translation of this text, which can be misleading.

Eyyubi of Egypt and the following re-installation of sunni authority, and the Mongol disaster that directly affected the course of many institutions in Islamic lands. Some scholars argued that the legacy of the *Karmatîs* remained among the guildsmen as an aversion towards the secular authority and unorthodox religious tendencies, to be called later sufism.⁵ This argument needs revision, because even though the sufic guilds of the thirteenth century and the *Karmatî* guilds of the tenth century look similar at first, their mission and ideology were utterly different. Moreover, compared to the *Karmatîs*, the *fütüvvet* of the post-thirteenth-century guilds was quite orthodox.

II.1.2. The *Fütüvvet*

From the viewpoint of our discussion, the more important change in the course of the Islamic guilds' history took place during the thirteenth century, with the appearance of a new spirit, namely the *fütüvvet*. *Fütüvvet*⁶ is a term invented to refer to various movements and organizations of *fityân* (young men) in the Arab lands beginning from

⁵ Inalcik stated that "from their inception, the Islamic guilds represented popular opposition to the rulers." İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire The Classical Age 1300-1600* (London: Phoenix Press), 2000, (henceforth as *Classical Age*), 152. Lewis argued that while the Mongol invasion facilitated the union of various sects and conversion of masses to sunni Islam, the guildsmen continued to stay distrustful towards the secular and religious authority. Lewis, "Islamic", 27.

⁶ The term *fütüvvet* is invented in about the eighth century as the counterpart of *mürüvvet*, which meant the qualities of the mature man. *Fütüvvet* was the qualities of *feta* (pl. *fityan*), namely young adult. *Fütüvvet*, as a movement, was a wide phenomenon and had various connotations and contents in different periods and geographies. Claude Cahen, *Encyclopedia of Islam 2nd ed.*, s.v. "Futuwwa." Fuad Köprülü offered an elaborate description: "Zaman ve mekana göre isimleri, kıyafetleri, ahlaki prensipleri az çok tahavvüle uğrayan, büyük şehirlerde fırsat buldukça haydutluk, hırsızlık, kabadayılık, dahili mücadelede veya serhatlerde gönüllü veya ücretli askerlik eden, bir kısım mensublarının esnaf teşkilatına dahil olması dolayısıyla onlarla da rabıtası olan, işsiz kaldıkları veya zemini müsaid buldukları zaman büyük merkezlerin ictimai nizamını bozan bu sınıf, Moğol istilasından evvel ve sonra görülüyor." M.Fuad Köprülü, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluşu*, (İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınları), 1986, (will be cited henceforth as *Kuruluş*) 148-49.

the eighth century and in the rest of the whole Islamic world from the eleventh century.⁷ In the related literature, *fityân* was described as young men living in groups in solidarity and free from any familial attachment and profession.⁸ The *futuwwa* communities of each town were connected to another, thus, a member of *futuwwa* would benefit from this union during his travels. In that, *futuwwa* united huge communities of young men within a web of fraternity. However, the *fityân* was a source of disorder and lawlessness in the towns in the eyes of the elite.⁹ The chroniclers in this manner, called them *ayyarun* (outlaws), *shuttar* (artful ones) and *runud* (scamps).¹⁰ The *fityân* seemed to have “an inclination towards plunder” and “no ‘programme’”.¹¹

A link between *futuwwa* and trade guilds hardly existed until the thirteenth century in many countries.¹² The major transformation of the *futuwwa* took place during the time of Caliph al-Nasir-li-din-Allah (1181-1223), a twelver Shi’ite himself, in an effort to control and discipline the organization. Al-Nasir became a member of the Baghdad’s *futuwwa*, and tried to unify and discipline the organization, and convert it into a source of youth solidarity and social education. He tried to win the support of other Muslim

⁷ Cahen, “Futuwwa;” and Neşet Çağatay, *Ahilik*, 5. Çağatay argues that the motive behind the organization of young men as *fityan* was the public reaction against the existence of Turkish military power in the Arab cities.

⁸ The connection between the *futuwwa* and the professional guilds was not established during the earlier times. See Çağatay, 7; Cahen, “Futuwwa.” Cahen informs that the *fityan* readily accepted these contemptuous terms.

⁹ Combined, they made up an army of considerable size. It should be noted that the *fityan* had “active traditions of sporting and military training”. They acted as town police where no *shurta* (police force in classical Islamic countries) existed. Cahen, “Futuwwa,” Çağatay, 6.

¹⁰ Cahen, “Futuwwa,” Çağatay, 5.

¹¹ “In the first place they were clearly humble people, often without any established or definite profession; but more exalted persons readily mingled with them, either being attracted by them or, from ambition, desiring to have followers.” Cahen, “Futuwwa.”

¹² The date and conditions of the appearance of Islamic guilds are not certain. The earliest trade organizations, possibly, were the *Karmati* organizations of Egypt in the tenth century. See the works of Bernard Lewis, Cl. Cahen, Fr. Taeschner and Neşet Çağatay in the Bibliography.

rulers and dynasts to his cause and invited them to join *fütüvvet*.¹³ The immediate result of his efforts was the emergence of a new courtly type of *fütüvvet*, which was well-organized, disciplined and religious. This courtly *fütüvvet* was vigorously supported by authors like Ibn al-Mi'mar, al-Khartaburti, and al-Suhrawardi, whose writings strengthened the sufic character of the *fütüvvet* organizations.¹⁴ In this literature, the *fityân* is described as young men of high religious and ethic values and responsibilities, with elaborate organization and ceremonies.¹⁵ However, the imminent Mongol invasion after al-Nasir's death rendered his efforts fruitless in the Arab lands.¹⁶ The courtly *fütüvvet* was able to survive only with the existence of the institution of caliphate.¹⁷ Yet the craftsmen of Anatolia vigorously adopted al-Nasir's and al-Suhrawardi's thoughts in the form of *ahîlik*.¹⁸

¹³ Çağatay, 30-31. "Abbasi Halifesi, bu suretle, fütüvvet teşkilatını bir "serseriler mecmai" olmaktan kurtararak ona meşru bir mahiyet veriyor, en yüksek asalet erbabını o teşkilata sokmakla ahlaki kıymeti ve ictimai seviyesi yüksek bir İslam şövalyeliği vücade getiriyordu." Köprülü, *Kuruluş*, 150.

¹⁴ Cahen, "Futuwwa;" Çağatay, 7, 12-13, 18-29. This type of writings later became quite popular among the *ahis* of Anatolia, usually known as *fütüvvet-name*. It should also be noted that there was already a similar genre that addressed a courtly audience with the connotation of *civanmerdi*, such as the "Kabusname" (1080?) of Keykavus. This *civanmerdi*, however, shared much with the *fütüvvet* but the religious aspect.

¹⁵ Lewis, *Islamic Guilds*, 27.

¹⁶ The city of Baghdad was looted and depopulated in 1258 during the Mongol invasion.

¹⁷ The rising Mamluk state became a refuge for the caliph's court and, thus, the *fütüvvet*. For the survival of the *fütüvvet* tradition in the Arab lands after the Mongol invasion, see Franz Taeschner, *Encyclopedia of Islam* 2nd ed., s.v. "Futuwwa-Post-Mongol Period."

¹⁸ Among many philosophers of the *fütüvvet* literature, it was al-Suhrawardi(1145-1234) that influenced Anatolian population most: "One of the most ardent disseminators of the reformed institution was the same Suhrawardi, general theological adviser to al-Nasir and founder of an order of Sufis, and one who commanded extraordinary respect, especially in Asia Minor." Cahen, "Futuwwa." Al-Suhrawardi himself told in one of his books that "the sufis of Horasan and Rum like these rules" Çağatay, 34. Another famous mystic figure of the period, Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi also came under the influence of al-Suhrawardi. Çağatay, 19.

II.1.3. Fusion of Fütüvvet and Crafts: Ahîlik¹⁹

The process of coalescence of crafts and *fütüvvet* started in Anatolia with the *ahîlik*²⁰ in the thirteenth century and spread to the rest of the Islamic lands.²¹ The *ahîlik* was a “half-religious *darwish*-like”²² order formed by young tradesmen in Anatolian towns during the thirteenth century. The *ahîs* rested on the rules, principles and organization of *fütüvvet*.²³ They had a popular spirit; they represented and protected the interests of the public against the anarchy and tyrant rulers. They were active and widespread in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but eventually waned in the course of the growth of absolutist and centralist state in the fifteenth-century Anatolia.²⁴ The emergence of this popular movement required state involvement, at least to the level of encouragement. The Rum-Saldjuk Sultan İzzeddin Keykavus endorsed the *fütüvvet* mentioned above and was invested by the caliph al-Nasir in 1214 with the garment of *fütüvvet*. Shortly after, in 1236, Shaykh al-Suhrawardi, the famous philosopher of the sufic *fütüvvet* doctrine, came to Konya, and performed the *fütüvvet* rituals.²⁵ The stronger connection at the more popular level was in the person of an *ahî* saint Evran,²⁶

¹⁹ As Taeschner put it, we know more about the history of *futuwwa* (*ahîlik*) in Turkey than in most other places. Sources about the *ahî* organization consist of the literature of the *ahîs*, references of other works such as Ibn Battuta’s account, and other inscriptions and documents. Fr. Taeschner, Akhi, EI2.

²⁰ *Akhi*, in Arabic, means “my brother,” and might probably have had the connotation of *feta* among the young men in Anatolia. There is also *yiğit*, which might be used as a substitute for *feta*. See below.

²¹ Lewis, *Islamic Guilds*, 28.

²² Fr. Taeschner, „Akhi,” EI2.

²³ The relation between the *fütüvvet* and the Turkish *ahîlik* was subject to many studies. See Fr. Taeschner, Akhi, EI2, Futuwwa-Post-Mongol Period, EI2, Cl. Cahen, Futuwwa, EI2, Neset Cagatay, Bir Türk Kurumu Olan Ahilik, A. Golpinarli, Papers on futuwwa, Ozdemir Nutku, Sinf-Turkey, EI2.

The most common and evident material proof of this relation was the genre of *futuwwetnames*, used commonly as guide-books by the *ahîs*. For a brief assessment of the *futuwwetnames*, see Taeschner, Futuwwa-Post-Mongol Period, EI2. Among first benefactors of ‘the courtly *futuwwa*’ in Anatolia was the Rum-Saldjuk Sultan İzzeddin Keykavus I, who was invested by the caliph al-Nasir li-Din Allah in 1214. Taeschner, Futuwwa-Post-Mongol Period, EI2. Another argument is that the Anatolian *ahîlik* was an off-spring of the Iranian *fütüvvet*. See Taeschner, Futuwwa-Post-Mongol Period, EI2.

²⁴ İnalcık, *Classical Age*, 152.

²⁵ Çağatay, xx.

²⁶ Köprülü read Evran as Ören. See his works in the bibliography.

leader and *pîr* of the tanners, who, before coming to Anatolia, was involved in the *fütüvvet* organizations and had been a student of the school of al-Suhrawardi.²⁷ The *ahîlik* was born under the influence of *fütüvvet*, and it is also certain that the *ahî* orders appeared at the very beginning as associations of craftsmen.²⁸ The argument that the term *ahî* could have been an Arabicized form of *akı*, which meant “generous, brave, and stouthearted” in middle and old Turkish, however seemingly likely, has not yet been accepted by all.²⁹

There is an obvious relationship between *fütüvvet* and *ahîlik*, though; *ahî* unions were different in many ways than the earlier *fütüvvet* organizations. As told above, the earlier *fütüvvet* did not have any artisanal connotation. On the other hand, the *ahîs* in Anatolia had two main characteristics. They were organized as craft guilds in the cities under a leader they called *ahî*. Through their manpower and organization, they were able to emerge as an authority in the cities that were left in a power vacuum after the Mongol invasion. They performed administrative functions and protected the urban population.³⁰ Traveler Ibn Batuta noted that it was a custom in Anatolia for the *ahîs* to govern the cities in the absence of the governors.³¹ The apparent virtues of the *ahîs* were solidarity and hospitality, and they acknowledged their mission as the slaying of tyrants and their

²⁷ Cite sources: Cagatay, Taeschner, general works such as encyclopedias, futuwwa articles.

²⁸ Fr. Taeschner, *Akhi*, EI2; Taeschner, *Futuwwa-Post-Mongol Period*, EI2; Lewis, *Islamic Guilds*, 29.

²⁹ Fr. Taeschner argued the word originated from *akı*, but connected to *akhi* by Ibn Battuta, while this homonymy was accepted by the *ahîs*. Moreover, the Turkish word *akı* was already being pronounced as *ahî* in Anatolian Turkish, with the exact meaning of Persian *djawanmard*. See his *Akhi*, EI2. This idea was adopted and discussed by Cagatay in *Ahîlik*, and Bernard Lewis, “The Islamic Guilds.” Lewis adds that this was proved beyond question. Cf. Ozdemir Nutku, Sinf, EI2. Considering the fact that the *akhi* movement was initiated and led by the Turcoman craftsmen led by Ahi Evran in Kırşehir, the city that represented Turkish identity in the face of/against/as opposed to Mongol and Iranian influence, it seems quite likely that the word might have derived from Turkish *akı*.

³⁰ Fr. Taeschner noted that “in towns where no prince resided, they exercised a sort of government and had the rank of *amir*.” It was also the *ahîs* of Ankara that surrendered the city to Murad I. See his *Akhi*, EI2. Also see İnalcık, *Classical Age*, 158.

³¹ İbn Batuta, *İbn Batuta Seyahatnamesi’nden Seçmeler*, İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, ed. (Istanbul: Devlet Kitapları), 1971, 25.

subordinates.³² It is not hard to imagine the rapid adoption of this pattern by many other Anatolian cities. Apart from being an organization of craftsmen, the *ahîs* had the unmistakable character of a religious order. They observed the scrupulous details of the *fütüvvet* in day at work and in night at their *tekkes* or *zaviyes*. The elaborate degrees and rules and secrecy in the *fütüvvet-names* led Köprülü -who believed *ahîs* were neither *esnaf* nor *tarikât* by the way- to regard *ahîlik* as an organization of an undoubtedly *batîni* character.³³ It was also because of their religious perception that their leaders were able to exert an authority beyond trade than affected the urban culture and influenced the city residents.³⁴ Lewis described the *ahîlik* as “a movement at once social, political, religious and military.”³⁵

The well-known travelogue of Ibn Battuta sheds light on the daily lives of *ahîs* in the first half of the fifteenth century.³⁶ According to his description, *ahî* was originally the name for the elected leader of a *fütüvvet* group, a group that consisted of bachelor craftsmen. They built a convent and furnished it with carpets, candles and required housewares. They worked in the day to earn their livings, and brought what they could to the convent in the evening. The *ahîs* welcomed the foreigners who visited their cities and provided them with protection and accommodation. They worked actively to punish rogue, who disturbed the safety of the people and violated their rights. In all these virtues, Ibn Battuta found the *ahîs* unequaled in the whole world. He noted that these *ahî* associations could be found in all of the Turcoman cities and villages in Anatolia.

³² Lewis, *Islamic Guilds*, 28.

³³ Köprülü, *Mutasavvıflar*, 215.

³⁴ Particularly during the fourteenth century when political authority was fragmented, the *akhîs* played important roles in local politics/administration.

³⁵ Lewis, *Islamic Guilds*, 28.

³⁶ İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, *İbn Battuta Seyahatnamesi'nden Seçmeler* (İstanbul: Devlet Kitapları), 1971, 7-10.

Another point of true value is the influence enjoyed by the *ahî* leaders, which enabled them to gain access to the courts of the rulers. Such a relation between the *ahîs* and the rulers was evident in the first century of the Ottoman history. The influence and the cooperation of the famous *ahîs* like Şeyh Edebali, *Ahî* Hasan and *Ahî* Mahmud is narrated in the chronicles.³⁷ Murad I told in a *vakfiye* in 1366 that he “girded *Ahî* Musa with my own hand with the belt I was girded by my *ahîs* and instated him an *ahî* to Mağalkara.”³⁸ There are two possible reasons of this influence of the *ahîlik*: Firstly, the *ahîs* became popular and gained authority in place of a power vacuum in Anatolia. Secondly, the *ahî* leaders were considered by the public as religious and spiritual leaders. No other organization of tradesmen in Turkey ever enjoyed this kind of authority.³⁹ Apparently in the case of the Ottoman guilds, the guildsmen or their leaders were not able to wield such an influence.⁴⁰

Some writers argued that *ahîs* had traits very much like the *Karmatîs*, even though the *ahîs* were actually heretical extremists.⁴¹ However, such an argument for the whole of the *ahî* associations would be misleading. The *fütüvvet* and sufic genres surely included unorthodox beliefs, however, the extant *fütüvvet-names* demonstrate no sign of a heretical extremism.⁴² Even if there was a heretical tendency among the *ahîs*, it was not dominant over the whole body of *ahîs*. The morals of *fütüvvet* were deep-rooted in the *ahîlik*, and passed on to the next generations through the master-apprentice (usta-

³⁷ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi Vol.1* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu), 1972, 530-31.

³⁸ Fr. Taeschner, “Akhi,” EI2.

³⁹ Needless to say, this influence had an extra-commercial, spiritual dimension.

⁴⁰ Though we find in the *Seyahatname* an old *destercibaşı*, who was venerated highly by the sultans and the vezirs. See Evliya, Vol.1, 269.

⁴¹ Lewis, “Islamic Guilds,” 29. Also see Fuad Köprülü, [xx](#).

⁴² See these *fütüvvet-names*: Evliya Çelebi, Vol.1, 210-216; Taeschner and Gölpınarlı’s publications in the İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası.

çırak) connection at the *zaviyes*. The *ahî* associations were non-professional guilds, which looked like a mystic order with members from among tradesmen.⁴³ The *tekke* or *zaviye* as the lodge of the *ahîs* had an important function in this respect. Indeed, this spiritual life was a significant aspect of the Islamic guilds in general especially after the thirteenth century. Scholars stress the highly Sufic and religious nature of the Islamic guilds adopted by the members of the guilds in many ways.⁴⁴

The *ahîlik* dissipated in Anatolia in the face of the absolutism and centralization in the fifteenth century and gradually came under state control. The Ottoman system of *Lonca* replaced the *ahîlik*, however, much survived in terms of organization principles and *fütüvvet*.⁴⁵ The term *ahîlik* seems to have been abandoned during the fifteenth century.⁴⁶ *Fütüvvet*-names continued to serve as the manuals of the *esnaf*.⁴⁷ *Lonca* functionaries like *şeyh*, *halife*, and *yiğit* were all remnants of the *ahî zaviyes*.⁴⁸ Influence is also apparent in cultural and ceremonial aspects of the guilds, as in the qualification

⁴³ Baer, "Turkish Guilds," 28. Köprülü asserted that *ahi* organizations were not exclusively craft organizations: "... içlerinde birçok kadılar, müderrisler de bulunan Ahilik teşkilatı herhangi bir esnaf topluluğu değil, o teşkilat üzerinde istinad eden, akidelerini o vasıta ile yayan bir tarikat sayılabilir." Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar* (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları), 1981, (henceforth as *Mutasavvıflar*) 212-13.

⁴⁴ Lewis, "Islamic Guilds," 37; Baer, "Turkish Guilds," passim. Yusuf Ibiş, a scholar from Jordan wrote that with the impact of sufism, the hand-work of the artisan assumed an ascetic character. Artisanhip became a spritual, rather than economic, state. Yusuf Ibiş, "İktisadi Kurumlar," in *İslam Şehri*, R. B. Serjeant, ed. (Istanbul: Ağaç Yayınları), 1992, 168-69.

⁴⁵ This transition was not acute and absolute though. The most important change came about in terms of the religious homogeneity of the guild members. See below the discussion of the Şeyh. Zaviyes were active during the Ottoman times, where apprentices learned the ethic principles and the customs of their profession. See Halil İncalcık, "Capital Formation in the Ottoman Empire," *The Journal of Economic Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Mar., 1969), 115-16.

⁴⁶ Fr. Taeschner, "Akhi," EI2.

⁴⁷ See İncalcık, *Classical Age*, 152.

⁴⁸ *Şeyh* was a common element in both *ahîlik* and *loncas*, inherited from Arabic guilds. The position of *şeyh* was much stronger in Arabic guilds than in Turkish guilds. His office was hereditary and for life. See Lewis, "Islamic Guilds," 32-33. Also significant is the existence of *yiğit* in *ahîlik*, which is merely the translation of "feta." *Yiğit* was not common in Ottoman guilds, however, the *yiğitbaşı*, head of *yiğits*, was a prominent figure. See Çağatay, *Ahîlik*, passim. It should be noted that the *ahîs*, heavily influenced by the *futuwwa*, inherited many practices from the earlier Islamic guilds. *Halife*, in the guild structure, is an example of this. See Louis Massignon, "Sinf," MEB IA.

ceremonies of the apprentices called *çırak çıkarma* (transition to mastership), *şedd bağlama*, *kuşak kuşatma* (girding), or *teferrüc* (gathering).⁴⁹

Among the Ottoman *esnaf*, the *Ahî Evran Zaviyesi* (or *Tekyesi*) in Kırşehir was a remaining and living link to the *ahî* past. This *zaviye* was a hereditary (*evlatlık*) *vakıf* of *Ahî Evran*, leaders of which -called *ahî baba*- were supposed to be the descendants of *Ahî Evran*.⁵⁰ The *ahî baba* had authority over the whole guild system in Anatolia, Rumelia, Bosnia and Crimea,⁵¹ and possessed the right to appoint the leadership (*yiğitbaşı*, *duacı*, *kethuda*) of other guilds. The Ottoman government supported them by conferring *berats* to the *şeyh* of the *zaviye*. This relationship survived until the re-organization of the guilds in the nineteenth century.⁵²

II.2. The Ottoman *Esnaf*

II.2.1. Introduction

Industrial production was organized in terms of *esnaf loncaları*⁵³ (guilds) in Istanbul, just like the other cities in the Empire. Their production was vital to the

⁴⁹ Ozdemir Nutku, “Sinf-Turkey,” EI2. Just like the case of halife, girding is originally a famous ceremony depicted by *kutub al-futuwwa* (futuwwa books and guides) of the fifteenth century. See Louis Massignon, “Sinf,” MEBIA.

⁵⁰ Ahi Evran was a debbag (tanner) and founded the ahi organization. See someone for Ahi Evran.

⁵¹ The *ahî babas* used to travel or send delegates to the provinces of the Empire to gird and receive the apprentices into the *esnaf*. Taeschner notes that the last delegate of the Ahi Baba came to Bosnia in 1886-7. There is evidence of the effect of the *zaviye* in Turkestan. Though, the *zaviye* was not admitted in the Arab provinces. See his discussion in Taeschner, “Akhi,” EI2; “Futuwwa-Post-Mongol Period,” EI2; Ahmet Kala, “Esnaf,” IA.

⁵² Osman Nuri stated that the authority of ahi baba was peculiar to tanners and saddlers. Osman Nuri, *Mecelle*, Vol.1, 537. This may be because Ahi Evran was a tanner. These two guilds were also the most developed guilds.

⁵³ It is argued that the use of the term *lonca* appeared sometime during the seventeenth century. The word originally had a physical allusion; it was generally used to refer to the common areas of the guilds. Later, *lonca* came to refer to an organized guild with a physical base. Relationship between Muslim and non-Muslim merchants enabled common usages of some terms. Loca, later lonca, could have been one of these, possibly a borrowing from the Italian merchants. The origin of the word is Italian *loggia*. See Ahmet Kal’a, “Lonca,” IA.

sustenance of the urban economy, in addition to making up an important part of the city population.⁵⁴ Ottoman *esnaf* assumed the existing body of the Anatolian *akhis* and underwent several stages which, in some ways, reflected their own development of the Empire. The conquest of Constantinople had a great impact on the course of the Ottoman state, transforming it from a frontier principality into a multi-cultural Islamic Empire in time, and creating a classical Ottoman identity and civilization, with a synthetic/eclectic culture and diversified institutions. A practical output of this process was the city of Istanbul. Istanbul represented and spread the new Ottoman identity, ideology and character, which was termed ‘classical’ to the provinces.⁵⁵ The Ottoman guilds were a part of this classicality, the guilds of Istanbul arguably being the crystallized example.

II.2.2. Historical Development of the Lonca System

The history of the *esnaf loncas* is nearly as old as the history of the imperial Ottoman state and Istanbul. The transition from the “free *fütüvvet* associations to a system of professional guilds” occurred at the beginning of the sixteenth century according to Taeschner.⁵⁶ The existence of *ihtisâb kanunnames* from the early sixteenth century points towards a strong possibility of the existence of a professional guild system.⁵⁷ We are also aware of imperial orders referring to organized guilds in the sixteenth century.⁵⁸ The parade of the guilds in 1582, on the occasion of the circumcision of Şehzade Mehmed, the son of Murad III, demonstrated the degree of the

⁵⁴ Inalcik, *Classical Age*, 157.

⁵⁵ Halil İnalcık, “Istanbul: An Islamic City,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 1(1990), 9.

⁵⁶ Baer, “Turkish Guilds,” 29.

⁵⁷ See Barkan’s publication of *ihtisâb kanunnames*.

⁵⁸ Ahmed Refik cite.

guild organization in Istanbul. According to Baer, the guild organization penetrated the social life of Istanbul in the seventeenth century to such an extent that “all walks of life were encompassed in this system, much more so that in any western country.” Taeschner believed that no one was exempt from belonging to a guild.⁵⁹ Mantran argued that all the civilian residents of Istanbul belonged to a guild by the seventeenth century.⁶⁰ Evliya Çelebi’s description of the procession of the guilds on the muster of Murad IV (*ordu-yı hümayun alayı*) includes numerous guilds, which, according to the author, consisted of 1100 groups.⁶¹ However, whether the *esnaf* groups narrated in this description existed as guilds is not clear.⁶²

An important question at this point is whether the government created the guilds or they appear spontaneously. Clearly, the Ottoman state did not invent the guilds. The guilds took over the existing body of *ahî* associations, and aligned themselves with the absolutist and centralist government for their mutual interests.⁶³ There was an obvious involvement of the authorities at the inception of the guild system. The general legal framework was created by the government. The *nizamnames* (regulations) of the guilds, were prepared by the guilds and discussed with the government and then registered in

⁵⁹ Baer, “Turkish Guilds,” 29.

⁶⁰ “...toutes les classes, tous les individus composant la population stambouliote, à l’exception des janissaires, des sipahis, des fonctionnaires et employés du gouvernement, ou du palais, et des étrangers, sont embrigades dans les corporations.” Baer, “Turkish Guilds,” 30.

⁶¹ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname* Vol. 1, Orhan Şaik Gökyay ed. (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları), 1996, 316.

⁶² Among the groups cited as *esnaf* in Evliya’s narration are for example, the *esnaf-ı çavuşan*, *esnaf-ı acemi oğlanları*, *esnaf-ı celladan-ı bi-aman*, *esnaf-ı hemyan kesici* (pickpockets), *esnaf-ı kara hırsız* (thieves) as well as the *esnaf-ı huteba* (preachers), *esnaf-ı kadı ve mollalar*. Evliya Çelebi, Vol.1, 220-316. Baer states the possibility that this of all-embracing character of the guilds in the *Seyahatname* might be a ceremonial theory. Baer, “Turkish Guilds,” 30.

⁶³ Baer’s main theme is that the government was highly involved in the formation of the guilds. İnalçık offers a balanced view and emphasizes the inherent pattern of social organization in the Islamic Middle East. In this view, the guilds were organized along the same lines with many other social polities, using a similar pattern and terminology that can be found in the palace, the army, the *medreses* and the religious orders. *Kethuda* and *nakib* for instance were the key example in this pattern and terminology. See İnalçık, *Classical Age*, 152; Baer, “Turkish Guilds.”

the *defter* of the *kadı*. Apart from these, the customs and principles visible in the organization and operation of the guilds originated from the *futuvvet*.⁶⁴ As will be seen in the discussions below, the government supported and encouraged the guilds in the early phase of their development.⁶⁵

The first step in the organization of an *esnaf* guild was the code of regulation of the guild (*esnaf nizamnamesi*), as told above, prepared by the members of the guild, and ratified and presented to the *Divan-ı Humayun* by the *kadı*.⁶⁶ After then a *ferman* was published recognizing the rights and responsibilities of the guild throughout the lines of the *nizamname*. The conditions of the functioning of the guild were determined in this fashion with the obtainment of a ratified *nizamname*.⁶⁷ Later the guilds started to get their *nizamname* recorded in the court registers. The mid-sixteenth century represents the beginning of a period in which the guilds emerged as well-established and self-conscious organizations. The dynamics behind the formation and organization of the guilds had shifted from the state initiative to the guild itself.⁶⁸ This process rendered the guilds more independent of the government direction. In the seventeenth century, a system of mutual sûrety-ship called “müteselsil kefalet” and “ruhsat” became widely accepted by the guilds.

⁶⁴ İnalçık, *Classical Age*, 153.

⁶⁵ See the discussion below about the government-guild relations.

⁶⁶ The *esnaf nizamı* was probably a modern continuation of the *dustur* of the early Islamic guilds. See Louis Massignon, “Sinf,” MEBİA.

⁶⁷ In the process of constuction of a guild, it was important that there was not any other guild that is already producing the former’s intended production. See Ahmet Kala, IA. See Istanbul Ahkam Defterleri.

⁶⁸ Ahmet Kala, IA.

Another important step in the evolution of the *esnaf* organization was the introduction of the *gedik* (literally gap or breach) in the trade in 1727.⁶⁹ The increasing number of masters demanding official license led the government to confer the status of master only by occupancy of a recognized place of business. This status and right was called *gedik*, after the place and the tools of the trade. The establishment of the *gedik* right resulted in the strict limitation of the number of tradesmen active in a profession, in addition to the right of hereditary possession, which almost created a caste of guild masters.⁷⁰ The journeymen (*kalfalar*) who could not work independently since they lacked *gedik*, disregarded the rules and started to open new businesses without the guilds' license. The established masters in turn tried to ban these guilds, calling them *ham-dest*.⁷¹ The right of *gedik* fortified the position of the guilds in obtaining raw materials, producing goods or services, and selling end product.⁷²

The Ottoman state's policy towards the guilds remained stable until the reform period around the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁷³ The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century witnessed the bereavement by the state of the Ottoman guilds of their concessions.⁷⁴ The production and pricing monopolies of the guilds, when combined with hostility and rejection to incipient competitive organizations, started to function at the expense of the consumers and disrupted the economic life. During the

⁶⁹ Akgunduz states that right of *gedik* existed in Islamic law as early as twelfth century. *Gedik* was already existent/present in the Ottoman Empire earlier than the sixteenth century, famous *seyhulislam* Ebussuud Efendi had a treatise on *gedik*. However, the commercial/artisanal *gedik* appeared later probably in the eighteenth century. Akgunduz, "Gedik," TDVIA.

⁷⁰ Ahmet Akgunduz, "Gedik," TDVIA; İnalçık, "Capital," 117.

⁷¹ İnalçık, "Capital," 117.

⁷² For a discussion on the *gedik* and the guilds' monopolies, see Erefe, "Bread and Provisioning," 32-52.

⁷³ İnalçık believes that this policy and the traditional culture prevented a development in the direction of industrial capitalism. İnalçık, "Capital," 136.

⁷⁴ Ahmet Kal'a points towards the effect of the Treaty of Baltalimanı. Kal'a, "*Esnaf*," TDVIA. Akgunduz informs that the monopolies in trade were abrogated in 1853 with an order. Akgunduz, "Gedik," TDVIA.

time of Selim III, the government, blaming the guilds for the ever-increasing prices, decided to put an end to the guilds' monopolies with the exception of bread, with a *ferman* in 1794.⁷⁵ The illegal gediks were abolished, and the whole gedik system was reorganized. Reformation in the gedik continued during the time of Mahmud II: new methods called *ruhsat tezkiresi* and *yedd-i vahid* were introduced in the early nineteenth century, intended to increase productivity by stabilizing the market between the raw material producer and the guildsmen.⁷⁶

In the nineteenth century, the government's concern about the guild monopolies shifted to the smuggling of raw materials. Nothing was new with smuggling; we know that the central authority was trying to prevent the illegal export of grain even in the sixteenth century.⁷⁷ However, particularly after the mid-eighteenth century, the European demand for wheat increased significantly.⁷⁸ Native and foreign merchants often cooperated in the illegal export of certain materials demanded by the Western industries, such as wool, cotton, silk and leather. The obvious outcome of this trade was the scarcity and increase in prices of the goods related to these materials. In order to prevent this, the Ottoman government recognized certain guilds rights of priority in purchasing such raw materials.⁷⁹ Yet another aspect of this illegal trade was related to the different demands of different domestic regions. The government frequently urged the *kadis* to prevent merchants (*tüccâr*) from purchasing raw material from the producer

⁷⁵ Kal'a, "Esnaf," TDVIA.

⁷⁶ Kala, "Esnaf," TDVIA; Akdunduz, "Gedik," TDVIA.

⁷⁷ A hüküm in 1551 ordered the kadis around Istanbul to prevent the illegal sales of grain to foreign trade vessels. Ortaylı, *Kadı*, 41.

⁷⁸ The contraband trade of grain is studied in detail by İklil Erefe, "Bread and Provisioning in the Ottoman Empire, 1750-1860," Unpublished MA Thesis, Ankara: Bilkent University, 1997, 17-25.

⁷⁹ Kala, IA.

at a higher price than the fixed price (narh), and then sold it at still higher prices at other regions.⁸⁰

The vital blow to the Ottoman guilds came not from the state, but from the Western industries. In the course of the nineteenth century, guilds found their market shrinking continuously against the influx of Western goods. The guilds rapidly fell into decay in the second half of the nineteenth century. The rights of *gedik* and *loncas* were finally abolished in 1913.⁸¹

II.2.3. The Lonca: Organization and Functionaries

The *esnaf* was divided into different groups according to their profession and their geographical and administrative location. There existed a vertical specialization, in which, various branches related to the same raw material formed different guilds, as in the case of tanners, cobblers and saddlers who all were concerned with the treatment of leather. However, an *esnaf* group had to be crowded enough to elect a *kethuda* and constitute an independent guild. If not, they had to operate as *yamak* (ancillary) guilds of more populous guilds. For this reason, *kaltakçılar*, *eyerciler* (saddle-makers), *semerciler* (packsaddle-makers), *gedelekçiler*, *tekerciler*, *yularcılar* (halter-makers), *kamçıcılar* (whip-makers), and *palancılar* were *yamak* guilds of the *saraç esnafı* (saddlemakers). In the same manner, *başmakçılar* (shoemakers), *kavaflar* (makers of cheap shoes), *çizmeciler* (boot-makers), *mestçiler* (makers of leather socks), *terlikçiler* (slipper-makers) and *eskiciler* (second hand dealers) operated as *yamak* guilds of the *pabuçcu esnafı* (shoemakers/cobblers). The guilds were organized within the name of the

⁸⁰ Kala, IA.

⁸¹ Ahmet Akgunduz, “Gedik,” TDVIA; Kala, “Esnaf,” TDVIA.

saraçlar and *pabuçcular* and their *yamaks* participated in the meetings and voted.⁸² On the other hand, it was not unusual for the *yamak* guilds to refuse to work and “strike” against the main guilds to obtain their demands.⁸³ As this example demonstrates, the professions were separated according to specialization, to the utmost degree. Baer related this excessive subdivison of the guilds with the administrative concerns of the authorities who sought to supervise the production closely.⁸⁴

In the words of a scholar of the subject, the Ottoman guilds were deeply religious as well: “...the social function of the corporations was enhanced...by their affiliation, usually to one of the great religious orders... This religious personality encouraged the qualities of honesty and sobriety...”⁸⁵ On the contrary, some argued that religion existed mostly in ceremonies in the guilds.⁸⁶ However, we know that the link between the market and the *zaviye* existed until the later periods.⁸⁷

The Ottoman guilds were organized as professional organizations with functionaries, pretty much like their European counterparts in social and political terms. Conditions of admission to the guilds were defined strictly; in most cases the number of the guildsmen was rigidly fixed.⁸⁸

⁸² Koçu, 12.

⁸³ İnalçık, “Capital,” 118.

⁸⁴ Baer, “Turkish Guilds,” 33.

⁸⁵ Baer, “Turkish Guilds,” 48. Osman Nuri’s *Mecelle* has a chapter on the relation of the *esnaf* with the melami order. See his *Mecelle*, Vol.1, 527-531.

⁸⁶ “Amongst the activities of the guilds, religion exists mostly in the ceremonies...” Timur Kuran, “Osmanlı Lonca Teşkilatı Üzerinde İslami Etkiler,” in *Türkler*, vol.5, ed. Cem Oguz and Kemal Cicek (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayinlari, 2001), 97-112.

⁸⁷ It should also be mentioned that a strong link between *tekke* and *esnaf* for various reasons existed in the examples of Özbekler tekkesi and Afgan tekkesi, which survived until the twentieth century. Musahipzade Celal, *Eski İstanbul Yaşayışı* (İstanbul: İletişim) 1992, 59-60.

⁸⁸ Timur Kuran, “Osmanlı Lonca Teşkilatı Üzerinde İslami Etkiler,” in *Osmanlı*, vol?, 97.

Şeyh was the theoretical leader of a guild, reflecting a spiritual figure rather than political. Chosen from among the elder masters (*usta*) of the guild through a yet unidentified process, the *şeyh* directed festivities and ceremonies. He was required to be learned and well-read in *fütüvvet*. The government often sanctioned his post with a *berat*, acknowledging that he is devoted to his profession. *Şeyhs* began to disappear in the course of the eighteenth century and their functions were taken over by the *kethuda*.⁸⁹ This was one aspect of the professionalization of the guilds, representing the transition from *tarik-i futuvvet* to *esnaf loncaları*.⁹⁰

The actual leading figure in the guild was *kethuda*, who was elected by the members of the guild to administer and represent the guild.⁹¹ The election of *kethuda* in a guild was constitutional with regard to the independence of the guild.⁹² Yi mentions some examples of bottle-makers, hard biscuit-makers and shopkeepers petitioning to the court to establish a *kethuda*-ship.⁹³ After elected, his office was registered to the defter (*tescil*) by the *kadı*. *Kethudas* used to manage the interior affairs of the guild, he was expected to resolve the disputes inside the guild, and call the *kadı* when unable to do so.⁹⁴ He acted as an intermediary between the government and the guildsmen. For this

⁸⁹ Ahmet Kala, “Esnaf,” IA. In the later periods, *şeyh*’s duty was reduced to escorting and meeting the pilgrims among the members of the guild. Osman Nuri, *Mecelle*, Vol.1, 538.

⁹⁰ Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Tarihte İstanbul Esnafı* (Istanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2002), 11. This transition constituted another important aspect of the Ottoman guilds. As the ethnic and religious elements variegated among the tradesmen in time, the need for anonymous and profane methods must have increased. For this reason, the authority of the *şeyh*, *nakib* diminished and *kethuda* and *yığıtbaşı* emerged instead as the real administrators of the guild. Another symbolic change was the shift from the *zaviye*, *dergah* or *tekke* to the *lonca*. In short, the *esnaf* no more constituted a *tarik-i fütüvvet* (fütüvvet order). Osman Nuri, *Mecelle*, Vol.1, 551.

⁹¹ The election process of the *kethuda* is not clear enough. Possibly, he was chosen from among a group of candidates determined by the masters, among the elder masters. And then the elect was registered by the *kadı*. İnalcık, *Classical Age*, 153.

⁹² İnalcık, *Classical Age*, 152.

⁹³ Eunjeong Yi, *Guild Dynamics in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul: Fluidity and Leverage* (Leiden: Brill), 2004, 286-87.

⁹⁴ Baer, “Turkish Guilds,” 42.

reason, some viewed the *kethuda*-ship as a semi-official position.⁹⁵ He communicated the orders of the authorities to the members of his guild. At the same time, it was the *kethuda* that represented the guild before the authorities; that is usually the *kadı* and the imperial *divan*. The guilds in the classical age did not collect taxes; rather it was the government officials that collected taxes. Nevertheless, the *kethudas* collected dues related to the affairs of the guild.⁹⁶ Like other noticeable guild figures, *kethudas* began to obtain *berats* (imperial diplomas) in order to legitimize and document their position.⁹⁷ Above all the *kethudas* of the city, there was the city *kethuda* (*şehir-kethudası*), who represented the townsfolk and the guildsmen before the authorities, together with the other *kethudas*.⁹⁸

An important matter for the guilds was the reception of raw materials essential for their professions. The raw materials were brought to the markets (called usually *kapan*) near the landings, and were weighed, taxed and then distributed to the guilds under the supervision of government officials. It was the *kethuda* and the *yiğitbaşı* who took over the raw materials at the *kapan*, and distributed to the masters of their guild accordingly.⁹⁹ *Yigitbasi*¹⁰⁰ was also responsible for the disciplinary and punishment duties in the guilds. *Yiğitbaşı* made sure that the apprentices were trained well in the intricacies of the profession. He was expected to substitute the *kethuda* in his absence.

⁹⁵ Osman Nuri, *Mecelle*, Vol.1, 540; Baer, "Turkish Guilds," 34.

⁹⁶ İnalçık, *Classical Age*, 153.

⁹⁷ İnalçık, "An Islamic City," 18.

⁹⁸ İnalçık, *Classical Age*, 153. Also in Istanbul, several guilds of the same profession could unite under a higher leader that is sometimes called *amir*. See Ahmet Kal'a, "Esnaf," TDVİA.

⁹⁹ Baer specifies the *ihtiyarlar*, in addition to *kethuda* and *yiğitbaşı* as responsible for this distribution. Baer, "Turkish Guilds," 41-42.

¹⁰⁰ Ahmet Kala, IA.

In many guilds, there was a little group of experts, two or three persons usually, the adept masters of the craft, called *ehl-i hibre*. They were responsible for the quality of the products of the guilds and technical details of the profession.¹⁰¹ Yet, their most common duty was to assist the *kadı* in fixing prices and production standards (*narh*).¹⁰² The prominence of *ehl-i hibre* was greater in skilled trades, such as some branches of textile and footwear. There was also an official called *işçibaşı*, who was also entrusted with the quality of the guild production.

Among the interesting qualities of the Ottoman guilds was the mutual fund called “esnaf sandığı” or “teavün sandığı.”¹⁰³ This fund was furnished through the dues and occasional payments of the members of the guild, the guardians of the apprentices (called *çırak*, *mübtedi* or sometimes *terbiye*), and donations.¹⁰⁴ The esnaf sandığı was managed by *Kethuda* and *Yiğitbaşı* in order to cover the debts, rents or taxes of the indigent members as well as for charity such as the recitation of Quran in the name of the guild members in *Eyüb* during the *Ramazan*.¹⁰⁵ There was a highly-developed feeling of solidarity among the esnaf. Periodical gatherings and festivities under the names of “*tenezzüh*,” “*teferrüc*” and “*sohbet*”, and the morning prayers¹⁰⁶ were important in this regard.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ Halil İnalcık, “Capital Formation in the Ottoman Empire,” *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Mar., 1969), 115.

¹⁰² See below for *Narh*.

¹⁰³ Baer, “Turkish Guilds,” 44-45. *Musahipzade*, 61-62. The other terms used for this fund were “*orta sandığı*,” “*esnaf vakfı*,” “*vakıf sandığı*,” “*vakıf kisesi*.”

¹⁰⁴ For a list of these sources see Koçu, *İstanbul Esnafı*, 20.

¹⁰⁵ Osman Nuri, *Mecelle*, Vol. 1, 555-56.

¹⁰⁶ There was a special place in many bazaars for the morning prayers of the Esnaf. Osman Nuri, *Mecelle*, vol.1, 541.

¹⁰⁷ See Bibliography for works on the customs and cultural aspects of the guilds.

II.3. The Ottoman Administration of Market and Economy

II.3.1. Introduction

Some argued that there was a constant state of conflict between the Ottoman state and the guilds, in which the state regarded the guilds as marginal and tried to suppress and control them.¹⁰⁸ According to this view, the guilds “have maintained either an open hostility to the state, or an attitude of sullen mistrust, which the public authorities, political and ecclesiastical, have always returned.”¹⁰⁹ We know, it is true, that the famous Hanbali jurist Ibn Taymiyya (d.1328) wrote against the *fütüvvet*.¹¹⁰ While a feeling of aversion may be justified in the case of pre-Ottoman guildsmen and *fütüvvet* associations, the history of the relations between the state and the guilds during the Ottoman centuries was peaceful rather than hostile. Baer’s study provides refuting evidence to this view: We learn that a *kethuda* prayed in a ceremony and warned the newly-upgraded master to be faithful and honest, to consider other’s interests, obey the sovereign and revere the *ulema*.¹¹¹ The Ottoman state preferred to support and cooperate with the guilds for its own interest.¹¹²

The Ottoman management of the *esnaf* and *loncas* constituted a homogenous part of the management of the economy in general.¹¹³ An exhaustive evaluation of the

¹⁰⁸ Lewis, “Islamic Guilds,” 27.

¹⁰⁹ Lewis, “Islamic Guilds,” 36. Lewis includes the Ottoman guilds into this argument and adds that “The fact that occasionally sunni sovereigns accorded some limited status to the Islamic guilds, in the hope of winning their support does no invalidate this conclusion.”

¹¹⁰ Fr. Taeschner, “Futuwwa-Post-Mongol Period,” EI2.

¹¹¹ Baer, “Turkish Guilds,” 49.

¹¹² İnalcık, *Classical*, 155.

¹¹³ On how Ottomans governed economy, see the Bibliography for Halil İnalcık, Mehmet Genç and Linda Darling. Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorlugunda Devlet ve Ekonomi* (Istanbul, Otuken) 2003, 43-86. Halil

Ottoman economic mind would be a lengthy task to exceed the constraints of our study. Though, in order to make clear the framework of the *loncas* vis-à-vis the government, we will attempt to underline the principles and the mind-sets at work here. These principles existed as a mixture behind the economic actions of the Ottoman government, so that none of them can absolutely be discerned. However, for the sake of simplification, we would argue that there existed four main principles in general in the Ottoman conduct of economy and market: just rule, fiscalism, traditionalism and Islamic principles. These principles were absorbed also by certain layers of the society.

II.3.2. Protecting the *reayâ* for the sake of the state and the ruler

In terms of the ruler-subject relations, the Ottoman Empire was influenced by a mixture of Islamic and Near Eastern traditions.¹¹⁴ According to this concept the whole populace was divided into two groups as the subjects who produced and therefore paid taxes, and the ruling class who were not supposed to engage in any kind of production and were exempt from taxation.¹¹⁵ The former was divided into three within itself: the farmers, the craftsmen and the merchants; the last group enjoying a degree of economic convenience and wealth.¹¹⁶ All these groups were to support and protect the state,

Inalcik and Donald Quataert, eds, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, Vol 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 1995, 81-92.

¹¹⁴ Halil Inalcik, *Classical*, 71. The influence of the Selçuklu, İlhanlı, Memluk and Byzantine ideologies of state and society are visible on the Ottoman intellectuals (‘ulema) and bureaucracy (scribes).

¹¹⁵ Katip Çelebi divided the whole population except the sultan into four groups: the ‘ulema, the military, the merchants, and the (reaya) peasants. Katip Çelebi, *Düsturü’l-‘amel li islahi’l-halel* in Ayn-ı Ali Efendi, *Kavanin-i Al-i Osman der Hulasa-i Mezanin-i Defter-i Divan*, Tayyip Gökbilgin, ed. (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi), 1979, (henceforth as *Düstur*) 124.

¹¹⁶ Inalcik, “Capital Formation in the Ottoman Empire,” *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Mar. 1969), (henceforth as “Capital”) 98. The tradesmen were tightly controlled in buying raw materials and producing and selling their goods, and their profit ratios were subject to *narh* regulations. However, the merchants were free and encouraged in accumulating wealth. This special attention paid to the merchant class was in part due to their function as furnishing the markets of large cities with essential food

embodied in the personality of the ruler. The ruler on the other hand had to protect his subjects in return, and preserve this order. Practically this view had three foremost implications: The whole system was geared to increase the power of and accumulate wealth for the state and the ruler (*fiscalism*). Secondly, the ruler had to maintain this stratification and the status quo (*traditionalism*). Thirdly, this concept required the ruler to be just towards his subjects -who were producing the wealth-, and the well-being of the state depended upon the welfare of its subjects (*'adalet*). The religion and ethnicity of the subjects did not matter in this concept in theory.¹¹⁷

The idea of justice (*'adalet*) was regarded as the main pillar of state ideology at least since the Sasanian king Hüsrev Anuşirvan.¹¹⁸ This idea was formulated in the classical literature with the name “*daire-i 'adalet*,” the circle of justice: Controlling the state required a great army. A great army required a large treasury. In order to increase income for the treasury, the subjects should be made wealthier. Only with just laws and fair rules the did subjects produce and become rich. The state was believed to be ruined if any of these were neglected.¹¹⁹ “The urge to increase the revenues and the strength of the state required justice be applied.”¹²⁰ As can be seen, the eventual aim of this concern was again the strengthening and survival of the state. The ruler was the shepherd, and the subjects, or the *reyâ* (herd) were entrusted to him. The ruler was directly

and raw materials. İnalçık, “Capital,” 103. Besides, in the example of Süleyman I, we see that the Ottoman sultans had respect to the peasants. İnalçık, *Economic*, 45. Baer argued that merchant-craftsmen division had no significance. Baer, “Turkish Guilds,” 31.

¹¹⁷ İnalçık, *Classical*, 151.

¹¹⁸ Linda Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660* (Leiden: Brill), 1996, 29-30.

¹¹⁹ This formulation is excerpted from the Kutadgu Bilig by İnalçık in his *Classical*, 67. Katip Çelebi’s brief description in *Düsturü’l-‘amel*: “Evvela reaya ve beraya selatin ve ümeraya vediatullah olduğundan ğayrı la mülke illa bi’l-ricale ve la ricale illa bi’l-seyf ve la seyfe illa bi’l-mal ve la male illa bi’l-raiyye ve la raiyyete illa bi’l-‘adl.” Katip Çelebi, *Düstur*, 124. Another similar example in the form of a poem is cited by Darling in his *Revenue*, 281.

¹²⁰ İnalçık, *Classical*, 72.

responsible for the welfare of his subjects,¹²¹ he needed to make sure that justice was provided, and there were plentiful goods in the market and that subjects received them in high quality and fair prices. In order to avoid scarcities in the towns and in the country, the government was obliged to adopt this approach which was commonly called “provisionism” or “iaşecilik.”¹²² This approach had repercussions ranging from the tightly controlled guild system to *narh*, and the encouraging to the discouraging of importation, which will be discussed below.

Another point worth mentioning here is the right of complaint (*şikayet-name*) of the subjects. This was, too, a custom created (or revived) by Anuşirvan, in order to let the subjects present their grievances and demands. One of the foremost duties of the ruler himself was to hear his subjects in the Near Eastern and Islamic tradition. There always existed a divan, headed by the ruler himself, usually called “*divan-ı mezalim*” during which the subjects complained to the ruler about the injustices and malpractices of the administrators. The Ottoman reayâ did have and exploit various opportunities to express their resentments to the divan and the Sultan himself. The Ottoman archives abound with records of complaints. The *şikayet-names* were so effective that the government sometimes had to change its behavior. More interestingly, at the expense of losing revenues, the government granted tax exemptions on the demands of the subjects, solely for the sake of self-legitimization.¹²³

¹²¹ The concern of the welfare of the subjects was evident in the writings of the bureaucrats in a common expression, “mureffehu’l-bal vs” The Ottoman Empire was therefore named a welfare state. See İnalcık, *Economic*, 83-86.

¹²² Ahmet Kala, IA.

¹²³ Darling, 282. There were other means of complaining to the state, the most common being the kadı’s court. Yi’s surveys on kadı records contains an example, in which, the zimmi fishermen of Balat and Fener obtained a tax exemption. Yi, 276.

One of the main economic aims of the state was to accumulate as much bullion as possible in the treasury. The treasury was a measure and source of the power of the state and the ruler. For this respect, various classes of the social hierarchy were expected to add to the central treasury. The Ottoman statesmen were to a certain degree successful in stabilizing the budget by augmenting the state revenues and curbing expenditures. In the absence of economic thinking, however, these measures provided ephemeral success in the face of mercantilism.¹²⁴

As shown by İnalcık in the description of a military imperialistic state,¹²⁵ the Ottoman economy bureaucrats often relied on the income brought from the newly-conquered provinces in order to secure treasury: "...for the Ottomans, wealth was expected to derive from the new tax resources in the lands annexed by conquest, not by intensive methods such as maximizing the income from agriculture, industries and commerce through new technologies."¹²⁶ The government definitely encouraged the reclamation of wastelands for fiscal reasons; however, maximization of agricultural and industrial revenues was not an object by itself.¹²⁷ Genç argues that the Ottomans were so engrossed in the idea of increasing the state revenues, a state of mind which he calls fiscocentrism, that they did not even consider other economic methods.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ İnalcık claimed that the Ottomans were not successful in developing an economic theory, such as the Western mercantilism.. İnalcık, *Economic*, 50.

¹²⁵ "...since military power was believed to be the principal means of securing wealth, military imperialism together with fiscalism formed the basis of the Iranian-Ottoman concept of state, and together they account for the dynamics of Ottoman conquest and the empire-building process." İnalcık, *Economic*, 45.

¹²⁶ İnalcık, *Economic*, 51.

¹²⁷ The joint proposal of Sokullu Mehmed Paşa and Feridun Beğ to construct a dam and canals on the river Sakarya was an example of a 'real economic enterprise' through the vakıf system. İnalcık, "Capital," 133.

¹²⁸ Genç, 52.

Another motive was the desire to preserve the traditional order and balance in economy and society. Indeed, in the early modern society, when the state lacked modern means of transport and communication and bureaucracy, any unexpected increase or decrease in production could cause scarcity or speculations in the market. For this reason the state preferred to avoid major policy changes and remain loyal to the experimented and approved customs for the sake of order (*nizam-ı alem*). The implication of this view was the subsistence economy, in which the production was leveled to meet the demand and not to exceed it. Therefore, in order to ensure constant supplies to the large populations of cities like Istanbul, Bursa and Edirne, the state supervised various aspects of production through its officials like the *kadı* and the *muhtesib*, through *narh* and through the guild system, which we will discuss below.

A clear expression of the traditionalist view can be found in the thoughts and practices of the bureaucrats. The Ottoman archives abound in idioms like “*kanun-i kadim uzre*,” “*kadime mugayir*,” “*kadimden olıgeldüğü üzre*,” which underline the preservation of the balanced system once established by the *eslaf* (the previous ones).¹²⁹ Interestingly, this way of conduct of economy was adopted by the *esnaf* and vigorously used to protect their acquisitions. We find that an established *esnaf* used the concepts of “*kadim*” and “*gedik*” in their appeals to eliminate an incipient competition of a newly-founded *esnaf*. We have already mentioned the attack of the established *esnaf* towards the *yamak* *esnaf* groups.¹³⁰ In one occasion, the candle-makers and the barley-dealers

¹²⁹ Ayn-ı Ali Efendi, who was a bureaucrat himself, when listing the gifts that the officials had been receiving “since the earlier times” wrote so: “Sultan mehmed han ibn sultan murad han tahta cülus itdikde kadimden olugeldüğü üzre erkan-ı devlete virilen bahşışdır.” Ayn-ı Ali Efendi, *Kavanin-i Al-i Osman der Hulasa-i Mezanin-i Defter-i Divan* (Istanbul: Enderun) 1979, 108.

¹³⁰ See page x.

asked for a *fetva* to get rid of the grocers nearby, claiming that the grocers did not profess their specialty for a long time there:

*Birkaç kimesnelerin bir sukda bakkal dükkanları olmağla bakkallık ederlerken etrafında dükkanları olan mumcu ve arpacı taifesi mücerred kadimden olmayub yedi sekiz seneden beri ihdas olunmuşdur deyü bakkal dükkanlarını kapatmağa kadir olurlar mı? el-Cevab: Olmazlar.*¹³¹

They were rejected by the legal authority in this case; however, it is obvious that tradesmen gradually awoke to the idea of traditionalism and legitimized their privileges relying on these firm-held beliefs.¹³²

It was because of this traditionalist view of state and society that the rulers regarded the preservation of the social hierarchy imperative for the functioning of the order.¹³³ This preference had many implications. Obviously, the government did not favor vertical transition between different levels of the hierarchy, did not tolerate the peasants to abandon their farms, nor did it encourage innovations in methods and technology with this respect.¹³⁴

Complementary to these ideas, İnalçık emphasized the classical Islamic view which distinguished between the “necessities” and “refinements.” In this view, luxury goods did not constitute the subject of price control and supervision, while food and necessity goods in the market came under *narh* and *ihtisâb* regulations, which will be discussed below. As a matter of fact, the Ottoman sultans and vezirs occupied

¹³¹ Tahsin Yazıcı, *Fetvalar Işığında Osmanlı Esnafı* (İstanbul: Kitabevi) 2003, 108.

¹³² One such example in the conclusion.

¹³³ Darling, 284.

¹³⁴ “That a peasant or a craftsman should freely change the methods of production was not countenanced; his activities were permitted only within the limits of the ordinances laid down by the state.” İnalçık, “Capital,” 98. The quotation by Kınalızade is a synopsis of this thought: “For the good order of the world, all these professions are necessary and it is imperative that each group remain within its own sphere of activities.” İnalçık, *Economic*, 45.

themselves with the providing of food, and in particular, bread to the public.¹³⁵ Islamic view of life, which regarded the world and hereafter as one, encouraged charity as a means of pleasing God (“*rıza-i ilahî*”). The rulers and the rich frequently engaged in charity and alms giving (“*sadaka*”) in order to obtain the beneficent prayers (“*hayır dua*”) of the people. This motivation provided the distribution of wealth to the poor to a certain degree.

In providing variegation and fair prices in the market, the government encouraged and supported importation and more than just welcoming foreign merchants, it provided capitulations to their nations.¹³⁶ But the government took no measures to protect the domestic production from impoverishment in this process. Apparently the Ottomans had no concern for balance of payments or protection of industries, nor did it employ measures deriving from an economic theory of its own. What they preferred was to continue the experimented practices and traditions.¹³⁷

The fact that the production had limits in the early modern society led the Ottoman state to regulate the production in order to prevent shortages. Insufficient production or excessive production could harm the balance of economy,¹³⁸ and in addition to this, the necessity of inspecting the customers and dealers against malpractices compelled the

¹³⁵ İnalcık, *Economic*, 46.

¹³⁶ See İnalcık, “Capital,” 135-36.

¹³⁷ İnalcık, *Economic*, 52.

¹³⁸ Over-production was considered harmful to the *esnaf*, which idea led to the limitation of production to a specified level. This led to direct government involvement in terms of regulation and supervision in production and market affairs. For this end, importation, rather than exportation, was welcome. Secondly, the government was concerned in keeping the *reaya* in production. This is why the *reaya* were not allowed to abandon their places, and the ascension of a *raiyyet* to a higher social stratum was not encouraged. Rather, the state tried to keep social strata locked and tight. The common diplomatic phrase of “*Mureffehu'l-bal vd.*” was frequently referred to in related cases. The Ottoman understanding of justice and economy of plenty is described in Halil İnalcık, *Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age (1300-1600)* (Wiedenfel: Nicholson) 1970, 60-70.

state to become involved in the market. The government involvement in the market was either in case of necessity, or for the purpose of protecting the reayâ.

*Zamanın münkale ve muhabere vasıtalarının arzettiği imkanların mahdutluğu, her şeyi dağılmağa ve inzivaya sürüklediği bir sırada, muazzam bir harp makinesi halinde teşkilatlı bir bütün olarak işliyen devletlerin hayatı, ancak bir kaadir-i küll ibr devlet elinin her tarafta kendini ayarlayıcı müdahalesini hissettirmesiyle mümkündür.*¹³⁹

The protagonists of this process were the Kadı and İhtisâb ağası. The guild system was also employed as an instrument of organizing and regulating production. The third means of government involvement in the market was the fixing of maximum prices or “narh.” All of these existed in application, mixed and complementing each other. Saving the *ihtisâb* ağası for the later discussions, we will begin with the kadı’s position in the market affairs.

Kadı was the legal authority in a kaza, the area of his jurisdiction, and had a wide authority encompassing various aspects except the military matters entrusted to the subaşı. In theory, kadı was the principal local official over the market and the guilds. However, many of his duties in this regard were relegated to the *ihtisâb* ağası. Yet he exercised his authority in certain occasions. First among these was the fixing of maximum prices for the commodities in the market, namely *narh*. It is very well known that the Prophet Muhammed refused to fix the prices in the market; however, the later Islamic rulers obtained *fetvas* authorizing the practice of *narh* for the sake of protecting the populace.¹⁴⁰ The fluctuation of prices hurt the interests of both the customers and the tradesmen; therefore price fixing policy was approved by both of these classes. In many

¹³⁹ Barkan, “İstanbul,” 326.

¹⁴⁰ Kütükoğlu, *1640 Tarihli*, 3. In the words of Bursalı İsmail Hakkı, “amma ehl-i zamane ziyade bi-insaf olmağla sa’rın lüzumu vazıhtır.” Kazıcı, *Osmanlılarda İhtisab*, 84.

cases it was the guilds who appealed to the *kadı* to adjust the prices, and the matter of fixing prices gradually came under their decision.¹⁴¹ Normally, *narh* was given on each of the four seasons for many goods –particularly food-¹⁴² and recorded to the registers by the *kadı*. Though, more frequent or untimely renewals of *narh* were not uncommon in times of difficulties, such as the devaluation of the coinage (“*sikke tashihi*”). During these times, the officials prepared separate *narh* register including every commodity.¹⁴³ The introduction of the *narh* register of 1050/1640 relates the *narh* to the upheaval in the coinage that brought about troubles in the market:

*Bu hengam-ı sutude-encamda ihtilal-i dirhem ü dinar ve i'tilal-i sikke vü 'ıyar ile hasıl-ı karhane-i ashab-ı ticaret kesad u hasaret ve medar-ı kar-ı ahali-i suk ve erbab-ı san'at fesada cesaret olup herkesin 'ayş u 'işreti karin-i zank ve meydan-ı ma'îşeti teng olduğu...*¹⁴⁴

The price fixing process was typical of the government's attitude towards economy. The *kadı*, the *ihtisâb* ağası, the prominent members of the local society, and the *ehl-i hibre* of the guild came together. They observed every stage of the guilds' production and calculated the costs involved. To the cost per each product was allowed a 10 percent profit in most cases –sometimes higher when a skilled craft was involved-, and recorded *narh* as the maximum price to the register. The authors of the *narh* register of 1050/1640 briefly narrated the method of *narh*:

... sadr-ı a'zam ...Mustafa Paşa ... hazretlerinin re'y-i rezin ü fikr-i metinleri ile enva'-ı emti'a ve cemi' eşyanın eshabı ve ehl-i hirefin şeyh ve kethuda ve yiğitbaşları ve sair ehl-i vukuf ve bi-garaz

¹⁴¹ Baer, “Turkish Guilds,” 39. According to Baer, there was a relation between the monopoly of the guilds and *narh*; both pre-required the other.

¹⁴² Ahmet Kala, “Esnaf,” IA; Kütükoğlu, *1640 Tarihli*, xx; Baer, “Turkish Guilds,” 38.

¹⁴³ One such register was published by Mübahat Kütükoğlu. See her *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri* (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi), (henceforth as *1640 Tarihli*) 1983.

¹⁴⁴ Kütükoğlu, *1640 Tarihli*, 89.

*müslimin ihzar olunup ba'de'l-müşavere cümleinin icma' u ittifakları ile her meta'ın kıymeti ba'de'l-hisab tahmin-i sahîh ile tahmin olunup bi-fazli'llahî te'ala niçesinin bahası nısfına inüp ba'zısının sülüs ü sülüsan üzere kıymetlerinden birer hisse ihrac olunup ihtimam u dikkatde dakika fevt olunmayup vech-i ati üzere narh verilüp ana göre bey' ü şıraya karar verilmiştir.*¹⁴⁵

As can be seen, the fixed prices were 50 percent less than the previous prices in some cases. Probably, when the prices went out of control, some tradesmen began to sell at artificially high prices. The survey of the narh officials adjusted these to normal levels, which means that the adjustment of the prices could result in a discount. This case is a clear example of how government involvement could protect the reayâ from the abuse of guilds' monopolies.¹⁴⁶ On the other hand, as can be seen in the kanunname of Mehmed IV dated 1091/1680 bans the tradesmen to sell at lower prices than the fixed price.¹⁴⁷

Within the technological capacities of the seventeenth century, transportation of goods was a serious problem for both the central and the local authorities. Especially the land transportation was highly costly, and when the transported goods were “heavy in weight and light in price” the cost of inter-regional transportation could surpass far beyond the value of the goods carried. According to Lütü Güçer's calculations for the end of the sixteenth century, transportation conditions of which were more or less the same with the next century, the carrying of 100.000 kiles of wheat from Diyarbekir to Van costed a 125 percent increase in the total sum.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ Kütükoğlu, *1640 Tarihli*, 90.

¹⁴⁶ A document dated 1194/1780 expressed clearly that narh was intended to protect the citizens against the abuse of monopolies of the guilds. Baer, “Turkish Guilds,” 39.

¹⁴⁷ Mantran, *17. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu), 1990, 309.

¹⁴⁸ Lütü Güçer, *XVI-XVII. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hububat Meselesi ve Hububattan Alınan Vergiler* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Yayınları), 1964, xx.

Their primary concern of the narh was the “compulsory needs” termed as *hevayic-i zaruriye*, namely bread, meat and firewood, which occupied first places in the narh lists.¹⁴⁹ One of the foremost duties of the sultan and the grand vezir was having the bread available in low prices and sufficient quantities. Another important function of the narh was related to the military. The soldiers, when mustered for a campaign, bought their needful things in great amounts. The market people, called “*esnaf-ı bi-insaf*”¹⁵⁰ in this regard, if not supervised, could take advantage of this situation by increasing their prices. This situation is briefly described by Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi as follows:

Her hakime lazımdır ki, ahval-i aleme müte'allik olan cüz'ıyyatı yoklayup, narh-ı ruziye gereği gibi mukayyed olup her nesneyi değer bahasıyla satdırmak, zira ki narh-ı ruzi umur-ı külliyyeden iken, cüz'idir deyü padişahlar, vezirler mukayyed olmaduğu takdirce, mücerred şehrin kadısı ol hükmü icra edemez. Emr-i siyaset kendüye müte'allik olmamağın, ol tarika gidemez. Bu takdirce her kişi istediği gibi alur satar. Helal malına tama'-ı ham ile zehr-i katil katar. Padişahların hizmetine ve seferine yaramayan erazil-i nas, külli mala malik olur. A'yan-ı memleket olup, ri'ayetleri vaib olan ekabir fakir olup, iflas yollarına salik olur. Pes, lazım gelür ki, sefer seferleyecek atlı ve piyade mamelekini satup boğazına koyar. Narh-ı ruziden ziyade ile alınan zad ü zevad, asker-i İslamı uryan edüp, bu bahane ile soyarlar. Bu hususda ihmal etmenin zararı müslimanlara ve nef'i kafirlere aid idüğü mahall-i zarurette zahîr olur. Pes vüzera-yı izama ve nevahî-yi memleketde olan hükkam-ı vülat-ı vilayet ve üimeraya lazımdır ki, bizzar ol işe kendi nefisleriyle mübaşeret ideler. Zira ki, emrazı ferdaya havale kılmak kavgasın başı kavgaya bırakmaktır.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Ortaylı, *Kadı*, 39.

¹⁵⁰ Kazıcı quoted Ahmed Cevdet Paşa as “Me'kulat ve zehairin killet ve nedretinden ve esnaf-ı bi-insaf dahi kendi bildikleri gibi alıp satuklarından fukara ve zuafa azim sıkıntılar çekip...” in Kazıcı, *Osmanlılarda İhtisab*, 85.

¹⁵¹ Hezarfen, 248. Hezarfen's concerns for the military explains a difference between the Turkish guilds and Egyptian guilds Baer asserted. Baer told that “While the Egyptian guilds were required to furnish the government with people engaged in building and transport for public works, the Turkish guilds were required to supply civilian auxiliaries for the army in time of war.” In the view of the Ottoman elite, the needs of the military had a precedence over other groups. The esnaf of Istanbul, Edirne and Bursa supplied the *orducu esnaf* in the campaigns. Baer, “Turkish Guilds,” 40.

The second function of the *kadı* with respect to the market was the registration and ratification of the guild's decisions, such as the elections and *nizamnames*. In that, his position was limited to that of a notary. Whenever a guild elected a new *kethuda*, they had to make sure to legitimize it by registering in the *defter* of the *kadı*. Though, in the later periods, the *kethudas* began to obtain diplomas in order to consolidate further their position. Archives indicate that when different guilds decided to cooperate in obtaining of raw materials or in producing and selling, they had the *kadı* record this agreement.

The settlement of disputes within or between the guilds and the punishment of violators of the rules was the last discernible function of the *kadı*.¹⁵² Among the duties and rights of the guilds were to take care of the quality of their work and to pay attention to the behaviors of their members in this regard. However, only well established guilds, such as the tanners and the shoemakers, had the right to punish their members.¹⁵³ In most cases, the disputes between the members were resolved by the administrators of the guild, through customary rules. Whenever this was not possible, the *kethuda* informed the *kadı* about the annoyance, and the *kadı* applied the law. When necessary, he punished the offender with the help of the *ihisâb ağası*.

The impression we get of the relations of the *kadı* with the market people was that, it was usually the tradesmen that applied to the *kadı*, and the *kadı* interfered on his own when necessity or obligation arose, such as the fixing of prices. Osman Nuri's brief description of this relation is illuminating:

¹⁵² Baer, "Turkish Guilds," 38.

¹⁵³ The shoemakers won the support and benevolence of Suleyman I, when they supported him against the mutinous janissaries, after which the Sultan bestowed them further rights. Whereas the guilds of tanners received exclusive attention of the authorities because of their ties to the cult of Ahi Evran. Of course, the underlying reason was the degree of development in these guilds. See Baer, "Turkish Guilds," 43-44.

*Kadılar esnafın merci-i resmisi idi. Erbab-ı sanayiın kaffe-i umurunun ru'yeti yani beyne'l-esnaf niza' vuku'unda halli, kethuda ve yiğitbaşı intihabı ve lede'l-hace bunların azli veya tebdili, narhın tezyidi veya tenkisi, mevcut gediklerin teksir veya ilgası, gedik alım ve satımının takrir muamelesinin ifasıyla sicillat-ı şer'iyeye kaydı, esnaf arasında mer'i teamül ve nizam-ı kadimin muhafazası hep kadının veya vekili bulunan bab naibinin cümle-i vazaifinden idi.*¹⁵⁴

What we find in the court records support this view.¹⁵⁵ In 1021/1612, the zımmi shopkeepers (“dekakin ashabı”) of a certain district appealed to the court to record their agreement not to do business on Sundays. The fruit-sellers (“yemişçi”) in 1027/1618 resolved their dispute and agreed that they would buy fruit under the supervision of their leaders. In the same year two different types of shoemaker guilds agreed before the kadı to specialize in certain types of shoes so as to not interfere in the others’ production. Again in the same year, the potters (“çömlekçi”) agreed with their suppliers on the price of the cups. Sometimes the guilds of the same profession in different districts disputed: The shoemakers of Bezzazistan complained to the kadı about the shoemakers of Cami-i Cedid for violating their previous agreement. The kethuda and the yiğitbaşı of the sword-makers (kılıçcı) complained about a master of their guild who forged swords; he was ousted from the guild.¹⁵⁶ Dismissing or rejecting their appointed their kethudas, suing their yiğitbaşıs, and demanding tax exemption were among the common cases in the courts.

The organization and functioning of the lonca system had a vital place in the Ottoman economy. As told above, the effect of the state was decisive in the shaping of the loncas beginning from the early sixteenth century. The desire to preserve the

¹⁵⁴ Ergin, Vol.1, 291.

¹⁵⁵ The examples in the continuing paragraph were selected from Yi’s study on the court records of Istanbul. See Yi, 270-289.

¹⁵⁶ Ergin, Vol.1, 292.

already-tested and functioning system, traditionalism as termed by many, was the idea that dominated the whole Ottoman society, and the *loncas* particular to our subject. In the overwhelming existence of the idea of the powerful state and the absence of entrepreneurship and civil society, the Ottomans were engulfed in a state of conservatism. Many authors have pointed to the determining role of the traditionalism in the actions of the Ottoman elite.¹⁵⁷ Archives contain records condemning the innovations and new fashions in production.¹⁵⁸ We may assume that the populace absorbed the ideas of the elite, or that the mind-set of the ‘intellectuals’ influenced and shaped the minds of the people. Along this line, the guilds, as a substantial part of the Ottoman society, were located at some place between the state and the subjects. Personified in the identity of *kethuda-ship*, the guilds were civil polities, which represented the interests of both the state and the public. We have seen that guild members shared the views of the elite and tried to protect their interests with recourse to the tradition.¹⁵⁹ - Whether they had to share these ideas since they were imposed to do so does not matter in our case now. - Then it would not be improbable to regard the Ottoman guilds as a fundamental channel, preserving in the society the attitudes of the elite and conveying them to the urban population. We would not yet go as far as to declare the guilds as the propellants of the traditionalist views of the state to the public.

¹⁵⁷ See Bibliography for Barkan, İnalçık, Genç and Darling.

¹⁵⁸ In a court record, authorities complained about the *dikici esnafı* (sewers) and the *haffaf esnafı* (shoemakers) that produced and sold a new kind of shoe: “Bir zamandan beri Dersaadet’te olan *dikici esnafı* mücerred *tama’-ı* hama *tebeiyyet* ile *hilaf-ı* tavr-ı *kadim sivri burunlu kalıp ihdas* ve *nev-icad mest* ve *papuş diküp gali-baha* ile *haffaflar esnafına* ve onlar dahi bazı *süfha-yı nasa bey’ ü furuht* ve *nas dahi bu emr-i memnua meyl ü rağbet* ederek *hilaf-ı de’b-i kadim sivri burunlu mest* ve *papuş ile esvak* ve *pazarda bi-edebane geşt ü güzâr etmek oldukları meşhud olup...*” Ergin, Vol.1, 291. Increasing significantly one’s share by any means could upset the balance of the market, where the buyers were limited. İnalçık, “Capital,” 105.

¹⁵⁹ It is interesting that the guilds, seeking to augment their authority, appealed to the state demanding authorization of their rights and identity. Still, here, the state’s role was obviously that of a notary. See Yi, 270-289 for a list of appeals to the court.

Nevertheless, the guilds performed an intermediary function between the government and the state.

Parallel to the above view in this sense, some viewed the guilds as semi-governmental organs, performing the function of regulating the urban society and maintaining direct relation with the public. According to this view, the most important function of the guilds was their service as an administrative link between the government and the urban population, which was their *raison d'être* actually. This position was visible from the beginning when the transition from free associations to professional guilds occurred under the auspices of the government. In the absence of a modern bureaucracy it was the guilds that took on the function of supervising the city population.¹⁶⁰

Coming back to the economic aspects of the guilds, the quality of the products and the good behavior of the members were the responsibility of the *lonca* officials;¹⁶¹ whereas, the state officials (*muhtesib* and his men) supervised the quality of the goods and controlled the weights and measures in order to prevent fraud. The *kethuda* had to make sure that the government's orders and regulations were implemented in the guild's production. Regulation of the supplies also fell under the responsibility of the guild officials *kethuda* and *yiğitbaşı*. As told earlier, they bought the raw materials in the *kapans* (mart) (such as the *yağ kapanı*, *un kapanı*, *bal kapanı*) on behalf of the guild, and then distributed it to the tradesmen in the guild. *Ihtisâb ağası* and a deputy of the *kadı* were usually present in these dealings in the *kapan*. They had to make sure that the needs

¹⁶⁰ Baer, "Turkish Guilds," 33.

¹⁶¹ In a document from 1139/1726, the *kethuda* of the carpenters guild was hold responsible for not gathering sawdust around the workshops and inform any violators but not punish them himself. See Baer, "Turkish Guilds," 43, 34, 36.

of the army and the palace were observed first in the distribution of raw materials and goods.¹⁶² During this, the guild officials tried to be fair and prevent competition among the masters. The Ottoman guild view favored traditionalism and *fütüvvet* as opposed to entrepreneurship and competition. In other words, Ottoman traditionalism required harmony and subsistence for the society, while the *fütüvvet* condemned competitive spirit and the individual profit.¹⁶³ This religious feeling of protection and brotherhood among the craftsmen enabled them to develop praiseworthy qualities, on the other hand, this state together with the idea of economy of plenty led to the decline of domestic production in the face of European mercantilism.

An important feature of the Islamic city was the impact of the guilds over the organization of urban space. There is a general pattern, in which, the shops of the same guilds were located in the same part of the market or on the same street.¹⁶⁴ The amassment of the trades in their respective street is contrary to the plan of the Western towns, where trades were dispersed all over the town.¹⁶⁵

In rare cases, the government appointed a kethuda from above, to which the guilds reacted usually with hostility. In many cases, they were successful in overthrowing the appointed kethuda.¹⁶⁶ The Ottoman government usually supported the guild system and

¹⁶² Baer, "Turkish Guilds," 41, 50.

¹⁶³ "The *futuwwa* ideal, which prevailed among the artisans and the shopkeepers linked together in the guild system, represented the very principles which *al-Ghazali* had formulated; to strive after profit, to seek to make more money than one needed to live on, was regarded as the source of the most serious moral defects. If a guildsman became too rich, his fellows would expel him from the guild and treat him as a "merchant." Inalcik, "Capital," 105.

¹⁶⁴ Louis Massignon, "Sinf," MEB IA.

¹⁶⁵ Fr. Taeschner, *Futuwwa-Post-Mongol Period*, EI2.

¹⁶⁶ A famous appointed kethuda was the poet Baki, who was made the kethuda of slave-dealers by Süleyman I. For examples of the rejection of appointed kethudas, see Yi, 272.

tried to keep it functioning properly. This behavior prevented the development of industry in the way that was seen in Europe.¹⁶⁷

The influence of the Islamic world-view over the market was visible both in the daily lives of the market people and the legal structure. Discussion of the effect of Islam on the development of the guilds exceeds the limits of this work and its author; however, we need at least to underline basic relevant views of Islam that some people thought to be the foremost social, economic and legal determinants in the development of the Ottoman guilds.¹⁶⁸

Another aspect that attracted the attention of the observers was that the Ottoman guilds and the Islamic guilds as well, were not exclusive to Muslims, a quality called inter-confessionalism.¹⁶⁹ Unlike the European guilds which excluded even heretical Christians, the Muslims guild were open to every faith. Moreover, there are many cases that some guilds were dominated or exclusively occupied by non-Muslims.

The extensive Islamic influence over the Ottoman imagination of economy was perhaps most evident in the personality of the *muhtesib* or *ihtisâb ağası*, the official in charge with the market supervision and tax collection. In order to understand the position of the *ihtisâb ağası*, we need to delve further into the subject of *hisba*.

¹⁶⁷ İnalcık, "Capital," 136.

¹⁶⁸ Timur Kuran, "Osmanlı Lonca Teşkilatı Üzerinde İslami Etkiler." in *Osmanlı*, Vol. 3, 97-112. Kuran believes that the main points of distinction between the Ottoman and European guilds were the restriction of the companies by the religious law courts and the failure of the Ottoman guilds to produce modern finance systems. It was the Islamic law that legitimized the anti-competitive nature of the Ottoman guilds and closed channels of interaction with the West.

¹⁶⁹ Bernard Lewis, "Islamic Guilds," 37.

II.4. The Islamic Institution of Hisba

II.4.1. General

*Hisba*¹⁷⁰ refers to the Islamic duty and injunction of promoting good if obviously forsaken, and prohibiting evil if manifestly done.¹⁷¹ This duty is incumbent upon every Muslim individual to a certain extent.¹⁷² *Hisba* also refers to the office and function developed in the classical Islamic governments that carried on the foretold duty. This office gradually came to be known as *ih̥tisâb*, while assuming broader responsibilities and powers with the urbanization of Islamic civilization. The person in charge with *ih̥tisâb* was an appointed officer called *muhtasib*.¹⁷³

The word hisba itself is not Kur’anic, however the principle of hisba is found in the Kur’an in a common formulation; ‘*amr bil ma’ruf wa-n-nahî ‘anil munkar*, meaning the injunction of what is known good and prohibition of what is known evil. There are numerous related verses cited by the traditional literature over the subject. 3/104 says “Let there become of you a nation that shall call for righteousness, enjoin justice, and forbid evil.” 3/110 is another important verse about the idea of injunction of good and

¹⁷⁰ Hisba is an Arabic word which has a variegation of definitions in sources¹⁷⁰ including “an arithmetic problem,” “sum,” “the reward of something,” “reckoning upon and trusting God,” “calculation,” “judgment” and “accounting upon something.” The root of the word, *hasaba*, means “to count, to compute,” “to measure,” “to suppose.”¹⁷⁰ The verb *ih̥tasaba*, which is another related word from the same root family, on the other hand, means “to take into consideration,” “to act with calculation,” “to anticipate a reward of something in the hereafter by adding a pious deed to one’s account with God.”

¹⁷¹ Al-Mawardi, 261.

¹⁷² See discussion below.(?)

¹⁷³ Throughout the evolution process of the office, the holders of the post appear to have been called with different titles such as *sahibu’s-suk*. The Ottomans usually preferred “*ih̥tisâb ağası*” or “*muhtesib ağası*” and “*ih̥tisâb emini*.”

prohibition of evil in the Kur'an: "You are the noblest nation that has ever been raised up for mankind. You enjoin justice and forbid evil. You believe in God."¹⁷⁴

Parallel to this view of the Kur'an, the actions of the Prophet Muhammed helped shape the idea of promotion of good and prohibition of evil. It is reported that he used to go out inspecting the marketplace and warned about the malpractices.¹⁷⁵ Recent works provide us with a more cohesive view of the Prophet's hisba.¹⁷⁶ ahadith (traditions) of the Prophet Muhammed has helped to shape the principles of hisba duty. According to a tradition of the prophet, hisba¹⁷⁷ is the most important duty in Islam, the greater jihad against evil. Other than just talking about the promotion of good and prohibition of evil, the Prophet also practiced the duty, and assigned people for this duty.

There is no certain agreement in the historiography on the date of appearance of the office. It is generally accepted that the office was functionally existent around the end of the second and beginning of the third/ninth century, when references to the office

¹⁷⁴ N. J. Dawood, transl, The Koran, with a parallel Arabic text, (London: Penguin Books, 1990). Al-Ghazali cites these verses in the *Ihya*: 3/104-110-113-114, 4/114-135, 5/2-63-78-79, 7/165, 9/71, 11/116, 22/41, 31/17, 49/9. See *Ihya-i Ulumi'd-din*, 757-61.

¹⁷⁵ See "Hisbe," TDV Islam Ansiklopedisi, and Yusuf Ziya Kavakci for a compilation of the ahadith about the promotion of good and prohibition of evil. See also Gazali, Ibn Teymiye, and Maverdi.

¹⁷⁶ See "Hisbe," TDV Islam Ansiklopedisi.

¹⁷⁷ On the relation between hisba and *ih̥tisāb*: The usage in the literature of the words "hisba" and "*ih̥tisāb*" is a little bit problematic. Hisba refers to the duty of promotion of good and prohibition of evil, both by the individual in the collective sense and by an official in a professional sense. *Ih̥tisāb*, on the other hand, refers to the practicing of hisba, apparently by someone who is assigned with it. Nowhere in the classical texts exists a reference to the *ih̥tisāb* in the individual sense. The officer in charge of hisba in Islamic states is usually called muhtasib, a word obviously derived from *ih̥tisāb*. In this sense, *ih̥tisāb* seems to have come to mean in time the profession and office of hisba. This also arguably reflects the shift in the Islamic society to the professional hisba from the individual; that is, possibly the practicing of the hisba duty started to be a prerogative of persons in charge and the public started to abandon this mission. It is true that sometimes hisba and *ih̥tisāb* have been used substitutively. However it can be argued that hisba generally refers to the theoretical, general and canonical aspect of the principle, while *ih̥tisāb* is rather practical, particular and economical. Hisba involves both personal and collective practice of the principle; on the other hand, there is no clear reference in the sources to the individual *ih̥tisāb*. *Ih̥tisāb* is only used for the profession of promoting good and forbidding evil in the society; with particular respect to the regulation of market affairs.

started to appear in archival records in the Islamic East and West.¹⁷⁸ This is also the same period the first *ih̥tisāb* manuals appeared, though without referring to the name hisba.¹⁷⁹ The existence of archival mention and manual texts apparently show that hisba was in effect as an institution at that time. However, Islamic scholarship slightly differs from that view and adheres to the view of the early Islamic jurists, accepting that hisba profession was functionally in effect during the time of the Prophet Muhammed and

¹⁷⁸ “Hisba,” EI2.

¹⁷⁹ Literature: The classical literature over hisba is usually grouped into two categories: The first group consists of juridical accounts that are concerned with the general principles, the evaluation of the related verses and ahadith, and discussions on the duties and conditions of hisba. The principal and the earlier among such works are al-Ahkam al-sultaniyya of al-Mawardi and the Ihya’ ‘ulum al-din of al-Ghazali from the fifth A.H./eleventh B.C. century. Remarkable is that both works were moral and juridical chiefly, and include chapters on hisba.

Al-Mawardi’s work covers main juridical aspects and problems of the matter, and delineates the conditions and responsibilities of the office. As a supreme judge himself, al-Mawardi reflects on the place of the office in the Islamic state, and the hisba duty of every Muslim individual. He carefully describes and outlines the basics of hisba, where he draws a distinction between rights related to God and rights related to men, and then relates the duty of muhtasib in line with this approach.

Al-Ghazali’s influential work Ihya’ draws a framework by describing the terms and manners of *ih̥tisāb* and discusses problematic juridical aspects of hisba at length. His work represents a perspective of reinstating public morale through the establishment of Islamic principles and faith in civil and political life. He observes a degradation of public morale and deviation from the principles of Islam, and considers the knowledge and diligent application of hisba as a key element to avoid this process. Al-Ghazali claims that the hisba practice constitutes the greatest pole in the religion and the foremost reason why the prophets were sent. Though a passionate advocate of the existence and necessity of hisba, he clearly states that the muhtasib must be a man of lenience (hilm).

Another work that requires mention is the al-Risala fi’l-hisba of Ibn Taymiyya, from the seventh/thirteenth century. Taymiyya’s work, like Mawardi’s, bases the hisba duty and -similar other duties- strictly on the context of rights of God and men. The duties of the government are treated as matters of religious responsibilities, and great emphasis is paid on the inseparably devout motives behind the economic decisions of the individual in an Islamic society. Taymiyya presents a broad understanding of hisba, in which different regulative and punishment matters of Islamic law and living are combined. Taymiyya’s work is different also because of his apparent concern about the problems and necessities of urban economy and duties that fall upon the government, from the viewpoint of Islamic ideology. His treatise offers a light treatment of the duties of the muhtasib, however, it is valuable in its idea of presenting and locating hisba against a wide background of Islamic socio-economy. Other major works include al-Fasl fi’l-milal of Ibn Hazm, al-Subh al-‘asha of Kalkashandi, Mukaddima of Ibn Khaldun, and Nisab fi’l-*ih̥tisāb* of al-Sinami which was popular in Irano-Turkish countries.

The second category consists of manuals guiding the muhtasib about his duty and rights. These books instruct the muhtasib about the technical details and conditions of his duty, the affairs of market and trades, and possible malpractices he might encounter. As told above, these books are operational guides of administrative as opposed to the juridical character of the former category. The earliest of this kind is the Ahkam al-suk of Yahya b. ‘Umar dating second half of the third/ninth century. Another important work of this genre, which also contains the word hisba, is a Zaydi manual written around the beginning of the fourth/tenth century. Beginning from the end of the fifth/eleventh century, we find many such books in the East (Syria and Egypt) and in the West (Andalus, Maghrib). Works in this category are especially useful for understanding the evaluation of the functions of muhtasib in time and place.

developed as an institution during the period of the four caliphs.¹⁸⁰ Without any doubt, his companions were revering and honoring the Prophet and trying to imitate him to the extent possible in every detail of life. He used to inspect the market and the sales himself, and chastised malpractice and negligence.¹⁸¹ When after conquering Mecca, he assigned Sa'd bin El-As to the market of the city with the duty of inspecting the scales and weights and the transactions. As for the city of Medina, he assigned Omar Ibn al-Hattab for the same office. Sources of the period report that certain women were also assigned by the Prophet with the duty of hisba.¹⁸² In many occasions he prohibited the selling of comestibles without weighing; the sale and purchase of market goods out of the city before arriving at the market.¹⁸³ Much similar information about the time of the Prophet induces observers to the view that the office of *ihtisâb* –without the name, though- was present as a premature institution at the beginning of the Islamic state. The continuation of these policies during the time of Omer supports this view.¹⁸⁴

In the light of the above ideas, it can be seen that the institution of hisba was not simply created as a complete body, but developed in its natural course like many other social institutions. It was neither spontaneous, nor despotic in its development. This view excludes the necessity of determining a date of appearance. Hisba should be viewed as an Islamic institution in response to the necessities of urban economic life. However novel in its character and operation, it was not a unique invention in regard to market regulation. This view excludes the necessity of determining a date of appearance.

¹⁸⁰ Makrizi and Kettan in Fahreddin Atar, *İslam Adliye Teşkilatı*, 171.

¹⁸¹ Kavakçı, 41. A well-known example of the Prophet's interest in inspecting the market is as follows: Un çuvalı olayını anlat?

¹⁸² It is certain that he appointed Şifa binti Abdillâh and Semra binti Nuheyke el-Esedîyyeh to the markets in Mecca and Medina. Kavakçı, 41.

¹⁸³ Kavakçı, 41.

¹⁸⁴ Kavakçı, 41, 43. Also see "Hisba," EI2.

There has been a discussion over the connection between the Islamic muhtasib and the Roman-Greek agoranomos. Agoranomos was basically a Greek market inspector, who later assumed some of the responsibilities of the Roman aedile.¹⁸⁵ The office became more important in time as its responsibilities increased. Like the muhtasib, agoranomos' duties included the supervision and inspection of the market, collecting taxes and fines, the upkeep of the common places and buildings, and religious places. However, considering his duties related with the Islamic concept of living, it is clear that the muhtasib's position extended beyond a mere market inspector.¹⁸⁶

An important discussion on the subject is related to the application of the responsibility, whether individual (*farz-ı kifaye*) or collective (*farz-ı 'ayn*). In different verses, the Kur'an orders Muslims to promote good and forbid evil, however, as al-Ghazali points out, 3/104 tells the believers to have a group of people that advises others good and forbids them evil.¹⁸⁷ The Prophet also expresses that only people who are mild in ordering and forbidding could exercise hisba.¹⁸⁸ This discussion is related with the emergence of *iẖtisāb* as a professional authority in urban places, besides assuming a new character which is more involved with the necessities of urban life. In this process, *iẖtisāb* gradually came to fill the gaps in urban administration left by the governor (wali), the qadi and the police (shurta). This new character is in accordance with Ibn

¹⁸⁵ According to Plato, an ideal agoranomos was to enforce the decisions of the ruler of the city with regard to the market affairs; expect the market against malpractices in transactions; watch over the temples; and patrol in the market with a whip in his hand. The agoranomos was an elected officer, and sat at the municipal council. The original agoranomos was a municipal officer with duties regarding business and religion in the market and common places. The Roman aedile was an assistant to the tribunate, though later gained broader authority that looked at cases that did not come under any other authority's jurisdiction. Benjamin Foster, *Agoranomos and Muhtasib*, 129.

¹⁸⁶ İnalçık, "An Islamic City," 17.

¹⁸⁷ Hisba is, according to al-Ghazali, *farz-i kifaye*. Gazali, 757.

¹⁸⁸ Gazali, 817.

Taymiyya's approach: muhtasib's duty included both the *hukukullah* (rights of the God) and (*hukuku'l-'am*) rights of the people.¹⁸⁹

Classical institution of *ihtisâb* in the Middle Eastern Islamic states is also important as an Islamic administrative solution to regulate public and market affairs. Muhtasib was firstly concerned with the justice and order in the market and urban economy. His duty at this place could extend to where the other administrators, especially the qadi, became insufficient or chose to step back. Ibn Haldun in "Muqaddima" informs that his area of jurisdiction was restricted to the streets, the marketplaces and such common places; and unlike kadi he was to look at the kind of cases that did not require evidence or witness. He sat in great mosques to hear cases/grievances, he had authority over every matter involving fraud and deception of goods and weights and measures. Muhtasib also acted on his own discretion to investigate the affairs of the market, and punished whenever necessary.¹⁹⁰ What is understood from the Muqaddima is a public office with a strong religious nature that functions as both a qadi and a prosecutor in market and urban affairs. It is evident that the operation of the office involved enforcement more than judgment.¹⁹¹ He took on the function and responsibilities of the qadi with regard to market affairs. His jurisdiction includes cases related with metrology, shopping, indebtedness, labor.¹⁹² In this regard, it is not surprising to know that some muhtesibs sat in major mosques and heard the cases.

Louis Massignon in his *sinif* article argued that hisba was a manipulated institution under the Sunnite rulers, in charge with the supervision of the Karmatî-ridden guild

¹⁸⁹The preface of Ibn Taymiyya's book. Some writers argued that his responsibility pertained to the rights of God (*hukukullah*). Atar, 174.

¹⁹⁰ Unlike the cadis, the muhtasib acts on his own (*re'sen*) and is rather like a prosecutor. Atar, 174.

¹⁹¹ Ibn Haldun, *Mukaddime* Vol I, 574-76.

¹⁹² Atar, 172.

structure. Thus the source of legitimacy and the law of the institution became the priorities, not the sharia. In this way, for example, muhtasibs started to fix prices, an action that was not considered lawful in the earlier times.¹⁹³

II.4.2. The Ottoman *Ihtisâb Ağası*¹⁹⁴

The Ottoman muhtesib, usually called *ihtisâb ağası*, was responsible in principle for “seeing to it that Muslims in the city followed the precepts of the Shari‘a and lived a thoroughly Muslim life.”¹⁹⁵ In reality, he was responsible for the good behaviors of the people in the market place. An archival record shows that the *muhtesib* was appointed by the *kadı* in 1565 together with his naibs.¹⁹⁶ He acted as a subordinate to the *kadı* with respect to the affairs of markets, with particular authorities and responsibilities. In brief, Osman Nuri, described the main difference between the *kadı* and the *muhtesib* as regards the judgment of the offenders. In matters requiring evidence and jurisdiction, the muhtesib had no authority but informing the *kadı*. In apparent matters requiring no evidence, the muhtesib could act on his own, if the matter falls into his responsibility.

In Ottoman practice, *ihtisâb* was more closely related with the market than in the classical sense. The government promulgated *ihtisâb* regulations, which featured the characteristics of hisba. However, these regulations contained articles mostly concerned

¹⁹³ Massignon argued that this development occurred especially in Egypt, Syria and Turkey. Louis Massignon, “Sinif,” MEB IA.

¹⁹⁴ Muslim-Turkish states from the Saljukis onward preferred to use *ihtisâb* in administrative sense, while the word hisba was reserved for the virtue and principle. “Hisba,” EI2.

¹⁹⁵ İnalcık, “An Islamic City,” 17.

¹⁹⁶ Mantran, *XVI. – XVIII Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, 19.

with the professional ethics of the guildsmen. The *ihtisâb kanunnameleri*, dating from the early sixteenth century, regulated the operation and production of different trades, and determined the duty of the *ihtisâb ağası*. The kanunname of Istanbul dated 1501 served various functions such as, fixing the prices, regulating the provisions for the city population, describing the proper process of production for various trades, establishing covenants of guarantee for the products, regulating the distribution of raw materials, banning the malpractices among the *esnaf* and the men of *muhtesib* and inspecting the prices, as well as the classical *hisba* practices. Firstly, it appears that *muhtesib* was subordinated to *kadı* in many actions, along the same lines with the classical Islamic states. Other than the organization of the guilds, the concern to protect the rights of God and the rights of men is apparent. The porters, for example, were ordered not to use horses with a hurt leg and not to load unbearable burden on them.¹⁹⁷ *Muhtesib* was ordered to inspect the usurers and punish them if they lent money at a rate more than 20 percent.¹⁹⁸ He would punish the perjurers with the affirmation of the *kadı*. He was to draw the lepers out of the city and supervise the work of the physicians, the druggists, and the surgeons. Besides these, he had to see to it that the Muslims observed their prayers and fasts in Ramazan by asking the imams of the *mahalles*. The last article of the kanunname explains the importance of his office: “*Filcümle bu zikr olunanlardan gayrı*

¹⁹⁷ “*Ve ayağı yaramaz bargiri işletmeyeler Ve at ve katır ve eşek ayağını gözedeler ve semerin göreler ve ağır yük urmayalar Zira dilsüz canavardır Her kangisinde eksük bulnır ise sahibine tamam itdüre Eslemeyanı tamam gereği gibi hakkından geline Ve hammallar ağır yük urmayalar müte‘aref üzerine ola*” Barkan, “Istanbul,” 339. It seems that Mantran interpreted the phrase “*dilsüz canavardır*” inaccurately as unspeakable monstrosity. See R. Mantran, *XVI. XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay, trans. (Ankara: İmge), 1995, 35.

¹⁹⁸ Barkan, “Istanbul,” 339.

her ne kim Allahü te‘ala yaratmışdır mecmu‘ını Muhtesib görüb gözetse gerekdir hükmi vardır”¹⁹⁹

There is a consensus in the historiography as to the socio-political origins of the persons assigned to the mukataa of the *ihtisâb* of Istanbul. It seems that the holders of this post were generally among the ranks of the *kapıkulus*.²⁰⁰ The same thing goes for the *ihtisâb* of the provinces, as well: Telhisü’l-beyan noted that *ihtisâb* services in the provinces were entrusted to the sons of the *bevvan*, or *kapucular*, a class of servants in the imperial palace.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ Barkan, “İstanbul,” 340.

²⁰⁰ İlber Ortaylı, *Hukuk ve İdare Adamı Olarak Osmanlı Devletinde Kadı* (Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi) 1994, 38.

²⁰¹ “Kapucular[a] mahsus hizmetler ve ta‘yinler vardır... Aralarında meratibine göre pay ederler ve taşra kasabalarında *ihtisâb* hizmetleri evlad-ı kapucularındır.” Hezarfen, 58.

CHAPTER III

THE *ESNAF* OF ISTANBUL IN THE *DEFTER* OF 1092/1681

III.1. The Fifteen Sectors of intra mural Istanbul (Kollar)

III.1.1. The Kol

In the *Ihtisâb* defter of 1092, the intra-mural Istanbul was divided into fifteen sectors (kol)¹. This division apparently stemmed from fiscal concerns, and most probably served no other purpose. İnalçık states that this practice was the continuation of the Byzantine system of districting the city. The significance of this division was that it was used exclusively for the duties of İhtisâb ağası. According to our knowledge, in no document other than the ones relating to İhtisâb there exists any reference to these fifteen sectors.² Most probably, this division existed solely for the purpose of collection of the taxes related to İhtisâb, in our case “yevmiye-i dekağın,” the daily tax of the shops.

¹ *Kol* means arm in Turkish, but was used here as part, side or region. In this meaning, *kol* was a frequently-used term in the vocabulary of *ihtisâb* ağası. There were verbs like “kola çıkmak” and “kol dolaşmak” which denoted the market investigation of the *ihtisâb* ağası. Moreover, İhtisab ağası had assistants called koloğlanları, (young) men of sector. Sevim İlgürel, the publisher of “Telhisü'l-beyan,” misread the word kol as kul. However, the correct reading of the word is kol.

² Future archival research on Ottoman Istanbul might disprove this observation.

Besides the *defter* of 1092, which is the subject of this thesis, abbreviated reproductions of the former district intra mural Istanbul into same fifteen sectors. We had the opportunity to examine two such defters; one from 1093 (1682) and one from 1096.³ Both of the documents are introduced with a phrase like “copy of the *defter* (register) of the *mukataa* of Istanbul and its dependencies according to the new *tahrir* (composition) of İbrâhim Efendi”.

The Telhisü'l-beyan of Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, composed c. 1086/1675, provides with some information about the fifteen sectors and the collection of daily taxes. The author enumerates the fifteen sectors that the kol oğlanları patrolled to collect daily taxes and the tax totals of these sectors.⁴

III.1.2. The Fifteen Sectors of Istanbul intra muros

As told above, the intra-mural Istanbul was divided into fifteen sectors. Before recording the information about the shops in each sector, the composers of the survey included the borders of that sector in one paragraph. The official responsible with this kol in the aid of *ihtisâb* ağası was also specified in this paragraph. After the whole list of shops, at the end of each kol, the tax figures were summarized.

³ These documents were Bab-ı Defteri/Istanbul Mukataası 25386 and Kamil Kepecioğlu Baş Mukataa Kalemi 5026. Interestingly, they were identical even in the amounts of the total taxes. Mantran published the latter in French with the original text in Ottoman. This document is a summary of the yevmiye-i dekakin (daily tax) of each of the sectors. It is also important in that it describes the borders of the sectors. Mantran published the document without any comment and explanation, because of the lack of all the required means of study at the moment of the publication. See Robert Mantran, “Un Document Sur L'Ihtisab de Stamboul a La Fin du XVIIe Siecle,” *Melanges Louis Massignon vol.3* (1957): 128. Mantran's publication also includes a map of Istanbul showing these 15 sectors. For a translation of this article in Turkish see Robert Mantran, *XVI-XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, trans. Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay (Ankara: İmge, 1995), 39-58. Apart from Mantran, Ziya Kazici and Eunjeong Yi have also referred to this document.

⁴ “İbtida İstanbul'da olan kollar ki, kol oğulları gezüp mirisin cem iderler, kaç koldur ve her dükkandan beher yevm miriye ne alır. Kollar bunlardır ki zıkr olunur.” Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhisü'l-beyan fi kavanin-i al-i osman*, ed. Sevim İlgürel (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998), 254-55.

III.1.2.1. Tahte'l-kal'a

The first sector in this series is the sector of Tahte'l-kal'a, which means below the castle, commonly known today as Tahtakale. Describe tahtakale according to other secondary sources. The person in charge of the *ihtisâb* affairs of this sector was Terazubaşı Mehmed bin Mahmud.⁵ The paragraph reads as follows:

Beyan-ı kol-ı Tahte'l-kal'ak der-uhde-i terazubaşı Mehmed bin Mahmud.

Mahmiye-i İstanbul ihtisâbı tarafından miri kolluk cem' olunan dekakin on beş kol i'tibar olunub evvelkisi Tahte'l-kal'a koludur ki, Süleymaniye hamamı kurbundan Sadr-ı ali sarayına, andan tahte'l-kal'a kurbundan Odun Kapusu dahiline, andan haffaflar içinden Tahte'l-kal'adan Zindan Kapusu dahiline, andan Kepecilerden Rüstem Paşa Camiine, andan Tahte'l-kal'a içinden dört yol ağzına, andan Katır hanı kurbunda nihayet bulur.⁶

According to this description, the first of the fifteen sectors of İstanbul, the tahte'l-kal'a sector begins from near the Süleymaniye bath to the palace of sadr-ı ali, from there from around tahte'l-kal'a into the odun kapusu, from there through the silk market into the zindan kapusu area, from there from the kepeci market to the mosque of Rüstem Paşa, from there through tahte'l-kal'a to the dört yol ağzı (carrefour)⁷, from there to the inn of mule-dealers where it ends. Specify this place in the map. At the end of the sector, the composer reports the tax amounts of the 162 shops of Tahte'l-kal'a:

Zikr olunan Tahte'l-kal'a kolunda olan battal dükkânlardan maada dekakinden beher yevm cem' ve tahsil olunan üç yüz yigirmi akçe

⁵ MC B2, 1a.

⁶ MC B2, 1a.

⁷ There was also another site called dört yol ağzı (Stavro dromi) in İstanbul in Beyoğlu.

*rüsumun iki yüz yetmiş akçesi miri ve maada elli altı akçesi
koloğlanlarının maişetleri ve sair masarifi içündür.*⁸

Thus, the total amount of 320 aspers collected daily was divided into two: 270 aspers of this amount was reserved for the treasury, and the remaining 56 aspers would be used for the expenditure of the *koloğlanlar*.

In line with the legal concepts of the Ottoman state, the surveyors differentiated between Muslim and non-muslim shopkeepers of the same trade. Non-muslims were also divided into three groups, they were either Orthodox Greek or Armenian, or Jew, or Latin Christian. Their epithets in the survey were respectively *zimmi*, *yahudi*, and *ğalatalı zimmi*. In this way, Muslim butchers, Christian butchers and Jewish butchers were recorded as different trades, moreover, they were subject to different amounts of tax. Contrary to the general view that the Ottoman administration did not discriminate between Muslim and non-Muslim tradesmen and artisans, we find a general pattern in the defter in which non-Muslim dealers of certain trades paid higher taxes than their Muslim colleagues.⁹ Ignoring this distinction exclusively based on religion on some trades,¹⁰ it appears that there were 28 different types of shops in Tahte'l-kal'a.¹¹

Nearly all of the trades in Tahte'l-kal'a were food-related, except for the florists and the soap-makers. The most frequent profession was grocery (76 shops total),

⁸ MC B2, 2a.

⁹ "In spite of the division of the city population according to religion, Muslim and non-Muslim merchants and artisans belonged to the same class in reality, and they all enjoyed the same rights." İnalcık, *Classical Age*, 157.

¹⁰ The survey differentiates between Muslim butchers, Christian butcher, and Jewish butcher. In determining the types of trade, religion was disregarded, and all of these were counted as butchers. Religious and ethnic identity was taken into consideration in the following discussions about the owners and runners of the shops.

¹¹ A shop of *kasab-ı ğanem*, sheep butcher, which was owned by the Bostancıbaşı, in Tahte'l-kal'a was counted as muslim *kasab-ı ğanem*, since there was no prefix like zimmi or yahudi.

followed in number by the juice makers (*hoşabis* and *şerbetcis* 16) and butchers (sheep and cattle 13). There were 11 shops related to wheat and flour. Nearly half of the professions in this kol are among the first trades generally listed in the *narh* and *ihtisâb* regulations. This was obviously because these trades were related to the prior concern of the government, that is the provisioning of the city population.¹² It is for this reason that we assume the distribution of such trades in the *kols* reflects the necessities and realities of the urban demands rather than the discretion of the government. The necessities, at this time, certainly arises from the consumption needs of the population, hence, we regard Tahte'l-kal'a as a *kol* with an apparent residential character.

The residents of Tahte'l-kal'a was not comprised of Muslims solely; the existence of dhimmi grocers, butchers and fine flour mills points towards the existence of a dhimmi contingent in the population of this *kol*. The proportion of the Muslims and dhimmis in each of these trades is significant; an average of a third of these shops were operated by dhimmis: 23 of 76 grocers, 2 of 4 fine flour mills and 4 of 13 butchers were dhimmi. These were among the professions particularly divided according to religion, and for the same religious reasons, Muslims would not shop at a non-Muslim butcher, and vice versa.¹³ This tendency of division of the same trades like butchers, required the existence of a non-Muslim consumer population in the *kol*. The case of the grocers must be somewhat different, since we know that Muslims used to shop at a non-Muslim

¹² The first articles of the *ihtisâb* kanunnames and *narh* lists are usually reserved to bakers, butchers and the related professions. This tendency stems from their priority in the eyes of the government. This has been discussed in the previous pages.

¹³ Classical hisba manuals forbid the Muslim bakers to allow non-Muslims to work in their bakeries.

grocer. Yet this can be considered a sign of non-Muslims living in the *kol* as well. Most probably, a considerable bulk/mass of Tahte'l-kal'a's population was non-Muslim.¹⁴

Table 1. *Trades in Tahte'l-kal'a in 1092 (A.H.)*

<i>Trades</i>	<i>Total number</i>	<i>Dhimmi</i>	<i>Jewish</i>	<i>European/ Galatan</i>	<i>Female</i>
Ağdacı (<i>candy-maker</i>)	1				
Arab şerbeti (<i>Arabian sherbet-maker</i>)	7				
Başhane (<i>cookhouse of sheep heads</i>)	2				
Bazargan-ı bakkal (<i>grocer</i>)	76	23			1
Bazari (<i>shopkeeper</i>)	7				
Börekci (<i>pastry-maker</i>)	1				
Buğdaycı (<i>wheat-seller</i>)	1				
Boza	6				1
Çiçekci (<i>florist</i>)	3				1
Çörekci (<i>round cake-maker</i>)	2				
Değirmen-i dakik-i simid	4	2			
Has itmekci (<i>quality baker</i>)	1				
Helvacı (<i>confectioner</i>)	1				
Herise pilavı	1				
Hoşabi (<i>fruit juice-maker</i>)	9				1
İtmekci (<i>baker</i>)	1				
Kasab-ı bakar[1] (<i>sheep butcher</i>)	6			4	
Kasab-ı ğanem (<i>cattle butcher</i>)	7	4			
Koltuk bazari	2				
Sabuni (<i>soap-maker</i>)	8				
Salata (<i>salad-maker</i>)	3				
Sebzeci (<i>vegetable seller</i>)	3				
Somuncu (<i>round-bread dealer</i>)	1				
Şa'riyeci	5				1
Tavukcu (<i>chicken</i>)	1				
Üzüm değirmeni (<i>mill of grape</i>)	1				
Paçacı	1				
Yelpaze kebabı (<i>yelpaze kebab-maker</i>)	6				
Total trades	167	28	n/a	4	4

¹⁴ A rough estimate of a third dhimmi population generally consists with the censuses and estimates of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A census in 1474 showed recorded 9,486 Muslim houses and 3,743 dhimmi houses. In the seventeenth century, non-Muslim population as a whole constituted around 40 percent of the city population. İnalçık, *Classical Age*, 147, 150.

III.1.2.2. Eksik

The second kol, Eksik, was comprised of today's this and that districts in the xxx of the Golden Horn. The terazubaşı of Eksik was one Beşir bin Mahmud. The description of the borders kol is given as follows:

*Beyan-ı kol-ı Eksik der-uhde-i Terazubaşı Beşir bin Mahmud.
Zikr olunan on beş kolun ikincisi Eksik koludur ki, Ayazma kapusu haricinde olan Ayazma kurbundan ibtida olunub, andan Kerasteciler sukundan Odun kapusu haricine, andan Zindan kapusu haricinden Ahî Çelebi mahkemesine, andan Sebze hane kurbundan Yemiş iskelesine, andan İhtisâb çardağı kurbundan Hasır iskelesine, andan Balık bazarı haricinden Gümrük kurbuna, andan Emin önünden Bağçe kapusu haricinde nihayet bulur.*¹⁵

According to this description, the kol of Eksik began from around Ayazma near the Ayazma gate, continued thence through the lumber market to the outside of odun gate, and thence around zindan gate to the court of Ahî Çelebi, thence from near the grocery-depot to the fruit wharf, thence from around the ihtisâb hall to the wicker wharf, thence around the fish market to the customs, thence from Eminönü to the end of Bağçe Kapusu where it ends.

The kol of Eksik was more than two times larger than Tahte'l-kal'a; there were 343 shops in Eksik. Of the daily total amount of 583 aspers, the treasury would receive 480 aspers, as the remainig 103 aspers were used to cover the expenses of the cadres of the ihtisâb of Istanbul:

¹⁵ MC B2, 2a.

*Zikr olunan Eksik kolunda battallardan ğayrı dekaından beher yevm tahsil olunan beş yüz seksen üç akçenin 480 akçesi miri, ve 103 akçesi koloğlanları maişetleri ve sair masarif içündür.*¹⁶

Unlike the Tahte'l-kal'a sector, the grocers are not the dominating group in Eksik. Certain trades formed large bulks, the major being the İzmiri-dealers who seem to have concentrated in Eksik, where they formed a market of around 60 shops in a row. Following them were

Table 2. *Trades in Eksik in 1092 (A.H.)*

<i>Trades</i>	<i>Total number</i>	<i>Dhimmi</i>	<i>Jewish</i>	<i>European/ Galatan</i>	<i>Female</i>
Arab şerbeti	10				
Arpacı	21				
Arpacıların serkiyari?	1				
Aşçı (<i>Cooks</i>)	1				
Bakkal (<i>Grocers</i>)	32	29	3		
Başhane (<i>Sheep head-dealers</i>)	1				
Bazari (<i>Greengrocers</i>)	18		2		
Bezirci (<i>Linseed oil-dealers</i>)	2				
Boza	6	1			
Havyarcı Bakkal	6	4			
Çörekci	1				
Değirmen-i dakik-i simid-i zimmi	1	1			
Helvacı (<i>Confectioners</i>)	1				
Hoşabi (<i>Fruit juice-makers</i>)	2				
İtmekci (<i>Bakers</i>)	2				
İzmiri (<i>Dried-fruit sellers</i>)	59				
Kasab-ı baker (<i>butchers of cattle</i>)	5				
Kasab-i ğanem-i zimmi (<i>zimmi sheep butchers</i>)	5	1			
Kebabı (<i>Kebab-makers</i>)	6				
Koltuk bazari	6				
Kömür mahzeni	1				
Kömür mahzeni bargir?	2				
Limoni (<i>Lemon-sellers</i>)	2				
Lokmacı	2				
Otlukcu	1				
Pirinci (<i>Rice-sellers</i>)	24				
Sabuni (<i>Soap-makers</i>)	13				

¹⁶ MC B2, 3b.

Samancı (<i>Fodder-sellers</i>)	1				
Sarmısakçı (<i>Garlic-sellers</i>)	34				
Sebzeci (<i>Vegetable-sellers</i>)	2				
Simideci zımmi	1				
Soğani (<i>Onion-sellers</i>)	36				
Südcü	1				
Tavukcu	3	1	2		
Turşucu	1		1		
Tuzcu	9				
Üzüm değirmeni	4				
Yahnici	1				
Yahudi kasabı	10	5	5		
Yoğurdcu –çanak yoğurdcu	13				
Total trades	347	42	13	n/a	n/a

III.1.2.3. Taraklı

The third of the fifteen kols was Taraklı, which is broadly today's santonmon. The kol was under the custody of yet another terazubaşı, Mustafa bin Hasan.

*Beyan-ı kol-ı Taraklı der-uhde-i Terazubaşı Mustafa bin Hasan. Zikr olunan on beş kolun üçüncüsü Taraklı koludur ki, Daye hatun mahallesinden ibtida olunub, andan Hoca paşaya, andan Meydancıkdan Bağçe kapusu dahîlinden Haseki hamamına, andan Barmak kapuda Alaca hamama, andan Valide sultan çarşusu kurbuna, andan Tahmise, andan Valide sultan camii-i şerifi kurbunda Balık bazarı kapusu dahîlinde nihayet bulur.*¹⁷

Taraklı is here described as a *kol* beginning from the *mahalle* of daye hatun, continued thence to *hoca paşa*, thence through *meydancık* within the *bağçe gate* to the bath of *haseki*, and thence to the *alaca bath* in *barmak gate*, thence to the vicinity of the market of *valide sultan*, thence to *tahmis*, thence to the fish bazaar gate near the mosque of *valide sultan* where it ends.

¹⁷ MC B2, 4a.

Taraklı was a relatively small kol, including only 103 shops. Of 272 aspers collected daily, 190 aspers were allocated for the treasury and 82 aspers were used to cover the expenses:

*Zikr olunan Taraklı kolunda vaki bakkallardan maada dükkamlardan beher yevm cem' ve tahsil olunan iki yüz yetmiş iki akçe rüsumun yüz doksan akçesi miri, ve 82 akçesi koloğlanlarının maişet ve masarifi içündür.*¹⁸

Table 3. *Trades in Taraklı in 1092 (A.H.)*

<i>Shops</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Dhimmi</i>	<i>Jewish</i>	<i>European/ Galatan</i>	<i>Female</i>
Arab hassı	3				
Arab şerbeti	5				
Bakkal	12	6			
Bazari	24				
Bezirhane	1				
Boza	1				
Çiçekci	2				
Çörekci	8		2		
Değirmen	2	1			
Helvacı	6				
Hoşabi	5				
İtmekci	3				
Kasab-ı bakar	1				
Kasab-i ğanem	5	4			
Kebabı	4		1		
Koltuk bakkal	3				
Koltuk bazari	2				
Leblebici	3				
Lokmacı	2				
Sebzeci	6				
Tavukcu	4				
Turşucu	3				
Total	105	11	3	n/a	n/a

III.1.2.4. Ayasofya

¹⁸ MC B2, 4b.

The kol of Ayasofya was a large one, comprised of the region around the Ayasofya (Hagia Sophia) mosque. This kol began from the vicinity of the hippodrome, continued thence to the ascent of Peykhane, thence to the galley port, thence from the bath of Çardaklı to the exterior of Çatladı gate, thence to taht market, thence through kemeraltı to the cart workshop, thence from the hospital of Valide to the exterior of Ahur gate, thence from the palace of Bayram Paşa to the mahalle of Kabasakal, thence from Arslanhane to the vicinity of the imperial palace, thence from the arsenal to the market of Ayasofya, thence from the mosque of Perviz Ağa to the Imperial road, thence from around the sour bath to the palace of Cağaloğlu, thence to the vicinity of Alay Köşkü where it ends. The terazubaşı of Ayasofya was one Musalla bin Ali:

*Beyan-ı kol-ı Ayasofya der-uhde-i Terazubaşı Musalla bin Ali.
Zikr olunan on beş kolun dördüncüsü Ayasofya koludur ki, At meydanı kurbundan ibtida olunub, andan Peykhane yokuşuna, andan Kadirğa limanına, andan Çardaklı hamamından Çatladı kapu haricine, andan Taht ... sukuna, andan Kemeraltıdan Arabacılar karhanesine, andan Valide imaretinden Ahur kapu haricine, andan Bayram paşa sarayından Kabasakal mahallesine, andan Arslanhaneden Saray-ı Hümayun kurbuna, andan Cebahaneden Ayasofya sukuna, andan Perviz ağa camiinden Divanyoluna, andan Acı hamam kurbundan Cağaloğlu sarayına, andan Alay köşkü kurbunda nihayet bulur.*¹⁹

The sector of Ayasofya yielded 496 aspers per day; 390 aspers of that amount were reserved for the treasury and the remaining 106 aspers were used to cover the expenses of the staff of İhtisâb of Istanbul:

*Zikr olunan Ayasofya kolunda olan battal dükkanlardan maada dekağinden beher yevm cem' ve tahsil olunan dört yüz doksan altı akçenin üç yüz doksan akçesi miri ve yüz altı akçesi koloğlanlarının maişet ve masarifi içündür.*²⁰

¹⁹ MC B2, 4b.

²⁰ MC B2, 5b.

III.1.2.5. Tavuk Bazarı

The sector of Tavuk Bazarı, being the fifth sector, was under the responsibility of terazubaşı Abbas. The borders of Tavuk Bazarı was described in the defter as such:

*Beyan-ı kol-ı Tavuk Bazarı der uhde-i Terazubaşı Abbas
Zikr olunan onbeş kolun beşincisi Tavuk Bazarı koludur ki
Barmakkapudan ibtida olunub andan Mahmud Paşa hamamına andan
kürkçüler içinden Hoca hanı kurbuna andan Mahmud Paşa cami-i
şerifi hariminden boyacılar andan Tavuk Bazarına andan Vezir hanı
kurbundan dikili taş andan Peykhane yokuşuna andan Divan
yolundan Sırmkeşhaneye andan kalafatçılardan yol geçen odaları
kurbına andan tarakçılardan Valide hanı kurbundan mercan sukunda
nihayet bulur.*²¹

And the summary of the taxes was recorded as such:

*Zikr olunan Tavuk Bazarı kolunda olan battal dükkanlardan maada
dekakinden beher yevm cem' ü tahsil olunan beş yüz yirmi akçenin üz
yüz doksan akçesi miri ve yüz otuz akçesi kol oğlanlarının maişeti ve
masarifi içündür.*²²

III.1.2.6. Kadiasker

*Beyan-ı kol-ı Kadiasker der-uhde-i Terazubaşı el-hac Yusuf bin
Mehmed*

*Zikr olunan on beş kolun altıncısı Kadiasker koludur ki seyrek
başından ibtida olunub andan çinili hamam kurbundan kemer altına
ondan kırk çeşmeden İtmekcioğlu medresesine andan Vefa
meydanından Süleymaniye kurbına andan kemeraltından veznecilere
andan Murad Paşa türbesi kurbundan amca oğlanı meydanına andan
eski odalar başından çukur çeşmeden Kadiasker hamamına andan
meyyit kapusından Şehzadebaşına andan İbrâhim paşa hamamı
kurbundan sarachane başında nihayet bulur.*²³

²¹ MC B2, 6b.

²² MC B2, 7b.

²³ MC B2, 7b.

The defter provided the following summary about the taxes and where they were allocated:

*Zikr olunan Kadiasker kolunda olan battal dükkanlardan maada dekakinden beher yevm cem' ü tahsil olunan dört yüz altı akçenin üç yüz akçesi miri ve yüz altı akçesi kol oğlanlarının maişet ü masarifi-i saireleri içündür.*²⁴

III.1.2.7. Langa

*Beyan-ı kol-i langa der-uhde-i Terazubaşı Mustafa bin İbrâhim küttabi Zikr olunan on beş kolun yedincisi Langa koludur ki Uzunçarşudan ibtida olunub andan Eski Saray kurbuna Sultan Bayezid harimine andan okçular başında Darbhaneye andan kuşbazlardan Barmakkapuya andan beyde bazarından Gedik Paşaya andan suk-i çeşmeden Bali Paşaya andan Bayezid Camii kurbundan Kumkapı haricine andan gelincik çarşusundan Nişancıya andan Çavuşbaşından Musalla kurbundan suk-ı çeşmeden nihayet bulur.*²⁵

The total and the assignment of the taxes were explained as below:

*Zikr olunan Langa kolunda olan battal dükkanlardan maada dekakinden beher yevm cem' ü tahsil olunan altı yüz doksan yedi akçenin dört yüz seksen akçesi miri ve iki yüz on yedi akçesi kol oğlanlarının maişet ve masarifi içündür.*²⁶

III.1.2.8. Yedikule

Beyan-ı kol-i Yedikule der-uhde-i Terazubaşı el-hac Süleyman bin Mustafa

Zikr olunan on beş kolun sekizincisi Yedikule koludur ki, Davud Paşa sukından ibtida olunub andan kolluk kurbundan Yeni mahalleye andan Bostalcılardan Altımermere andan Yolgeçen Camiinden Silozye kapusına andan koca dibekden ağa çayırından Koca Mustafa Paşaya andan imaret kurbundan İsa kapusundan Sulu Manastıra andan varulculardan Mirahura andan Irğat bazarından Yedikule haricine

²⁴ MC B2, 8a.

²⁵ MC B2, 8a.

²⁶ MC B2, 9b.

*andan Çukur çeşmeden Hacı kadın mahallesinden Narlı kapıya andan Samatya kapusından Ağa hamamına andan Çınar kurbından Davud Paşa kurbında nihayet bulur.*²⁷

The total and the assignment of the taxes were explained as below:

*Zikr olunan Yedikule kolunda olan battal dükkanlardan maada dekakinden beher yevm cem' ü tahsil olunan sekiz yüz on dört akçenin yedi yüz akçesi miri ve yüz on dört akçesi kol oğlanlarının maişet ve masarif-i sairesi içündür.*²⁸

III.1.2.9. Karaman

*Beyan-ı kol-i Karaman der-uhde-i Terazubaşı Arnavud Hasan Zikr olunan on beş kolun dokuzuncusu Karaman koludur ki Sarachane başından ibtida olunub andan Yeni odalar başından Sarı gürze andan Maltadan Ali Paşa camiine andan Büyük Karamana andan Arasta başından Küçük Karamana andan At bazarından Şermet hanı kurbından Sirk sukına andan kepekcilerden Efraziyeye andan otlukcu yokuşu kurbından Kadı çeşmesi kurbında nihayet bulur.*²⁹

The total and the assignment of the taxes were explained as below:

*Zikr olunan Karaman kolunda olan battal dükkanlardan maada dekakinden beher yevm cem' ü tahsil olunan dört yüz altı akçenin üç yüz kırk akçesi miri ve altmış altı akçesi kol oğlanlarının maişet ve masarif-i saireleri içündür.*³⁰

III.1.2.10. Edirne Kapısı

Beyan-ı kol-i Edirne Kapısı der-uhde-i Terazubaşı Halil bin Mehmed Zikr olunan on beş kolun onuncusu Edirne Kapısı koludur ki, otlukcu yokuşu başından ibtida olunub andan kanlı kurundan Sultan Selim hamamına andan Çarşenbe bazarından Mehmed ağaya andan Dragomandan Sultan hamamına andan salma tomruktan Edirne Kapısına andan acı çeşmeden sarmaşıktan Pençşenbe bazarına andan

²⁷ MC B2, 9b.

²⁸ MC B2, 10b.

²⁹ MC B2, 11a.

³⁰ MC B2, 11b.

*Yeni bağçeden Ali paşaya andan altı ay çeşmesinden Karagümrüğe andan Zincirli kapudan keskin dededen Sultan Selim cami-i şerifi kurbında nihayet bulur.*³¹

The total and the assignment of the taxes were explained as below:

*Zikr olunan Edirne Kapısı kolunda olan battal dükkanlardan maada dekakinden beher yevm cem' ü tahsil olunan altı yüz otuz dört akçenin dört yüz seksen akçesi miri ve yüz elli dört akçesi kol oğlanlarının maişet ü masarifi içündür.*³²

III.1.2.11. Balat

Beyan-ı kol-i Balat der-uhde-i Terazı başı Mustafa bin Mehmed

*Zikr olunan on beş kolun on birincisi Balat koludur ki Yeni kapı haricinden ibtida olunub andan Fenar kapısı haricine andan Balat kapısı haricinden meydancığa andan Ebi Eyyub Ensari kapısından Çingane mahallesine andan Balat sukına andan narın kurbından Eğri kapuya andan Ivaz camii kurbından lonca yerinden kesme kayaya andan tahta minare kurbundan Fenar kapısı dahîlinde nihayet bulur.*³³

The total and the assignment of the taxes were explained as below:

*Zikr olunan Balat kolunda olan battalardan ğayrı dekakinden beher yevm cem' ü tahsil olunan yedi yüz otuz yedi akçenin beş yüz otuz akçesi miri ve iki yüz yedi akçesi kol oğlanlarının maişeti ve masarifi içündür.*³⁴

III.1.2.12. Un Kapanı

Beyan-ı kol-i Un kapanı der-uhde-i Terazı başı Mehmed bin Halil
Zikr olunan on beş kolun on ikincisi kapan koludur ki eski imaret mahallesinden ibtida olunub andan Kadı çeşmesine andan Müfti

³¹ MC B2, 11b.

³² MC B2, 12b.s

³³ MC B2, 12b.

³⁴ MC B2, 13b.

*hamamından Mustafa paşa sukına andan Hozla hamamından Üsküplü sukına andan Un kapanına andan Sağrıclardan kapumcılardan azilere andan Hıdır/haydar paşa hamamı kurbuna andan arabacılar dān sirk altına andan Hacı kadın hamamından küçük bazara andan akar çeşmeden Ayazma dahîlnde kantarcılar kurbında nihayet bulur.*³⁵

The total and the assignment of the taxes were explained as below:

*Zikr olunan Kapan kolunda vaki' battal dükkanlardan maada dekaından beher yevm cem' ü tahsil olunan beş yüz altmış bir akçenin üç yüz doksān akçesi miri ve yüz yetmiş bir akçesi kol oğlanları maişet ve masarifiyçündür.*³⁶

III.1.2.13. Rah-ı Cedid

*Beyan-ı kol-i Rah-ı Cedid der-uhde-i Terazubası Mehmed bin Mahmud Zikr olunan on beş kolun on üçüncüsü Rah-ı Cedid koludur ki ördek kasab mahallesinden ibtida olunub andan Lutfi paşaya andan şah huban sarayı kurbından kaliçeciler köşküne andan Meydan kapusından dört yol ağzına andan Çavuş mescidi kurbından Monla Güraniye andan Kadiasker camiinden Çapa dilsizden ma'cuncuya andan odabaşından küçük hamamdan altı mermere andan Yeni kapudan Topkapusuna andan arpa hamamı kurbından Şehreminine andan fenair tekyesinden Seydi halife mahallesinden Davud paşaya andan Haseki camiinden avret bazarından Bayram paşa türbesine andan Hüsrev paşa türbesinde nihayet bulur.*³⁷

The total and the assignment of the taxes were explained as below:

*Zikr olunan Rah-ı Cedid kolunda vaki' battal dükkanlardan maada dekaından beher yevm cem' ü tahsil olunan yedi yüz yigirmi yedi akçenin beş yüz yigirmi akçesi miri ve iki yüz yedi akçesi kol oğlanlarının maişet ve masarifiyçündür*³⁸

III.1.2.14. Aksaray

³⁵ MC B2, 13b.

³⁶ MC B2, 14b.

³⁷ MC B2, 14b.

³⁸ MC B2, 15b.

*Beyan-ı kol-ı Aksaray der-uhde-i Terazubaşı Mehmed bin Hüseyin
Zikr olunan on beş kolun on dördüncüsü Aksaray koludur ki Horhor
çeşmesinden ibtida olunub andan Aksaraya andan kızıl maslakdan
laleli çeşmeye andan koska kurbından sarachaneye andan Langadan
derya Yeni kapısı haricine andan cellad çeşmesinden Davud paşa
iskelesinden Davud paşa kapısı haricinde nihayet bulur.³⁹*

The total and the assignment of the taxes were explained as below:

*Zikr olunan Aksaray kolunda olan battal dükkanlardan maada
dekakinden beher yevm cem' ü tahsil olunan beş yüz elli bir akçenin üç
yüz seksen akçesi miri ve yüz yetmiş bir akçesi kol oğlanlarının maişet
ve masarifiyçüdür.⁴⁰*

III.1.2.15. Cebe Ali

*Beyan-ı kol-ı Cebe Ali der-uhde-i Terazubaşı Ahmed bin Ali
Zikr olunan on beş kolun on beşincisi Cebe Ali koludur ki defter-i
atikde Salhane kolu deyu mukayyedir Aya kapısı haricinden ibtida
olunub andan Cebe Ali iskelesine andan tüfenkhaneden Un Kapanı
haricine andan zeytuncilerden Ayazma kapısı haricinde olan Ayazma
kurbında nihayet bulur.⁴¹*

The total and the assignment of the taxes were explained as below:

*Zikr olunan Cebe Ali kolunda olan battal dükkanlardan maada
dekakinden beher yevm cem' ü tahsil olunan üç yüz elli yedi akçenin
yüz doksan akçesi miri ve yüz altmış yedi akçesi koloğlanlarının maişet
ve masarifi içündür.⁴²*

III.1.3. Overview

After all the fifteen sectors, the Kadı wrote the summary of the taxes collected and shared it between the treasury and the men of *ihtisâb* as such: Of all the 8087 akçes

³⁹ MC B2, 15b.

⁴⁰ MC B2, 16a.

⁴¹ MC B2, 16b.

⁴² MC B2, 17a.

collected daily, 6030 akçes were allocated for the treasury whereas the 2057 akçes would be submitted to the men of *ihtisâb*.⁴³

After giving the totals of the fifteen sectors, the author of the defter provided a list of the trades in the defter as follows:

Table 4 Overview of shops in Istanbul

Shop	Number	Shop	Number
İtmekci ⁴⁴	75	Arab şerbeti	165
Hasıl bendesi	4	Hoşabi	127
Halka simid	12	Sebzeci	94
Çörek ve börek dükkânı	140	Ağdacı	34
Değirmen-i dakik-i has-ı arab	17	Turşucu ve Sirkeci	50
Değirmen-i dakik-i simid	38	Sabuni	22
Buğday mea mercimek	19	Tavukcu	43
Kadayıfçı	13	Otlukcu	27
Lokmacı ve Gözlemeci	15	Leblebi	29
Yahudi çörekci	3	Kömür mahzeni	57
Şa'riyeci	5	Sarmısakçı ve yumurtacı	34
Bazari	650	Helvacı	49
Bazari Koltuk	50	Balık bişirici	4
Müslim bakkal	79	Pirineci	24
Koltuk bakkal	13	Soğanı mea külli basdırmacı	37
Bazargan-ı bakkal	54	Zeytuni	21
İzmirci bakkallar	62	Üzüm değirmeni	5
Cevbazcılar?	42	Bezirhane	23
Zımmi bakkal mea sebze	42	Tuzcu	9
Zımmi bakkal	365	Paçacı	7
Çiçekci	15	Kaymakçı karhanesi	2
Kasab-ı ganem ve bakar-ı müslim	215	Çanak yoğurdu	11
Zımmi kasab	70	Salata	20
Yahudi kasab	46	Yoğurtcu karhanesi	14
Yelpaze kebabı	12	Herise pilav	2
Şiş kebabı	28	Arpacı	31

⁴³ MC B2, 17a.

⁴⁴ Telhisü'l-beyan tells that there were 84 itmekcis in intra mural Istanbul, 12 of which were has itmekci: "Etmekci furunları İstanbul'da yetmiş ikidir. Has etmekçi furunları on iki olup, Sur-ı Kostantiniyye'nin dahilinde işleyen cümle seksen dört kadar furundur." Hezarfen, 248. Evliya Çelebi provides a much greater figure; 10,000 people working in 999 bakeries; which is hardly credible, even for the greater Istanbul.

Boza	86	Arpa..	49
Aşçı	28	Samancıyan	7
Başhane	27	Tablakaran	30
Total			3252⁴⁵

III.2. Trades and Shops

III.2.1. Ağdacı (Candy-maker)

The ağdacı produced and/or sold a kind of candy known as *ağda*. *Ağda* was a semi-solid sweet substance, which was thicker than *pekmez*, made of grape juice or sugar. It could be consumed alone, also be put on a slice of bread.⁴⁶ It was a common confection, though, not a fashionable one. A contemporary records that usually poor people was interested in *ağda*.⁴⁷

Hezarfen Huseyin Efendi described the production of the *ağda* and explained the costs involved in it. An *ağdacı* could obtain 32-35 vukiyyes of *ağda* from one kantar of black dry grapes, and each vukiyye of *ağda* costed more than 7 aspers. In order to produce *ağda*, *ağdacı* had to pay costs for mill, porter, freight, rent of the shop, candles, a servant and firewood, among others.⁴⁸ Evliya Celebi distinguished *esnaf-i ağdacıyan* (the *ağda*-makers) from *esnaf-i ağda tuccarı* (the *ağda* street vendors). There were 100 ağdaci shops in Istanbul according to him, while Huseyin Efendi reported only 70 shops,

⁴⁵ The total provided in the defter is 3179.

⁴⁶ On the other hand, *ağda* was the name for a sticky substance that was frequently used by women to remove body hairs by its adhesion. In this meaning, *ağdacı* was the name for a person who pulled hair with *ağda*. We assumed that *ağda* was not used in this meaning in our text. See also Glossary.

⁴⁷ And, 185.

⁴⁸ Hezarfen Huseyin Efendi, *Telhisu'l-beyan fi Kavanin-i Al-i Osman*, Sevim Ilgurel ed. (Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu) 1998, 252-53.

which is more consistent with our source. There were an average of 7 people in each *ağdacı* shop according to Evliya's estimates.⁴⁹ Evliya tells us that the *ağda* trade was carried out mostly by Turks. Moreover, he differentiates the *esnaf-ı akideciyan*, which had 70 shops and an average 2-3 workers in each shop. His depiction of *akide* trade make us think that it was a higher fashion compared to *ağda* trade.⁵⁰ Gelibolulu Ali too agrees on that *ağda* was the relish of the poor while the rich preferred various şerbets.⁵¹

The *ihtisâb kanunnames* we examined provide little information about the trade of *ağda*. The *ihtisâb kanunname* of Bursa compiled in 907/1502, enumerates *ağda* among the food and goods sold in the *bakkal* (grocer), and fixes the price of 200 *dirhem* of *ağda* to one asper.⁵² The *narh* of *ağda* in 1050/1640 was 5 aspers a *vukıyye* (400 *dirhems* approx.), almost a fourth of *helva*.⁵³

Our defter shows that *ağdacı* shops were not frequent in Istanbul. In Tahte'l-kal'a, where there were 162 shops, there was only one *ağdacı*. Just like Evliya wrote, the profession was carried out exclusively by the Muslims, which probably means that *ağda* was part of the Turkish culture. *Ağdacı* paid 1 asper daily. *Ağda* trade was not fashionable and profitable, and the military class was not interested in *ağda*. The table below shows the total number of *ağdacıs* in Istanbul, and specifies any dhimmi, Jewish, Galatan, female or military element in this trade.

⁴⁹ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, Orhan Şaik Gökyay ed. (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları) 1996, 251.

⁵⁰ "Bunların memduhı ayasofya carşusunda akideci fenayı ve unkapanında mevlevi ahmed çelebi ve kasımpaşada dede beğ ve üsküdarıda sun'î celebi bunların akideleri beş sene dursa şekerlenüp fena bulmaz güya akik-i Yemeni gibi ter u taze durur. Bunlar taht-ı revanlar üzere dükkanların zer u ziver ile muzeyyen idüp badyalar içre halka akide bezl iderken musk-i amber-i ham rayıhasından temaşacıların dimağı mu'attar olur." Evliya Çelebi, 253.

⁵¹ Metin And quotes Gelibolulu Ali in And, 185.

⁵² "Ve ağde evvela iki yüz dirhem bir akçaya ola Sonra iki yüz elli dirhem bir akçaya ola" Omer Lutfi Barkan, XV. Asrın Sonunda Bazı Büyük Şehirlerde Eşya ve Yiyecek Fiyatlarının Tesbit ve Teftisi Hususlarını Tanzim Eden Kanunlar II, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, vol 2/7, (June 1942-May 1943), 25.

⁵³ *1640 Tarihli Narh*, 92.

III.2.2. Arab şerbeti (Arabian sweet-drink)

Arab şerbeti, like *hoşab* and other şerbets, was a good refresher in the heats served cold. Like the *ağdacı esnaf*, the *arab şerbet*-makers, too, made their product out of ground raisins. This explains partially the existence and number of grape mills in the kols. It seemss that raisins and hot water alone were enough to prepare *arab şerbeti*:

There is one drink, however, which for completeness sake I must not omit. They take raisins and have them ground up, and, when they are ground and pounded, they throw them into a wooden vessel. They then pour over them a fixed quantity of hot water and mix it in and carefully cover over the vessel and allow the mixture to ferment for two days. If the process of fermentation is too slow, they add lees of wine. If you taste it when it is beginning to ferment, it would seem insipid and disagreeable owing to its excessive sweetness ; but afterwards it takes on a somewhat acid flavour, and if mixed with something sweet it is very pleasing to the palate. Thus for three or four days it makes a delicious drink, especially if cooled by plenty of snow, which is always obtainable in Constantinople. They call it 'Arab sorbet', that is to say, the Arabian drink. It does not keep good for more than this period and soon become absolutely sour and affects the head and feet to no less a degree than wine, and so comes under the ban of the Turkish religion.⁵⁴

What we understand from the comments above induces us to think that besides pleasing the palate, the possible alcoholic flavor might have had its share in the popularity. Or maybe, the above lines reflect the preferences of a non-Muslim, who already enjoyed alcohol. Still there is a chance that arab şerbeti might have allowed a way of consuming alcohol under a different cover. On the other hand, the fact that all of the *arab şerbeti* shops in Istanbul were owned and operated by Muslims diminishes that possibilty.

⁵⁴ Busbecq, 53.

As told above, *arab şerbeti* seems to have been a key element in the Ottoman diet, alongside dishes like *kebab* or *çuze*.⁵⁵ It so appears that the Istanbulites found quite fashionable the combinations of dishes such as *kebab*, *arab şerbeti* and *salata*; *arab şerbeti* and *salata*; *çuze* and *arab şerbeti*. It was not a coincidence that seldom the *arab şerbeti* shops occurred without any *kebab*, *çuze*, *lokmacı*, *çörekci*, *yahnici* or *aşçı* shops nearby. There was a tacit agreement between shopkeepers that benefited from each other's proximity; which cooperation came to be acknowledged sometime later. This kind of cooperation between the trades of similar specialties created a consumption pattern, in which such shops concentrated in the same areas, streets or districts of the Ottoman city, as in the case of *arab şerbeti* and *kebab* shops. Other than benefiting from proximity, these cooperating trades engaged in mutual agreements with regard to control of prices and supplies. In 1072/1662, the *şerbet*-makers and the snow-sellers agreed to cooperate on fixing the prices and supply monopolies.⁵⁶

On the other hand, we know that some *esnaf* used to take advantage of these fashions and trespass into other's profession. In such occasions, *esnaf* had to resolve their disputes at the court and mutually agree to not intrude upon other's trade anymore.⁵⁷ In this way, the appearance of two specialties like *arab şerbeti* and *salata* in a single shop might have constituted such a violation, rather than an innocent fashionable offering.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ See below.

⁵⁶ Yi, 282-83.

⁵⁷ A court record from the year 1072/1662 shows that *kebabcıs* and *aşçıs* agreed with *bozacıs* not to intrude upon each other's specialty. Eunjeong Yi, *Guild Dynamics in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul, Fluidity and Leverage* (Leiden: Brill), 2004.

⁵⁸ We were not able to elaborate on this at the time of the writing.

The *ihtisâb kanunname* of Istanbul adjusts the price of *şerbet* according to that of grape: Two vukıyyes of *şerbet* was fixed as one asper when one vukıyye of grape was one asper as well.⁵⁹ The same method of relating *şerbet* with grape was also the case for Bursa. The *ihtisâb kanunname* of Bursa in 1502 relates the price of *şerbet* to the price of grape and adds that one vukıyye of grapes produced seven hundred dirhems of *şerbet*.⁶⁰ A comparison between the *narh* of 1640 and the *ihtisâb kanunname* of 1502 yields an almost three-fold increase in the price of *şerbet*, from 550 dirhems to 1 asper to 200 dirhems to 1 asper.⁶¹

Comparing with the price of *ağda*, we can judge that *arab şerbeti* was not an expensive beverage. The price of *arab şerbeti* was less than half the price of *ağda*. The reason why the *arab şerbeti* shopkeepers paid 2 aspers when *ağdacıs* paid only 1 must be the popularity of *arab şerbeti*. This also explains the relative frequency of *arab şerbeti* shops. The *arab şerbet*-makers must have had a fair income for this same reason, even if their profits were fixed at the rate of 10/11.⁶² As has been told earlier, the non-Muslim portion of Istanbul's population was not interested in *arab şerbeti*. A certain rate of the shopkeepers were among the military class, one *paşa* and one *beşe*.

III.2.3. Arpacı (Barley-dealer)

⁵⁹ “Ve bir vukıyye üzüm bir akçaya olıycak iki vukıyye *şerbet* bir akçaya ola” Barkan, *İhtisab-ı İstanbul*, 339.

⁶⁰ “Ve şerbet *narhı* üzüm üç yüz elli dirhem bir akçaya olıcak şerbet beş yüz elli dirhem bir akçaya olur Üzüm bir vukıyye ise şerbet yedi yüz dirhem olurmuş...” Barkan, *İhtisab-ı İstanbul*, 24. We assumed that *şerbet* was similar in price and content to *arab şerbeti*, and that the price of *şerbet* in Bursa more or less corresponded to that of *arab şerbeti* in Istanbul. Around the same time in Edirne the price of one vukıyye (400 dirhems) of black grape was one asper, and six hundred dirhems of *şerbet* costed one asper. Barkan, *İhtisab-ı Edirne*, 172.

⁶¹ 1640 *Tarihli Narh*, 93.

⁶² Barkan, *İhtisab-ı Edirne*, 172.

The peasants used to save part of their crop for food and seed, and sell the rest to the barley-traders (*arpacı*, *cev-fürüş*, or sometimes *alef-fürüş*) in towns. *Arpa*, for one, was the fare of horses, donkeys, and the livestock, therefore the city population and the army in Istanbul required constant supply of *arpa*.⁶³ The kanunname of Istanbul allowed the *muhtesib* to collect taxes on the sale of *arpa*. He was paid 5 aspers per müdd.⁶⁴ The article about *arpacı* (*alef-fürüşan*) in the Edirne *kanunname* allows the *arpacı*s a 50 percent profit over the wholesale price.⁶⁵ The 1640 *narh* adjusts the wholesale price to 23 and retail price to 24, which leaves a seemingly narrow margin of profit.⁶⁶ As it seems, *arpa* trade was not a very profitable one, however, the constant demand to *arpa* was enough a reason for the existence of so many *arpacı* shops.⁶⁷ *Arpa* was sometimes sold by the *bakkals*, with whom the *arpacı esnaf* frequently came into conflict.⁶⁸

III.2.4. Aşçı (Cook)

Aşçı (also called *tabbah*) shops served cooked food and sold them in packs as well.⁶⁹ It seems like these shops operated like the restaurant of today. Our sources specify the kind of dishes served at the *aşçı* shop. These included the *baş* (sheep head)

⁶³ The barley requirements of the palace and the army were the responsibility of the *arpa emini*. At the end of the sixteenth century he had under his command 200 *arpacı*s, who by the way were not the tradesmen we are discussing here. Mehmet İpşirli, “Arpa Emini,” *TDVİA*.

⁶⁴ “Arpayı ve ‘alefi ve darıyı ve ne kadar kilece davarı varsa satun alub satandan kileçede iki pul ala Bir müdde beş akça ala” Barkan, *İhtisab-ı İstanbul*, 339.

⁶⁵ “‘Alef-fürüşan kadimden ‘adet buymuş ki bir kile arpa kendülere niceye olur ise buçuk artığa sataılar mukarrer kılındı” Barkan, *İhtisab-ı Edirne*, 173.

⁶⁶ *1640 Tarihli Narh*, 96.

⁶⁷ *Arpa* obviously had nothing to do with a ‘consumption pattern’, it was a commodity of necessity. In one way or not the city imperatively required regular supply of *arpa*; unlike for instance *kebab* or *arab şerbeti*.

⁶⁸ Fetvas include cases the *arpacı esnaf* trying to remove *bakkals* around their shops. Özcan, 107. See also *Bakkals* below

⁶⁹ And, 174.

and *ayak* (sheep feet),⁷⁰ *etli yahni* (stew), kebab,⁷¹ koyun büryanı, şorba, köfte kebabı, kemiklü tennur, şiş kebab, işkenbe and other kinds of meat dishes.⁷² The aşcıs had to put a piece of meat into what they cook and provide a piece of bread besides the dish.⁷³ There was a çaşnıgir (taster), peculiar to Istanbul, in every aşcı shop who tasted the food before the customer.⁷⁴ No non-Muslims were allowed to work in the aşcı shops.⁷⁵ The emphasis over the cleanness of their work is worth mentioning: They had to cook the food in clean pots and wash them with clean water. Muhtesib was ordered to punish them if they violated these rules.⁷⁶ There were 12 famous aşcı shops in Istanbul around the late seventeenth century,⁷⁷ and 555 aşcı shops with 2000 people working.⁷⁸ The fact that the aşçı esnaf joined the military campaigns make clear their importance in the alimentation of the city population.⁷⁹

III.2.5. Bakkal (Grocer)

We understand that there were candles, barley, rice and basdırma on sale in *bakkals*, since the *mumcu*, *arpacı*, *pirinci* and *pastırmacı esnaf*, obviously disturbed by the existence of the *bakkals*, tried to obtain a fetva in order to get a nearby *bakkal* shop

⁷⁰ Kütükoğlu, *1640 Tarihli*, 93.

⁷¹ This was based on the assumption that the aşcıs of Bursa and Istanbul were similar in operation. See M. Asım Yediyıldız, *Şer'îye Sicillerine Göre XVI. Yüzyıl İkinci Yarısında Bursa Esnafı ve Ekonomik Hayat* (Bursa: Arasta), 2003, 116.

⁷² Barkan, "Bursa," 27.

⁷³ Barkan, "Edirne," 170.

⁷⁴ Evliya, Vol.1, 249.

⁷⁵ Abdullah Uysal, *Žanaatkarlar Kanunu*, 88; Barkan, "İstanbul," 336.

⁷⁶ "...eyü pak bişüreler ve kablarn pak su ile yuyalar ve pak bez ile sileler Ve bir kerre çanak ve tabak yudukları su ile tekrar bir çanak ve bir tabak dahi yumayalar Ve kazanların kalaysız ve kepçeşerin kalaysız dutmayalar vaktiyle kalayladalar Muhalefet idenleri Muhtesib kadı ma'rifetiyle döge Gerime almaya" Barkan, "İstanbul," 332.

⁷⁷ Hezarfen, 252.

⁷⁸ Evliya, Vol.1, 248.

⁷⁹ Hezarfen reports that three aşcıs joined the Eğri campaign in xx. Hezarfen, 182.

shut down.⁸⁰ Indeed the *bakkals* sold various commodities that overlapped with other trades' business; in that they seemed to operate as the retail shop of these trades. They were very much like the grocers of today. Among the commodities they sold were asel-i musaffa (honey), revgan-ı sade (oil), şir-revgan, apricots, grape, plum, pear, köfter, badem, biste, pekmez, koz, ağda, nişasta, leblabu, and various cheeses;⁸¹ butter, fig, hazelnut, soap, olive oil, bezir, nardenk and summak-ı meshuk.⁸²

The grocers were one of the most common types of shops in Istanbul, and usually became subject of embezzlement and bribery.⁸³ The men of the muhtesib, who collected the taxes and inspected the prices and scales, ignored the grocers who violated narh in return for an amount of akçe. Both sides acted voluntarily in this process: the grocers wanted to make more profit while the men of muhtesib enjoyed illegal sources of revenue. This behavior was explicitly recorded in the *ihtisâb* kanunname of Bursa as follows:

Bakkallar ve ehl-i hibreleri ve a'yan-ı şehir meclise ihzar olunub kapanda alınub satılanın narhından sual olunacak cevap şöyle virdiler ki sabika kanun şöyle idi ki haftada bir gün muhtesib emini şehirlüden ba'zı sika kimesne ile kapana gelüb baldan ve yağdan ve gayrıdan her ne var ise onu onbir üzerine narh virüb sicillata kay itdirüb narha muhalif kazıyye bulıcak günahına göre hakkından gelinürdi Zahîren dört beş yıl vardır ki kanuna riayet olunmayub her bakkal müradları üzere alub satar Sebebi yukarda zikrolunan gibi akça alub sükut itmekdir didiler⁸⁴

⁸⁰ "Birkaç kimesneler bir sukda bakkal dükkanları olub bakkallık ederlerken etrafında dükkanları olan mumcu ve arpacı ve piriñci ve basdırmacı taifesi mücerred kadimden olmayub yedi sekiz seneden berü ihdas olunmuşdur deyu ol bakkal dükkanlarını kapatmağa kadir olurlar mı? el-Cevab: Olmazlar."Tahsin Özcan, *Fetvalar Işığında Osmanlı Esnafı* (Istanbul: Kitabevi) 2003, 107-108.

⁸¹ Barkan, "Bursa," 24-25.

⁸² Barkan, "Edirne," 172.

⁸³ See Halil İnalcık, "Tax Collection and Embezzlement in Ottoman Finances,"

⁸⁴ Barkan, "Bursa," 24.

The profit rates were set originally to 10 percent for the transaction of the grocers, with muhtesib inspecting them. However, the *ihtisâb* kanunnames assert that Muhtesib should be directed by kadı on matters of punishment.⁸⁵

According to contemporary sources, there were 65 grocers in Karaman district, 73 in Bit-pazarı, 45 in Yeni district, 51 in Tavuk-pazarı. Most of these grocers were specified as hisseli dükkan that was supposed to furnish the matbah-ı amire (imperial kitchen) with certain commodities, like butter.⁸⁶

III.2.6. Başcı and Başhane (Cook of sheep's head)

Baş or kelle made of mainly sheep's head⁸⁷ was one of the popular dishes of the Ottomans.⁸⁸ Usually they served paça or ayak (sheep's feet) as well.⁸⁹ The başcıs were expected to observe certain rules in cooking head. The head was cooked in the fire and the başcı ensured that it was hairless and odorless.⁹⁰ Like the aşcıs, they were not allowed to have non-Muslim workers in their shops.

III.2.7. Bezirci (Linseed oil-maker) and Bezirhane (Linseed oil press)

Bezir yağı (linseed oil) was used commonly for industrial purposes and for the needs of the daily life. It was used in the mills for maintenance,⁹¹ used for

⁸⁵ "Bakkallar ... onun on bire satarlar ziyadeye satarlar ise Muhtesib tutub te'dib ide Amma bu babda ve gayrıda Kadı ma'rifeti bile ola" Barkan, "İstanbul," 336.

⁸⁶ Hezarfen, 250. Hezarfen wrote that grocers paid 5 aspers daily while Jewish grocers paid 5 aspers.

⁸⁷ Cow's head was also served, though not as commonly as sheep's head. Evliya, Vol.1, 246.

⁸⁸ The kadı of Bursa estimated that 600 sheep head were sold each day in Bursa. Barkan, "Bursa," 27.

⁸⁹ Barkan, "Edirne," 170. Cattle head was also sold in the başcı shops, however rare.

⁹⁰ Uysal, 89.

⁹¹ We learn that each night three akça worth of bezir was used for the maintenance of mills. Hezarfen, 249.

illumination,⁹² in the production of leatherware,⁹³ as a remedy for hemorrhoid and some other diseases,⁹⁴ or in calligraphy to obtain a high quality dark black ink.⁹⁵ Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi wrote that there were 21 bezirhanes in Istanbul. In one shift, that is one day, 40 vukıyyes of bezir produced in a bezirhane.⁹⁶ Evliya Çelebi provided a much higher number of shops, 355, with 931 people working in these:

...bunlar dahı ‘arabalar üzre Cendireli değirmenler içre kenevir tohumundan beziryağı çıkarır şeklinde ‘ubur iderken bezircilerin üstleri başları yağlı ve pis ü pesenid kavımlardır kim esbabları yağdan mücella olmuştır... Bu ta’ife ekseriya Niğde ve Kayseriyye halkıdır amma karhane sahıbleri mu‘im ademlerdir pür-silah ‘ubur iderler.’⁹⁷

It is interesting that Evliya recorded the owners of the linseed oil workshops as muim ademler. In the narh registers, bezir yağı was listed as cheaper than sesame oil and olive oil.⁹⁸

III.2.9. Boza

*Boza*⁹⁹ is a sour fermented drink made of millet flour. There were two types of boza; the sweet and the sour boza. Sometimes bekmez was mixed into boza as a flavor.

⁹² “Ve bir kadirgaya gice koğuş üzerine üç yerde fener yakmağa her sene iki kantar bezir yağı verilir.” Hezarfen, 164.

⁹³ Hezarfen, 253-54.

⁹⁴ Musahipzade, 140, 143.

⁹⁵ M. Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi), 1971, 227.

⁹⁶ Hezarfen, 251.

⁹⁷ Evliya, Vol.1, 262.

⁹⁸ Kütükoğlu, 1640 Tarihli, 91.

⁹⁹ This is one of the most frustrating trades in the defter. As the shops were recorded in the siyaqat script, which hardly features any dots and many letters look nearly identical, this word⁹⁹ could be many things including boza, çevre, hurda, boza, çuze, all of which mean something. The fact that *boza*⁹⁹ appeared so frequently in the *ihtisab* and *narh* documents, Telhisü'l-beyan, Seyahatname and many other contemporary sources, and never showed up in our document induced us to think *boza* should have been recorded in the document somehow. However, by comparing with other words in the text, we were almost certain that the first letter of that word was not a ‘b’, rather a ‘h’ or a ‘kh’ or a ‘j’ or a ‘ch’. *Çevre*⁹⁹ was an ornamented handkerchief used by Muslim women. The survey showed that this specialty appeared almost in or around the *kebab* and *hoşab* shops which compelled us to consider it as a kind of food or drink. Thus we ruled out

A cook, a salesclerk, two peddlers and two millers worked for one boza shop. 1 müdd of millet yielded 1000 aspers-worth boza, half of which remained as profit.¹⁰⁰

III.2.10. Börekçi (Pastry-maker)

Börek is a flaky pastry containing thin layers of cheese and meat.¹⁰¹ Telhisü'l-beyan reports that there were 44 established börekçi shops in Istanbul.¹⁰² According to Evliya's report, however, 4000 people worked in 200 börekçi shops.¹⁰³

III.2.11. Buğdaycı (Wheat-dealer)

Muhtesib was ordered to control the prices of the goods brought from the provinces to the grain market in Istanbul and be sure that they do not sell their goods

çevre as well. *Hurda*⁹⁹ halka was a kind of *simid*, but possibly in small size, since hurda or hurde meant small, minor. The narh register of 1050/1640 designates a *hurda halka*, after the entry *halka simid*, the latter being cheaper than the former. One might assume that the shopkeepers might have offered a kind of bread alongside kebab and hoşab; and that it was shortened in our defter as hurda. Also the daily tax paid for this trade was 1 asper, which also indicates that a simple and cheap good was offered in these shops. Therefore, it sounds reasonable that our word here be *hurda*. However, there is single one record of the word in the whole defter which seems to have dots on it, and if we rely on this we should disregard *hurda*. This single and unreliable record narrows our alternatives to *boza* and *çuze*. *Boza*⁹⁹, or *ceviz* meant walnut and it is counted in the narh lists alongside nut, hazelnut and almond. It is unlikely that walnut was served on the same table next to *kebab*, *hoşab* or *salata*. *Boza* also meant *cezve*, or coffee-pot. Perhaps it denoted a cup of coffee at the time coffee had already become popular and lawful, but we lack any other information to support this idea. Lastly, *çuze*⁹⁹ meant chick, chicken or any small bird. The words *piliç* and *tavuk* exist in the narh registers, but not *çuze*. Still we might think that *çuze* was a shop or a dish of chicken. However, we absolutely in no documents came across any *çuze*. We have come accross contemporary narrations of a popular meat soup made of rice so frequently that made us sure it should have been recorded among the shops in the 1092 defter. However, none of the sources included the name. Dictionaries and other sources include a *çuzab*⁹⁹, a soup made of meat and rice. There is a chance that what our defter recorded as cuze or çuze might refer to çuzab. The greatest problem again is that we do not see any *çuze*, *cuze* or *çuzab* in either the *narh* and *ihtisâb* documents or Telhisü'l-beyan or Evliya's Seyahatname. In the end, the best seemed to be reading the word as *boza*, since it appeared in every other document we utilized.

¹⁰⁰ Hezarfen, 253.

¹⁰¹ Musahipzade, 191.

¹⁰² Hezarfen, 252.

¹⁰³ Evliya, Vol.1, 230.

with a profit more than 10-50 percent. He was also to inspect the quality and condition of the goods.

*Taşradan gelen galle ve bal vesair me'kulat kısmından ne gelür ise Muhtesib Kadı ma 'rifetiyle kema yenbağı teftiş eyleyüb ta ki yalan yere şire deyübve ziyade narh istemeyeler Ve getürdiği yere göre harcı hesab olunup tamam olduktan sonra on (ı) onbirden nihayet onbeşe varınca Muhtesib Kadı ma 'rifetiyle narh vire*¹⁰⁴

III.2.12. Çiçekci (Florist)

Flower was regarded as a sign of civilization and grandeur, thus, it was believed that no florist could kill or steal. It is well-known that the Ottomans, particularly the Ottoman elite, had keen interest in cultivating flowers, like roses, tulips, hyacinths, carnations and narcissuses among others.¹⁰⁵ Foreign travelers were perplexed by the Ottoman's enjoyment of the flowers.¹⁰⁶ According to Koçu, the tulip bulb cultivated by the *çuhadar* of grand vizir Nevşehirli Damad İbrâhim Paşa was sold at the price of 1,000 golds. Ebussuud Efendi, Hacı Halife, and Aziz Mahmud Hudai were among the well-known flower cultivators.¹⁰⁷ It could suffice to remember the appellation of “the tulip age” applied to the first quarter of the eighteenth century, to denote the flower fondness at that time.

Hüseyin Efendi mentioned twice in his work the seventeen florists, which received supplies from the imperial gardens, but did not elaborate on the florists.¹⁰⁸ Evliya specifies two groups of florists; *esnaf-i sukufeciyan* (the florists) and *esnaf-i cicekciyan-i*

¹⁰⁴ Barkan, *İhtisab-ı İstanbul*, 331.

¹⁰⁵ “As we passed through this district (eastern Thrace) we everywhere came across quantities of flowers-narcissi, hyacinths, and *tulipans*, as the Turks call them.” Busbecq, 24.

¹⁰⁶ Turks used the flowers on their hair, and held them in their hands. Often a sultan would order flowers to be planted around a tree he liked. A Turkish lady could spend all her money to flowers. Metin And, *16. Yüzyılda İstanbul: Kent, Saray, Günlük Yaşam* (İstanbul: Akbank Kültür ve Sanat Kitapları) 1994, 77, 86.

¹⁰⁷ Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Tarihte İstanbul Esnafı* (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2002), 61-70.

¹⁰⁸ Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, 72, 250.

meyveciyan (the fruiterer florists). The first group (*şükufeciyan*) cultivated flowers in 300 gardens with 600 workers in them. The second group had 80 shops, and was involved with the selling of fruits as well.¹⁰⁹ It is more probable that the çiçekci esnaf in the register of 1092 is this second group, who sold fruits and vegetables, in addition to flowers. An imperial order in 1003/1595, commands the kadı of Istanbul to ban the excess florists and prevent them from selling fruit and flowers.¹¹⁰

III.2.13. Çörekci (Sweet pastry)

Çörek is described as a cake or loaf, commonly sweetened; a sort of bun.¹¹¹ The narh register of 1640 shows that çörek was much cheaper than börek.¹¹² One vukıyye of oil was used in the production of one kile of çörek. Contemporary sources specify various types of çöreks as kaba, yağlı, bademli, çörek-otlu, and yumurtalı çörek. They operated in 200 shops with 2000 people in Istanbul, according to Evliya Çelebi's Seyahatname.¹¹³

III.2.14. Değirmen (Flour Mill)

Telhisü'l-beyan provides valuable details about the flour mills. Estimating the costs involved such as the stones, the payment of the masons and the iron, the building of a mill cost 6000 aspers. A mill required repairment in every two-and-a-half years.

¹⁰⁹ Evliya Celebi, 264.

¹¹⁰ Ahmed Refik, *Onbirinci Asr-ı Hicride İstanbul Hayatı (1592-1688)* (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi), 1998.

¹¹¹ Sir James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*.

¹¹² The price of the following was 1 asper: 105 dirhems of kaba çörek, 80 dirhems of yağlı çörek, 70 dirhems of çakıl böreği, 60 dirhems of börek. Kütükoğlu, *1640 Tarihli*, 91.

¹¹³ Evliya, Vol.1, 230.

One mūd of wheat was ground in a mill each day and produced up to nineteen keyls. The workers at the mill consisted of a miller, a groom and two sifters.¹¹⁴ Evliya Çelebi termed these as karhane-i değirman-ı esb, horse mill. With 9800 people in 985 shops, they were yamak of the itmekci esnaf.¹¹⁵

Değirmen-i arab hassı was a mill of fine flour, which was more valuable than the ordinary flour. A European traveler claimed that the bread was made out of bad flour, however, there was another kind of bread which was white and made of fine white flour.¹¹⁶ These mills were exempted from the yevmiye-i dekakin, but we see that the composers of the register preferred to record them.

III.2.15. Gözlemeci

Gözleme is a savory pancake prepared with mincemeat and cheese and served hot. In every corner of Istanbul there existed a gözleme shop, according to Musahîpzade Celal.¹¹⁷ With 105 people in 60 shops, the gözlemeci esnaf was comprised of the soldiers according to Seyahatname. Evliya Çelebi also added that the gözlemecis and the lokmacıs had to keep a warden for the Jews that made sure the gözlemes and lokmas were prepared with sesame oil, not with butter which the Jews did not like.¹¹⁸

III.2.16. Helvacı (Halva-maker)

¹¹⁴ Hezarfen, 248-49.

¹¹⁵ The ratio of approximately ten workers in a mill provided by Evliya Çelebi seems to be a mere exaggeration when compared to the information provided above by Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi.

¹¹⁶ And, 174.

¹¹⁷ Musahîpzade, 191.

¹¹⁸ Evliya, Vol.1, 231.

Helva is a Turkish confection consisting of a paste made of ground sesame seed and nuts made with honey, prepared in many varieties. Evliya Çelebi's account described how popular was the helva among the Ottomans. He also adds that there were 170 helva shops and 500 helva peddlers in Istanbul.¹¹⁹

III.2.17. Hoşabi (Fruit-juice dealer)

Hoşab was a common relish that could be prepared easily. Prunes, pears, peaches, quinces, figs, raisins, and cornel-cherries were boiled in clean water and then served cold in earthenware bowls. Hoşabs made out of any of these fruits were set out at all the caravansaries, and a traveller “buys what takes his fancy, and eats the fruit as a relish with his bread, and when he has finished swallows the remaining juice by way of drink.”¹²⁰

III.2.18. İşkenbeci (Cooks of tripe-soup)

İşkenbe (also işkembe) is a favorite soup in the night. Evliya Çelebi described it as the food of the asleep. They were among the esnaf exempted from the yevmiye-i dekakin. The Seyahatname provides valuable information in this regard: The işkenbeci esnaf was exempt from the non-Islamic taxes, in return for their service of 6 loads of cleaned tripe to the Zağarcılar ocağı and Samsonhane ocağı of the Janissaries. These

¹¹⁹ Evliya, Vol.1, 253.

¹²⁰ Busbecq, 52.

trites were used for the zağars (hounds) and samsons (birds of prey). Evliya also added that all the işkenbecis were zımmis.¹²¹

III.2.19. İtmekci Furunı (Bakery)

Bread, in many kinds, was one of the most common elements of Ottoman diet. Records show that more than 5,5 million breads were consumed annually in the Imperial Palace c. 1630.¹²² Around 1680s, 12,000 keyls of wheat was sold daily at the Flour Exchange (Un Kapanı).¹²³ The daily wheat requirements of the city together with the palace, the army and the hospices amounted to 20,000 keyls. In the winter, every baker in Istanbul consumed 4 müdds of wheat.¹²⁴ As to the subjects, it was regarded by the state as the most important item and the one that most attention paid to. Besides the muhtesib, the supply of bread in Istanbul was the foremost duty of the Sultan and the prime vizir. *Ihtisâb kanunnames* and *narh* lists documents always start with bread.¹²⁵ The *ihtisâb* kanunname of Istanbul arranged in 907/1501 demonstrates the painstaking effort of the Ottoman government in the production and supply of bread, even to the extent of execution of careless bakers:

Etmekciler çaşni dutdukların narh üzere pak işleyeler Eksik ve çiğ olmaya. Etmek içinde kara bulunursa ve çiğ olursa tabanına let uralar Eksik olursa tahta külah uralar yahud cerime alalar Ve her etmekcinin elinde iki aylık akalli bir aylık un buluna Ve ta ki bazara un gelmeyüb

¹²¹ Evliya, Vol.1, 247.

¹²² See valuable archival study of Arif Bilgin, “Seçkin Mekanda Seçkin Damaklar: Osmanlı Sarayı’nda Beslenme Alışkanlıkları (15. - 17. Yüzyıl)” in M.Sabri Koz, ed., *Yemek Kitabı Tarih-Halkbilimi-Edebiyat* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2002), 47.

¹²³ Compare with the figures provided by Erefe, “Bread and Provisioning,” 26.

¹²⁴ Hezarfen, 248.

¹²⁵ The three professions the state was primarily concerned with were *habbazan*, the bakers, *kassaban*, the butchers, and the *bakkalan*, the grocers, according to archival records belonging to Konya. Kütükoğlu, *1640 Tarihli Narh*, 28.

*müslümanlara müzayaka göstermeyeler Ve eğer muhalefet idecek olur ise siyaset oluna Ve salıyı etmek gayet bol olduğu vakıt ideler Ve galle bazarın Muhtesib her hafta göre gözede İnmek ve çıkmak galle geldiğine ve ve satıldığına göre ola ve kilesi gözedile*¹²⁶

According to this *ihtisâb kanunname*, the bakers were supposed to prepare their bread cleanly, and let not it be deficient (in required size or contents) and crude. In case a blackness is seen in the bread or the bread is considered crude, the baker shall be punished with the bastinado. If it is deficient than the baker shall be beaten from the feet with a stick. And every baker was expected to have two-months or at least one-month-enough of flour in stock,¹²⁷ so that no Muslim suffer from dearth when the market lacks flour. He shall be executed if he violates/opposes this.¹²⁸ The Muhtasib was ordered to visit the grain market every week and inspect the food set out. There with the help of Kadı he would adjust the prices according to the profit ratio of 10 to 50 percent.¹²⁹ Decreases or increases in prices were to be adjusted according to the buying and selling values. And lastly the Muhtasib was to control the weight and standards of the bread. The kanunname also related the preparation (çaşnı tutma) of bread and the process of narh in detail.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "XV. Asrın Sonlarında Bazı Büyük Şehirlerde Eşya ve Yiyecek Fiyatlarının Tesbit ve Teftişi Hususlarını Tanzim Eden Kanunlar I Kanunname-i *ihtisâb*-ı İstanbul-el-mahruse" in *Tarih Vesikaları* Cilt 1, Sayı 5 (Haziran 1941-Mayıs 1942), 336.

¹²⁷ According to Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, every bakery had to stock grain required for three months. Hezarfen, 248.

¹²⁸ Kal'a wrote that a baker in İstanbul was executed after violating the narh of bread. Kal'a, "Esnaf," TDVIA.

¹²⁹ Barkan, "İstanbul," 331.

¹³⁰ Because of its importance and relation to our subject, we quote the following passages from the kanunname: "Üç nevi buğdaydan bir müd buğday satun alındıkda Tekfurdağı buğdayından yedi kile ve Ahyolu buğdayından dahi yedi kile ve Selanik buğdayından dahi altı kile alınub bu cümle su değirmenine iledüb ve un eylemelü oldukda bir kile buğday değirmen hakkına gitdi ve bir buşuk şinik dahi çevrindi çıkdi Ba'dehu baki kalan on sekiz buşuk kile ve buşuk linik buğday un olub getirülüb kapanda vezn olundukda on yedi buşuk kile ve buşuk şinik un çıkdi Kile vezinden iki buşuk şinik ziyade gösterdi Velhasıl zıkr olunan on sekiz kile ve buşuk şinik buğday un olub kapanda vezn olundukda bir kile noksan gösterdi ve ölçüldükde dahi bir buşuk şinik noksan gösterdi Maahaza meşhur olan budır ki ölçüde un

The *ihtisâb kanunname* of Bursa is equally important in understanding in general the profession of bakers and their relation with the government officials:

Eyle olsa etmekcilerin teftişine şüru' olunub kanun-ı kadimlerinden sorulacak ayıtdılar ki her zamanda buğdayın ucuzluğuna ve kırlığına göre hakimü-l-vakt emriyle ehl-i hibreden mu'temed ve sika kişiler çaşni tutarlar dı Dört beş yıl vardır ki etmekciler hükm getürüb mazmunında a'yan-ı şehirden bir kaç sika hakimü-l-vakt ma'rifetiyle çaşni tutub anınla 'amel ideler deyü emr olunub ol tarihte çaşni tutulub şöyle mukarrer olınmış ki Bursa müddiyle buğdayın a'lası yüz on akçaya evsatı yüze ednası seksen beş akçaya olsa etmek yedi yüz dirhem bir akçaya olub bahada ziyade ya noksan olsa bu kıyas üzere ana dahî tayin oluna Be-şart-ı an ki ince elekden elene ve tamam bişe ve ak ola ve rayıhası olmaya Amma bu şerayit bil-fi'l 'aceb mukarrer ve mu'teber midir deyü imtihanen bir kaç yerden etmek getürdüldi kimi çiğ ve kimi kara ve ba'zı eksik bulunub sebebinden su'al olunacak cema'at-i kesire ayıtdılar ki her gün her furundan gah çiğ ve gah eksük deyü beşer onar akça alub igmaz-ı 'ayn iderler Hatta muhtesib oğlanları furundan akça almasun deyü hüküm dahî gelmişdir 'amel itmezler ve kemakan akçalar alurlar eksüğün ve 'aybın ketm ü setr iderler aldıkları akçayı sûreta cerime deyü alurlar hakikaten eksüğe ve 'ayba ruhsat virirler didiler Öyle olsa el'an muhtesib olana bu mezalim ve mehayife vukufın var mıdır denicek ben henüz geldim bu hususları bilmezsin katibim ve kethudam eskiden kalmışdır anlara sorun didi Anlara sorulub bu kadar çiğ ve kara ve eksük nedir niçün gözlemezsiz diyicek bu def'a günahımızı 'afv idin min ba'd ihtimam

buğdaydan ziyade gelir deyü ehl-i hibresinden istifsa olundukda buğdayın aç olub eski olduğundandor deyü cevap virdiler Hatta cümle uncularda dahi bu ma'na muttarıddir deyü söylediler Ba'dehu vaki' olan harc budır ki zıkr olunur: cümle bir müd buğdayın bahası üç yüz yetmiş altı akçaya oldı Ve değirmene iledüb getürmek için gemiye yigirmi akça verildi Ve çevirmesine iki akça verildi Ve gemiden değirmene çıkarmağa ve değirmenden gemiye iletmeğe bir akça ve gemiden kapana çıkarmağa dahi bir akça verildi Ve *resm-i kaban* dahi dört akça dutuldu Cümle icaray yigirmi sekiz oldı Cem'an baha ile har dört yüz dört buçuk akça oldı Ve zıkr olunan on yedi buçuk kile buçuk şinik un yigirmi dörder üzere dört yüz yigirmi üç akça eyler Ol takdirce heman on sekiz buçuk akça faide göründü Öyle olıyacak etmek gayet eyü ve an olmak gerekdir Şimdi bazarda ol asıl etmek yokdır Amma buğdayın kilesi silme ölçüldi Ve onun kilesi doruklu ölçülü Bu takdirce cemi' doruk vakiolan un buğdaydan ziyade vaki' olmuş olur Lakin onun kilesi doruklu ölçülmek müt'aref olduğu sebebden doruklu ölçüldi Bir müd buğday un olub etmek oldı Cümle dört yüz altmış sekiz akçalık etmek hasıl oldu ve bilcümle zıkr olunan bir müd buğday un oluncaya değin bahasıyle ve harciyle dört yüz kırk sekiz akçaya oldı Ba'dehu etmek olub satıldıkda kepek bahasıyle dört yüz yetmiş beş akça hasıl oldı zıkr olunan bir müdden yigirmi akça fayda göründi Lakin tavaflık on akçada buçuk olıyacak iki buçuk akça fayda kalur Ve eğer on akçada bir aka tavaflık olacak olur ise yigirmi bir akça ziyade (ziyan) görünür Amma işlenen etmek gayetde pak ve bişmiş ve bi-ayıb etmek oldı ol asıl etmek bazarlarda bulunmaz Öyle olıyacak tavafa verilmeğe ihtiyaç kalmaz, ziyan dahi olmaz Ve buçuk şinik çevrindi vezinde üç buçuk vukiyye geldi nihayet beş vukiyye tahmin olundu Evvelden her kilede iki ... dirhem tozlık olmak kanun-ı mukarrer olmağın girü ber-karar-ı sabık mukarrer kılındı Tebdil ve tağyir olunmaya Un kapanında olan kapan taşlarını Kadı ma'rifetiyle Muhtesib dayım görüb gözete Taki hiyle ve telbis olub un alan ve satan kimesnelere zarar ve ziyan olmaya" Barkan, "İstanbul," 330-31.

*idelim gözliyelim gayrı vakı' olmaya didiler Tekid ile ısmarlandı İmdi minba'd gafil olmayub şer'den ve kanundan haric iş itmek caiz değildir denildi Az vakt içinde evvelkiden ziyade fesadları zahîr oldu Ba'dehu merratla yine tekidat olundu Kat'a mültefit olmayub şer'a ita'at ve kanuna ri'ayet itmediler*¹³¹

We find here an example of the exploitation of the market regulations by the men of muhtesib (most possibly the kol oğlanları) and the market people. The men of the market overtaxed the bakers so that the formers did not take notice of the latters' infringements. When asked by the Kadı if he knew about the embezzlement and bribery, the Muhtesib defended himself telling he was just appointed and told the Kadı to ask his assistants who were already at the office before he came. The assistants of the Muhtesib admitted knowing (possibly participating in) these, and begged pardon from the Kadı. The Kadı adds that they started to repeat their misdemeanor again in a short time.

The bakers in the defter of 1092 constitutes an important example of the extent of the involvement of the members of the military class in economic actions. Almost all of the owners of the bakeries belonged to the askeri (military) class, mostly pashas. Interested in bakery among the askeri class were the Valide Kethudası, Kapucıbaşı, Kapudan Paşa, Sekbanbaşı, Arpa Emini, Yeniçeri ağası, Defterdar Paşa, Mirahor and janissaries and several paşas. Of all the 75 bakeries we counted, 40 bakeries were discernible as belonging to the members of the military, slightly more than half of this trade.¹³² Some of them owned more than one bakeries. Mustafa Paşa owned 4, İbrâhim Paşa 2, and the Yeniçeri ağası and the Sekbanbaşı owned 2 each. The bread business

¹³¹ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "XV. Asrın Sonunda Bazı Büyük Şehirlerde Eşya ve Yiyecek Fiyatlarının Tesbit ve Teftişi Hususlarını Tanzim Eden Kanunlar II Kanunname-i ihtisâb-ı Bursa" in *Tarih Vesikaları* Cilt 2, Sayı 7 (Haziran 1942-Mayıs 1943), 16.

¹³² We did not include ağas and efendis into this askeri classification unless they had another title showing their status, for example Mirahor ağa.

was dominated by the Muslims; less than 3 percent of the bakeries were operated by non-Muslims.¹³³ Considering the need and the 12 aspers¹³⁴ daily tax paid by the bakers, which is the highest in the defter, baker-owning might have been a lucrative business. This may also be an explanation for the apparent interest of the askeri class.

Table 5. The Bakeries in the Sectors

Sector	Total	Zimmi	Jew	Female	Vakıf	Askeri	Notes
Tahte'l-kal'a	1					1	Çelebi Kethuda Beğzade
Eksik	2					1	Mustafa Paşa
Taraklı	3					3	Sultan, Valide Kethüdası, Serbevvan
Ayasofya	6					3	Paşazade, Kapudan paşa
Tavuk Bazarı	3					2	Ibrâhim Paşa, Mustafa Paşa
Kadıasker	7					4	Sekbanbaşı, Tabib. Çelebi
Langa	6					2	Bali Paşa, Çelebi zade
Yedi Kule	9			1	1	5	Ibrâhim Paşa, Çorbacı, Hanzade
Karaman	4					2	Arpa emini, Efendi zade
Edirne Kapısı	8					4	Beşe, zade
Balat	5					2	Yeniçeri ağası
Un Kapanı	9	1				4	Defterdar Paşa
Rah-ı Cedid	9	1				5	Mustafa Paşa, Sekbanbaşı
Aksaray	3					2	Mirahor, Mustafa Paşa

III.2.20. Kassab (Butcher)

Butchers constituted one of the most common shops in every kol in the defter, since meat was an essential part of the foods. Two kind of buthcers were active in the city: the buthcers of sheep/mutton and the buthcers of cattle/beef. Many observers reported that the people almost did not eat beef, however, the defter of 1092 shows that the beef was consumed as much as the mutton. These butchers were also separated

¹³³ As was the case in many food-related trades, the enrolling of non-Muslims in Muslim bakeries was forbidden. Since they were heathen, the non-Muslims were not careful in matters of cleanness. Kazıcı, *Osmanlılarda İhtisab*, 101.

¹³⁴ İtmekci paid 20 aspers daily according to Telhisü'l-beyan.

according to religion as the Muslim butchers of cattle, the Zımmi butchers of cattle and the Jewish butchers of cattle. We know that the religion of butchers mattered to the Muslims and the Jews, since they did not consume pork and they had religious procedures of slaughtering livestock. The different religious communities bought from and sold to each other in usual, therefore in this case we might consider the possibility of the Zımmis and the Jews buying from the Muslim butchers. However, the information Evliya Çelebi provided outrules this possibility. Evliya Çelebi describes the *esnaf-ı kassaban-ı Yahudan* as a guild consisting of 200 members in 55 shops, and notes that the Jews did not consume the meat slaughtered by the Muslims.¹³⁵ It becomes clear then that the Muslims could have not shopped at the Jewish butchers.

Because of its importance, the government took the supervising of livestock trade and the butchers very seriously. Like similar commodities of substantial importance, the government first fulfilled the needs of the palaces and the army. The *kassaban* (butchers) of Istanbul provided 250 sheep for the military each day. The *emin-i ğanem*¹³⁶ procured for the palace 2650 *vukıyyes* of meat (3.4 tons approx.) each day. In a single year, he procured 334,000 sheep for the palaces and the army, of which 264,000 being brought alive.¹³⁷

The *narh* of meat was adjusted four times a year.¹³⁸ Usually, the mutton was the most expensive, followed by the veal and beef.¹³⁹ The *iẖtisâb* kanunnames provides us with ample information about the conditions of butchery. The kanunname urged the

¹³⁵ Evliya, Vol.1, 242.

¹³⁶ The official responsible for the sheep meat requirements of the palace.

¹³⁷ Hezarfen, 249.

¹³⁸ The *iẖtisâb* kanunnames of Istanbul and Bursa contradict this by telling that the *narh* was decided upon there times a year.

¹³⁹ 1 *vukıyye* of mutton was 9 aspers, that of calf beef 7 and cow 4,5 aspers. Kütükoğlu, *1640 Tarihli*, 91.

butchers not to mix mutton with goat's meat and not to sell less than the assessed value of *narh*.¹⁴⁰ The *kanunname* also mentioned the responsibility of the *celebkeşan*, the contractors responsible for providing sheep to Istanbul, and warned the *Kadı* and the *Muhtesib* to supervise his duty.¹⁴¹ The hide of the slaughtered animals were sold by the butchers to the tanners. The butchers are warned to not sell the hides to the outsiders or merchants, so that the tanners and other leather-workers should not suffer shortages, which could lead to a rise in prices.¹⁴²

Evliya specified 999 shops and 1700 workers in his *Seyahatname*. More important is his claim that almost all of the butchers were Janissaries.¹⁴³

Kasab-ı ganem paid 4 aspers daily and *kasab-ı bakar* paid 2 aspers daily as specified in the *Telhisü'l-beyan*.

III.2.21. Kebabi (Kebab-makers)

Kebab is a dish described as a roast, baked or broiled meat prepared in various ways with names as *orman kebabı*, *büryan kebabı*, *tencere kebabı*, *çoban kebabı*, *çömlek kebabı*, *çevirme kebab*, *hacı osman kebabı*, *süt kebabı*, *şiş kebabı*, *tas kebabı*, *kuş başı kebab*, *kuyu kebabı*, *kefenlü kebabı*, *kül basdı kebabı* and so on. The price of kebab was set according to the price of meat.¹⁴⁴ *Telhisü'l-beyan* specified 18 kebab-maker shops in Istanbul.

¹⁴⁰ "Ta'yin olunan *narhdan* eksik satılır ise *dirhemine* bir akça *cerime* ve sair *terazı* ile satılan nesnelerden eksik satandan iki *dirheme* bir akça *cerime* alınır" Barkan, "İstanbul," 329.

¹⁴¹ Barkan, "İstanbul," 330.

¹⁴² Barkan, "İstanbul," 334; Barkan, "Edirne," 168. See the discussion on the provisioning of Istanbul.

¹⁴³ "Bu ta'ife cümle ekseriya yeniçerilerdir." Evliya, Vol.1, 241.

¹⁴⁴ Hezarfen, 251.

III.2.23. Kömür mahzeni (Coal dealer)

The information in the sources about the coal dealers is limited, for obvious reasons. Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi tells that this esnaf had three kethudas situated at Ayazma-kapusu, Cebe Ali and Kumkapu.¹⁴⁵ Coal trade is described in Seyahatname as a burdensome one. Four groups were involve in this trade. The first group provided the charred coal to the merchants, who were of Greek stock. The third group was the kömür mahzencileri (coal store keepers), who were of Muslim and Armenian origin. And then was the fourth group, who peddled in the streets with a mule.¹⁴⁶

III.2.24. Lokmacı

Lokma was a kind of sweet pastry like fritters.¹⁴⁷ Flour, sesame oil, rose, honey and ağda were used in the production of lokma. Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi's report states that 2 people worked in each of the 9 shops in Istanbul. He contradicted with himself in that he first told that Lokmacıs paid 2 aspers to the kol oğlanları and then wrote they paid 5 aspers.¹⁴⁸ Evliya Çelebi reported that there were 20 lokmacı shops in Istanbul with 50 workers.¹⁴⁹

III.2.25. Paçacı (Cook of sheep feet)

¹⁴⁵ Hezarfen, 252.

¹⁴⁶ Evliya, Vol.1, 269.

¹⁴⁷ Definon provided by Sir James W. Redhouse's Lexicon.

¹⁴⁸ Hezarfen, 252.

¹⁴⁹ Evliya, Vol.1, 231.

Although a traveler in the sixteenth century wrote that paça (ayak) was considered a luxury,¹⁵⁰ it must have become a popular dish in summer evenings, served usually with kebabs of sheep-head and *kaymak* and yogurt.¹⁵¹ As in the case with baş (kelle), paça was not sold exclusively at the *paçacı* shops. The paça and baş were usually sold and served together; moreover, the *aşçı* shops sold both of these as well. Like the other shops dealt with cooked meat, the *paçacı*s were not allowed to keep non-Muslim workers at their shops. Although the *paçacı*s were exempted from the *yevmiye-i dekakin*, the *kadı* still recorded them.

III.2.33. Şerbetcî

There were wooden huts in every corner of Istanbul that sold non-alcoholic drinks kept in earthen containers.¹⁵² When talking about the frugality of the Ottoman people and how they thought so little of the delights of eating; Busbecq noted that “if there is a little honey or sugar in the water which they drink, they would not envy Jupiter his nectar.”¹⁵³

III.2.34. Şirugan (Sesame oil press)

The şirugan (or şiruganhane) is a mill of sesame oil. Each week 1 müd and 1 keyl of sesame was used to produce 21 vukıyyes of şirugan. Şirugan is sold at 24 aspers per

¹⁵⁰ Nicolas de Nicholay’s remarks pertaining to 1550s. And, 177.

¹⁵¹ Musahipzade, 192.

¹⁵² A foreigner’s note in mid-sixteenth century. And, 86.

¹⁵³ Busbecq, 53.

vukıyye, which makes a weekly sale of 504 aspers. The şiruğanhane produced 78 aspers profit per day.¹⁵⁴

III.2.36. Tavukcu (Chicken-seller)

According to Telhisü'l-beyan, there were 51 established tavukcus (sometimes as makıyan-furuşan) in Istanbul, and they amounted to 60 later with 9 new shops.¹⁵⁵ The Jews had their rabbis slaughter the chicken, and then sold them ready to boil.¹⁵⁶ In 1640, chicken was sold at 14 aspers and the broiler/pullet 9.¹⁵⁷ An interesting account in the *ihtisâb* kanunname of Bursa sheds more light on the issue of malpractices of the ehl-i suk (market people) and the men of the muhtesib. In an illegal agreement between the chicken-sellers and the *ihtisâb* people, the latter condoned/overlooked/took no notice of the former's infringement of the price regulations in return for 7 aspers thrice a week:

*Tavukcular ve a'yan-ı şehir ihzar olunub kanun-ı kadimden sual olındukda cevap verdiler ki İslambolda çiğ tavuk yüz dirhem bir akçaya ola Ve Bursada doksan dirhem bir akçaya olub mahasel on dirhem mabeyn olurdu diyicek sicillata dahî nazar olunub seksen dirhem bir akçaya bulındukda girü bunun üzerine mukarrer kılınub kendüler bu si'r üzerine iltizam gösterdiklerinden ba'de eyyam biz bu narh üzerine satmazız didiklerinde zaman-ı sabıkda bu narh üzerine satardınız 'alelhusus haliya dahî mültezim oldunuzdı muhalefetin ma'nası nedir diyicek cevap verdiler ki sabıka şol vech üzerine satardık ki bir nice kimesneler ile cem' olub ba'zımız satun alub ve ba'zımız pak idüp ihtisâb hizmetinde olan hademeye iki günde bir yedi akça virürdik müradımız üzere satardık deyü ... nam tavukcular dört beş yıldan berü akça viregeldüklerine ikrar ve i'tiraf itdikleri sebebden tagayyürün sebebi ve zamanı ma'lum olub...*¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ Hezarfen, 251.

¹⁵⁵ Hezarfen, 252. Evliya specified 105 shops. Evliya, Vol.1, 279.

¹⁵⁶ From the account of a traveler in mid-sixteenth century. And, 86.

¹⁵⁷ Kütükoğlu, *1640Tarihli*, 93.

¹⁵⁸ Barkan, "Bursa," 26.

The Kadı of Bursa continues his notes and relates the price of chicken to that of sheep:

... haliya narh yetmiş dirhem bir akçaya mukarrer oldu Madame ki koyun etinin narhı ikiyüz dirhem ola ve her bar ki iyi yüz elli dirhem bir akçaya ola seksen dirhem tavuk eti bir akçaya ola Vakta ki üçyüz dirhem bir akçaya ola doksan dirhem tavuk eti bir akçaya ola deyü narh ta 'yin olundu'¹⁵⁹

The price of the chicken was set to rise as the price of the sheep rose. We also see that chicken meat was fairly expensive than sheep meat, which might be because of the higher rate of supply and demand of sheep in the Empire at that time. In support of this view, the foreign observers told that the market did abound in sheep meat.

III.2.37. Üzüm değirmeni (Raisin mill)

These mills provided the hoşabis, ağdacıs and helvacıs with ground raisins. Evliya claimed that the owners of these mills had partners in İzmir, Kuşadası and Nazilli. The number given by Evliya is plausible: 15 mills.¹⁶⁰ Although the raisin mills were exempted from the daily tax, they were still recorded in the register.

III.2.38. Yoğurdcu (Yogurt-dealer)

Yoğurd was a quite popular element in the meals. Busbecq told that a Turk would not ask for anything more if he had a bread and salt and garlic and a kind of sour milk

¹⁵⁹ Barkan, "Bursa," 26.

¹⁶⁰ Evliya, Vol.1, 251.

which was called *yoghoort*.¹⁶¹ Yoğurd was available for sale at all caravansaries in great supply. Telhisü'l-beyan specified 16 yoğurdcu karhanesi (workshop) in Istanbul, while Seyahatname provided an implausibly high figure of 500 karhanes.¹⁶²

III.3. The Provisioning of Istanbul

The estimates for the population of Istanbul in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries vary greatly. Sources unanimously agree that there was no significant change in the population during the seventeenth century. Recent studies assert that the population of the city must have been less than 500,000 considering “the physical and hygienic limits of an early modern city.”¹⁶³ İnalçık assumes that the intra mural Istanbul’s population exceeded 250,000 in the seventeenth century.¹⁶⁴ During the early eighteenth century, the grain consumption of the city was around 205 tons daily.¹⁶⁵ There also were the palace and the army, the huge and unneglectable needs of which ranged from bread to wool.¹⁶⁶ Given the means of transport and communication at that time, a difficulty in providing grain to the capital could result in a grave disaster in a little time. Hence, the problem of supplying Istanbul with food and essential

¹⁶¹ Busbecq, 52.

¹⁶² Evliya, Vol.1, 243.

¹⁶³ Yi, 27.

¹⁶⁴ İnalçık, “An Islamic City,” 11.

¹⁶⁵ Erefe, “Bread and Provisioning,” 26.

¹⁶⁶ We should mention here two categories of *esnaf* besides the free craftsmen of Istanbul. One of these categories was the *Ehli Hiref-i Hassa*, the artisans of the palace, who were selected from among the *acemioglan* corps. Located near the Topkapı palace, this group served for the artisanal needs of the palace and its dwellers. They were also responsible for preparing gifts to be given to the public in certain occasions. Another group of *esnaf* was the *orducu esnaf*, which was expected to join the expeditions and serve the corps in times of war. Earlier, the *orducu esnaf* was supplied through the *devsirme* system; however, free-tradesmen began to enroll due to the degradation of the *devsirme* system in the later periods. Ahmet Kal’a, “Esnaf,” TDVİA.

commodities was of paramount importance for the government. The provisioning of Istanbul occupied an important part in the economic concerns of the state.

To ensure that the residents of the capital did not suffer from shortages, the government took various measures. The idea of economy of plenty was apparent in this respect, where the government encouraged import of commodities and discouraged, even sometimes prohibited, exports, particularly grain and essential raw materials.¹⁶⁷ The provisions consisting of large quantities of grain, meat, honey, butter, fish, salt, wax and the like came mostly by the sea; and the merchants accumulated considerable wealth through this lucrative trade.¹⁶⁸ The interest of the government was directed mostly to the more essential items like bread, meat and firewood, or the “*hevayic-i zaruriye*”. As told previously, the government ordered the bakers to have in stock extra flour to suffice for two months in cases of lack of flour in the markets. The influx of grains and livestock from the provinces was strictly regulated, which regulation created considerable opportunities of investment and income.¹⁶⁹ However, the *emins* or *mültezims* responsible for providing supplies to Istanbul found it more profitable to sell it in other provinces where these commodities were more expensive. Above all, the readiness of European merchants’ in offering quite high prices for grain caused stockpiling and contraband trade, which resulted in dearth and scarcity in Istanbul. To fight the trafficking, the government put its agents on board the cargo ships.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ İnalçık, *Economic*, 49.

¹⁶⁸ İnalçık, “Capital,” 120.

¹⁶⁹ “...trade in cereals was in fact one of the principal methods of large-scale speculation and hence of the accumulation of large fortunes.” İnalçık, “Capital,” 107.

¹⁷⁰ İnalçık, “Capital,” 119-20.

Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, an Ottoman bureaucrat and intellectual, expressed clearly the government's concern on provisioning the city. The obligations arising from the lack of stable means of transportation, particularly in winter, resulted in dearth in the market:

*Her furun üçer aylık kifayet idecek buğday tahmin etdürüp zahîresi aldirmek gerekdir. Yevmiyye işledüğünden ma'ada ana şiddet-i şita olup, gemiler gelmezse her bir furuna üçer aylık kifayet mikdarı buğday mevcud buluna. Bulunmazsa, kış hakim zahmet çeker.*¹⁷¹

Just like the bakers, the butchers were also expected to keep stocks of meat. The kanunname of Mehmed IV orders the imprisonment of the butchers that violate this rule regardless of their excuses, and not be released until he finds or becomes able to find additional meat stocks.¹⁷²

The idea of adjusting the distribution of raw materials to protect the city population from shortages is expressed in the following passage from the *ihtisâb* kanunname of Istanbul:

*Ve debbağ dahî deriyi tamam dibbağat itdikten sonra her ne cins olur ise olsun şehirde olan işçilere satalar Tacire ve harice satmayalar Meğer ki işçiden arta Ol vakit tacirden satun ala(la)r Ve tacirler debbağhaneye varmaya ve peşin akça virmeye Ve debbağlar göni babuccılara ve gayre nevbetle virirüz dimeyeler Bir isteyene iki isteyene muhalefet itmeyüb vireler*¹⁷³

The kanunname ordered the tanner to sell the hide only to the workers in the city. He was not allowed to sell to the merchants or outsiders, unless the workers had done

¹⁷¹ Hezarfen, 248.

¹⁷² Mantran, 17. *Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul*, 311, 315.

¹⁷³ Barkan, "İstanbul," 334. The kanunname of Edirne had similar articles: "Ve dahi ham deriyi debbağa satalar gayrı kimesneye satmayalar Debbağlar dibağat itdikden sonra şehirden taşra satmayalar şehirlüye satalar Ve sahtiyarı başmakçılara satalar anlardan artar ise tacire satalar Ta ki şehir halkına müzayaka olmaya" Barkan, "Edirne," 169.

with buying his hide. The merchant, too, was not allowed to go to tanneries and engage in beforehand transactions with the tanner. The tanner was also warned to provide the shoemaker with hides, regardless of how much the latter asked.

CONCLUSION

The office of the ihtisâb is an important subject that demonstrates the means and the purposes of the government involvement in economy in the Ottoman history. Determined by various factors such as the protectionist behavior of the state, traditionalist view of the society and the Islamic principles, this involvement existed in certain forms. The nature of the guild system in the Ottoman Empire, the *narh* practice and lastly the position of the *muhtesib*, as told earlier, constituted the means and forms of the communication between the government and the subjects in economic areas. As we have seen, the main protagonists in this process were the *kadi* and the *muhtesib*, whose role were not more than supervising the market affairs, arbitration and punishment in the guild and market and collection of taxes. The guilds in this process were intermediary organs that served to convey the attitudes of the elite to the urban population, while the government control over the guilds assured that the production was on the basis of sustenance, and no insufficient or excess production occurred.

The register of 1092 is a reflection of the government interest in protecting the customers and providing them with alimentation and necessary commodities. Nearly all of the subjects of the daily tax were victualers, the grocers, bakers, butchers and greengrocers constituting the main bulk.

On the other hand, the register is quite useful in clarifying important topics such as regards to consumption, production and shopkeeping. Certain habits of the Ottomans

in terms of dining can easily be seen in the register. Apart from that, considering the owners of the shops, we find that the askeri class was highly involved in the urban trade. More than half of the bakers, who paid the highest amount of tax and probably earned most, were of askeri origin. There are hundreds of *beşes*, *çavuşes*, *begs* and *paşas* among the shopkeeper class, not to mention the *celebis* and *ağas*.

Another interesting aspect that deserves mention is the proportionate existence of Muslim and non-Muslim communities in the urban trade. In line with the narrations of contemporary sources, the register demonstrates that the non-Muslims were represented in the urban trade, at least in trades related to victualities, for obvious reasons. This free involvement of different religions was in great part due to the inter-confessionalist character of the Islamic guilds. However, as some scholars put it, the behavior of the government towards the non-Muslims in taxation changed in the course of the seventeenth century. This partly explains the evidently high amounts of taxes paid by non-Muslim shopkeepers.

So far, we have tried to introduce the register of 1092, however, working out of the whole document is a lengthy task. There are many important aspects and questions about this register that we could not study. Needless to say, the information provided in the document would assist the Ottomanists in many areas from society and to economy and to military. With a careful and assiduous research, we are sure that the *defter* would bring new light to the seventeenth century Ottoman history.

GLOSSARY

Ağda: “Kaynatılarak çok koyu ve yapışkan bir macun durumuna getirilen pekmez veya limonlu şeker eriyiği.” TDK. “Semisolid confection made of sugar or grape juice, thick syrup.” RH.

Ağdacı: Dealer in ağda. RH.

Alef: Fodder, hay. “Hayvan yemi. Ot, saman.” FD.

Beğ: Also beyg, beg, bey. “Büyük, zengin, bay, ileri gelen adem. Baş, reis. Hakim, emir, vali, prens. Amir, zabıt, kumandan. Bazı eski hanedanlara mensub efradla paşazadelere ve sınıf-I askeriyede kaimmakam ve miralay rütbelerini haiz olanlara ve ecnebi küberasına verilen unvan olub, isme lahik olur.” KT. “Ruler in central Asian Turkish states and in the early Ottoman centuries. Commander. Title of the governor-commander of sancak, or of a ziamet.” HI.

Cev: Barley.FD.

Çelebi: “Okuma bilen, efendi.” KT.

Çevre: A muslim handkerchief, commonly decorated, and sometimes worn on the head. RH.

Çuhadar: Also çukadar. A lackey who walks by the side of his lord’s horse, and acts as a footman indoors. RH.

Çuze: A chicken. RH.

Dakik: Flour.

Dükkan: “Ufak tacirlerin satacakları eşyayı içine koydukları mahall-i mahsus ki, önü açık bir hücreden ibarettir. Bazı sanatkarların işledikleri ve yaptıkları şeyleri satdıkları mahall-i mahsus ki, yine o sûrettedir.” KT.

Ehl-i Suk: The men of the market, the tradesmen.

Fetva: Formal written legal opinion by an authority in Islamic law. HI.

Hasıl: Product, total revenue or income. In the tahrir registers the total sum of the revenues estimated for a village or other units.

Hass: “Halis, beyaz, saf, hilesiz.” KT.

Hirfet/Ehl-i Hirfe/hirfa: Frequently used by the Ottomans to refer to a craft. Similarity between words craft and hirfet.

Kapan: (Kabban, ar.) A large public weighing device. Caravanserai or mart in which such a device is placed to weigh goods and collect dues. HI.

Kile: 20 vukıyye(okka) = 25.659 kg. HI.

Miri: Belonging to the ruler or to the state. HI.

Mumcu: Candle-maker.

Müdd: 20 kile = 513.160 kg. HI.

Pekmez: Sometimes spelled as bekmez. Boiled grape-juice, used as treacle. RH.

Reayâ: During the classical age, all those groups, Muslim or non-Muslim, outside the askeri elite, engaged in economic activities and thus subject to taxes. HI.

Simid: “Küçük halka şeklinde has etmek.” KT.

Şair: (Ar.) Barley. FD.

Vakf: Synonym of hubs, namely a pious foundation or an endowed thing, as a rule real estate, but sometimes also an amount of cash, which “while retaining its substance yields a usufruct and of which the owner has surrendered his power of disposal with the stipulation that the yield is used for permitted good purposes”. HI.

Vukıyye /Okka: 400 dirhem = 1.282945 kg. HI.

Zımmi: Non-Muslim in Islamic literature, however, frequently used to denote Christian minority in the Ottoman Empire. See Dhimmi EI2.

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APPENDIX

Table 1. Shops and shopkeepers in Tahte'l-kal'a

Type	Property of	Trade	Tax	Battal
dükkan	osman çelebi	boza	1	
dükkan	mezbur	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	ali efendi	çörekci	3	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	mustafa ağa	zımmi bakkal	3	
dükkan	hasan ağa	pazari	2	
dükkan	hüseyin beğ	başhane	3	
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	süleyman çelebi	koltuk pazari	1	
dükkan	ahmed beşe	koltuk pazari	1	
fırın	murad paşa	has itmekci	12	
dükkan	mustafa paşa	değirmen-i dakik-i simid	5	
dükkan	el-hac mehmed	ağdacı	1	
dükkan	aişe hatun	boza	1	
dükkan	mezkure	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	el-hac sinan	boza	1	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	3	
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	ğalatalı zımmi	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	vezneci mehmed çelebi	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	el-hac mehmed	üzüm değirmeni	3	
dükkan	el-hac mustafa	bazargan-ı bakkal	1	
dükkan	el-hac musa	bazargan-ı bakkal	1	
dükkan	el-hac said	bazargan-ı bakkal	1	
dükkan	ali çelebi	bazargan-ı bakkal	1	
dükkan	el-hac ahmed	bazargan-ı bakkal	1	
dükkan	hasan efendi	bazargan-ı bakkal	1	
dükkan	el-hac ibrahim	bazargan-ı bakkal	1	
dükkan	şaban paşa veresesi	bazargan-ı bakkal	1	
dükkan	el-hac mustafa	bazargan-ı bakkal	1	
dükkan	el-hac mehmed zade	bazargan-ı bakkal	1	
dükkan	el-hac ibrahim	bazargan-ı bakkal	1	
dükkan	mehmed beyg	bazargan-ı bakkal	1	
dükkan	mustafa çelebi	bazargan-ı bakkal	1	
dükkan	bektaş ağa zade	bazargan-ı bakkal	1	

dükkan	el-hac latif	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	ahmed paşa defterdar-ı sabık	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	kavak ustası	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	yusuf beyg	sabuni	1
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa	buğdaycı	1
dükkan	mezbur	sabuni	1
dükkan	el-hac ali	sabuni	1
dükkan	yusuf efendi	zımme bakkal	3
dükkan	mezbur	zımme bakkal	3
dükkan	kepeci ali efendi	sabuni	1
dükkan	el-hac osman	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	nuh çelebi	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	nakkaş paşa zade	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	zeytûnlü el-hac hasan	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	el-hac ibrâhim	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	ayru	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	sofi mehmed	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	el-hac mustafa	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	ahmed efendi	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	şaban paşa kızları	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	el-hac mustafa	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	solak el-hac	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	mezbur	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	el-hac halil	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	balcı ali çelebi	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	el-hac mevlid	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	el-hac himmet	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	laz osman	arab şerbeti	1
dükkan	musli subaşı	sabuni	1
dükkan	yusuf ağa	zımme bakkal	3
dükkan	mezbur	zımme bakkal	3
dükkan	kerasteci şaban	sabuni	1
dükkan	mehmed efendi	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	esseyid çelebi	zımme bakkal	3
dükkan	mehmed ağa	sabuni	1
dükkan	el-hac hüseyin	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	mahmud ağa	zımme bakkal	3
dükkan	demirci halil çelebi	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	hüseyin beşe	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	baltacı el-hac mehmed	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	mustafa ağa	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	el-hac süleyman	sabuni	1
dükkan	el-hac musa	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	demirci el-hac mehmed	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	gürcü paşa zade	zımme bakkal	3
dükkan	osman bölükbaşı	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	mezbur	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	gürcü paşa zade	zımme bakkal	3
dükkan	el-hac mustafa	zımme bakkal	3
dükkan	abdi çelebi	bazargan-ı bakkal	1

dükkan	receb beşe	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	nakkaş paşa zade	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	anbarcı zımmi	bakkal	3
dükkan	pazarbaşı zade	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	mirahur ali ağa	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	ali çelevi	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	el-hac hasan	sebzeci	2
dükkan	halil çelevi	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	bostancı başı	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	el-hac a.. zade	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	küçük el-hac mehmed	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	rıdvan kethüda	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	ebubekir ağa	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	cafer ağa	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	mahmud beğ	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	musli beğ	pazari	2
dükkan	aşçı başı el-hac mahmud	pazari	2
dükkan	ali çelevi	bazargan-ı bakkal	1
dükkan	handan? zade	yelpaze kebabı	4
dükkan	mezbur	hoşabi	1
dükkan	yusuf efendi	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	kavak ustası	helvacı	2
dükkan	el-hac mehmed	çiçekci	1
itmekci			
fırını	çelevi kethüda beğzade	itmekci	12
dükkan	el-hac mahmud	pazari	2
dükkan	el-hac hüseyin	çiçekci	1
dükkan	el-hac hasan	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	bektaş ağa	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	mir-i miran hasan paşa	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	el-hac ali zade	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	el-hac mehmed reis	tavukcu ve sebzeci	3
dükkan	mustafa ağa	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	mehmed reis	çörekci	3
dükkan	mustafa ağa	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	el-hac şaban	şa'riyeci	1
dükkan	el-hac ismail	yelpaze kebabı4 hoşabi l	5
dükkan	mehmed çelevi	şa'riyeci	1
dükkan	el-hac osman	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	el-hac yahya	şa'riyeci	1
dükkan	el-hac hasan	şa'riyeci	1
dükkan	safiye hatun	şa'riyeci	1
dükkan	kara nişancı	pazari	2
dükkan	el-hac ahmed	pazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	pazari	2
dükkan	.. mehmed ağa	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	çiçekci el-hac hüseyin	sebzeci	2
dükkan	mir-i miran-ı rumili	değirmen-i dakik-i simid	5
dükkan	ahmed ağa	başhane	3
dükkan	macuni yahya	somuncu	1

dükkan	hasan efendi	çörekci	3
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	bektaş ağa	boza1 arab şerbeti2	3
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	osman ağa	hoşabi	1
dükkan	el-hac mahmud çelebi	yelp keb4 ar şrb2 salata1	7
dükkan	mezbur	hoşabi	1
dükkan	mezbur	herise pilavı	2
dükkan	mezbur	paçacı	5
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	mezbur	yelpaze kebabı4 hoşabi1	5
dükkan	salatacı	salata	1
dükkan	el-hac hüseyin	arab şerbeti2 salata1	3
dükkan	mahmud efendi	yelpaze kebabı	4
dükkan	ahmed efendi	zımmi değirmen-i dakik-i simid	5
dükkan	el-hac hüseyin	börekci	3
dükkan	halil ağa	boza	1
dükkan	hamza çelebi	boza	1
dükkan	mezbur	hoşabi	1
dükkan	aişe hatun	çörekci	3
dükkan	kuruşcu? hüseyin beşe	yelpaze kebabı	4
dükkan	belben?	hoşabi	1
dükkan		değirmen-i zımmi dakik-i simid	5
dükkan	ibrâhim çelebi	çiçekci	1

Table 2. Shops and shopkeepers in Eksik

Shop	Property of	Business	Tax	Battal
dükkan	el-hac yusuf	bazari	2	
dükkan	osman paşa zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	koltuk bazari	1	
dükkan	... zade	boza1 hoşabi1	2	
dükkan	el-hac kasım	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	mimar ağa zadeleri	sabuni	1	
dükkan	hasan beşe	çanak yoğurtcu	1	
dükkan	mustafa ağa	koltuk bazari	1	
dükkan	suhte	koltuk bazari	1	
dükkan	kara mustafa	sabuni	1	
dükkan	kerasteci el-hac ahmed	sabuni	1	
dükkan	el-hac süleyman	koltuk bazari	1	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	el-hac süleyman	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	kerasteci emir	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	hasan beşe	sarmısakçı ve yoğurtcu	1	
dükkan	ibrâhim çelebi	sarmısakçı ve yoğurtcu	1	
dükkan	el-hac mehmed	yoğurtcu	1	

dükkan	el-hac himmet	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	el-hac ali	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	hacı yusuf	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	veli çelebi	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	hacı veli	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	ramazan yazıcı	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	... başı	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	sipahi mustafa çelebi	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	hacı ahmed	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	hacı yusuf	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	mezbur	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	mezbur	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	hacı ibrâhim	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	nakkaş paşa zade	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	mezbur	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	mezbur	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	mezbur	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	mezbur	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	mezbur	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	mezbur	sarmısakcı	1	sene1
dükkan	çiçekci başı	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	hacı yusuf	sabuni	1	
dükkan	hacı musa	üzüm değirmeni	3	
dükkan	hacı ibrâhim	üzüm değirmeni	3	
dükkan	hasan beğ	üzüm değirmeni	3	
dükkan	mezbur	sabuni	1	
dükkan	hacı baki	sabuni	1	
dükkan	kadı zade	sabuni	1	
dükkan	hacı ebubekir	sabuni	1	
dükkan	receb çelebi zade	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	mezbur	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	mezbur	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	mezbur	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	kara ibrâhim	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	ömer beğ	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	hacı ibrâhim	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	ahmed beşe	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	esseyid mustafa	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	hacı ahmed	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	hasan çelebi zade	sarmısakcı	1	
dükkan	mezbur	başhane	3	
dükkan	çiçekci	üzüm değirmeni	3	
dükkan	perekeci? başı	pazari	2	
dükkan	sebzeane katibi ömer efendi	aşçı	3	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	kurşuncu başı	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	mezbur	çanak yoğurtcu	1	
dükkan	mezbur	koltuk bazari	1	
dükkan	hacı hasan	çanak yoğurtcu	1	
dükkan	mehmed reis zade	çanak yoğurtcu	1	

dükkan	ali beşe	çanak yoğurtcu	1
dükkan	receb beşe	çanak yoğurtcu	1
dükkan	kasım ağa	çanak yoğurtcu	1
dükkan	kayyum mustafa	çanak yoğurtcu	1
dükkan	hacı ömer	çanak yoğurtcu	1
dükkan	hacı abdünnafi	izmiri	1
dükkan	hacı .. zade	izmiri	1
dükkan	hacı ahmed	izmiri	1
dükkan	hacı ebubekir	izmiri	1
dükkan	mezbur	izmiri	1
dükkan	mezbur	izmiri	1
dükkan	bıyıklı ebubekir	izmiri	1
dükkan	hacı ismail	izmiri	1
dükkan	mustafa yazıcı	izmiri	1
dükkan	ömer beşe	izmiri	1
dükkan	odabaşı	izmiri	1
dükkan	bıyıklı ebubekir	izmiri	1
dükkan	.. kethüda	izmiri	1
dükkan	çok? ahmed zade	izmiri	1
dükkan	mesih zade	izmiri	1
dükkan	köscü ali efendi	izmiri	1
dükkan	hacı ramazan	izmiri	1
dükkan	hacı mustafa	izmiri	1
dükkan	odabaşı	izmiri	1
dükkan	hacı halil	izmiri	1
dükkan	hacı ali	izmiri	1
dükkan	sebzeçibaşı zade	izmiri	1
dükkan	mezbur	izmiri	1
dükkan	kambur mehmed efendi	izmiri	1
dükkan	ali beşe	izmiri	1
dükkan	hasan ağa	izmiri	1
dükkan	attar hacı hasan	izmiri	1
dükkan	bursalı zade	izmiri	1
dükkan	mezbur	izmiri	1
dükkan	hacı hasan	izmiri	1
dükkan	haffaf hacı mehmed	izmiri	1
dükkan	hacı ferhad	izmiri	1
dükkan	hacı hasan	izmiri	1
dükkan	mezbur	izmiri	1
dükkan	hacı salih	izmiri	1
dükkan	hacı ferhad	izmiri	1
dükkan	ali çelebi vekilharc-ı ayasofya	izmiri	1
dükkan	arab hasan	izmiri	1
dükkan	ali efendi	izmiri	1
dükkan	hacı mahmud	bezirci	1
dükkan	hacı ferhad	izmiri	1
dükkan	hacı mehmed	izmiri	1
dükkan	yelkenci zade	izmiri	1
dükkan	hasırcı ali çelebi	izmiri	1
dükkan	cağal oğlu	izmiri	1

dükkan	demürçi oğlu	izmiri	1
dükkan	odabaşı	izmiri	1
dükkan	hacı mehmed	izmiri	1
dükkan	kadı zade	izmiri	1
dükkan	mezbur	izmiri	1
dükkan	yusuf ağa	izmiri	1
dükkan	mezbur	izmiri	1
dükkan	himmet beşe	izmiri	1
dükkan	kavak ustası	izmiri	1
dükkan	abdi paşa	izmiri	1
dükkan	hacı murad	izmiri	1
dükkan	hacı mustafa	izmiri	1
dükkan	hüseyin beşe	izmiri	1
dükkan	hacı selim zade	sabuni	1
dükkan	feriko	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	dülger mehmed ağa	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	hacı selim zade	sabuni	1
dükkan	resul efendi	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	kadı zade	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	şaban beyg	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	siyavuş ağa	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	hacı mahmud	bezirci	1
dükkan	hacı halil	izmiri	1
dükkan	mezbur	izmiri	1 şehir 6
dükkan	cafer ağa	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	.. ağa	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	abdunnebi ağa	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	kasım ağa	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	mehmed çelevi	soğani	1
dükkan	hacı hasan	soğani	1
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	hacı ..	soğani	1
dükkan	hacı halil	soğani	1
dükkan	osman efendi	soğani	1
dükkan	hacı selim zade	soğani	1
dükkan	mezbur	soğani	1
dükkan	hacı yusuf	soğani	1
dükkan	beyg zade	soğani	1
dükkan	ilyas beyg	soğani	1
dükkan	habib ağa	soğani	1
dükkan	beyg zade	soğani	1
dükkan	.. ağa	soğani	1
dükkan	cebeci başı	soğani	1
dükkan	solak zade	soğani	1
dükkan	çolak mahmud beyg	soğani	1
dükkan	ebru efendi	soğani	1
dükkan	şeker elma? zade	soğani	1
dükkan	medine mütevellisi	soğani	1

dükkan	çiçekci başı	soğani	1
dükkan	hacı musalla	soğani	1
dükkan	mustafa paşa	soğani	1
dükkan	çiçekci başı	soğani	1
dükkan	ishak çelevi	soğani	1
dükkan	hacı mahmud ağa	soğani	1
dükkan	ebubekir çelevi	soğani	1
dükkan	hacı süleyman	soğani	1
dükkan	mahmud beşe	soğani	1
dükkan	hacı ismail	soğani	1
dükkan	hacı ali	soğani	1
dükkan	hacı derviş	soğani	1
dükkan	hacı ali	soğani	1
dükkan	yusuf beşe	soğani	1
dükkan	hacı musa	soğani	1
dükkan	hacı musalla	soğani	1
dükkan	.. hatun	tuzcu	1
dükkan	hacı nasuh	tuzcu	1
dükkan	hacı mehmed	tuzcu	1
dükkan	bayram beşe	tuzcu	1
dükkan	hacı mustafa	tuzcu	1
dükkan	hacı ahmed	pirinci	.5
dükkan	hacı ebubekir	pirinci	.5
dükkan	mezbur	pirinci	.5
dükkan	s.. mustafa beşe	pirinci	.5
dükkan	hacı mustafa beşe	pirinci	.5
dükkan	hacı hasan	pirinci	.5
dükkan	mustafa beşe	pirinci	.5
dükkan	.. beşe	pirinci	.5
dükkan	zülfikar beşe	pirinci	.5
dükkan	köse ali	pirinci	.5
dükkan	monla mehmed	pirinci	.5
dükkan	ibrâhim beşe	pirinci	.5
dükkan	hacı nasuh	pirinci	.5
dükkan	köse osman	pirinci	.5
dükkan	hacı hüseyin	pirinci	.5
dükkan	ebubekir çelevi	pirinci	.5
dükkan	sadık beşe	pirinci	.5
dükkan	ibrâhim beşe	pirinci	.5
dükkan	yusuf beyg	pirinci	.5
dükkan	monla mustafa	pirinci	.5
dükkan	süleyman beşe	pirinci	.5
dükkan	mehmed beşe	pirinci	.5
dükkan	hasan beşe	pirinci	.5
dükkan	osman yazıcı	pirinci	.5
dükkan	ali beşe	arpacı	1
dükkan	hacı hasan	arpacı	1
dükkan	hacı ebubekir	arpacı	1
dükkan	veli beşe	arpacı	1
dükkan	hacı ibrâhim	arpacı	1

dükkan	sinan beşe	arpacı	1	
dükkan	hacı mehmed	arpacı	1	
dükkan	hacı ali zade	arpacı	1	
dükkan	kamil çelevi	arpacı	1	
dükkan	ali çelevi	arpacı	1	
dükkan	osman çelevi	arpacı	1	
dükkan	hacı ibrâhim	arpacı	1	
dükkan	hacı mustafa	arpacı	1	
dükkan	cezayirli	arpacı	1	
mezbur arpacıların derya kenarında olan..			20	
dükkan	hacı osman	tuzcu	1	
dükkan	diger hacı osman	tuzcu	1	
dükkan	murad beşe	soğani	1	
dükkan	hacı mustafa	tuzcu	1	
dükkan	hacı halil	zımmi bakkal	3	
dükkan	köse davud	bazari	2	
dükkan	hacı halil	boza	1	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	miğal zade	zımmi bakkal	3	
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	3	
dükkan	mihriban ağa	tuzcu	1	
dükkan	hacı abdullah	zımmi bakkal	3	
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	3	
dükkan	miğal? zade	zımmi bakkal	3	
dükkan	benkola?	havyarcı bakkal	5	
dükkan	dilşad?	havyarcı	5	
dükkan	soğancı oğlu	müslim kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	musalla-musli ağa	zımmi bakkal	3	
dükkan	abdullah çelevi	havyarcı	5	
dükkan	kerasteci hacı mustafa	havyarcı	5	
dükkan	süleyman çelevi	sabuni	1	
dükkan	solak zımmi	kasab-ı ğanem	3	şehr 5
dükkan	dali	havyarcı	5	
dükkan	çiçekci zımmi	havyarcı	5	
dükkan	kavad? ağa	zımmi bakkal	3	
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa	zımmi bakkal	3	
dükkan	yusuf ağa	limoni	1	
dükkan	ser..lı oğlu	limoni	1	
dükkan	burbar? ahmed	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	...	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	ali beşe	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	mezbur	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	salmon	bazari	2	
dükkan	arif efendi	lokmacı	2	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasabı	4	
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasabı	4	
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasabı	4	
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasabı	4	
dükkan	motozlu? yahudi	bakkal	4	

dükkan		degirmen-i dakik simid-i zımmi	5
dükkan	son? oğlu	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	ishak	tavukcu	1
dükkan	mezbur	tavukcu	1
dükkan	musa	turşucu	1
dükkan	cebeci başı	yahudi kasabı	4
dükkan	galatalı zımmi	yahudi kasabı	4
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasabı	4
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasabı	4
dükkan	ali beşe	yahudi kasabı	4
dükkan	marko	boza	1
dükkan	mezbur	tavukcu	1
dükkan	cebeci başı	kömür mahzeni bargir..	2
dükkan	mustafa beşe	kömür mahzeni bargir..	2
dükkan	yusuf efendi	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	mezbur	boza	1
dükkan	ibrâhim efendi	sabuni	1
dükkan	mezbur	sabuni	1
dükkan	avcılar çorbacısı	müslim kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	kurd	bazari	2
dükkan	boncukcu yahudi	bazari	2
dükkan	nuh ağa	kebabi 2 hoşabi 1	3
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasabı	4
dükkan	ibrâhim kethuda	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	kabun? oğlu	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	mehmed ağa	simidci zımmi	5
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa	çanak yoğurtcu	1
dükkan	ahmed ağa	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	kara ömer	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	lokmacı	2
dükkan	hasan çelebi	kebabi	4
dükkan	hacı mahmud	yahnici	4
dükkan	mezbur	hoşabi	1
dükkan	bostancı hacı	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	ahi mustafa	helvacı	2
fırın	mustafa paşa-balık pazarı	itmekci	12
dükkan	himmet beşe	kebabi	4
dükkan	mezbur	hoşabi	1
dükkan	hüseyin çelebi	müslim kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	abdi efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	abdullah efendi	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	kebabi 4 hoşabi 1	5
dükkan	hekim mustafa çelebi	bazari	2
dükkan	.. paşa	boza	1
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	mezbur	südcü	1

dükkan	mezbur	koltuk bazari	1
dükkan	mezbur	zım̄mi bakkal	3
dükkan	valide tabibi	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	arpacı	1
dükkan	mezbur	arpacı	1
dükkan	mezbur	arpacı	1
dükkan	mezbur	arpacı	1
dükkan	mezbur	arpacı	1
dükkan	mezbur	otlukcu	1
dükkan	mezbur	samancı	1
dükkan	mezbur	otlukcu	1
dükkan	sumakcı oğlu	kasab-ı bakar-ı müslim	3
dükkan	taşçı başı	bazari	2
dükkan	su nazırı	arpacı	1
dükkan	ömer ağa	zım̄mi bakkal	3
dükkan	kenan beyg	kebabi 2 hoşabi 1	3
dükkan	cebeci başı	kasab-ı ğanem-i müslim	3
dükkan	kasım ağa	çörekci	3
kömür mahzeni		kömür mahzeni	6
dükkan	seyyid mehmed oğlu	zım̄mi bakkal	3
fırın	hacı mustafa-bağçe kapusu	itmekci	12
dükkan	hacı mustafa baltacı	bazari	2
dükkan	hacı mustafa	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	haydar ali	arpacı	1
Total			592

Table 3. Shops and shopkeepers in Taraklı

Shop	Property of	Business	Tax	Battal
dükkan	mustafa ağa	pazari	2	
koltuk	memiş ağa	koltuk bakkal-ı müslim	2	
dükkan	kömürcü mustafa ağa zevcesi	pazari	2	
dükkan	musahib paşa	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa	değirmen-i un-i has	5	
dükkan	mezbur	çörekci	3	
dükkan	hoca kadın	pazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	küçük yazıcı	zım̄mi kasab-ı ğanem	3	
koltuk	sabi	koltuk pazari	1	
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	sebzeci	2	
fırın	kına? sultan /hoca paşa itmekcisi	itmekci	12	
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	hacı süleyman	kebabi 2 hoşabi 1	3	
dükkan	ibrâhim paşa	pazari	2	
dükkan	ahmed ağa	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	pazari	2	
dükkan	osman beşe	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	hacı süleyman	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	mehmed beşe	çörekci fırını	3	

dükkan	mehmed efendi	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	kına? sultan	arab hassı	3
dükkan	hacı halil	hoşabi	1
dükkan	mahmud ağa	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	yusuf beyg	pazari	2
dükkan	mustafa çelevi	pazari	2
dükkan	mustafa efendi veresesı	pazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	pazari	2
dükkan	hacı yusuf	pazari	2
dükkan	berber mustafa	kasab-ı ğanem-i zımmi	3
dükkan	ali çelevi	çörekci fırını	3
dükkan	mezbur	helvacı	2
dükkan	mezbur	sebzeci	2
dükkan	hacı ömer	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	çorbacı zade	turşucu	1
dükkan	muhasibeci hasan efendi	..	6
dükkan	mahmud çelevi	boza	1
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	mezbur	turşucu	1
dükkan	hacı hüseyin	çörekci	3
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4
koltuk	bekiri/yeniçeri efendisi koca reis	koltuk bakkal	2
dükkan	deli mehmed	pazari	2
dükkan	ahmed ağa	pazari	2
dükkan	mehmed ağa dülbend ağası	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	haseki ali ağa	pazari	2
dükkan	meydancı camii vakfi	çörekci fırını	3
dükkan	habib ağa	pazari	2
dükkan	deli hasan ağa	pazari	2
dükkan	receb ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	sebzeci	2
dükkan	şehir emini	pazari	2
dükkan	kirecci başı	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	ahmed ağa	pazari	2
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	hoşabi	1
dükkan	..ci oğlu	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	ahmed ağa	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	hasan bölükbaşı	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	hacı hüseyin	pazari	2
dükkan	odun ibrahim paşa	yahudi çörekci	5
dükkan	siyavuş ağa	arab hassı	3
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kebabcısı	5
dükkan	kabur? mehmed efendi	helvacı	2
dükkan	siyavuş ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	mehmed efendi	leblebici	1
dükkan	mezbur	pazari	2
dükkan	ahmed efendi	leblebici	1
dükkan	siyavuş ağa	lokmacı	2
dükkan	aşçı başı	pazari	2

dükkan	hacı ali	yahudi çörekci	5
dükkan	süleyman beşe	tavukcu	1
dükkan	kazasker efendi	turşucu	1
dükkan	hacı ömer	pazari	2
dükkan	marko	tavukcu	1
dükkan	mehmed efendi	leblebici	1
dükkan	paşa zade	helvacı	2
dükkan	hacı mahmud	pazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4
fırın	kapucı başı osman ağa	itmekci	12
dükkan	mehmed ağa	sebzeçi	2
dükkan	ahmed ağa	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	hacı mahmud	kebabi 2 hoşabi 1	3
dükkan	mustafa çelevi	çörekci	3
dükkan	ahmed ağa	pazari	2
dükkan	hamami zade	helvacı	2
dükkan	mezbur	un hası	3
dükkan	koltukcu ibrahim	pazari	2
dükkan	şaban ağa	lokmacı 2 helvacı 2	4
dükkan	mehmed beşe	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	mehmed beşe	çiçekci	1
dükkan	mezbur	tavukcu	1
dükkan	hacı ibrahim	çiçekci	1
dükkan	mehmed beşe	tavukcu	1
dükkan	hacı ibrahim	helvacı	2
koltuk	ali beşe	koltuk pazari	1
dükkan	merhum valide kethudası mustafa efendi	kebabi 2 hoşabi 1	3
dükkan	tersane emini	bezirhane	2
dükkan	hacı ali	değirmen-i dakik simid-i zımmi	5
koltuk	hacı mahmud	koltuk bakkal	2
dükkan	mustafa efendi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mustafa efendi	çörekci	3
fırın	valide kethudası mustafa efendi	itmekci	12

Table 4. Shops and shopkeepers in Ayasofya

Shop	Property of	Business	Tax	Battal
dükkan	resul efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	yeni cami hatibi	un-ı has	3	
dükkan	hacı ismail	çörekci	3	
dükkan	gülistan hatun	otlukcu	1	
dükkan	mezbure	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	hacı sefer	sebzeçi	2	
dükkan	merhum mustafa efendi	un-ı has	3	
dükkan	hüseyin efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	mehmed celebi	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	imam-ı avcılar	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	yusuf ağa	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	peykhane yokuşu	zımmi bakkal	4	

fırın	osman paşazade	itmekci	12
dükkan	sami zade	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	çörekci	3
dükkan	sefer ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mehmed ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	şancı paşa kızı	kebabi 1 hoşabi 2	3
dükkan	çavuşzade	ağdacı	1
dükkan	osman efendi	hoşabi	1
dükkan	ali ağa	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	mezbur	başhane	3
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	hacı hüseyin	çörekci fırını	3
dükkan	mehmed ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	ak nami? osman ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	hacı hüseyin		2
dükkan	hacı osman	bazari	2
fırın	behrami? kadın çardaklı hamamı	itmekci	12
dükkan	alim çavuş	bazari	2
dükkan	ali çavuş	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	şa'ban ağa zade	bazari	2
dükkan	ahmed ağa	zımmi bakkal	5
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	.. ağazade	çörekci	3
dükkan	es-seyyid mehmed	bazari	2
dükkan	hafız çavuş	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	küçük ayasofya şeyhi	boza 1 hoşabi 2	3
dükkan	hacı mehmed	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	şeyh-i mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	sefer ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	cebeci mehmed beşe	zımmi bakkal mea...	5
dükkan	mustafa efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	aşçı hasan	kasab-ı ğanem	
dükkan	özcü ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	şeyh-i mezbur	ağdacı	1
dükkan	yusuf efendi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan		bazari	2
dükkan		arpacı	1
dükkan	...ağa	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2	3
dükkan	mehmed ağa	boza 1 hoşabi 1	2
dükkan	abdi ağa	çörekci	3
dükkan	hacı...	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	cebeci başı	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	zekeriya ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	cebeci başı	zımmi bakkal mea...	5
dükkan	zekeriya çavuş	bazari	2
dükkan	ishak efendi zade	hoşabi	1

dükkan	hacı...	zımme bakkal mea...	5	
dükkan	kürd oğlu	bazari	2	
dükkan	mustafa efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	zımme bakkal	4	
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa	zımme bakkal mea...	5	
dükkan	ali yazıcı	bazari	2	
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	abdi efendi	çörekci	3	
dükkan	mezbur	zımme bakkal mea...	5	
dükkan	ahmed ağa	zımme kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	süleyman ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	yağcı zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	hacı ismail	bazari	2	
dükkan	ahmed ağa	zımme bakkal	4	
dükkan	mehmed beşe	bazari	2	
fırın		itmekci	12	
dükkan	hacı şaban	zımme bakkal	4	
dükkan	usta şaban	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	hasan çelebi	bazari	2	
dükkan	hacı...	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	hacı mustafa	bazari	2	
dükkan	yusuf efendi zade	zımme bakkal	4	
dükkan	kabasakal vakfi	bazari	2	
dükkan	osman ağa	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	mehmed efendi	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	hacı osman	bazari	2	
dükkan	hacı siyavuş	bazari	2	
dükkan	 efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	mehmed efendi	yoncacı	1	
dükkan	hıdır ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	...	bazari	2	
dükkan	... ağa	zımme bakkal	4	
dükkan	ismail ağa	bürümeci?	1	
dükkan	cebeci başı	yoğurt hane	6	
dükkan	imam zade	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	dilaver ağa	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	halil çelebi	halka simidi	5	
dükkan	...	hoşabi		sene 1
dükkan	cebehane vakfi	çiçekci	1	
dükkan	hasan çelebi	bazari	2	
dükkan	 ağa vakfi	çiçekci	1	
dükkan	hıdır ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	hacı ismail	bazari	2	
dükkan	kasım ağa	müslim bakkal	3	
koltuk	mezbur	bazari mea koltuk başlı	2	
dükkan	mezbur	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	hacı ismail	kebabi	2	
dükkan	hıdır ağa	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	mezbur	lokmacı	2	
dükkan	musa çelebi	.....	4	şehir 2

dükkan	mustafa çelevi	hoşabi	1
dükkan	hacı ismail	hoşabi	1
dükkan	mezbur	.....	5
dükkan	mustafa efendi	çörekci	3
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	hacı kasım	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	hacı ismail	şerbeti	2
dükkan	mezbur	kebabi	2
dükkan	hüseyin beyg	turşucu	1
dükkan	beşe	bazari	2
dükkan	başı	çörekci	3
dükkan	 ağa zadesi	hoşabi	1
dükkan	hacı hasan	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	m-s-v ağa	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	aşçı başı	bazari	2
dükkan	abdülkerim	turşucu	1
dükkan	mehmed ağa	çörekci	3
dükkan	hadim ağa	sebzezi 2 mea tavuk 1	3
dükkan	hasan ağa	turşucu	1
dükkan	hacı mehmed	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	mezbur	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	hacı ebubekir	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	osman ağa	sebzezi 2ve tavukçu 1	3
dükkan	hasan ağa	tavukcu	1
dükkan	hacı alagöz	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	ahmed çelevi	helvacı	2
dükkan	ali beşe	otlukcu	1
dükkan	nasuhi beyg	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	hasan çelevi	otlukcu	1
dükkan	hacı ali	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	şeyhi mehmed ağa	...	?
dükkan	cebeci başı	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	ahmed çelevi	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	hacı bali	kasab-ı ganem-i bakar	3
dükkan	hasan ağa	boza	1
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	...	yoğurthane	6
dükkan	hacı ismail	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	kasım ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	osman ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	 hatun	bazari	2
fırın	mehmed efendi, perviz ağa	itmekci	12
dükkan	aşçı başı	helvacı	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	ismail çelevi	bazari	2

dükkan	hacı ahmed	...	2	
dükkan	cağal oğlu	bazari	2	
dükkan	şa'ban ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	hacı hüseyin	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	kethüda zade	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	yağlıkçı ali	çörekci fırını	3	
dükkan	abdurrahman efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	abdullah çelevi	bazari	2	
dükkan	mehmed ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	çörekçi osman ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	ahmed ağa	bazari	2	sene 6
fırın	kapudan paşa	itmekci	12	
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	asaf ağa	bazari	2	
fırın	piri kethüda/ahmed ağa	itmekci	12	
dükkan	cebeci başı	çörekci	3	
dükkan	sefer beyg	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	kapudan paşa mollası	bazari	2	
dükkan	hafız ağa	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2	3	
dükkan	yusuf ağa zade	sebzece	2	
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	 mustafa beyg	bazari	2	
dükkan	 zımmi	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	osman ağa	boza	1	

Table 5. Tavuk Bazarı

Shop	Property of	Business	Tax	Battal
dükkan	abdi paşa	yahudi kasap	4	
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasap	4	
dükkan	tabib mustafa çelevi	boza 1 hoşabi 1	2	
dükkan	mehmed efendi zade	yahudi bakkal	4	
dükkan	mehmed efendi	yahudi kasap	4	
dükkan	hasan ağa	yahudi kasap	4	
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasap	4	
dükkan	bozacı el hac ali	lokmacı	2	
dükkan	hasan ağa	yahudi kasap	4	
dükkan	mustafa çelevi	yahudi kasap	4	
dükkan	köse ali çelevi	yahudi bakkal	4	
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi bakkal	4	
dükkan	mustafa çelevi	yahudi bazari	2	
dükkan	tabib mustafa çelevi	tavukcu yahudi	2	
dükkan	el-hac mehmed	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	der han-ı mahmud paşa	aşçı dükkanı	4	
dükkan	boza ci yahudi	bazari	2	
dükkan	 emir	bazari	2	
dükkan	 efendi	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2		
dükkan	es- seyyid hüseyin	bazari	2	

dükkan	hüseyin çelevi	çörekci	3	
dükkan	el - hac ibrâhim	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	kürkçüler köşesi	kasab-ı ganem	3	sene 1
dükkan	hüseyin çelevi	zımmi kasab-ı ganem	3	
dükkan	mehmed ağa	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	mehmed ağa	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2	3	
dükkan	fethi çelevi zade	mercimekci 1 hoşabi 2	3	
dükkan	hacı ahmed	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	kapucı hasan	zımmi kasab-ı ganem	3	
dükkan	el- hac ahmed	zımmi bakkal	4	sene 1
dükkan	ali beşe	bazari	2	sene 1
dükkan	mezbur	.....	2	sene 1
dükkan	mustafa ağa	kulluk bazari	1	
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	 çelevi	bazari	2	
dükkan	beradi?!?	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	halil ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	lutfi efendi	hak bendesi?	6	
koltuk	ali çelevi	koltuk bazari	1	
koltuk	osman	koltuk bazari	1	
koltuk	ali efendi	koltuk bazari	1	
koltuk	emine hatun	koltuk bazari	1	
koltuk	ci el-hac hasan	koltuk bazari	1	
koltuk	ci çelevi	koltuk bazari	1	
dükkan	davud ağa	çörekci	3	
dükkan	el-hac ahmed	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	ali efendi	turşucu	1	
dükkan	halil ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	ahmed çelevi	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	mustafa paşa	zımmi kasab-ı ganem	3	
dükkan	el- hac halil	çörekci	3	
dükkan	hasan ağa	yoğurthane	6	
dükkan	el- hac mehmed	müslim kasab-ı ganem	3	
dükkan	zülfikar ağa	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2	3	
dükkan	nişancı	kasab-ı ganem	3	
dükkan	yoğurthane	yoğurthane	6	
dükkan	zülfikar ağa	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2	3	
dükkan	hasan ağa	zımmi kasab-ı ganem	3	
dükkan	mustafa ağa	paçacı 5 hoşabi 1	6	
dükkan	el- hac ibrâhim	boza 1 kebabi 2 arab şerbeti 2	5	
dükkan	aliye hatun	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	zade.....	çörekci	3	
dükkan	tavukçu...	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	yusuf efendi	boza 1 hoşabi 1	2	
fırın	semerciler.....	itmekci	12	
dükkan	emini	sebzeci 2 ve tavukçu 1	3	
dükkan	tavukçu...	aşçı	4	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	eyub efendi	müslim kasab-ı ganem	3	
dükkan	yağlıkçı hacı	kasab-ı bakar	3	

dükkan	küçük beyg	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	zülfikar ağa	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	kethüda zade	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	el- hac ali	boza 1 hoşabi 1	2	sene 2
dükkan	ali ağa	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	mustafa paşa....	başhane	3	
dükkan	ali ağa zade	zımmi kasab-ı ganem	3	
dükkan	mezbur	müslim kasab-ı ganem	3	
dükkan	mezbur	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	mezbur	müslim kasab-ı ganem	3	
dükkan	aşçı başı zade	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	.....	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa	kasab-ı bakar	3	
koltuk	sinan beşe	koltuk bazari	1	
dükkan	ağa babası	kasab-ı bakar	3	
koltuk	ali beşe	koltuk bazari	1	
dükkan	.....	tavukcu	1	
dükkan	yorgi?	tavukcu	1	
dükkan	ibrâhim efendi	tavukcu	1	
dükkan	simo?	tavukcu	1	
dükkan	todori	tavukcu	1	
dükkan	el- hac mehmed	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	abdi ağa	tavukcu	1	
dükkan	el-hac mehmed	bazari	2	
dükkan	başı	bazari	2	
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	ağa babası	bazari	2	
dükkan	el-hac behram	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	el-hac şa'ban	bazari	2	
dükkan	ali beşe	çörekci	3	
dükkan	seyyid ahmed zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	ali beğ	müslim kasab-ı ganem	3	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	.....	bazari	2	
dükkan	çelebi	bazari	2	
dükkan	tekin ahmed ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	kürd oğlu	sebzeci 2 mea tavukcu 1	3	
dükkan	hatun	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	mahmud paşa hatun	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	zülfikar ağa	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	aşçı efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	.....	bazari	2	
dükkan	zülfikar ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	yoğurtçu başı	lokmacı 2 kebabi 2	4	
dükkan	cebeci başı	sebzeci 2 arab şerbeti 2	4	
dükkan	ibrâhim paşa	işkenbeci	.....	
dükkan	mehmed ağa	kebabi 2 hoşabi 1	3	
dükkan	el-hac mustafa	bazari	2	
dükkan	mahmud ağa	turşucu	1	
dükkan	mustafa ağa	zımmi değirmen-i simid	5	

dükkan	mehmed ağa	helvacı	2	
dükkan	el-hac ahmed	zımme bakkal	4	
dükkan	osman ağa	zımme bakkal	4	
dükkan	balcı ali çelevi	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	osman ağa	çörekci	3	
dükkan	hacı emir	aşçı 4 arab şerbeti 2	6	
dükkan	hindu ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	miskci başı	bazari	2	
dükkan	deli ali	bazari	2	
fırın	dikilitaş mustafa paşa	itmekci	12	
dükkan	imamı	bazari	2	
dükkan	mustafa çelevi	müslim kasab-ı ganem	3	
dükkan	el-hac ali	bazari	2	
dükkan	mustafa efendi	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	el-hac mahmud	bazari	2	
dükkan	el-mezbur	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	abdullah efendi	aşçı 4 hoşabi 1	5	
dükkan	el-hac ibrâhim	çörekci	3	
dükkan	efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	oğlu	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	el-hac mahmud	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	zade	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	silahdar ağası zade	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2	3	
dükkan	mehmed ağa	lokmacı	2	
dükkan	mezbur	müslim kasab-ı ganem	3	
dükkan	doğancı	bazari	2	
dükkan	el-hac şa'ban	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	zımme	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	mehmed beyg	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	eyub efendi zade	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	hasan beyg	bazari	2	
dükkan	mehmed ağa	zımme bakkal	4	
dükkan	abdurrahman ağa	çörekci	3	
dükkan	el-hac receb	zımme bakkal	4	
dükkan	yusuf beşe	zımme kasab-ı ganem	3	
dükkan	mezbur	boza 1 hoşabi 1	2	
dükkan	abdi paşa	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	el-hac yusuf	bazari	2	
dükkan	ibrâhim efendi	turşucu	1	
dükkan	mezbur	.....	1	sene2
dükkan	parmaksız ibrâhim	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	el-hac osman	kasab-ı bakar	3	

dükkan	zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	hasan efendi	aşçı	4	
dükkan	mehmed ağa	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	mezbur	helvacı	2	
dükkan	ibrâhim paşa	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	.....	2	sene 1
dükkan	mustafa paşa	lokmacı	2	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	balcı zade	boza	1	
dükkan	mehmed bazari	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	.....	2	sene 2
dükkan	özcü beşe	aşçı	4	
dükkan	mezbur	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	mustafa ağa	kebabi	2	
dükkan	mezbur	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	zımmi	kasab-ı ganem	3	
dükkan	el-hac ahmed	bazari	2	
dükkan	el-hac ahmed	işkenbeci	?	
dükkan	mezbur	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	halıçeci el-hac hasan	kebabi	2	
dükkan	mezbur	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	?	
fırın	ibrâhim paşa	itmekci	12	
dükkan	hasan beşe	bazari	2	sene 1
dükkan	mezbur	...	2	sene 1

Table 6. Kadiasker

Shop	Property of	Business	Tax	Battal
dükkan	odası	çörekci	3	
fırın	zeyrek başı/ tabib mustafa çelebi	itmekci	12	
dükkan	mustafa paşa zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	çivizade	zımmi bakkal	2	
dükkan	el-hac mehmed	gözlemeci	2	
dükkan	der kurb-ı çivili hamam?	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	mustafa ağa	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	derviş zade ..	otlukcu	1	
dükkan	ali subaşı	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa zade	çörekci	3	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	ali ağa	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5	
fırın	süleyman efendi zade	itmekci	12	
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	solak ahmed	helvacı	2	
dükkan	emir paşa zade	turşucu	1	
dükkan	mustafa efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	emir paşa zade	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	mehmed çelebi	bazari	2	sene 1

dükkan	mahmud ağa	zımme bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	mustafa ağa	zımme kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	sarı? ali	zımme bakkal	4	
dükkan	saraç zade	helvacı	2	
dükkan	solak zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	el-hac mehmed	bazari	2	
dükkan	el-hac abdurrahman	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	köşk bekçisi	hoşabi	2	
dükkan	el-hac ferdi	çörekci	3	
dükkan	ali çelebi	kasab-ı bakar	3	
fırın	hasan efendi	itmekci	12	
dükkan	el-hac yusuf	bazari	2	
dükkan	kara hasan zade	çörekci	3	
dükkan	mustafa çelebi	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	ismail ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	mahmud ağa	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	ismail ağa	zımme bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	mahmud ağa	turşucu	1	
dükkan	mısırlı oğlu	çörekci	3	
dükkan	halil efendi	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	ali efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	hasan ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	mustafa çelebi	kebabi 2 hoşabi 1	3	
dükkan	bahai efendi zade	kebabi 2 hoşabi 1	3	
dükkan	mehmed çelebi	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa zade	zımme bakkal-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	mezbur	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	zeynep?	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	oda başı	çörekci	3	
dükkan	solak	hoşabi	2	şehir 3
dükkan	yusuf ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	.....	zımme bakkal mea sebze	5	
fırın	mahmud ağa	itmekci	12	
dükkan	şeyh zade	zımme kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	süleyman efendi	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	mehmed ağa	hoşabi 1 kebabi 2	3	
dükkan	hasan ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	mustafa efendi	bazari	2	
fırın	hasan ağa	itmekci	12	
dükkan	sekzan? beşe	helvacı	2	
dükkan	hasan ağa	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	kasım ağa	leblebi	1	
dükkan	mustafa çelebi	zımme kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	aişe hatun	helvacı	2	
dükkan	mehmed çelebi	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	murad paşa türbesi	sebzeci? südcü?		şehir 6
dükkan	.....	bazari	2	
dükkan	mahmud efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	uğur? beşe	bazari	2	

dükkan	el-hac....	.....	4	
dükkan	süleyman ağa	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	zülfikar ağa	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	mahmud efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	elçi paşa zade	yoğurthane	6	
dükkan	hasan ağa	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	...başı	bazari	2	
dükkan	ahmed ağa	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	beyg	başhane	3	
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa	otlukcu	1	
dükkan	ibrâhim paşa	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	mezbur	kebabi 2 hoşabi 1	3	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	mehmed ağa	işkenbeci?		
dükkan	ali efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	mehmed çelebi	çörekci	3	
dükkan	abdi ağa	arab şerbeti boza?	2	şehr 5
dükkan	mezbur	aşçı	3	
dükkan	çelebi kethüda beğ	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	sekan başı	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	sefer kethüda	ağdacı	1	
dükkan	giritli zade beğ ev kethüdası?	boza 1 hoşabi 1		
dükkan	hoca	zımmi bakkal	4	
fırın	ferhad paşa kurbu	itmekci	12	
dükkan	hristo	tavukcu 1 sebzeci 2	3	
dükkan	ahmed ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	çörekci	3	
dükkan	abdi paşa	zımmi bakkal	4	şehr 2
dükkan	mehmed efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	ishak efendi	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	fodla katibi	bazari	2	
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa	kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	...kethüdası	ağdacı	1	
dükkan	beyg	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	abdurrahman	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	hasan çelebi	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	ahmed efendi	başhane	3	
dükkan	şeyhzade	börekci 3 hoşabi 1		
dükkan	ömer ağa	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	hasan efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	kara dutlu	bazari	2	
dükkan	süleyman ağa	aşçı 4 arab şerbeti 2		
dükkan	ali efendi	işkenbeci		
dükkan	mustafa çelebi	boza 1 hoşabi 1		
dükkan	gümüş zade	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	salih ağa	arab şerbeti boza	2	
dükkan	kadri ağa	helvacı	2	
dükkan	mustafa ağa	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	sunullah beşe	leblebi	1	
dükkan	...beyg	leblebi	1	

dükkan	.....	leblebi	1
dükkan	sunullah beşe	leblebi	1
dükkan	...başı	leblebi	1
dükkan	el-hac abdülhalim	leblebi	1
dükkan	ka'be mevlası	helvacı	2
dükkan	ismail paşa	bazari	2
dükkan	hasan efendi	turşucu	1
dükkan	sunullah	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	fatma hatun	börekci	3
dükkan	yusuf paşa sultanı?	çörekci	3
dükkan	zülfikar ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	hoca hatun	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	mezbure	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	mehmed çelevi	kasab-ı bakar	3
fırın	kurb-ı sekbanbaşı yusuf ağa	itmekci	12
dükkan	mehmed ağa	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı ganem	3
dükkan	sunullah efendi	kebabi 2 hoşabi 1	
dükkan	abdullah efendi kızı	sebzeci 2 tavukcu 1	
dükkan	efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	abdullah efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	zülfikar ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	süleyman efendi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	.....	helvacı	2
dükkan	ahmed efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	emir-i hicazi şeyhi	bazari	2
dükkan	halil odabaşı	bazari	2
dükkan	abdullah efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	sunullah efendi	kebabi 2 hoşabi 1	
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi kasab-ı ganem	3
dükkan	ismail beşe	bazari	2

Table 7. Langa

Shop	Property of	Business	Tax	Battal
dükkan	el-hac hasan	leblebi	1	
dükkan	el-hac mehmed	bazari	2	
dükkan	ibrâhim paşa zevcesi	boza 1 hoşabi 1		
dükkan	mustafa başı	helvacı	2	
dükkan	el-hac ismail	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	eski saray vakfı	aşhane	6	
dükkan	el-hac hüseyin	çörekci	3	
dükkan	mehmed beşe	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	bozduri?	tavukcu	1	
dükkan	emir zade	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	el-hac ömer	bazari	2	
dükkan	el-hac....	bazari	2	
dükkan	uşşaki zade	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	el-hac süleyman	bazari	2	

dükkan	ibrâhim paşa	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	mustafa çelevi	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	kadri çelevi zade	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
fırın	kurb-ı mustafa paşa/ baba ali	itmekci	12	
dükkan	... mehmed zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	... efendi	helvacı	2	
dükkan	mehmed ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	tablakar	.....	1	
dükkan	şa'ban ağa	çiçekci	1	
dükkan	hasan çelevi	çiçekci	1	
dükkan	mezbur	çiçekci	1	şehr 11
dükkan	hasan çelevi	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	musa ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5	
koltuk	tablakar	koltuk bazari	1	
koltuk	tablakar	incir koltuk	1	
dükkan	tablakar	kavrulmuş fındık	21	
dükkan	sefer ağa	kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	mezbur	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	mezbur	otlukcu	1	
dükkan	paşa zade	...4 hoşabi 1	5?	
dükkan	şa'ban efendi...	kebabi 2 arab şerbeti 2	4?	
dükkan	hasan efendi	.....	1	
dükkan	el-hac ismail	.....	1	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	el-hac ismail	tavukcu	1	
dükkan	koroste?	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	...ağa	kavukcu	1	
dükkan	zimmet? ağa zevcesi	tavukcu	1	
dükkan	frenk mustafa ağa	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	mehmed ağa	buğdayi	1	
dükkan	sefer ağa	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	el-hac hasan	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	mustafa ağa	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	el-hac hasan	bazari	2	
dükkan	muhsin beşe	bazari	2	
dükkan	kutucular? kethüdası	bazari	2	
dükkan	kurd beşe	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	şehr 2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	aşçı başı hüseyin ağa	helvacı	2	
dükkan	tavukçu kürd	arab şerbeti 2 boza 1		
dükkan	el-hac mustafa	bazari	2	
dükkan	ebubekir ağa	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	zülfikar ağa	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	bazari	2	

dükkan	mehmed efendi kızı	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	el-hac abdünnafi	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	gürcü paşa zade	kebabi 2 hoşabi 1		
dükkan	el-hac hüseyin ağa	çörekci	3	
dükkan	zekeriya ağa	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	mustafa çelevi	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	tablakar	kulluk bazarı	1	
dükkan	burak/turan? Çelebi	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	fırgancı ali	bazari	2	
dükkan	beygirli?	bazari	2	
dükkan	ahmed paşa zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	mustafa ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	el-hac ismail	bazari	2	
dükkan	narhçı hasan efendi kızı	bazari	2	
koltuk	el-hac mahmud	koltuk bakkal	2	
dükkan	hasan efendi	başhane	3	
dükkan	sucuk halil	bazari	2	
dükkan	yorgancı	bazari	2	
dükkan	el-hac himmet zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	kılıççı mustafa beşe	bazari	2	
dükkan	ebu bekir kethüda	bazari	2	
dükkan	sucuk? halil	bazari	2	
dükkan	hacı yusuf	sebzeci	2	
koltuk	.....	koltuk sebzeci	1	
dükkan	ela göz mehmed ağa	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	mezbur	kebabi 2 hoşabi 1		
dükkan	...kethüdası	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3	
koltuk	.....	koltuk sebzeci	1	
dükkan	mehmed ağa...	şam böreği	3	
dükkan	ismail ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4	
fırın	kurb-ı beşçi çelevi zade kosnarlu??	itmekci	12	
dükkan	bozacı mehmed	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	zülfikar ağa	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	sunullah efendi	aşçı 4 hoşabi		şehir 2
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	el-hac şa'ban	bazari	2	
dükkan	el-hac süleyman	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	...efendi	zımmi değirmen-i dakik simid	5	
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa	aşçı	4	
dükkan	sefer ağa	boza	1	
dükkan	...efendi	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	atik efendi	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	osman ağa	arab şerbeti 2 turşucu 1		
dükkan	...zade efendi	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	musalla beyg	paçacı 5 hoşabi 1		
dükkan	...ağa	kebabi yelpaze	4	
dükkan	el-hac hasan	hoşabi	1	

dükkan	feyzullah efendi	işkenbeci	
dükkan	eflak beyg	kebabi yelpaze	4
dükkan	el-hac...	paçacı4 arab şerbeti1	
dükkan	zülfikar ağa	lokmacı	2
dükkan	mehmed çelebi	hoşabi	1
dükkan	ali ağa	aşçı	4
dükkan	el-hac hasan	kebabi yelpaze 4 hoşabi 1	
dükkan	mezbur	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	hasan ağa	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	ali ağa	yelpaze kebabi 4 hoşabi 1	
dükkan	tablakar	sabuni	1
dükkan	tablakar	limoni	1
dükkan	tablakar	sabuni	1
dükkan	tablakar	sabuni	1
dükkan	...ağa	kürkcü	3
dükkan	usta mahmud	leblebi	1
dükkan	el-hac hüseyin	leblebi	1
dükkan	receb beyg	leblebi	1
dükkan	tablakar	uncu	1
dükkan	bostancı receb	bazari	2
dükkan	el-hac yusuf	başhane	3
dükkan	ahmed beşe	hoşabi 1 boza 1	
dükkan	el mezbur	hoşabi	1
dükkan	el-hac süleyman	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	el-hac mahmud	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	.....	değirmen-i un-ı has	3
dükkan	sadi abduallah	sebzeci	2
dükkan	bostancı	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	ahmed ağa	turşucu	1
dükkan	sadi abduallah	bazari	2
dükkan	el hac osman	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	sacılı dede	bazari	2
fırın	ibrâhim ağa	itmekci	12
dükkan	berber mustafa	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	el hac abduallah	çörekci	3
dükkan	ali ağa		
dükkan	ali efendi	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5
dükkan	bostancı receb	bazari	2
dükkan	mustafa efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mısırlı oğlu ahmed	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5
dükkan	mehmed ağa	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	el hac ahmed	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	baba halil	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5
dükkan	mehmed çelebi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	el hac mehmed	bazari	2
fırın	bali paşa	itmekci	12
dükkan	mustafa çelebi	sebzeci	2

dükkan	kerime hatun	zımme bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	kara kaş	zımme bakkal	4	
dükkan	üzüm? papası	çörekci 3 arab şerbeti 2		
dükkan	kara...	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	isa çavuş	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	ali ağa	bezirhane	2	
dükkan	laşgari?	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	.....	zımme bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	soğancı osman	bazari	2	
dükkan	kürd ahmed ağa	zımme bakkal.....	5	
dükkan	todori	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2		sene 1
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	...ali ağa	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	faik? kutucu?	boza	1	
dükkan	el hac himmet	balık....	2	
dükkan	el mezbur	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	el hac ibrâhim	zımme bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	el hac ömer	zımme bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	... oğlu	zımme kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	halil ağa	haşka simidci	5	
dükkan	el hac mustafa	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	ali çavuş zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	bektaş ağa	zımme bakkal	5	
dükkan	saraylı hatun	bazari	2	
dükkan	hasan ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	.....	bazari	2	
dükkan	... oğlu	bazari	2	
dükkan	mahmud efendi	kömür mahzeni	2	
dükkan	semerci artun	kömür mahzeni	2	
dükkan	halil ağa	kömür mahzeni	2	
dükkan	ahmed ağa	bazari	2	
koltuk	el hac ismail	koltuk bazari	2	
koltuk	ibrâhim ağa	koltuk bazari	1	
koltuk	mihrimah ağa	koltuk bazari		
koltuk	ismail çelebi	koltuk bakkal	2	
koltuk	süleyman ağa	koltuk bazari	1	
dükkan	himmet efendi	kömür mahzeni	2	
dükkan		kömür mahzeni	2	sene 1
dükkan	çelebi kethüda beyg	koltuk bazari	1	
dükkan	kürkçü zımme	kömür mahzeni	2	
dükkan	yusuf ağa	zımme bakkal	4	
dükkan	kara mehmed	halka simidi	5	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	mısırlu oğlu	zımme bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	mehmed ağa	balık...2 arab şerbeti 2		
koltuk	.....	koltuk bazari	1	
dükkan	sultan hatun	kömür Mahzeni	2	
dükkan	...zımme	balık...	2	

dükkan	.....	kömür Mahzeni	2	
koltuk	uncu yamağı	koltuk bazari	1	
koltuk	aşçı başı zade	koltuk bazari	1	
koltuk	mezbur	koltuk bazari		
koltuk	mezbur	koltuk bazari	1	
koltuk	dağazi?	koltuk bazari	1	
koltuk	kürkçü zımmi	koltuk bazari	1	
koltuk	avcı? zımmi	koltuk bazari	1	
dükkan	el hac mehmed	kasab-ı ganem	3	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	el hac ömer	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	ibrâhim paşa	turşucu	1	
dükkan	kürkçü	hoşabi	1	şehir 1
dükkan	kürkçü zımmi	bazari	2	
dükkan	sergi?	bazari	2	
dükkan	uçak? zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	ali beyg	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	...zade efendi	kasab-ı bakar	3	
fırın	el hac mustafa	itmekci	12	
dükkan	hirkor	baz	2	
dükkan	el hac mehmed	çörekci	3	
dükkan	süleyman beyg	bazari	2	
dükkan	hasan efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	ibrâhim çelebi	bazari	2	
dükkan	hüseyin çelebi	turşucu	1	
dükkan	hasan efendi	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	...	turşucu	1	
dükkan	cebeci başı zade	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	cebeci başı zade	müslim kasab-ı ganem	3	
dükkan	kasab ağa	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2		
dükkan	ali efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	el hac....	zımmi kasab-ı ganem	3	
dükkan	mahmud efendi	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	hüseyin çelebi	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	arnavud ali	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	ebubekir efendi zade	çörekci	3	
dükkan	ali efendi	helvacı	2	
dükkan	el hac...	leblebi	1	
dükkan	hasan efendi	başhane	3	
dükkan	nişancı imamı	bazari	2	
dükkan	halil ağa	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	osman ağa	bazari	2	
fırın	osman ağa	itmekci	12	
dükkan	dakibe ermeni	bazari	2	
dükkan	.....	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	grikor	bazari	2	
dükkan	süleyman ..başı	zımmi bakkal	5	
dükkan	hasan ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	grikor	turşucu	1	

dükkan	mehmed çelevi	bazari	2
dükkan	mehmed ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	ibrâhim çelevi	zım̄mi bakkal mea sebze	5
dükkan	ağa imamı	zım̄mi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	hüseyn çelevi	zım̄mi bakkal mea sebze	5
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	ibrâhim çelevi	bazari	2
dükkan	ahmed paşa	zım̄mi bakkal	4

Table 8. Yedi Kule

Shop	Property of	Business	Tax	Battal
dükkan	mustafa halife zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	mahmud efendi zade	başhane	3	
dükkan	...zade	zım̄mi bakkal	4	
dükkan	zülfikar çelevi	turşucu	1	
dükkan	mezbur	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	?	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	yusuf ağa	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	mirahur	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	...zade	zım̄mi bakkal	4	
dükkan	ali efendi	helvacı	2	
dükkan	mamud ağa	çörekci	3	
dükkan	altı parmak zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	mustafa efendi	arpacı	1	
dükkan	baltacı mahmud ağa zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	silahdar ibrâhim ağa	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	mezbur	arpacı	1	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	abdi çelevi	zım̄mi kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	kürd mehmed ağa	kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	el hac mustafa	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	zım̄mi bakkal	4	
dükkan	mustafa çelevi	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2		
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	mehmed efendi	zım̄mi bakkal	4	
fırın	el-hac mustafa	itmekci	12	
dükkan	mustafa çelevi	bazari	2	
dükkan	halil beyg	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	mahmud kethüda	zım̄mi bakkal	4	
dükkan	ahmed beşe	zım̄mi bakkal	4	
dükkan	halil beyg	bazari	2	
dükkan	...ömer beyg	koltuk bazari	1	
dükkan	ömer ağa	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	vakf-ı koca mustafa paşa	bazari	2	
koltuk	hacı...ağa	koltuk bazari	1	
dükkan	mezbur	zım̄mi bakkal		
dükkan	bektaş ağa zade	bazari	2	

dükkan	eğerci zımmi	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	süleyman beşe	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	mehmed beşe	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	ayşe hatun	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	mahmud ağa	bazari	2	sene 1
dükkan	usta? zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	ağdacı	1	
dükkan	nurullah ağa	zımmi bakkal	4	
fırın	kurb-ı altı mermer çorbacı	itmekci	12	
dükkan	nurullah ağa	çörekci	3	
dükkan	mezbur	bezirhane	2	
dükkan	mehmed çelebi	bazari	2	
dükkan	...ali	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	kebabcı ali beşe	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	derzi/durzi?!? ibrahim	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	nurullah ..zade	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	mezbur	bezirhane	2	
dükkan	topal hasan	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	...el-hac...	bazari	2	
dükkan	osman çorbacı	bazari	2	
dükkan	nurullah zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	nişancı mehmed beşe	çörekci	3	
dükkan	hüseyin efendi	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	süleyman vezneci?	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	ibrahim beşe	bazari	2	
fırın	ibrahim paşa	itmekci	12	
dükkan	halil efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	budak? zade	çörekci	3	
dükkan	hasan çelebi	ağdacı	1	
koltuk	halil efendi	koltuk bazari	1	
dükkan	hisar ağası	başhane	3	
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	halil efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti boza 1		sene 1
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	mustafa ağa	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	ömer ağa	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	abdi ağa	zımmi bakkal	4	
koltuk	mustafa usta	koltuk bazari	1	
dükkan	abdi ağa	müslim bakkal	4	
koltuk	alime hayun	koltuk bazari	1	
dükkan	...mustafa paşa...	ağdacı	1	
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	yusuf ağa	çörekci	3	
dükkan	solak ali	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	mezbur	çörekci	3	
dükkan	mahmud efendi	bazari	2	

dükkan	mustafa paşa vakfı	bazari	2	
dükkan	darıcı	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	mustafa ağa	helvacı	2	
dükkan	ahmed beşe	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	osman ağa	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	balcı? zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	kemal efendi zade	kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	ketlo?	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	solak ali beyg	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	cafer efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	solak	bazari	2	
dükkan	hüseyin çelebi	bazari	2	
dükkan	solak ali beyg	zımmi bakkal	4	sene 1
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	sene1
fırın	vakf-ı koca mustafa paşa	itmekci	12	
dükkan	mezbur	ağdacı	1	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	mustafa ağa	boza	1	
dükkan	halil ağa	zımmi simid değirmeni	5	
dükkan	ibrâhim çelebi	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	ahed beşe	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	aişe hatun	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	derviş ağa	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	mezbur	çörekci	3	
koltuk	emiri?efendi	koltuk bazari	2	
dükkan	vartan ermeni	bazari	1	
dükkan	arpacı murad	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	.....	bazari	2	
dükkan	çorbacı zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	hıdır bali	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	dolabcı?	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	mekses? zımmi	bazari	2	
dükkan	girgor	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	kestostor?	bazari	2	
dükkan	ahmed çelebi	bazari	2	
dükkan	vartan zımmi	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	kilisa vakfı	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	mezbur	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	özcü zade	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	ohan??	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	fıstancı	çörekci	3	
dükkan	mustafa beşe	bazari	2	
dükkan	ebubekir ağa	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	fıstancı zımmi	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	halebli	sebze? aşhane		

dükkan	odabaşı	zımme bakkal	4	şehir 6
dükkan	todasi?	zımme bakkal	4	
dükkan	todori	bazari	2	
dükkan	elniya?	bakkal.....	5	
dükkan	osman efendi	bakkal.....	5	
dükkan	karaca?	bazari	2	
dükkan	topal yazıcı	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	acem oğlanı	bezirhane	2	
dükkan	deli? südcü	yoğurthane	6	
dükkan	.....	...bakkal	5	
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	bazari	2	
fırın	hüseyin ağa	itmekci	12	
dükkan	abdullah ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	ağdacı	1	
dükkan	musalla beşe	...bakkal	5	
dükkan	saraylı zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	sarı?başı	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	....	çörekci	3	
dükkan	....	zımme bakkal ...	5	
dükkan	mezbur	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	receb çelebi	bazari	2	
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	bakkal.....	5	
dükkan	baltacılar kethüdası	bazari	2	
dükkan	mehmed ağa	...	5	
dükkan	mustafa çelebi	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	hacı...	bezirhane	2	
dükkan	mehmed çelebi	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	banayut?	zımme bakkal....	5	
dükkan	hamamcı zade	çörekci	3	
dükkan	receb çelebi	bazari	2	
dükkan	benkola?	bazari	2	
dükkan	fatıma hatun	bazari	2	
dükkan	kerasteci zade	...bakkal	5	
dükkan	mezbur	....	2	
dükkan	...çelebi?	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	ümmetullah hatun	ağdacı	1	
dükkan	arslan çelebi	...bakkal	5	
dükkan	köscü oğlu	bazari	2	
dükkan	derviş çelebi	.....	5	
fırın	...han zade	itmekci	12	
dükkan	mehmed dede	bazari	2	
dükkan	halil ağa	...bakkal	5	
dükkan	hoca hatun	bazari	2	
dükkan	odabaşı	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	ahmed	bazari	2	
dükkan	ibrâhim çelebi	...bakkal	5	
dükkan	yorgi	...bakkal	5	
dükkan	hisar ağası/ mehmed ağa	başhane	3	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	mehmed kethüdazade	zımme kasab-ı ğanem	3	

fırın	ibrâhim paşa zevcesi	itmekci	12
dükkan	mehmed kethüdazade	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2	
dükkan	sefer ağa	boza 1 arab şerbeti 3	
dükkan	solak mahmud	...bakkal	5
dükkan	tekne? vakfi	bazari	2
dükkan	hacı mahmud	...bakkal	5
dükkan	mahmud ağa	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	bekiri? ağası	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	osman ağa	çörekci	3
dükkan	küçük mahmud	bazari	2
dükkan	abdurrahman	aşçı	3
dükkan	emir tabak? çelebi	arab şerbeti 2 aşçı 4	
dükkan	budak çorbacı	...bakkal	5
dükkan	yazıcı yorgi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	patros?oğlu	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	yazıcı	aşçı	4
dükkan	ahi bereket	hoşabi	1
dükkan	bekiri? ağası	kara çörekci	3
dükkan	mezbur	boza 1 hoşabi 1	
fırın	bekiri ağası	itmekci	12
dükkan	benayite? zımmi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	5
dükkan	salhane kapısı kurbunda..	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	baki zımmi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	yorğa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	yasef zımmi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	hüseyin çelebi	çörekci	3
dükkan	ibrâhim çelebi	bazari	2
dükkan	mehmed çelebi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	hacı ahmed	ağdacı	1
dükkan	mahmud ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	abdurrahman	çörekci	3
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	
dükkan	hacı ahmed	halka simidci	5
dükkan	elyesa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mustafa beşe	...bakkal	5
dükkan	ayasofya vakfı	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	abdullah çelebi	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	mehmed kethüda	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	ali çelebi	hoşabi	1
dükkan	mezbur	boza	1
dükkan	sinan	işkenbeci	
dükkan	.....	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	babas	bazari	2
dükkan	mahmud kethüda	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	abdullah çelebi	sebzeci	2
dükkan	kadı zade	bazari	2
dükkan	abdullah çelebi	arab şerbeti	2

dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	medine vakfı	hoşabi	1
dükkan	kadı kızı	bazari	2
dükkan	elyesa?	bazari	2
dükkan	ali yazıcı	bazari	2
dükkan	baltacılar kethüdası	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	banayut?	bazari	2
dükkan	hacı hüseyin	bazari	2
dükkan	ali çelebi	bazari	2
dükkan	hasan ağa	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	mustafa efendi zade	sebzeci	2
dükkan	osman ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	mustafa efendi	...bakkal	5
dükkan	osman ağa	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	balcı oğlu	bazari	2
dükkan	kilisa vakfı	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	hacı yusuf	bazari	2
dükkan	fatıma hatun	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	abdurrahman çelebi	çörekci	3
dükkan	abdi çelebi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	solak başı	turşucu	1
dükkan	abdi çelebi	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	hisar ağası	başhane	3
dükkan	hacı çelebi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	arnavud	bazari	2
dükkan	mehmed çelebi	bazari	1
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	hıdır beşe	zımmi bakkal	3
dükkan	süleyman çelebi	bazari	2
dükkan	abdi efendi	çörekci	3
dükkan	kara sefer zade	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	osman ağa	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	halil ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	sefer ağa zade	çörekci	3
dükkan	osman ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	abdurrahman çelebi	bazari	2
dükkan	mahmud ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
fırın	satır? başı	itmekci	12
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3

Table 9. Karaman

Shop	Property of	Business	Tax	Battal
dükkan	hacı osman	soğani	1	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2	

dükkan	yusuf beşe	çörekci	3
dükkan	hamamcı mehmed ağa	çörekci	3
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	hüseyin beşe	bazari	2
dükkan	imamzade kızı	sebzeci	2
dükkan	hacı abdi	bazari	2
dükkan	hacı rıdvan zade	bazari	2
dükkan	mahmud beşe	helvacı	2
dükkan	abdurrahman ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
fırın	perviz? ahmed....	itmekci	12
dükkan	ahmed ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	kalender	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	
dükkan	ibrâhim paşa hamamcısı	bazari	2
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	savı solak	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2	
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	hacı kalender	hoşabi	1
dükkan	avcı? beşe	börekci	3
dükkan	sarı solak	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mehmed efendi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	ağa imamı	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	hacı hıdır zade	sebzeci	2
dükkan	balı çavuş	hoşabi	1
dükkan	mührdar	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	halil ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	ali efendi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	balcı solak	bazari	2
dükkan	solak çelebi	çörekci	3
dükkan	balı çavuş	bazari	2
dükkan	kara hasan zade	zımmi bakkal	4
fırın	ali efendi	itmekci	12
dükkan	kara hasan zade	turşucu	1
dükkan	kolakar? zımmi	bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	hacı abdi	kürkcü	3
dükkan	kara yazıcı	kürkcü	3
dükkan	mezbur	turşucu	1
dükkan	hacı mahmud	ağdacı	1
dükkan	katip mustafa	bazari	2
dükkan	yusuf efendi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	abdi ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	mehmed çelebi	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	
dükkan	itmekçi zade sofı mınlası	... bendesi	6
dükkan	hacı mahmud	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	başmakçı zade	leblebi	1
dükkan	sofi mınlası	helvacı	2
dükkan	mandıracı	turşucu	1
dükkan	helvacı zade	turşucu	1
dükkan	mumcu zade	turşucu	1

dükkan	odabaşı	değirmen-i simid-i dakik	5
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	hacı süleyman	helvacı	2
dükkan	cebeciler katibi	hoşabi 1 boza 1	
dükkan	kadri bölükbaşı	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	selam çelebi	bazari	2
dükkan	mustafa çavuş	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	hasan efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	kerasteci solak	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	helvacı hacı süleyman	bazari	2
dükkan	...hatun	bazari	2
dükkan	kudsi/kuddusi zade	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	...efendi	hoşabi	1
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	abdi beşe	bazari	1
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	1
dükkan	osman paşa		
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	zülfikar ağa	bazari	1
dükkan	mezbur	hoşabi	1
dükkan	mezbur	kebabi	2
dükkan	mezbur	çörekci	3
dükkan	solak mustafa	başhane	3
dükkan	hasan ağa	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti 2 tavukcu 1	
dükkan	ahmed ağa kızı	tavukçu	1
dükkan	mezbur	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2	
dükkan	mezbur	simidci 2 tavukcu 1	
dükkan	softa mınlası	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	mezbur	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	abdurrahman ağa	sebze 2 ve tavukcu 1	
dükkan	hacı mustafa	hoşabi	1
dükkan	mustafa çelebi	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	hacı ibrâhim	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	mehmed kethüda zade	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	ahmed çavuş	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	kasım beşe	otlukcu	1
dükkan	mustafa çelebi	işkenbeci	
dükkan	osman efendi	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2	
dükkan	bekir efendi	arab şerbeti 2 kebabi 2	
dükkan	kadri bölükbaşı	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	hacı abdi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mehmed efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	mısırlı oğlu	otlukcu	1

dükkan	mezbur	otlukcu	1
dükkan	sadık beşe kızı	otlukcu	1
dükkan	yusuf ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	ağa? zade	tavukcu	1
dükkan	simo?	tavukcu 1 sebze 2	
dükkan	abdurrahman beşe	bazari	1
dükkan	süleyman ağa	hoşabi	1
dükkan	hasan beşe	hoşabi 1 salata 1	
dükkan	mezbur	boza	1
dükkan	mezbur	boza	1
dükkan	kara hasan ağa zade kethüdası	başhane	3
dükkan	hasan beşe	aşçı	4
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	
dükkan	kürd mehmed beyg	hoşabi 1 aşçı 4	
dükkan	hacı mustafa	çörekci	3
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	mezbur	işkenbeci	
dükkan	ahmed efendi	ağdacı	1
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	süleyman ağa	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2	
dükkan	ahmed ağa	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mehmud efendi	kasab-ı bakar	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	abdurrahman	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	hacı ahmed	hoşabi 1 kebabi 2	
dükkan	hasan çelevi	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	kalender çelevi	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	yusuf efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	kudsi? zade	otlukcu	1
dükkan	kara müezzın	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	...yusuf ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
fırın	arpa emini ali efendi	itmekci	12
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	emir mustafa	çörekci	3
dükkan	banayot?	yoğurthane	6
dükkan	defne hatun	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	aişe hatun	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	sebzeci	2
dükkan	...efendi	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	hasan beşe	bazari	2
dükkan	şa'ban çelevi	ağdacı	1
dükkan	kürd oğlu	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	kerasteci mehmed ağa	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	hasan efendi	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	...mustafa	bazari	2
koltuk	hüseyin beşe	koltuk bazari	1
dükkan	sultan mehmed vakfi	bazari	1

dükkan	bosnalı kızı	halka simidi	5
dükkan	hacı rıdvan	zımme bakkal	4
dükkan	kadri efendi zade	zımme bakkal	4
fırın	mezbur	itmekci	12

Table 10. Edirne Kapısı

Shop	Property of	Business	Tax	Battal
dükkan	hacı mustafa	bazari	1	
dükkan	şah? efendi	çiçekci	1	
fırın	...zade	itmekci	12	
dükkan	kemal efendi zadeler	zımme bakkal	4	
dükkan	abdullah zade	bazari	2	
fırın	azmi efendi	itmekci	12	
dükkan	receb beşe	leblebi	1	
dükkan	şeyh zade efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	receb beşe	bazari	1	
dükkan	mehmed çelevi	bazari	2	
dükkan	esirci mehmed	kebabi 2 hoşabi 1		
dükkan	ali efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	hacı hasan	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	hamamcı hatun	boza 1 hoşabi 1		
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	hacı hüseyin	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	mihal zımme	zımme kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	ali beyg	zımme bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	hacı mehmed	ağdacı	1	
dükkan	bağdadlı	şiruganhane		
dükkan	ömer efendi	yoğurthane	6	
dükkan	süleyman ağa	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	mehmed çelevi	un-ı has	5	
dükkan	...oğlu	zımme bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	brusalı efendi	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	dülger zade	bazari	1	
dükkan	hasan ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	ahmed efendi	başhane	3	
dükkan	ali efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	cezmi? efendi	.....	2	
dükkan	mezbur	çörekci	3	
dükkan	musab beşe	turşucu	1	
dükkan	brusalı efendi	zımme bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	mehmed beşe	helvacı	2	
dükkan	brusalı efendi	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	sultan bayezid vakfi	zımme bakkal	4	
dükkan	kör mustafa	bazari	1	
dükkan	brusalı efendi	leblebi	1	
dükkan	...zade	bazari	2	

fırın	osman ağa	itmekci	12
dükkan	şehir emini	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	pir? beşe	bazari	1
dükkan	mehmed efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	mahmud efendi	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5
dükkan	hasan ağa	ağdacı	1
dükkan	tanaş?	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mehmed çelevi	çörekci	3
dükkan	emir ahmed	bazari	2
dükkan	mustafa beşe	hoşabi	1
dükkan	defterdar beyg	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	hamamcı solak	şiruganhane	
dükkan	kaşıkçı hacı hasan	müslim bakkal	2
dükkan	hacı sefer	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	derviş odabaşı	çörekci	3
dükkan	... ahmed	hoşabi	1
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mehmed çelevi	turşucu	1
dükkan	hasan efendi	bazari	1
dükkan	balık? hacı ibrahim	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mustafa ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	derviş odabaşı	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	1
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	hacı mustafa	boza 1 hoşabi 1	
dükkan	mezbur	sebzeci	2
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	mehmed ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	solak zade	un-ı has	3
dükkan	hacı ismail zade	helvacı	2
dükkan	solak zade	zımmi bakkal	4
fırın	hüseyin ağa zadeleri	itmekçi	12
dükkan	mahmud çelevi	turşucu	1
dükkan	hacı beşir	bazari	2
dükkan	hacı mustafa	çörekci	3
dükkan	kulaksız	bazari	1
dükkan	kulaksız zımmi	çörekci	3
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	ahmed ağa	bezirhane	2
dükkan	... efendi	yoğurthane	6
dükkan	mehmed çavuş	buzhane?	6
dükkan	hacı...	bezirhane	2
dükkan	ahmed çelevi	bezirhane	2
dükkan	.....	şiruganhane	
dükkan	çanacı? oğlu	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	hacı ahmed	şiruganhane	
dükkan	deli bako?	boza 1 aşçı 4	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4

dükkan	mehmed paşa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	çadırcı ahmed çelebi	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2	
dükkan	hacı oğlu?	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	parmaksız	bazari	2
dükkan	sarac başı kızı	bazari	2
dükkan	hacı ahmed	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	kara ali	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	muze? mahmud	südcü karhane	6
dükkan	arnavud oğlu	otlukcu	1
dükkan	ahmed beşe	otlukcu	1
tabla		incir tablası	1
dükkan	sekban başı	halka simidi	5
dükkan	arab oğlu	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	avcı? çelebi	bazari	2
dükkan	beki? usta zımmi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mehmed çelebi	hoşabi	1
dükkan	kösi?	zımmi bakkal	4
fırın	beşe	itmekci	12
dükkan	süleyman	turşucu	1
dükkan	ibrâhim beşe	bazari	2
dükkan	hacı mehmed	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	semerci ahmed çelebi	çörekci	3
dükkan	abdurrahman çelebi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	hacı mehmed	helvacı	2
dükkan	mustafa beyg	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mahmud çelebi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	hacı mehmed	ağdacı	1
dükkan	kabakulak?	sebzeci	2
dükkan	kelami zade	bazari	2
dükkan	ismail çelebi	bazari	1
dükkan	mühr zade?	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	mehmed efendi	.....	2
dükkan	taşçı hasan	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	arslan ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	emir ali çelebi	bazari	2
fırın	es'ad zade	itmekci	12
dükkan	hacı mehmed	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	ismail efendi	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	ali beyg	bazari	1
dükkan	ismail efendi	bazari	1
dükkan	mezbur	turşucu	1
dükkan	bektaş ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	süleyman ağa	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	mustafa çelebi	bazari	1
koltuk	esseyyid mustafa	koltuk bakkal	2
dükkan	hacı receb	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	piri? efendi	çörekçi 3 2	
dükkan	şa'ban ağa	çörekci	3
dükkan	ahmed ağa	zımmi simid uncu değirmeni	5

fırın	itmekçi zade	itmekci	12
dükkan	hasan ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	hasan beşe.....	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	solak oğlu	bazari	2
dükkan	hüseyin çelebi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	macuncu hamamcısı	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	şa'ban ağa zade	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	hasan ağa	helvacı	2
dükkan	mustafa çelebi	bazari	2
dükkan	saka başı mustafa ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	mezbur	sebzeci	2
dükkan	mustafa çelebi	ağdacı	1
dükkan	ahmed çelebi	bazari	1
dükkan	yunus efendi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	ali ağa	otlukcu	1
dükkan	ahmed çavuş	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	suyolcu? zevcesi	bazari	2
dükkan	mehmed çelebi	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	arpacılar kethüdası	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	mezbur	işkenbeci	
dükkan	ahmed çelebi	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	öküz mehmed paşa vakfi	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	baki beşe	otlukcu	1
dükkan	ahmed çelebi	bazari	1
dükkan	hacı hasan	çörekci cedid?	3
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	çörekci	3
dükkan	brusalı efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	...hacı mustafa	sebzeci	2
dükkan	hacı mahmud	bazari	2
dükkan	hami oğlu	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	ıspanakçı başı	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	mehmed çelebi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	hacı kadın	bazari	1
dükkan	abdurrahman çelebi	bazari	2
dükkan	resul beşe	bazari	2
dükkan	aişe hatun	helvacı	2
dükkan	mezbur	ağdacı	1
dükkan	hacı mustafa	leblebi	1
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	abdullah efendi	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	kadı zade	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	mehmed çelebi	bazari	2
dükkan	osman efendi	sebzeci	2
dükkan	mezbur	turşucu	1
dükkan	emir ali	.....	2
dükkan	hasan çelebi	çörekci	3
dükkan	hacı mahmud	helvacı	2

dükkan	pervane oğlu	başhane	3
dükkan	mehmed efendi	aşçı 3 boza 1	
dükkan	mezbur	zımme bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	sebzeci	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	süleyman çelebi	otlukcu	1
dükkan	hacı receb	zımme bakkal	4
dükkan	altuncı emir çelebi	zımme bakkal	4
dükkan	mesih paşa imamı	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	mustafa beşe	hoşabi	1
dükkan	mesih paşa imamı	boza	1
dükkan	ismail çelebi	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	narhacı? hasan efendi	zımme bakkal	4
dükkan	kara ibrahim	bazari	2
dükkan	hasan ağa	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	şerif mustafa	bazari	1
dükkan	debbağ zade	çörekci	3
dükkan	itmekci fırını	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	kiremitci zade mustafa ağa	bezirhane	2
dükkan	bekir ağa	boza	1
fırın	bekir ağa	itmekci	12
dükkan	banayut zımme	bakkal	4
dükkan	hacı beşir	bazari	2
dükkan	cavid ağa	bazari	1
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	1
dükkan	mumcu oğlu	zımme kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	mahmud efendi	zımme bakkal	4
dükkan	hacı ali	çörekci	3
dükkan	hüseyin efendi	bazari	1
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	hacı ahmed	zımme bakkal	4
dükkan	halil ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	ali ağa	otlukcu	1

Table 11. Balat

Shop	Property of	Business	Tax	Battal
dükkan	müslim havıarcı	bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	falcı yahudi	bazari	2	
dükkan	kümrülükçülü? müslim	kömür mahzeni?	2	
dükkan	nakumi kürkcü	havıarcı bakkal	5	
dükkan	elyesa	işkenbeci		
dükkan	sefer ağa	boza 1 hoşabi 1		
dükkan	mezbur	aşçı 4 boza 1 arab şerbeti 2		
dükkan	tabla	bazari	1	
dükkan	celeb ali çelebi	kasab-ı bakar		
dükkan	tabla	bazari	1	
dükkan	peremeci zade	zımme kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	mezbur	sebzeci	2	

dükkan	ahmed çelevi	arab şerbeti 2 aşçı	4
dükkan	mehmed çavuş edirneli	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	kadıasker	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	dagula zımmi	simid değirmeni	5
dükkan	mimar-ı sabık	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	yasef yahudi	hoşabi	1
dükkan	ali çelevi	şiruganhane	
dükkan	komi	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	kiremidci mustafa ağa	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5
dükkan	sekerya yahudi	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	senhan?	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	yasef	yahudi bazari	2
dükkan	yorğö zımmi	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	mehmed ağa	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	sarac mihal	bazari	2
dükkan	esirci receb	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4
dükkan	hacı mehmed	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	bozacı hacı mehmed	sebzeci	2
dükkan	mezbur	bakkal	3
dükkan	benkola?	kasab-ı yahudi	4
dükkan	mehmed çelevi	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	hacı mehmed	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4
dükkan	mezbur	hoşabi	1
dükkan	...elna?	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4
dükkan	mehmed yazıcı	şiruganhane	
dükkan	yağcı zımmi	yoğurthane	6
dükkan	...oğlu	zımmi simid değirmeni	5
dükkan	...zımmi	aşçı	4
dükkan	hasan çavuş	bakkal-ı müslim	3
dükkan	kümbedci zade	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	kerasteci yahudi	işkenbeci	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti 2 boza 1	
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	fıdyan karısı?	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	pinhan sultan	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	mehmed çelevi	helvacı	2
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	haleva yahudi	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4

dükkan	musa yahudi	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4
dükkan	mahmud çavuş	şiruganhane	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mahmud çavuş	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	haham yahudi	bakkal	4
dükkan	balı oğlu	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	.....	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4
dükkan	danelye?	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	hacı bekir ağa	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	ahmed	bazari	2
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	oda başı ömer çelebi	kömür mahzeni	2
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4
fırın	oğlu	itmekci	12
dükkan	sefer	kömür mahzeni	2
dükkan	şeytan abbas	bazari	2
dükkan	ismail efendi	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2	
dükkan	hasan efendi	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	dalaklı	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	hacı hüseyin	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	
dükkan	kaşlo	zımmi simid değirmeni	5
dükkan	mezbur	simidci halka	5
dükkan	mustafa çelebi	hoşabi	1
dükkan	hacı mustafa	şiruganhane	
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	ömer beşe	ağdacı	1
dükkan	fodla katibi	sebzeci	2
dükkan	ismali	zımmi bakkal	4
fırın	süleyman ağa	itmekci	12
dükkan	bekmis	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	ennekci? hamamı	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	şirugancı laz	şiruganhane	
dükkan	neslihan hatun	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	soğancı oğlu	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	mustafa efendi	hoşabi	1
dükkan	ali çelebi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	nasuh oğlu	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5
dükkan	pehlivan oğlu	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	kiremidci oğlu	sebzeci	2
dükkan	kara mehmed	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	sarı abduallah	bazari	2
dükkan	mustafa çelebi	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2	
dükkan	selim çelebi	otlukcu	1
dükkan	hacı hasan vakfi	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4
dükkan	ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	.....	.....	3
dükkan	abdünnafi ağa	börekci 3 kadayıfçı 2	

dükkan	solak zade	ağdacı	1
dükkan	himmet efendi	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	hisar ustası	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	hacı mehmed	sebzeci 2 tavukcu 1	
dükkan	mehmed efendi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	.....	bazari	2
dükkan	pazar başı mehmed	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	ali ağa	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	fıraz? hasan ağa damadı	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	...zade	bazari	2
dükkan	kör ismail çelevi	bazari	2
dükkan	hacı nasuh kızı	tavukcu	1
dükkan	girkor	leblebi	1
dükkan	kara.....	kömür mahzeni	2
dükkan	boder? zımmi çizmeci	otlukcu	1
dükkan	osman çelevi	gözlemeci	2
dükkan	halil çelevi	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5
dükkan	deste? zade efendi	zımmi simid değirmeni	5
dükkan	arslan yahudi	tavukcu	1
fırın	yeniçeri ağası	itmekci	12
dükkan	haham benaki?	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	mevlidhan	helvacı	2
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	nakkaş paşa zade	tavukcu	1
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4
dükkan	haham	işkenbeci	
dükkan	yusuf efendi	yahudi kasabi	4
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4
dükkan	hacı ali	tavukcu	1
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	yusuf efendi	bazari	1
dükkan	sarac başı mehmed	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4
dükkan	bekiri? ağası	bazari	2
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	tavukcu mustafa çelevi	bazari	2
dükkan	hacı hüseyin	işkenbeci	
dükkan	haham kemal	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4
dükkan	küçük defterdar	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4
dükkan	hasan ağa	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasab-ı bakar	4
tabla		bazari	1

tabla		bazari	1
dükkan	arslan zade	helvacı	2
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	hander? yahudi	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	arslan zade	yahudi kasab	4
dükkan	hasan ağa	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	osman efendi	çörekci	3
dükkan	mehmed beyg	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	yahudi kasab	4
dükkan	çelebi kethüda beyg	bazari	2
dükkan	mehmed beyg	şiruganhane	
dükkan	.....	.....	....
dükkan	solak zade	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	şeyhi zade	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	ahmed ağa	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	mustafa beyg	bazari	2
dükkan	aksacılı gede?	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	mir alem?	halka simidci	
dükkan	hoca	bazari	2
dükkan	.....	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	batol? zımmi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	tavukcu zade	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	onyok	hane	2
dükkan	süleyman ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	anustol	zımmi bakkal.....?	5
dükkan	muze? ali çelebi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	köfteci ağa	çörekci	3
dükkan	delaklı elgesi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	tavukcu mehmed efendi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	abdünnafi ağa	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	aşçı başı	zımmi değirmen-i dakik simid	5
dükkan	arslan yahudi	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	aşçı başı	zımmi değirmen-i dakik simid	5
dükkan	yeniçeri ağası	itmekci	12
dükkan	mezkur izkor	zımmi değirmen-i dakik simid	5
dükkan	.....	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mustafa ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	abdi ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mehmed efendi	bezirhane	2
dükkan	süleyman ağa	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	yusuf ağa	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	ahmed ağa	sebzeci	2
dükkan	mezbur	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	ğanizi?	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	korosne	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	atnaş	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	arslan	çörekci	3

dükkan	mezbur	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	hüseyin efendi	bazari	2
fırın	vali efendi	itmekci	12
dükkan	mehmed efendi	zımme bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mehmed ağa	hoşabi	1
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	...zade	bazari	2
dükkan	mehmed efendi	ağdacı	1
dükkan	el hac mehmed	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	zımme bakkal	4
dükkan	küme? kaş	yahudi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	sebzeci	2
dükkan	mihal	halka simidci	5
dükkan	hasan ağa	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	mezbur	kömür mahzeni	2
dükkan	....	müslim kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	mezbur	sebzeci	2
dükkan	palo zımme	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	balaş	kömür mahzeni	2
dükkan	mezbur	zımme bakkal	4

Table 12. Un Kapanı

Shop	Property of	Business	Tax	Battal
dükkan	kevaki zade	kasab-ı ğanem	3	
koltuk	abdi çelebi	zımme bakkal mea sebze koltuk	3	
koltuk	osman zade	zımme koltuk mea sebze	3	
koltuk	aişe hatun	koltuk bazari	1	
dükkan	veli	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	el hac abdullah	bazari	1	
dükkan	mustafa ağa	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	abdünnafi zade	halka simidci	5	
dükkan	ali beşe	bazari	1	
dükkan	sarı solak	bazari	2	
dükkan	imam çelebi	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	aba? zade	çörekci	3	
dükkan	el hac mehmed	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	yorgi	zımme bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	salih efendi	zımme bakkal	4	
dükkan	mimar ağa-yı sabık	zımme bakkal	4	
dükkan	mezbur	çörekci	3	
dükkan	mezbur	turşucu	1	
dükkan	mezbur	zımme kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	bodur yorgi	zımme bakkal	3	
fırın	haim	itmekci	12	
dükkan	el hac receb	bazari	2	
dükkan	bozaci ibrahim	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	çörekci	3	

dükkan	mustafa beşe	başhane	3
dükkan	osman beyg	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	beşe	bazari	2
dükkan	mehmed	bazari	1
dükkan	el hac mehmed zade	kasab-ı ğanem	2
dükkan	mezbur	müslim kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	mimar-ı sabık mustafa ağa	sebzeci	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	memiş çelevi	bazari	2
dükkan	hatun	kadayıfçı	2
dükkan	el hac süleyman zade	çörekci	3
dükkan	hatun	hoşabi	1
dükkan	el hac hüseyin	turşucu	1
dükkan	aişe hatun	çörekci	3
dükkan	ali efendi	çörekci	3
dükkan	hisar ağası	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	elkesan?	bazari	2
dükkan	brusalı zade	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	aşçı mehmed	bazari	2
dükkan	akça imamı	bazari	2
dükkan	ahî elkesan?	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	hüseyin çavuş	çörekci	3
fırın	demirdar? efendi	itmekci	12
dükkan	beşe	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	hasan efendi	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5
dükkan	mezbur	helvacı	2
dükkan	aişe hatun	bazari	2
dükkan	brusalı beyg	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	tüfenkci mahmud çelevi	turşucu	1
dükkan	hacı mehmed zade	bazari	2
dükkan	...hatun	leblebi	1
dükkan	ali beşe	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	hacı kadri	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	taş? beşe	simid uncu değirmen-i zımmi	5
dükkan	esseyyid çelevi	yahudi börekci	5
dükkan	mezbur	bezirhane	2
dükkan	hacı ismail	bazari	2
dükkan	kara hasan ağa	kadayıfçı	2
dükkan	efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	sarı? efendi	çörekci	3
dükkan	mustafa paşa	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	sarac mehmed çelevi	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
fırın	abdullah çelevi	itmekci	12
dükkan	mümine hatun	sebzeci	2
dükkan	musa	arpalıkçı	1
dükkan	sağır zade	çörekci	3
dükkan	mustafa beşe	otlukcu	1
dükkan	hasan ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	müslim bakkal	2
dükkan	üzümcü zade	helvacı	2

dükkan	mustafa	tavukcu	1
dükkan	receb beşe	hoşabi	1
dükkan	zade	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	hacı nasuh	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa zade	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	saka başı	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	hacı yusuf	sebzeci	2
dükkan	abdullah çelevi	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	debbağ zade	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	sebzeci	2
dükkan	mezbur	başhane	3
dükkan	zade	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	hasan çelevi	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	bengihan? sultan	arab şerbeti 2 boza 1	
dükkan	hoca mustafa	zımmi simid değirmeni	5
dükkan	banayut	zımmi simid değirmeni	5
dükkan	ahmed oda başı	zımmi simid değirmeni	5
dükkan	hacı mustafa	çörekci	3
dükkan	hacı osman	bazari	2
fırın	defterdar paşa	itmekci	12
dükkan	mimar-ı sabık	bezirhane	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	1
dükkan	küçük mehmed	sirkeci	1
dükkan	islam çelevi	bazari	1
dükkan	ibrâhim efendi	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	yusuf efendi	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	hacı sefer	bazari	1
dükkan	sal başı emir çelevi	sebzeci	2
dükkan	hacı ali	bazari	1
dükkan	hacı osman	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	hacı mehmed	çörekci	3
dükkan	mezbur	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	esirci mehmed	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	karar? mehmed çelevi	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	fatıma hattun	sirkeci	1
dükkan	mustafa ağa	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	hacı mustafa	çörekci	3
dükkan	hacı abdullah	bezirhane	2
dükkan	sebzeci ali beşe	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	ahmed efendi	bakkal	3
dükkan	hacı mustafa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	ahmed efendi	çörekci	3
dükkan	yusuf çelevi	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	yolucu hacı musa	değirmen-i un-ı has	3
dükkan	ahmed efendi	zımmi değirmen-i dakik simid	5
dükkan	hacı şa'ban	sebzeci	2
dükkan	mezbur	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	mehmed çelevi	müslim bakkal	3

fırın	süleyman ağa	itmekci	12
dükkan	mimar ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	kengo?	tavukcu	1
dükkan	mezbur	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2	
dükkan	mehmed çavuş	bazari	2
dükkan	sinan çavuş	leblebi	1
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	hacı kasım	değirmen-i dakik un-ı has	3
dükkan	halebli emir	değirmen-i dakik un-ı has	3
dükkan	musa beşe	otlukcu	1
dükkan	hacı yusuf	bezirhane	2
dükkan	salat? hasan	zımmi değirmen-i dakik simid	5
dükkan	fenari zade	zımmi değirmen-i dakik simid	
dükkan	mehmed beşe	gözlemeci	2
dükkan	hasan ağa	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	hacı ibrâhim	bezirhane	
dükkan	mehmed ağa	değirmen-i dakik un-ı has	3
dükkan	şa'ban ağa	zımmi değirmen-i dakik simid	5
dükkan	sarrafi yahudi	şerbetci	2
dükkan	biro? zımmi	zımmi değirmen-i dakik simid	5
dükkan	hasan ağa	değirmen-i dakik simid	5
dükkan	veznedar ahmed ağa	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	hacı şa'ban	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	ahmed ağa	çörekci	3
dükkan	aşık mahmud	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	bazargan zade	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	hanefî zade	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	ibrâhim paşa zade	sebzeci	2
dükkan	mezbur	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	...efendi	bazari	2
fırın	mehmed ağa	itmekci	12
dükkan	aşık mahmud	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	fıranto?	zımmi değirmen-i dakik simid	5
dükkan	ebubekir efendi	değirmen-i dakik un-ı has	3
dükkan	matarcı ali ağa	turşucu	1
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	hüseyin çelebi	çörekci	3
dükkan	hacı mehmed	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	hacı ilyas	helvacı	2
dükkan	musa ağa	başhane	3
dükkan	ankaravi ibrâhim efendi	çörekci	3
dükkan	musa ağa	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan		hoşabi 1 salatacı 1	
dükkan	hacı mustafa	kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	hasan çelebi	bazari	2
dükkan	davud ağa	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	hacı hüseyin	sirkeci	1

dükkan	hüseyin çelevi	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mustafa ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	attarlar kethüdası	bazari	1
dükkan	halil ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	fırgancı? hüseyin	bazari	2
dükkan	aşçı? hatun	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	hüseyin çelevi	şiruganhane	
dükkan	bekri? ahmed ağa	bezirhane	2
dükkan	ali çelevi	bezirhane	2
fırın	süleyman efendi zade	itmekci	12
fırın	ahmed ağa	itmekci	12
dükkan	mehmed efendi	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	mustafa	bazari	2
dükkan	el hac ömer	bazari	2
dükkan	ömer ve osman	kadayıfçı	2?
dükkan	ali ağa	arab şerbeti	2?
dükkan	el hac ebubekir	zımme bakkal	4
dükkan	zülfikar ağa	kebabi 2 arab şerbeti 2	
dükkan	kara hasan	bazari	2
dükkan	el hac mehmed	çörekci	3
dükkan	el hac süleyman	bazari	2
fırın	mehmed efendi	itmekci	12
dükkan	ramazan	bazari	2
dükkan	el hac yusuf	bazari	2
dükkan	aşçı ali ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	şeyhi çelevi	bazari	2
dükkan	hasan yazıcı	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	el hac yusuf	bazari	2
dükkan	tetiklikci? el hac mehmed	bazari	2
dükkan	el hac mahmud	bazari	2
dükkan	imam-zade	bazari	2
dükkan	el hac mumcu	bazari	2
dükkan	şeyhi ali efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	kara mustafa	bazari	2
dükkan	boşnak ali efendi	leblebi	1
dükkan	al hac mahmud	leblebi	1
dükkan	oda başı	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	dizdar-ı kale	otlukcu	1
dükkan	şişeci ...	bezirhane	2

Table 13. Rah-ı Cedid

Shop	Property of	Business	Tax	Battal
dükkan	şa'ban ağa	çörekci	3	
dükkan	mezbur	zımme bakkal	4	
dükkan	ibrâhim beşe	bazari	2	
dükkan	sırmakeş çavuş	kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	mehmed beşe	bazari	2	
dükkan	el hac ali	sebzeci 2 bazari 2		

dükkan	el hac mehmed	hoşabi	1
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mısırlıoğlu	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	hüseyin efendi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	gümüş?oğlu	çörekci	3
dükkan	mezbur	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	bekir paşa zade	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	ismail ağa	arab şerbeti 2 boza 1	
fırın	şah huban?	itmekci	12
dükkan	şah huban	yoğurthane	6
dükkan	mehmed oda başı	başhane	3
dükkan	el hac mahmud	ağdacı	1
dükkan	ali çelebi	bazari	2
koltuk	ahmed halife zevcesi	koltuk bazari	1
dükkan	ali beyg	şiruganhane	
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	hoşabi	1
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	el hac ken'an	çörekci	3
dükkan	ali beşe	arab şerbeti 2 boza 1	
dükkan	zade	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	kulaksız	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	sarac başı	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	mehmed beyg	sebzeci	2
dükkan	papas zade	bazari	2
dükkan	mehmed çelebi	bazari	2
fırın	zade	itmekci	12
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	ahmed ağa	değirmen-i dakik un-ı has	3
dükkan	ali çelebi	zımmi bakkal	3
fırın	sekbani başı	itmekci	12
dükkan	kanlı? müezzin	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	hoşabi	1
dükkan	kahveci baba hanubi?	helvacı	2
dükkan	mustafa ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	sarac mustafa	zımmi bakkal	4
fırın	ibrâhim paşa	itmekci	12
dükkan	sarac mustafa	bazari	2
dükkan	el hac ramazan	bazari	2
dükkan	el hac ahmed	değirmen-i un-ı has	3
dükkan	bektaş ağa	turşucu	1
dükkan	müezzin ahmed çelebi	bazari	2
dükkan	mehmed çelebi	çörekci	3
dükkan	el hac halil	bazari	2
dükkan	mehmed çelebi	sebzeci	2
dükkan	el-mezbur	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	ali efendi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	ahmed ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	mehmed ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	baş çavuş	zımmi bakkal	4

dükkan	solak	hoşabi	1
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	çörekci	3
dükkan	musa beşe	kasab-ı bakar	
dükkan	mehmed çelevi	bazari	2
dükkan	selim ağa	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	ali efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	muavviz efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	çorbacı zade	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	musa beşe	sebzeci	2
dükkan	kara.....	zımmi bakkal	
dükkan	el hac.....	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	osman efendi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	ali çelevi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	süleyman paşa zade	çörekci	3
dükkan	ismail efendi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	çelevi	zımmi değirmen-i dakik simid	5
dükkan	süleyman ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	beyg kethüdası	bazari	2
dükkan	halil efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	el hac mustafa	zımmi değirmen-i dakik simid	5
dükkan	süleyman ağa	çörekci	3
dükkan	sinan ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	ibrâhim zade	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2	
dükkan	ahmed ağa	helvacı	2
dükkan	yusuf beşe	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	ali ağa	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	efendi zade	bazari	2
fırın	muharrem efendi	itmekci	12
dükkan	şa'ban ağa	hoşabi	1
dükkan	mehmed efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	kurd zade	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	ibrâhim efendi zade	başhane	3
dükkan	berber El hac mustafa	bazari	2
dükkan	mehmed çelevi el-müezzin	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	sefer beşe	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	mezbur	sebzeci	2
dükkan	müezzin ahmed çelevi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	halil çelevi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	el hac mustafa	çörekci	3
dükkan	emir sihari? şeyhi	bazari	2
dükkan	bozacı zade	bazari	2
dükkan	müezzin zade	otlukcu	1
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	el hac hasan	ağdacı	1
dükkan	boğacancı? zade	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2	
fırın	mustafa ağa	itmekci	12
dükkan	emir sihari? şeyhi	bazari	2
dükkan	südcü zade	bazari	2
dükkan	mehmed çelevi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	yorgaki?	zımmi bakkal	4

dükkan	kara hasan zade	zım̃mi bakkal	4
dükkan	muharrem efendi	çörekci	3
dükkan	aişe hatun	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	receb beşe	zım̃mi bakkal	4
dükkan	mehmed çavuş	hoşabi	1
dükkan	ahmed paşa	yoğurthane	6
dükkan	el hac mustafa	zım̃mi bakkal	4
dükkan	yusuf efendi	zım̃mi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	çörekci	3
dükkan	yayla çeşmesi vakfi	bazari	2
dükkan	mehmed çelevi	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	ahmed beşe	bazari	2
dükkan	mihriban ağa	zım̃mi bakkal	4
fırın	kirli haim	itmekci	12
dükkan	mustafa çelevi	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	sebzeci	2
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	haydar ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa	zım̃mi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	mehmed efendi	zım̃mi bakkal	4
dükkan	mihriban ağa	halka simidi	5
dükkan	üns? ağa	ağdacı	1
dükkan	receb beşe	bazari	2
koltuk	ali ağa	koltuk bakkal	2
dükkan	kayyun?	bazari	1
dükkan	kasab bekir beşe	halka simidci	5
dükkan	süleyman beyg	zım̃mi bakkal	4
dükkan	mehmed ağa	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	berber efendi veresesı	zım̃mi bakkal	4
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	musahib paşa	helvacı	2
dükkan	ali beşe	zım̃mi bakkal	4
dükkan	el hac mustafa	zım̃mi bakkal	4
dükkan	beşir ağa	bezirhane	2
dükkan	ahmed ağa zade	bazari	2
dükkan	el hac mehmed	zım̃mi bakkal	4
dükkan	müezzin mehmed çelevi	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	katırcı zade	hoşabi	1
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	ahmed ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	durmuş efendi	ağdacı	1
dükkan	el hac yusuf	zım̃mi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	çörekci	3
dükkan	kapucı zade	zım̃mi bakkal	4
dükkan	el hac yusuf	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	boza	1

dükkan	kapucı zade	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa	çörekci	3
dükkan	mehmed efendi	çörekci	3
fırın	mustafa paşa	itmekci	12
dükkan	saraylı hatun	bazari	2
dükkan	el hac mehmed	ağdacı	1
dükkan	ömer ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	aşçı mehmed	bazari	2
dükkan	ismail efendi	hoşabi 1 boza 1	
dükkan	ahmed çelebi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	el hac ramazan	arab şerbeti	2
fırın	musa efendi	itmekci	12
dükkan	ibrâhim ağa	zımmi kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	musa efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	ismail efendi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mihrimah ağa	kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	arnavud zımmi	değirmen-i dakik simid	5
dükkan	musa efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	el hac ramazan	bazari	2
dükkan	yeniçeri çavuşu	çörekci	3
dükkan	mustafa çelebi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	parmaksız	bazari	2
dükkan	resul beşe	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mustafa çavuş	bazari	2
dükkan	mustafa çelebi	bazari	2
dükkan	dilsiz zade	bazari	2
dükkan	bekiri? ağası	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	mehmed beşe	arpacı	1
dükkan	mustafa çelebi	bazari	2
dükkan	çavuş zade	bazari	2
dükkan	kethüda-yı ibrâhim paşa	çörekci	3
dükkan	abdi halife	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	bekiri ağası	bazari	2
dükkan	abdi çelebi	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	mezbur	helvacı	2
dükkan	yeniçeri ağası	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	ali yazıcı	bazari	2
dükkan	topal	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	hami çelebi	bazari	
dükkan	abdi halife	boza1 hoşabi 1	
dükkan	ramazan ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	sebzeci	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	bekiri? ağası	bazari	2
dükkan	mustafa çelebi	ağdacı	1
dükkan	mustafa halife	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	sarac başı	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	yorğancı zade	kasab-ı bakar	3

dükkan	ali ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	bekiri? ağası	yoğurthane	6
dükkan	turşucu	bazari	2
dükkan	hoca fettah zade	bazari	2
dükkan	mami? zımmi	bakkal	4
dükkan	mahmud kethüda	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	hüseyin beşe	ağdacı	1
dükkan	imam zade	zımmi değirmen-i dakik simid	5
dükkan	mehmed beyg	bazari	2
dükkan	bekir beşe	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	ayasofya vakfı	boza 1 arab şerbeti 2	3
dükkan	hayran ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	hasan çelebi	bazari	2
dükkan	el-hac mehmed	hoşabi	1
dükkan	ibrâhim çelebi	bazari	2
dükkan	musli çelebi	çörekci	3
dükkan	bekiri efendisi	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	esirci ahmed zade	sebzeci	2
dükkan	el-mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	imran ağa	arab şerbeti	2
fırın	kavak ustası	itmekci	12
dükkan	el-hac ...	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	osman efendi	helvacı	2
dükkan	el-mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	el-mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	altı parmak	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	gürcü paşa zade	başhane	3
dükkan	mahmud paşa zade	bezirhane	2
dükkan	süleyman çelebi	bazari	2
dükkan	el-hac mustafa	bazari	2
dükkan	mehmed ağa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	terzi zımmi	çörekci	3
dükkan	dilaver	turşucu	1
dükkan	mehmed ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	kara hasan zade	bazari	2
dükkan	el-hac ali	müslim bakkal	3

Table 14. Aksaray

Shop	Property of	Business	Tax	Battal
dükkan	hüseyin efendi	helvacı	2	
dükkan	çavuş başı kızları	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	hacı ali	kasab-ı ganem-i müslim	3	
dükkan	bayram ağa zevcesi	bazari	2	
dükkan	burunsuz ahmed	has bende fırını	6	
dükkan	meydan kethudası	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	sene 1
dükkan	ismail çelebi	bazari	2	
dükkan	... ermeni	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	mezbur	şiruğanhane		
dükkan	damo zımmi	arab şerbeti 2 boza 1	3	sene 1

dükkan	mehmed çelevi	hoşabi	1
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	laz ahmed ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	hüseyin ağa	ağdacı	1
dükkan	osman efendi	sebzeci	2
dükkan	çorbacı oğlu	bazari	2
dükkan	mustafa çelevi	tavukcu	1
dükkan	mehmed çelevi	çörekci fırını	3
dükkan	hacı ismail	çörekci	3
dükkan	halil ağa	yoğurdhane	6
dükkan	nişancı ahmed	bazari	2
dükkan	halil ağa	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı ganem-i müslim	3
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	ahmed ağa	boza 1 hoşabi 1	2
dükkan	hacı ismail	arab şerbeti 1 aşcı 4	5
dükkan	zülfikar ağa	zımmi simid uncu	5
dükkan	yusuf beşe	sebzeci	2
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	süleyman çelevi	arab şerbeti 2 boza 1	3
dükkan	süleyman çelevi	kadayıfçı	2
dükkan	es'ad zade	helvacı	2
dükkan	ali beyg	arab hası	3
dükkan	mezbur	şırığanhane	
dükkan	ali efendi	çiçekci	1
dükkan	ebubekir çelevi	çiçekci	1
dükkan	şıracı mustafa	çiçekci	1
dükkan	ali efendi	çiçekci	1
dükkan	süleyman	çiçekci	1
dükkan	ahmed beşe	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	hacı ali	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mustafa efendi	müslim bakkal	3
dükkan	şa'ban ağa	sebzeci	2
dükkan	mehmed ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	dilaver ağa	çörekci	2
dükkan	altı parmak efendi	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	ibrâhim beşe	başhane	3
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	hoşabi 1 boza 1	2
dükkan	zağarcıbaşızade muammer ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	hasan ağa	ağdacı	1
dükkan	arpa emini ali efendi	işkenbe	
dükkan	elçi paşa zade	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	mezbur	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	yusuf beşe	arab şerbeti 2 boza 1	3
dükkan	osman efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	sebzeci 2 tavukcu 1	3
dükkan	Istanbul ağası ahmed ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	hacı şükür zade	bazari	2

dükkan	kapucu	bazari	2
dükkan	kucu? Zımmi	tavukcu	1
dükkan	dağiri zimmi	değirmen-i dakik-i simid	5
dükkan	mehmed efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	muslihiddin ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	arnavud mehmed	bazari	2
dükkan	yorgancı hacı hüseyin	bazari	2
dükkan	hacı ahmed	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	kalaycı hüseyin	bazari	2
dükkan	dilaver ağa	çörekci	3
dükkan	hacı ahmed	helvacı	2
dükkan	osman efendi	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3
dükkan	mehmed çelevi	bazari	2
dükkan	elçi paşa zade	sirkeci	1
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	leblebi	1
dükkan	ali efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	torbacı başı	bazari	2
dükkan	ali efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	şa'ban beyg	sebzeci	2
dükkan	mustafa ağa	hoşabi	1 şehir 2
dükkan	hacı süleyman	bazari	2
dükkan	mustafa ağa	hoşabi	1
dükkan	hacı ahmed	kasab-ı ganem-i müslim	3
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	yusuf ağa vakfı	leblebi	1
dükkan	alemdar vakfı	leblebi	1
dükkan	mehmed beşe	leblebi	1
dükkan	hasan ağa	gözlemeci	2
dükkan	hasan efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	ahmed beyg	bazari	2
dükkan	mustafa efendi	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	hacı ali	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2
dükkan	mehmed çelevi	arab şerbeti	2
dükkan	nişancı başı	çörekci	3
dükkan	havyarcı kızı?	bazari	2
dükkan	hacı mustafa	zımmi bakkal	4
dükkan	mustafa ağa	bazari	2
dükkan	nişancı başı	bazari	2
dükkan	mustafa ağa	kasab-ı bakar	3
dükkan	mezbur	halka simidci 5 kadayıfçı 2	7
dükkan	nişancı başı	bazari	2
dükkan	ibrâhim beşe	bazari	2
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı ganem-i müslim	3
dükkan	mustafa ağa	sirkeci	1
dükkan	mezbur	helvacı	2
dükkan	aşçı başı	kebabi 2 hoşabi 1	3

dükkan	mehmed ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	abdullah efendi	buğdaycı	1	
dükkan	mezbur	arab şerbeti 2 boza 1	3	
dükkan	simidci mehmed ağa	müslim kasab-ı ğanem	3	
dükkan	mirahor süleyman ağa	itmekci	12	
dükkan	yusuf beşe	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	...zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	süleyman ağa	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	ramazan ağa	zımmi simid uncu	5	
dükkan	bozacı zade	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	oda başı	bazari	2	
dükkan	ibrâhim çelebi	bazari	2	
dükkan	ali efendi	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	sipahi mehmed çelebi	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	abdulah çelebi	bazari	2	
dükkan	satır musa	bazari	2	
dükkan	ahmed beşe	hoşabi	1	
dükkan	ahmed ağa	leblebi	1	
dükkan	bazaar başı	arab şerbeti	2	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	ali bazar başı	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	hacı mehmed	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	defterdar hasan efendi	bazari	2	
dükkan	mezbur	müslim bakkal	3	
dükkan	hacı mehmed	helvacı	2	
dükkan	...hasan efendi	çörekci	3	
dükkan	mehmed beşe	bazari	2	
dükkan	hacı mehmed	kadayıfçı	2	
dükkan	...şa'riyeci mehmed	şa'riyeci		sene 1
dükkan	cevbazcı	bazari	2	
dükkan	mahmud bazar başı	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	ömer ağa	helvacı	2	
dükkan	...hasan efendi	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	mahmud efendi	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı ganem-i müslim	3	
dükkan	fındık zade	kasab-ı ganem-i müslim	3	
dükkan	temud	bazari	2	
dükkan	yunus ağa	sebzeci	2	
dükkan	ömre ağa	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	hazinedar	kasab-ı ganem-i müslim	3	
dükkan	mezbur	...		sene 1
dükkan	mustafa paşa	itmekci	12	
dükkan	süleyman ağa	değirmen-i has-ı arab	3	
dükkan	ahmed efendi	müslimb bakkal	3	
dükkan	hacı şa'ban	bazari	2	
dükkan	ali ağa	sebzeci 2 tavukcu 1	3	
dükkan	oda başı kızı	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	hasan ağa	kasab-ı bakar	3	şehr 1
dükkan	mezbur	kasab-ı bakar	3	

dükkan	zaim veresesı	bazari	2	
dükkan	abduhvahid	bazari	2	
dükkan	oda başı	bazari	2	
dükkan	mustafa ağa	kadayıfçı	2	
dükkan	miras yedi	sirkeci	1	
dükkan	ahmed ağa	bazari	2	sene 1
dükkan	hacı osman	bazari	2	
dükkan	sefer ermeni	arab şerbeti 2 boza 1	3	
dükkan	osman efendi	çörekci	3	
dükkan	...zevcesi	bazari	2	
dükkan	hüseyin beşe	zımmi bakkal mea sebze	5	
dükkan	hacı hasan	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	mezbur	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	mehmed efendi	itmekci	12	
dükkan	mehmed ağa	bazari	2	
dükkan	hasan halife	kasab-ı ganem-i zımmi	3	
dükkan	musa efendi	kasab-ı bakar	3	
dükkan	saraylı beyg	bazari	2	
dükkan	balcıoğlu	sirkeci	1	
dükkan	mezbur	bazari	2	
dükkan	...	bazari	2	
dükkan	mustafa beyg	bazari	2	
dükkan	.. çelevi	zımmi bakkal	4	
dükkan	mehmed beşe	otlukcu	1	
dükkan	topal osman	otlukcu	1	
dükkan	... beşe	şırığanhane		
dükkan	..oğlu	zımmi bakkal	5	