BREAD AND PROVISIONING IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE:
1750-1860

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ABSTRACT

The study examines bread and the provisioning question in the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Wheat and bread supply of the most important center of the Empire: İstanbul is focused on. In this context, Ottoman State's intervention in the economy and its motivation to do so is analyzed. I argue that the Ottoman government had a pragmatic motivation in interfering with provisioning, beginning from the cultivation of grain, up to distribution of bread to the consumers. The analysis is made using archival sources and published primary sources. Kadi court records, published state records, documents of the Cevdet Belediye and Mühimme classifications of the Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet archives are among these documents. In the study it is suggested that production of bread which was the basic source of nourishment with an additional symbolically 'sacred' character, was subject to close control of the government. State control is observable in the transportation, requisition, storage, and the distribution of wheat as well as in the monopolies of bakers; and the rules of market regulation imposed by state officials.
ÖZET

Bu araştırmada 18. ve 19. yüzyıllarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun işesi ve ekmek sorununun incelenmesidir. İmparatorluğun en önemli merkezi olan İstanbul'un buğday ve ekmek ihtiyacının karşılanması konusuna değinilmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Osmanlı Devleti'nin ekonomiye müdahalesi ve bu konudaki motivasyonu ele alınmaktadır.

Araştırmalarına göre Osmanlı hükümeti işe konusunda hububat ekiminden tüketiciye ekmek dağıtımına kadar müdahaleinde pragmatik bir yaklaşım sahipti. Çalışmamda arşiv belgeleri ve yayınlanmış birinci el kaynaklar kullanılmıştır. Bu belgeler, kadı sicilleri, yayınlanmış devlet kayıtları ile Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet arşivleri Cevdet Belediye ve Mühimme tasniflerine ait kayıtlardır. İncelememde, simbolik bir kutsallığa sahip olan, aynı zamanda temel besin maddesi olan ekmeğin yakın devlet takibi altında bulunduğu öne sürülmektedir. Devlet kontrolü, buğdayın taşınması, satın alınması, stoklanması, dağıtımı; ekmek üreticilerinin tekeli ve devletin memurları tarafından gerçekleştirdilen pazar kontrolünde görülmektedir.
To my grandmother Cihadiye Erefe.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACR    Ankara Kadi Court Records
AO     Archivum Ottomanicum
AÜDTCF Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi
BCR    Bursa Kadi Court Records
CB     Cevdet Belediyye
DHBD   Divan-ı Humayun Buyruldu Defteri
DHED   Divan-ı Humayun Esnaf Defteri
DHID   Divan-ı Humayun İstanbul Defteri
E12    Encyclopedia of Islam Second Edition
IJTS   International Journal of Turkish Studies
IJMES  International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
İCR    İstanbul Kadi Court Records
İFM    İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası
İÜEFSĐ İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyoloji Dergisi
JEEH   Journal of European Economic History
JEH    Journal of Economic History
MD     Mühimme Defteri
SEHME  Studies on the Economic History of the Middle East
TED    Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi
TOEM   Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası
TV     Tarih Vesikalari
INTRODUCTION

Ottoman Artisanal Organization: The question of Autonomy

Studies on the Ottoman State in relation to the pre-capitalist economy, considerations of the legal regulation of the economy have displayed the framework of an "economic mind" encompassing fiscalist, provisionalist, traditionalist and anti-mercantilist measures. Ottoman economy had an emphasis on plenty as opposed to windfall profits that could be accrued out of business, or revenue out of exports. Ottoman State's intervention in the economy took place in the forms of controlling market prices, the quality of goods sold, determining monopolies of necessities and regulating guilds and customs.\(^1\) State intervention was perceived as a tool that protected revenue sources of the treasury, and the interests of both producers and consumers.\(^2\) Crafts production and artisans' organization have stood out as important components of this structure.\(^3\) Various approaches of research into Ottoman History have had their reflections in this field, as well. Below is an attempt to view different approaches and their impacts on considerations of Ottoman artisanal organization in relation to the Ottoman State.

Crafts guilds have often been considered to be special organizations through which state intervention over the economy was reassured. This approach can be characterized by the "institutionalist" or "statutory" perspective reflected in the work of Gabriel Baer on Ottoman guilds. Baer has asserted that until the fifteenth century,


\(^2\) İnalçık with Quataert (1994): 53.

there were no guilds in Anatolia and the Ahi⁴ gatherings constituted a non-professional organization. By the seventeenth century, however, according to Baer, some scholars put forward that the entire population came to be included in the guild system. Evliya Çelebi's description of the guilds' muster by Murad IV⁵ reflects the wide inclusion to the guild organization. Baer has interpreted this picture by differentiating between the guild members. This differentiation is inherent in his grouping: One group includes all urban population except higher bureaucracy and the army, while the other group includes artisans and merchants, guilds of transport and services, and finally, guilds connected with medicine.⁶ This analysis on the functions of Ottoman guilds has been primarily based on Osman Nuri Ergin's Mecelle-i Umur-i Belediyye. Baer’s approach emphasizes the institutional structure of guilds in which, guilds are mentioned, to begin with, as an administrative link between the state and the urban population.⁷ In this framework, the guild kethüda was the representative of the guild before the government authorities, as well as that of the authorites before the guild. Baer’s suggestion concerning this issue is that the kethüda was for the most part, a government agent, rather than the spokesman of the guild.⁸

Concerning the taxation of guilds, Baer has stated that Turkish guilds had no fiscal functions and these functions were among the duties of the muhtesib. Some exceptions are mentioned by Baer including the responsibility of some kethüdâs for the payment of custom dues of some products. The quality control of products, weights

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⁴Professional organization of Anatolian craftsmen around the ethics of “füttüvet” (futuwwa).


⁷Ibid.: 33.
and measures have been viewed by Baer as an area of state regulation within which guilds were used as an instrument for the supervision of regulatory instructions. In other words, guilds' control over the quality of goods was limited, and in the last resort, effective measures of regulation were taken by the kâdî. Fixing prices and wages have been viewed in a similar context, attributing a relatively passive position to the guilds and emphasizing government control. Other basic functions of guilds have been summarized as: provision of the army with services and labor as auxiliaries (orducu) in times of war; The supply and distribution of goods to the authorities as well as the supply and distribution of raw materials to the artisans. Moreover, guilds carried out the function of arbitrating disputes among their members and provision of mutual help. One effective function of Turkish guilds was the teşâvün sandığı or esnaflın orta sandığı which allowed artisans to arrange mutual help for their members. Important disputes among craftsmen were either heard at the court of kâdi, or were handled by the muhtesib. In this field, again, a significant level of autonomy had been exceptionally granted only to the guild of shoe-makers, allowing them the exemption from the jurisdiction of government officers.

The above mentioned institutionalist analysis has been subject to criticisms. Some scholars have asserted that such views of historians assuming a dominant character for the Ottoman State over all other smaller institutions of the empire was a mere adoption of the viewpoint of the Ottoman ruling class. This view, involved the

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8Ibid. : 35.

9Ibid. : 36.

10Ibid. : 37-38.

11Ibid. : 40.

12Ibid. : 41-42.
perception of sixteenth century Ottoman Empire to epitomize the ideal militarized state. This ideal establishment was able to manipulate artisans and peasants in a desired fashion, without drawing significant reaction.\textsuperscript{14} As opposed to this argument, Suraiya Faroqhi points at reactions of Istanbul's craftsmen who refused to work unless their demands for higher wages were accepted, in 1580.\textsuperscript{15} She also asserts that craftsmen identified with the system of market controls and at times, they complained from merchants, from rival guilds and other competitors whenever their interests were concerned. They demanded the support of the state against rivalry and the profiteering activities of merchants.\textsuperscript{16} According to this perspective, considering the practice of "orducu", within the institutionalist perspective as adopted by Gabriel Baer, artisans were studied as "servants of the war machine".\textsuperscript{17} Therefore, perception of guilds merely as an instrument of the state, is not a fair assessment. Faroqhi refers to Halil İnalcık's analysis on the kethüda appointment, asserting that the selection of the candidate by the guildsmen, a transfer of office from one incumbent to the next including a payment of money, and the approval of the state, displayed a complex structure of the guild system as a whole.

In fact, İnalcık's works on Ottoman economy in general and those on urban production, trade and the agents involved in this structure in particular, have

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid.: 42.


\textsuperscript{16}Faroqhi: 43.

\textsuperscript{17}Gabriel Baer (1970) "The Administrative, Economic and Social Functions of Turkish Guilds," \textit{JMES}, 28-50, cited by Faroqhi: 44.
constructed a wholistic picture related to the above-mentioned problematic. \(^\text{18}\) Before going into details of contemporary discussions, it is necessary to analyze İnalcık's works on Ottoman economy which have depended on archival documents, therefore have enabled the formation of a solid ground of scrutiny.

İnalcık has pointed at a significant autonomy level of Ottoman guilds as opposed to Gabriel Baer's interpretation of guilds as 'institutions under strict state control imposed via the kethûda'. The internal organisation of Ottoman artisans consisted of a limited number of ıstas (master craftsmen). Among these ıstas, a council of six (altılar) was elected which included the șeyh (the religious head), the kethûda, the yiğitbaşı (who was responsible for the administration of the internal affairs of the guild), işçi-başı, and two artisans. The duties of this council were, to control the quality of goods produced; to carry out the examinations of promotion from apprentice to journeyman and from journeyman to master, and to issue their icâzec (licences); to settle disputes and prevent malpractices in the guild; to represent the guild before the government; to prevent competition and illegal practices in buying stocks and employing workers. \(^\text{19}\) The nature and the degree of state involvement in this organisation can be detected by looking at İnalcık's analysis of the kethûda appointment:


\(^{19}\) Halil İnalcık (1970): 216.
This analysis of a document dated 25 Rabi' 1145\textsuperscript{20} displays that the appointment of ket\(h\)\(u\)\(d\)a was carried out according to a routine bureaucratic procedure.\textsuperscript{21} This procedure began with a recommendation made by a responsible official, supporting the interested party (or the candidate). Following this \textit{\'arz}, the grand vizier instructed scrutiny which was to be made by the concerned government bureau. Following the completion of this investigation, and the grand vizier's order, a \textit{ferm\(\acute{a}\)n} (decree) was issued.\textsuperscript{22} The candidate received his \textit{ber\(\acute{a}\)t} (diploma) as a result of this process. The candidate also made a payment to the previous warden in order to be appointed, which indicates an atmosphere of agreement of the parties.

İnalçık has emphasized the autonomy of Ottoman guilds pointing at the fact that the candidate- or the subject of the petition was originally chosen among the guild members. Therefore, the procedure did not involve a simple appointment by the state, on the contrary, the state appointed the person who was elected by his peers. The officer was elected independently. The necessity for recording this election, or approving the appointment aroused from the need for state support to be granted to the officer in times of trouble.\textsuperscript{23} The \textit{ber\(\acute{a}\)t} of the ket\(h\)\(u\)\(d\)a proved that he was backed by sultanic authority, which reaffirmed his power of successfully exercising his duty. At the same time, the \textit{ber\(\acute{a}\)t} placed the corresponding responsibility on the government authorities of supporting the ket\(h\)\(u\)\(d\)a.\textsuperscript{24} In order to become an authority in the empire,

\textsuperscript{20}Halil İnalcık (1986/1993) "The Appointment Procedure of a Guild Warden (Ketkhuda)," \textit{The Middle East and the Balkans Under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society}, Indiana: 194-201.

\textsuperscript{21}İnalçık (1986/1993) : 196.

\textsuperscript{22}Ibid. : 197.

\textsuperscript{23}Ibid. : 197.

\textsuperscript{24}Ibid.
as long as the sultan approved its legitimacy by a berât. Since such a dual responsibility scheme is observed, it is understandable why the candidate is subjected to the initial scrutiny. Depending on the evidence put forward by İnalçık, it would be appropriate to say that neither a "totally autonomous" guild picture, nor a "totally dependent" structure is valid. The kethüda is elected by the guild members. His candidacy is put forward by way of a recommendation. The situation is investigated by the government's bureaucratic mechanism and the appointment is complete once the decree, allowing the nominee to receive his diploma is issued.

Haim Gerber, whose previous work has been for the most part in conformity with what Gabriel Baer has put forward, following İnalçık's analysis on the kethüda appointment seems to have changed his point of view concerning the autonomy level of Ottoman artisans Gerber has claimed that Ottoman guild law was not imposed by a sacred tradition—from above. This argument has been based İnalçık's article "The Appointment Procedure of a Guild Warden: Kethhuda". Gerber has put forward that Ottoman judicial decisions were made by tracing "past relations and rights."25 The results of his observations have led to the assertion that guild law was not handed down by the government, however, it was applied in courts as an imposed law. What these assertions amount to, is that the guild rules were not strictly imposed by the state or guilds themselves. The regulations, for the most part, were the continuities of law based on custom. This idea is expressed by Gerber as: "Ottoman society was saturated from top to bottom by a sociopsychological ethos that may be termed a customary law mentality." 26


26 Gerber (1994): 114. It should be noted that one must be careful when speaking about "customary law". İnalçık in his work on Weber and Sultanism has clarified that the state legalized old customs.
In support of his argument, Gerber refers to the court records of Bursa, Ayntab, and to some extent, to those of İstanbul, putting forward the picture of a heterogeneous guild system immune from uniform and tight government control. In this framework, eighteenth century Ayntab is said to possess a guild system of free guild agreement where the production standard was attributed to old custom, rather than to the government.\textsuperscript{27} According to these criteria, the economic monopolies upheld by the guilds were an outgrowth of customary law.\textsuperscript{28} Guilds' complaints concerning violations of production originated from disturbances of guilds' own traditional privileges rather than state laws.\textsuperscript{29}

The position of state within this framework has been summarized by Gerber as: "State backed the customary law; showed interest in guild affairs especially in those processing gold and silver; drafted artisans to service in times of war; employed quite a number of artisans for palace service; used guilds to levy taxes on urban population; showed interest in fraud on the part of artisans producing basic foodstuffs."\textsuperscript{30} These areas of interest shown by the state include the regulations of ıltisab as well as practices such as orduçu çıkarmak (sending auxiliaries for the provisioning of the army) in times of war. Gerber's interpretation is that these state interventions do not reflect an interest in regulating the guild system, or the urban adult population.\textsuperscript{31} His argument is premised on the assertion that guilds were not tightly controlled. Another

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As put forward by İnalçık, "customary law" seems to be a false category which can be corrected as "law based on custom", since once sanctioned by the sultan, custom became a "law".

\textsuperscript{27}Ibid. : 117.

\textsuperscript{28}Ibid. : 118.

\textsuperscript{29}Ibid. : 120.

\textsuperscript{30}Ibid. : 125.

\textsuperscript{31}Ibid.
claim put forward by Gerber concerns the "loose institutional structure" of Ankara guilds. This assertion involves a criticism of Özer Ergenç's comparative work on the towns of Ankara and Konya of the Classical Age, where a strict state control via institutionalization in the society is documented. This criticism amounts to the conclusion that "The Ottoman approach to civil society fell a great deal short of Sultanism." 32 It is among Gerber's assertions that this approach concurs with the conclusion reached by İnaçık in "The Appointment Procedure of a Guild Warden (kedkhuda)".

On the economic side, similarly, recent research has placed special emphasis on the restructuring of Turkish guilds in accordance with the commercialization of the economy. Suraiya Faroqhi's work on eighteenth century Bursa guilds is another example where an active character is attributed to Ottoman guilds. In her "Ottoman Guilds of the Late Eighteenth Century: The Bursa Case," 33 Faroqhi refers to two different evolutions of Turkish guilds that were observable in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. One of these evolution paths has been displayed in the work of Nicolaj Todorov on nineteenth century Bulgarian guilds. 34 This is the case where some nineteenth century guilds tended to "develop into a manufacturers' association." 35 In fact, the production of cheap woolen cloth by a local family had taken the form of small scale factory production. This evolution did not involve an abandoning of the

32Ibid.: 113.
guilds, however it was realized by taking over guild offices and controlling them. The related area had been selected by Sultan Mahmud II to provide Asakir-i Mansure with cloth for their uniforms. Thus, both the producers and the state preferred to use this intermediary institution. The survival pattern, as put forward by Faroqhi, constitutes a counter-argument for the view which involved an evaluation of the guilds as symbols of backwardness. The other type of evolution by the guilds was characterized by a limit on the guilds' sphere of activity. This type of limit was premised on the practice of gedik and was a consequence of the principle of "provisionalism".

These approaches may be evaluated as part of a 'universalist' historiography that seems to have its reflections on the study of Ottoman particularism. They may be perceived as the extents of either some sociological approaches concerning civil solidarity of communities and social groups within empires or as the extents of an approach epitomized by the works of Susan Reynolds on European legal history, which have an emphasis on "law based on custom" as well as an anthropological insight. In the works of İnalçık based on archival documents, it is not possible to detect a society or an economy perfectly free from state regulation. As a result, it is probably fitting to say that the above-mentioned hypotheses may be further discussed, after the examination of particular regions' documents belonging to Ottoman lands. Comparative studies of different localities, rather than limited surveys of overly-

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36Ibid. : 93.


commercialized towns like Bursa, may shed light upon this debate on autonomy, sultanism, or civil society\textsuperscript{39} in the Ottoman Empire.

One area of strict state intervention in the economy seems to preserve the nature that was inherent during the Classical Age. Setting aside the manufacturing sector of Ottoman economy which underwent significant changes as a result of political, social and economic domestic transformation that took place following the Classical Age\textsuperscript{40}, as well as the effects of the changing trade-routes, the price revolution, and the capitalistic pressures that originated from the West\textsuperscript{41} the concern for food provisioning and particularly bread production remained to be an area of state control. During the Classical Age, the Ottoman Economy, with its regional markets and interregional trade ways, constituted a system of provisions which could be considered as a whole in itself.\textsuperscript{42}

This thesis will be limited by the subject of bread provisioning of the Ottoman capital, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries' setting. In this context, I


\textsuperscript{40}Halil İnalçık (1980). "Military and Fiscal Transformation of the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700," AO, VI: 283-337.

\textsuperscript{41}The story of the development of Western capitalism and the position of the Ottoman State and the Ottoman Economy within this picture has been a subject of a whole set of literature. Ottoman Economy has been previously analyzed using the theories of 'The Asiatic Mode of Production'; Weberian 'Modernization Perspective'. These theories have been criticized to be 'a-historical views in which 'East ' is defined as a world where any progress is virtually impossible, where the economy is stagnant, where 'despotic rulers' have no reasons to legitimize themselves as opposed to the atomic society which cannot realize the formation of private property and the class struggles that went together. These approaches were used as 'justifications' for Western interference in the East, particularly the Imperial expansion of the West in non-Western areas. ( For the critiques and the theoretical discussion, see: Yiğit İslamoğlu-Inan (1991) Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve Köylülük (State and Peasantry In the Ottoman Empire-Translated by SabriTekay) İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul.) On the other hand, within the Wallerstean 'World System Perspective' the history of the peripheralization of the Ottoman Empire has been considered, which has also been subject to criticism for being a merely economic' approach.

propose that there was a pragmatic sphere of state-decisions while interfering in the economy. Accordingly, in the first part of the study, wheat and flour supplies; where the grain came from; ports of entry into the Ottoman market; and the agents of distribution of flour, in other words state control over the distribution of flour will be handled. Some primary sources that will be analyzed in this chapter are documents of the Mühimme Defterleri of Başbakanlık Ottoman Archives belonging to the Classical Age which will be scrutinized in order to construct a picture of and with what types of tools and motivation the Ottoman State intervened in grain production during the Classical Age when the empire had reached its bounds as the 'World Economy' of the Middle East, in Braudelian terms. Secondly Cevdet Belediyye documents of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries will be scrutinized. Some documents of kâdi court records will be used to explain the method of flour storage. The eighteenth century constituted a period where some peculiarities can be singled out in relation to the bread provisioning question. One is concerning grain trade. This is the challenge the Ottoman State (and the İstanbul market in particular) faced as European demand for Middle Eastern grain began to offer significantly higher prices for the Levant grain than the Ottoman government. This increased inclination toward contraband grain trade and created the need to put forward extra efforts of control, on the part of the Ottoman State. Another point is the increased population of the capital via migration by the eighteenth century, which was an additional challenge for the state.  

\[43\] A third characteristic of this period is the transformation of the *unkapanı* (the flour market)
into a more commercialized exchange market. In this framework, it is possible to point at mediator-officers who served in the ̨kapan.

In the following chapter, bread producers will be considered. The subject will be analyzed with emphasis on the development of ğedik which was the license of production and sale of a commodity or the distribution of a monopoly right by the government. Bread production will be handled as a sphere of monopoly that survived even after the abolishing of monopolies by the 1838 Anglo-Ottoman Commercial Treaty. The documents used in this analysis are publishings of Osman Nuri in his Mecelle, and some records out of ̨kaft court records of the towns of Bursa and Ankara.

The last chapter will be focused on the institution of ihtisab or market policing. For this part, a nineteenth century ̨kaft court record document belonging to the town of Ankara will be analyzed. In this context, bread policing, in other words, the control over the quality and the price of bread will be emphasized. İhtisab will be considered as an institution of the classical age that managed to survive until the mids of the nineteenth century.
CHAPTER I

THE QUESTION OF PROVISIONING

1.1 State Policy

Provisioning of a crowded city with the crucial foodstuff: "bread" constituted a multi-dimensional challenge for the pre-capitalist, early modern state. In the case of Istanbul and the Ottoman state, the mechanism of coping with this challenge has been viewed within three main sections. The most extensive study on this subject has been made by Rhoads Murphey.\(^1\) In this context, Murphey has pointed at the first step to be the cultivation and harvesting of grain; the next step as the transportation and storage of grain at the center, or the capital; and the last point as the allocation and the final distribution to consumers. This last function has been further divided into groups as milling and refining, weighing and inventory, determination of government price support levels, establishment of distribution priorities, elaboration and policy of market control mechanisms. Bread had a similarly important role in the provisioning of powerful states. For example, during the eighteenth century, British governments were for the most part measuring state-administered, state-subsidized, taxed economic entities concerning grains, flour and bread.\(^2\) Looking at the way Ottomans dealt with this question throughout the centuries, it becomes evident that state never fell short of

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\(^1\)At this point it is appropriate to remind the work of Lütfi Güçer, and that of Evangelia Balta which is particularly focused on the rural production in the network of bread production, and the price-determination mechanism in the region of Salonica.

a strict motivation for economic regulation.\(^3\) In other words, the Ottoman state did not incline towards a liberal policy when "bread of the masses" was concerned. In this respect, government policies were consistent with and parallell to the practices of the Classical Age.

By the time eighteenth century was reached, the two treaties namely Passarowitz (1718) and Küçük Kaynarca (1774); moreover the Russian occupation of Crimea constituted a turning point for the balances of grain trade. These treaties implied the 'isolation' of the Ottoman lands from larger borders, economically.\(^4\) At the same time, eighteenth century was a period of growth in population.\(^5\) As the state's control over Danubian provinces loosened, and as the population growth reached high levels, food provisioning became more difficult. This was a time when the government adopted an "inward looking" provisioning policy turned towards internal trade.\(^6\) Grain of Istanbul came from three essential sources: the Danubian area, Mediterranean coasts, Black Sea region, and Egypt. Grain transportation was directed towards three main destinations: First, towards Istanbul and other metropolitan centers. Secondly, towards import-dependant desert regions such as Hicaz, and thirdly, towards the army, wherever it was.\(^7\) For instance, in 1047-1049 (1637-39) when the army had gone to the Bagdad campaign, on the way to and from Bagdad, (from Üsküdar, İzmit, Eskişehir, Akşehir, Konya, Adana, Aleppo, Diyarbakır, Musul, to Bagdad and from


\(^4\)Inalçık (1980).

\(^5\)See the report of Tatarcık Abdullah Efendi as the Appendix: I


\(^7\)Ibid: 221.
Musul, Diyarbakır, Malatya, Tokat, Amasya, Tosya, Bolu, İzmit, to Üsküdar) the total amount of grain consumed by the army reached as much as 1.559.917 kiles of barley, 1.886.751 loaves of bread, and 43.924 kiles of flour.⁸ In 1183 (1769), due to the Russian campaign, Black Sea wheat was entirely reserved for the army and İstanbul received all of Mediterranean wheat.⁹

Since locally, provisioning had priority, illegal grain export was punishable by death. On the other hand, internal grain trade was allowed with official permission.¹⁰ "Shortage", if not "famine" determined the destination of the grain. When shortage took place in certain areas of the empire, internal trade was motivated to make up for these losses. It seems that more prosperous areas provided for the shortage. In case a general crop failure or famine took place, the government would offer “partial rebates or full tax waivers”.¹¹ A government record of the classical age dated 24 Cumade’l ähire 994 (12 June 1586)¹² shows that upon shortage of wheat in Rhodes, the dîzdârs of Sultaniye and Kilidülbahr were ordered to send 200 mudds of grain to the island. However, since shortage appeared in İstanbul, as well, the destination was changed towards the capital. This order was to rearrange the journey to Rhodes once more, since the shortage in Rhodes turned out to be severe.

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⁹CB No: 393.


1.2 Grain Transport by the Government: Dealing With Contraband Trade

During the eighteenth century, the primary challenge to internal trade was the European demand for grain motivated by the devaluation of the currency, as well as an increased demand for wheat on a worldwide scale, after 1748.\(^\text{13}\) On the other hand, shipping and transportation of grain had one outstanding limit: time. The perfect timing had to be attained to avoid spoilage or wastes of grain in stormy seas. This was a universal problem. A cargo of damp wheat which was "to prone to heat or rot" had to be consumed quickly, or transported before damage occurred. One had to be especially careful when sending flour because of its propensity to stale, particularly in summer. In summer, rivers could dry out, or in winter, they could flood or freeze.\(^\text{14}\) Therefore, between the harvest and the winterstorms, a careful time-management was necessary to transport grain.\(^\text{15}\) This would only be attained by the construction and efficient allocation of a state-owned transportation fleet. The state activity in this sphere included prevention of contraband trade; building and maintaining grain transport vessels; employing boats (rencher gemisi) to supplement the fleet; arranging the right arrival time and determining price arbitration and a fair freight charge.\(^\text{16}\) Prevention of contraband trade is a well documented aspect of this structure. The measures included export bans on grain, double-weighing of cargoes both at the port of departure and at the port of destination, and confiscation of cargoes of ships

\(^{13}\) Balta (1994) : 217.


\(^{15}\) Murphey (1988) : 221.

\(^{16}\) Ibid: 222.
caught at wrong routes. Some documents belonging to the Classical Age, display the emphasis placed on grain transportation as follows:

"In Gurre RA 1001 (1592), kadı of Rodoscuuk had been ordered:

Previously, an imperial order had been sent, which put a ban on bringing wheat to the ports of Ebrice, Karaincir, Ereğlı, Mağazırnum and Karagözön where wheat was illegally sold to Europeans. The valid market price of wheat in that area was 20 akça per kile. At the same time, some vessel-owners, Memi Reis and a non-Muslim reis bought the wheat and sold it to Europeans at 60-70 akça per kile in İspsala, Keşan, İnez, Kavak, Malkara and Hayrebolu. Moreover, their vessels were full of guns and fireballs therefore it was difficult to capture these people. In this framework, special attention was necessary concerning requisition of wheat at the above-mentioned towns and ports. Selling wheat to other places than İstanbul was prohibited."

"In 6 Muharram 1001 (1592), kadıts of Karaçirmen, Balçık, Akkirman, Kili and İbrail coasts had been ordered:

The price of wheat in the above-mentioned regions has been raised. Local price of bread in those regions has been altered. Consequently, the merchants who buy wheat from the Black Sea region have begun to sell it at higher prices, in İstanbul. This has led to shortage of wheat and therefore, the above-mentioned Black Sea

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18 zahtere bâbında ziyâde ihitimâm idüb İstanbul’dan gayrî yerlere zahtere verdirmeyüb emr-i şerifime muhalîf ‘amel idenleri isim ve resimleriyle yazub sudde-i saadetime yazub ‘arz eyleyesin ki haçlarsından geline. Various factors could effect the price of bread such as local demand and supply, the cost of transport, and the degree of market regulation. For further discussion and comparison with the British grain market, see Petersen (1995): 164.
towns must re-organize bread making by producing 1,5 vuğriyye of bread at 1 akça. Wheat must be bought accordingly and illegal storage of wheat must be prevented". 19

"In 5 Cumade’l-ahire 1000 (1592), kâdîs of Mediterranean shores had been ordered to control the vessels that carry grain from these shores to İstanbul. This procedure has various steps: To prevent the delay of departure of these ships towards İstanbul. To record the amount of wheat each vessel’s reis (captain of a merchant vessel) takes. To send this defter record with the vessels, under the supervision of trustworthy men chosen among hisareris and others so that upon their arrival in İstanbul, this recorded amount can be demanded from the ship owner. To demand imperial order from the vessel-owners who arrive to take wheat". The emphasis on the strict control of the sale and shipment of İstanbul’s wheat is apparent in the phrase:

İstanbul zahteresi sa’ir umûra kıyas olunmaz tedariki begayet mühipdir.
Her biriniz evkât başiret üzere olub iki’dam ve ihtimâla dañka fevt eylemeyezis. 20

In 13 ZA 1001 (1592), The sancakbegs and kâdîs at the Black Sea shores had been ordered to inform the capital about the kile price of all grains including wheat, barley, corn, etc. at the Black Sea; and about the reason of the difference in weight between Black Sea kile and İstanbul kile. 21

"In 6 Muharrem 1001 (1592)22, kâdîs of the Mediterranean coasts had been ordered:

22 MD, Vol: 69, 516-359
This is a time of wheat shortage in İstanbul. Therefore, the Mediterranean wheat’s arrival is to be guaranteed by an official who has been sent to the said region, to watch over the shipment process as well as the journey to İstanbul."

Dergah-ı mu’âllam çavuşlarından Yusuf Çavuş zide kadruhu ırsâl olmuşdur.

The amount of wheat to be shipped, the name of the vessel owner and all the details of this process is to be recorded in a defter which is to be sent, with the wheat, to İstanbul. The cruciality of this issue is emphasized as:

Bu üşüş sâ’ir umûra kıyas olunmayub ihmâl ve müşahaleden ziyade hâzâr eyleyesiz.

Another point is made, which shows that European demand constitutes a challenge to the process of wheat provision within the empire. Selling the grain to European purchasers is to be severely punished, which is made clear in this imperial order as:

küffar-ı hakisâre virülmesi memnutu’ humayunumda ecâdâm ruhiyçün bir vechile haklarunuzdan gelinir ki sâ’îrlere mücib-i ibret olursuz dahi ana göre muâkyyed olâsz.

At later dates, as mentioned earlier, during the eighteenth century, the provisioning question was more difficult to solve due to persistent wars. Still, main ports of wheat transport were those of the Danube, Black Sea and Egypt. In 1186 (1772), an imperial order 23 was released to transport and purchase 2200 keyls of İstanbullu 24 wheat from Sultan Yeri- Dağ Ardi  kwargsı, to the capital:

İşbu biñ yüz seksen altı senesine ma’hsûb asitâne-i sa’adetde ‘ibâdu’lallahîn rüz-merreleriyyûcün Sultan Yeri ve nâm-ı diğer Dağ Ardi  kwargsından iki biñ iki yüz keyl-i İstanbullu  hünta...

23CB No: 5219.
24A keyl of İstanbul differed in aeight from a keyl of another region in the empire.
The wheat was to be brought to the dock of Karaağaç where an officer called Mehmed Ağa was to take the wheat over.

Karaağaç İskesine nakl ve tesyir ve ta’yın olunan Mehmed Ağa’yı teslim.

Mehmed Ağa, who was apparently the requisition agent, would purchase the wheat over 60 ağıças per keyl of İstanbul

ve lazım gelen bahâlaryyla ağa-yı merkûm yedinden ‘an nakd sağ ağa olmak üzere beher İstanbulî kiyele altmış ağa virûmk virûm şartiyla...

In 1189 (1775), in order to prevent hindrances to incoming grain from the Black Sea, Danubian and Tekfur Daği regions, a warning in the form of a ferman was sent to the kâdis, nâ’ibs and others concerned, at the kažas from which wheat was sent via the dock of Varna. 25

Varna İskesine zahi’ye nakl idegelen kažalanî küçük ve nüvvab ve sa ’ire hifâben sâdr olan fermân-ı ‘âlîşan...

According to this, one of the çukadârs (special sevant or missionary) of the Grand Vizier Halîl Ağa was appointed responsible for this issue.

husûs-ı mezbûra mübaştir ta’yın buyurulan sâdr-ı a’zam çukadârlarından Halîl Ağa

This issue was first investigated from merchants and vessel owners seated at the flour market of İstanbul.

der-i’aliyyeye muktmâ kapan tâccar ve hâcîlari ve eşhâb-ı sefâyîinden husûs-ı mezbûr istintaq olundukda

As a result of this investigation, it was found out that the local grain producers were hiding some of their wheat reserves when the official requisition agents arrived to purchase wheat from them. Consequently, to assure the continuity of a satisfactory amount of grain transport to the capital, the local producers were told to manifest and
sell real amounts of grain reserves, after saving the amount necessary for their subsistence.

Despite this effort, the amount of grain reserves wasn't sufficient to meet the needs. The tahammül of the central government was not enough to provide for the demand.

Due to an excess demand for grain at the capital in 1169 (1755) İstanbul, 25000 kiles of wheat was demanded from the İnoz (İnez) dock of the river Meriç. Sixty akça was to be paid for every keyl of wheat.

The alternative regions which provided the grain of İstanbul were Egypt and the Black Sea region (Akkirman). In 1237 (1821) three cargoes of Egyptian wheat

25 CB No: 5236.
were sent to İstanbul from the dock of İskenderiyye. In the document, cooperation of
the governor of Egypt, Mehmet Ali Paşa is mentioned.

İskenderiyye İskesesinden Mısır Valisi devletli Mehmed 'Ali Paşa
Haçretlerini'nin inzimâm-ı dayî'-i hamiyyetleriyle

First 14257.5, then 1244, and finally 8051 keyls of wheat was transported to
İstanbul and placed in the storehouse at the Imperial Maritime Arsenal. Wheat was
taken to İstanbul by British vessels owned by an English merchant as recorded in
memos released by the "emin" of the Maritime Arsenal.

bu def'a İngilterelü (...) bazırgânı'nın suvarsysı Corcî çapudan, seftnesiyle
ondörtbin ikiyüzelli eşikeyi büyük keyl ve yine bazırgânı mesfurunün
suvarısı (...) çapudan seftnesiyle sekiz bin elli bir keyl ki cem'an
otuzikibbon beşyüzelli büyük keyl hınçta varid ve anbar-ı 'ämireye teslim
olummuş olduğunu anbâr emini efendi bendelerini'nin merbütan takdim-i
şavb-ı sämleri kılınan üçük'ta memhrur 'ilm ü haberlerinden müstaban
olmağla...

The payment in return for this wheat was made by the zahire hazinesi (grain
treasury) of the empire.

İçâb iden bahâsi ba'de'l-îhesâb zahire hazinesinden virülmek üzere
ka'îmesini'nin 'i'tâsi hüsûşunda emr ü ferman hazret-i menlehü'l-emrîndir.

As mentioned earlier, the main source of wheat for İstanbul was the Danubian
region. We have already seen an example of a document for the provisioning of
İstanbul by Egyptian wheat. In fact, Egypt served efficiently in times of crop failures in
the Danubian Area. As a result of drought that took place in the Danubian area, in
1209 (1791), Egyptian wheat was demanded by the capital.  

26CB No: 5035.
27CB No: 4567.
28CB No: 548.
Bu sene-i mubahekede âsitâne-i aliyyenî kileri müşayesinde olan beher Tuna ve Bahır-ı siyah sevâhî iskelelerine merbuţ kszâlarda zehârîriîn killeti bedêdûr...

...Tekfur Dağı ve Karaağaç ve Siroz ve Yeşîşehr ve Selânik ve Eğriboz havâltisinde kârâlîk astîk vâ bu cihetden tersâne-i âmirede vakıf mûri zahîre anbârînîn zîkr olunan mahallerden beher sene mü'tâd olan tertibâtına hâlele vâ nokşan terettûb idûb...

...beher sene anbîr-î âmireye cem' ü iddîhâr olunan zahîre tertibâtînî nokşanlar tekmiîiyçün Shayda ve Yafa iskelelerinden ve sa'îr havâlt-i 'Arabistandan külliyyetü zahîre tertib ve hazine ile mûbâya'aci ve mûbâşîrîlîr ta'yîn olunmağa cânîb-i Mısîr'dan dahi ikiyûzbiîn kile hînta tertib ve şeyh'ül-belde İbrahim Beg ve Mîrû'l-hac Şâbîk Murad Beg kûllârına hitâben balasî mubahek hâçî-ı humâyûn-î sevketmakrûn ile müveçshah fermân-î 'âlişân tasdîr ve ol tarafa tesyîr olunmûs idi....

Looking at similar records falling in the time interval of 1150/ 1250 (1740-1840), it may be possible to roughly determine the main ports, centers of grain transport to İstanbul (and sometimes to the army) and the way of transport used in these operations. Such records indicate that wheat (or grain) was transported from: Ağriboz by vessels (1204/1789)^23; Kostendil and Salonica via the sea (1183/1769); Egypt (1217/1802); Priştina (especially for the army in 1128/1716); the Meriç area by rafts via the rivers on the Meriç-Înoz (Înez) way (1169/1755); Moldavia (1168/1755); Rusçuk (1152/1739); the Black Sea by vessels (1198/1784); Bulgar (1203/1789); Golos (1186/1772); Selonica (1163/1750); Meditterean -Rumelian shores

[^23]: Numbers are, consequently: 444; 3527; 4181; 4738; 1800; 1726; 6182; 5724; 5725; 4365; 4403; 4443; 4492; 4033; 2676; 2691; 2888; 2928; 272; 111; 181; 192; 289; 305; 402; 417.
(1204/1789); Suğla (1202/1788); Crimea by sea (1176/1763); Bergos and Alçaklar (a series of ports of the Danube) (1190/1776); Çekmece (2303/1789); Sofia (1183/1769); Kocaeli (1184/1770); İbrai (1215/1800); Sayda (1195/1781); Akkirmán (1173/1759); Kastamonu (1239/1823); Syria (1209/1794); Siroz (1156/1744); Kőstence (1173/1759); Lazkiye and Aleppo (1225/1810); Silivri (1209/1794); İzmit (1236/1821).

1.3 Storage

Storage was a significant aspect of provisioning. As division of labor between towns and the country appeared, and "as metropolitan vulnerability increased" in England, one proposal for solving the problem of grain, was building public metropolitan granaries, as before the Great Fire of London. This measure was to facilitate the continuity of supplies by storing up surplus of glut and then releasing it in times of dearth, thus meeting need and checking speculation. In İstanbul, large and long-term storage bins were built by the state to meet the crowded city's grain requirement for several months. The dimentions of the grain provision project required state supervision by officials- to buy grain at harvest time, to transport it, to store it and to distribute it to consumers at suitable price ceilings (narlı).  

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31 Ibid: 231.
İstanbul's daily grain requirement: 33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Estimate of Population</th>
<th>Daily grain consumption</th>
<th>Reserve grain storage capability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1717</td>
<td>310,000</td>
<td>8,000 miles (205.25 tons)</td>
<td>300,000 miles= 37 days' supply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1757</td>
<td>330,000</td>
<td>497 tons</td>
<td>400,000 miles= 21 days' supply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>360,000</td>
<td>40,000 miles (1,026 tons)</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems that physically, wheat was best kept in underground storerooms. *Mırtl* (state-owned) wheat was stored in large quantities for the purpose of provisioning. *Anbars* (storehouses) which provided bakers with flour, in Istanbul were Tersane, Üsküdar, Öküzlimanı, İsakçı Anbarları. 34 These store houses contained flour from various localities and the flour would be distributed not only to official bakeries, but also to other establishments. For instance *Laleli İmaretı* received its wheat from the Tersane storehouse for the production of *fodla* (a loaf of bread formerly distributed in the soup kitchens). 35 The major function of storing wheat and flour was to keep a stable level of provision for the bakeries of the capital. The continuity of incoming wheat from different sources depended on certain conditions. As mentioned previously, transportation was premised on both a peaceful environment as much as


34 CB, No: 4103, Date: 1180 (1766)

35 CB, No: 1028, Date: 1206 (1792)
suitable weather conditions. Transportation of wheat or flour was for the most part carried out by boats via the sea or via the rivers. "Before the rail age, bread stuffs moved cheaply on water, dearly on land" 36 In any case, winter brought about difficulties of transportation by boat. In times of irregular transportation, official storehouses would guarantee continuous wheat distribution. 40,000 kiles37 of wheat was distributed to the bakers of İstanbul in 1183 from the Bahriyye storehouse because of bad weather.38

In the provinces, privately owned wheat was stored in smaller underground wells called ƙuyu. An example for this storage method has been reported in a court case of the seventeenth century Ankara. The record concerns theft of wheat out of ƙuyu reported to the kadı including a description of the theft which reveals the storage method of wheat in wells:

mezbūr Hüseyn bizim ƙuyularımız açub haylī buğdaylarımız sırkāt eylemīş bi ḥasbi‘-ş-şer‘ mücibin taleb iderūz didüklerinde mezbūr dahti min-el-vaqt Pervāne nam bir köle ile varub mezbūrları ƙuyuların açub mezbūr Pervāne ƙuyuların içine girub çuvala koyub baña kaldırub ben çekdüm deyū cevāb virūb bi‘t-(IBhaleb kayd olundu. (11 C 1001/1592)39

Storage was a state funded project. The centralized planning of grain transport and distribution was improved with the establishment of the zabī‘re nezāreti in 1213

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37Weights and measurements differed among different localities. According to Halil İnalcık’s work on Ottoman metrology, one kile of İstanbul was equal to 37cm³ Wheat would be commonly measured in kile (keyl or keyçe), mudd and vuğiyye. One vuğiyye (okça, ükiye) was equal to 400 dirhems. (Ottoman Metrology: 340)

38 CB, No: 2715, Date: 1183

39ACR, IV/451.
(1799). This was a sub-ministry endowed with a budget with 5000 kise (2.5 million gurş) from the treasury.\textsuperscript{40}

1.4 Unkapani

As Halil İnalcık has illustrated, "for each major item of necessaries, like wheat, butter, honey, cloth silk and leather, a special market or hall was assigned."\textsuperscript{41} Unkapani or kapanalı dakik (the flour market) was functioning to meet the wholesale flour requirements of the city's bakers as well as the center where wheat and flour were weighed and taxes such as çantariye were charged.\textsuperscript{42} İstanbul unkapani was located at the entrance of Haliç (the Golden Horn). Within the flour market, there were 400 shops of flour merchants, according to Evliya Çelebi.\textsuperscript{43} Bakers were obliged, by law, to have a minimum of two to six months of flour stocks at depots (anbăr).\textsuperscript{44} This requirement of the bakers, the obligations of the merchants and ship owners and any disputes among these agents were examined by the officials present at the unkapani. These officials were mainly, the nizam ustas (inspectors the requirements of bakers), the kapan hacis (merchants of wheat and grain), and the kapan nâ'ibi (the surrogate judge seated at the flour market, who watched over disputes, kept a defter in order to inspect stock requirements). Other persons related with the kapan were mubâya'acis (the requisition agents), and the rû'esâ of the vessels (vessel captains responsible to carry the necessary amount of wheat at the right time). The responsibility shared

\textsuperscript{40} Murphey (1988): 231.

\textsuperscript{41}İnalçık (1970): 217.

\textsuperscript{42}İnalçık (1980): 1.


\textsuperscript{44} Ibid.
among these agents and officials may be handled in two primary divisions. One consists overseas transport and the timely arrival of the grain; while the other concerns proper distribution of grain to the bakers, regarding their regulations and baking requirements. The relationship among these agents has been well documented.

According to an İstanbul court record dated 21 cemâziye‘l-aḥar 1200 (1786)\textsuperscript{45}, In the past and since, in the flour market, the relationship between the ship owners (merchants) and the bakers has been regulated by the ƙapan na‘ibi cfendi (the judge of the flour market). The center of this regulatory mechanism is the place called çardak or çahārdak of the unƙapani. In order to enable the regulation function of this office, both the bakers and the merchants have had their trustworthy representatives at the çardak. The kethüda of the bakers, as well as six selected members of the ƙapan merchants constitute this special group. These six merchants share the function of inspecting the ƙapan and each week three among them are present at the çardak, by the sultanic order. These six merchants, together with the kethüda of the bread-makers, have been ordered to find out reasons behind delays of distribution after the arrival of wheat vessels at the ƙapan. And once more, the timely distribution of wheat at the ƙapan and the priority of this issue among any other is emphasized:

imdi zahire ḥuṣūsu aḵdem-i umūr-i lazımü‘l-iḥtimālīden olduğuna bīna‘en gelen zehāriīn bīla-te‘hir tevzi‘ ve takṣīmi esbābinī istiḥsāline dikkat la-būd olmağla...

\textsuperscript{45} İCR No: 65; Osman Nuri Ergin, Mecelle, I: 790-791.
1.5 Conclusion

Provisions of the Ottoman empire's crowded towns and cities with the basic necessities, primarily with bread was the problem of utmost importance and precedence. Istanbul as the heart of the empire had the lion’s share in cruciality. Istanbul's grain came from three main sources. The essential wheat depot was the Danubian region, from which grain was transported both via the sea as well as by raft. Western Anatolia-the Mediterranean lands stood out as an equally significant supply center with its high quality grain production. Black Sea, or the hinterland of the ports of Kilia and Akkerman was the next important grain supplier. As an additional region of incoming wheat, Egypt constituted a substitute reserve for grain.

Provisioning was a state-led project. State control was inherent beginning from the cultivation of grain up to its harvesting, milling, refining, requisition, transportation, distribution, baking and sales to the population. During the eighteenth century, the Ottoman state was facing various challenges concerning this project. In the first place, state had lost its control over the Danubian lands. Secondly, population of Istanbul had reached excessive numbers over 300000. Moreover, demand for grain had increased in Europe and as the Ottoman currency was devaluated, Europeans were willing to offer higher prices for grain, compared to prices offered by the Ottoman government, which was encouraging contraband trade.

State responded to the challenges in the form of measures and checks. These measures included seed distribution to the peasants in order to guarantee the continuity of production; double-weighing of cargoes at the time of departure and at the time of arrival at the destination; having large mitři store houses and minimum stock requirements to prevent dearth; having centralized control over incoming grain
and its distribution at the unçapâni; employing official requisition agents, heads of bakers, and a judge at the flour market to inspect the normal flow of grain provisions for the capital. In 1799, a special ministry was established for the provisioning requirement. The ministry had a separate share of the state treasury. Provisioning thus had a complex structure and the state undertook the project of a time management in order to provide the needed amounts of grain at reasonable prices; and to prevent losses of grain due to delays in transportation.
Let the number of bakers be always complete, and the place where they work always kept neat and clean.

---Charlemagne

CHAPTER II

MONOPOLY RIGHTS OF BREAD PRODUCERS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

2.1 The Gedik Practice

The concept of gedik is central to understanding the organisation of Istanbul artisans during the second part of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. It stands out as a significant practice with the political and legal connotations brought with it. The literary meaning of gedik is a "slot" or a "breach". Gedikli on the other hand, has a meaning of "seniority" or "tenure" in profession. The term "gedik" has been noted to have meant the tools and equipment in a shop necessary to practice a particular trade. By the nineteenth century, however, it is likely that it came to mean the right to practice a particular trade at a specific place equipped with the necessary tools and means. The third meaning acquired by the word gedik was the special legal document entitling the holder to "full usufruct over a work premise".

By the eighteenth century, most of the Ottoman craftsmen were in difficulty. As mentioned earlier, it is possible to view artisanal activities in three major categories: production of manufactured goods, production of foodstuffs and production of services. If we consider manufacturers' situation during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it appears that cheap and standard European imports were
constituting a challenge to the local production. As to the position of food makers or artisans of services, persistent wars affected them directly, since they had to provide the army with orducu. Moreover, craftsmen had to provide their members who went to war, with the capital they needed. As a result, a competitive environment was formed where "getting away from" the service of orducu or the payments related to this service, was targeted. Avoiding the obligation was only possible through staying out of record. Consequently, guilds and their masters, who were trying to preserve their traditional organisation, were motivated towards a new measure. The above-mentioned pressures on the artisans created the tendency to form the institution of gedik. This process began with the act of Istanbul artisans who started to register their tools and equipment with their kethiâdas. They began to call these tools "gedik"; their owner "gedikli", and the registration document - "gedik paper". The person who was to become a master, acquired a "slot" from another master along with the "gedik" paper.

Uşul-ı inhişârî bedayeti olan taşrîben 1140 tarihinde esnaîfî 'adedi ustâlık nâmıyla tahdîd olunmuş ise de sofrâlari gedik nâmını almû ve gedik ta'bîrinden alat-ı şanârîye murâd olunmuştur.

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2Craftsmen were obliged to accompany the army in order to provide the army with tools, equipment, food and with services as such. This service was called “orduçu çıkmak”.
3The Ottoman terminology for being recorded is “şebt-i defter” and staying out of record is “hzaric’ez-defter”.
5-Bir kimse çırak ve kâbâlîdandan yetişib de münâhall olan veya âlulzûm-i sahîh üzerine mucezededen açılan bir ustâlık makâminına gecmedikçe ya’ni gedik sahîbi olmadiğça dükkan açarak icrâ-yi san’at ve ticâretn idemez idi zira ba’zî imtiyâz ve şera’îti hâvi eşnaîf yedelerinde formanlar ve beratlar var idi.” Sidiki(1325) Gedikler, Dersaadet: 15.
7Sidiki (1325)
In some cases, a new work establishment was built for him with the permission of other masters. This complexity in the use of ğedik has naturally led to certain difficulties in both implementation and comprehension of the related practices. A conflict often emerged from the fact that ğedik also constituted a security against credit. When an artisan could not pay his debts, his assets would be sold to pay these debts, to the highest bidder. These highest bidders could just as well be outsiders to the guild. The artisans were complaining about such developments and the involvement of "clumsy handed outsiders"\(^8\) in their trade. They demanded the increased control of ğedikli masters over the transfer and the use of ğedik as credit, or security.

Another problematic aspect of ğedik was concerned with the property relations during this period. This involved the claim of the artisan, on the use of a workplace, on account of his ownership of the implements kept in it. Most buildings in İstanbul were owned by waqfs. According to Islamic Law, waqf property was inalienable and could only be rented for short terms. Only in case of a dilapidated property, could the tenants help ameliorate the waqf revenues. This would only be possible through special arrangements of either the mukāta ‘a (muqāta ‘ah) contract, or the icāreteyn (ijaratayn) contracts.

Mukāta’a implied that the tenant received coproprietorship or permanent lease in return for a downpayment, such as an immovable like trees. He could bequeath his rights to his legitimate heirs and he could transfer his usufruct to third parties. The icāreteyn contract, served as means to restore and put into use musākṣafat (destroyed fields or immovables) and gave more limited rights to the tenant. In this case, the tenant enjoyed a perpetual lease over the waqf property. He could transfer usufruct

\(^8\) “hâm-dest” in Ottoman.
only with the permission of the trustees. He could only bequeath to his immediate children. If he had no children, his rights would go back to the waqf. There seem to be two major reasons for the appearance of the icareteyn system. One is the loss of waqf property through some disasters such as fire or earthquake. The other is the deprivation of fixed waqf revenues caused by inflation. As put forward by Engin Akarlı, ownership had then become a relative right that was qualified by complex relations between different claimants to a piece of property. Beginning with 1760's, because of financial difficulties arising from warfare, the state began to borrow money from government-controlled waqfs. At the same time, waqfs were trying to increase their own revenues by using the above-mentioned special contracts. The increased use of these contracts led to some conflicts between the holders of contracts and the artisans or the shopkeepers. In such cases, artisans tried to show their ğedik-papers as evidence of their deals with the owners, which were mostly, waqfs. ğedik papers were recognisable by the kâdis as documents of mastership and ownership of tools, but they were not acceptable as claims to shop space. Moreover, different crafts had different ways of practice of their trades. Some goods were produced and sold at fixed workshops, while some others could be sold by itinerant peddlers. This characteristic, together with the above-mentioned claims to shop-space, led to the emergence of two distinct legal categories: mustaḳarr (mustaḳarr / fixed) and havāʾı (havāʾı / aerial) ğediks.

The artisan groups, thus distinguished, equipped with legal documents of ğedik, acquired a solidarity and improved their organisation, adopting a more

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9 It can be said that this dual pattern gave the icareteyn contract an advantage similar to the muaccele payments concerning the ilitizam practice.

monopolistic character. Full monopoly to the producers of a certain good was only determined by a nizam. Selim III had only approved of the monopolies of producers of basic necessities such as bread, meat, candles, etc. He had attempted to remove the other monopolies, however, the artisans were politically strong enough to organise uprisings until the sultan was dethroned and killed.\textsuperscript{12}

During the reign of Mahmud II, gedik was established as "the usufruct of a workplace equipped and reserved for the monopolistic practice of trade"\textsuperscript{13} In return for this privilege, the artisans had to pay higher taxes than before. Mahmud II, by the way, had a firm control over waqfs and he encouraged increased co-operation with the esnaf for financial gain and political stability. In 1826, the Sultan leased the right of use of some trade and industry in order to obtain revenues for waqfs. The gedik system involved leasing of government's trade monopoly concerning certain commodities, or trade practice in certain areas.\textsuperscript{14} In order to obtain a trade licence, or gedik senedi, a downpayment called bedel-i mu'acele was paid. In case of the transfer of the gedik via sale or inheritance, or its transfer as pledge for security, harc-i intikal (a transfer fee) was paid by the gedik holders.\textsuperscript{15} In addition to the mu'acele downpayment, a daily amount called bedel-i mü'eccele was paid by the gedik holders. The government supported esnaf in groups, to get engaged in icareteyn contracts\textsuperscript{16} via special nizams. Gedik papers were given to places of trade, craft and commerce. Shops and

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid: 227.

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid:

\textsuperscript{14}Barnes (1986): 56.

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid.

underground storerooms such as granaries, cellars and cisterns were included in this practice.¹⁷ The state regulated waqf-esnaf relations by assuring that ḍedik rights were held by the waqfs themselves, on the condition that they would rent back to the masters on icaret eyn contracts. The contract was between the master and the waqf and was organised according to shari‘a and sultan’s niẓam. The master got perpetual lease on ḍedik, and the shop itself, at a fixed rent. As mentioned before, he could bequeath it only to his children. If none of his children became qualified masters, other masters would lease off the ḍedik to a qualified person and give the income to the children. If the master had no heirs, ḍedik would be auctioned from waqf hands. When the ḍedik stayed with the waqf, each time it changed hands, the waqf would get a transfer fee. In this case, the masters did not have to make a downpayment, however, they had to donate their ḍediks to the waqf.¹⁸

In sum, this type of contractual practice seems to be between the artisan and the waqf, however, its terms were managed by the government. The government would take into account several criteria in determining the contractual relationships. Public interest would be considered and supply of goods to the army and other aspects of artisanship would be calculated when restricting their numbers.¹⁹ Former minister of the religious foundations, Mustafa Nuri Paşa, described the ḍedik practice, distinguishing between two types of ḍedik. One was the restricted class; the other, the unrestricted one. The number of the former type was fixed while the latter was given

¹⁷Barnes: 57.

¹⁸Ibid: 229.

¹⁹Ibid.
to anyone who wanted to perform the trade. In other words, it was a "license or permit to work in that craft." 20

In the long run, the elongated lease term of the icāreteyn contract placed waqf property in the sphere of private ownership where it could be sold, mortgaged, bequeathed or leased. Since the gedik practice seemed to transform evkaf property into a type of private property which, in a way, resembled private property, it worked against the waqfs. Waqf property was untouchable in its ideal form; neither the state nor some other person or entity could have a claim on it. The gedik issue was subject to change in 1838 with the Anglo-Ottoman Commercial Treaty, when all the monopolies were abolished. In 8 Zilhicce 1277(1861) granting gediks was abolished by a nizamname which implied that only the gediks issued prior to 1247(1831) would be valid. Three exceptional trade groups remained to continue the gedik practice with special government permission: the tobaccoists, flour dealers, and bakers.

Below, is an analysis of Ottoman archival documents concerning the gedik practice in relation to the bread producing craftsmen and their monopoly rights, which constituted an item of special privilege, as mentioned above. 21 The documents in

20Mustafa Nuri Paşa(1328/1909) Netayic 'ül-vukuat IV, İstanbul: 100, cited by Barnes: 57-58. It may be useful to keep in mind that practicing a craft well before the eighteenth century was permitted and recorded by the state. Similar to the appointment procedure of a guild kethüda, craftsmen themselves were appointed with a consensus. A court record of the town of Ankara during the Classical Age displays the agreement on the appointment of bakers:


Moreover, we have fetva by Ebussuud Efendi on the gedik practice. See Ahmet Akgündüz (1992).

21Only one document analyzed is an exception in the sense that it is concerning the manufacturing sector.
The weavers of Istanbul, in the past, consisted of 91 craftsmen.\textsuperscript{24} The production process had been limited by a fixed number of 182 workshops (looms)- two looms for each weaver.\textsuperscript{25} This number was not allowed to exceed by newcomers' participation.\textsuperscript{26} The vacancy in case of the death of one of the above-mentioned weavers would be filled by his son. If he did not have one, his place would be granted to his prior journeyman according to established rules of the past.\textsuperscript{27} The weavers had submitted petitions at various dates in the past and had demanded the reinforcement and continuity of these rules.\textsuperscript{28} Upon such requests, official orders had been issued.

\textsuperscript{22}Osman Nuri Ergin (1922), \textit{Mecelle-i Umur-i Belediyye}, Istanbul.

\textsuperscript{23}Divan-ı Humayun Esnaf Defteri (1242), İnalçık Collection No: 8, Bilkent University Central Library.

\textsuperscript{24}mine’l-êdên dêkên nefer. DHED, No:8.

\textsuperscript{25}Saltanalarının i’lami dahe beherinî mutasarrif olduğu ikişer ‘adedden yüzseksenî ‘aded destêhâllara hâsriyle. DHED, No:8.

\textsuperscript{26}İçlerine aharinîn duhûliyîye mîkdâr-ı mezkûrûn tecâvûz itmemesi . DHED, No:8.

\textsuperscript{27}esnäf-ı merkûmeden biri fevt ü hâlik oldukça mensiy olan dest-gâhî evlädina; olmadıği halde eski kâlîfesna virülmek üzere cäri olan nizâm-ı kadımlerin. DHED, No:8.

\textsuperscript{28}nizâm-ı kadımlerin te’kîdd ve istikrârunu şâmîl tevârih-î ‘atîka-i muhtelif ile bi’l-îstid’â verilen evâmîr-i şerife.. DHED, No:8.
This imperial order has been first issued in 1223, during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II; consequently, in 1256 during the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid it was renewed and finally, in 1279 the order was again renewed on the occasion of the accession of Sultan Abdülaiziz to the throne. The interesting point, here, is particularly the emr-i şerîf dated 1256 which contains the explanations cited below:

With the executive improvements brought about with the Tanzimat, monopoly rights had been prohibited by the order of the Sultan. However, the restrictions on the number of workshops of the aforementioned artisans were traditional regulations rather than monopoly on purchase and sale. Therefore the renewal of the rules were not deemed inconvenient.29

Despite the fact that the weavers did not belong to the group of artisans who worked for the food provisioning of the capital- whose monopoly rights were all so naturally justifiable- they managed to maintain their ğediks at the fixed number determined in the past. This may be interpreted not only as a means to protect the well-being of the artisans, but also as an attempt of the state to protect the local textile producer from the harsh competition of European imports.

If we are to turn our attention back to the provisioning issue and the bread question, it is possible to cite a number of documents indicating the ğedik practice. The provisioning sphere, as discussed before, was a point of strict scrutiny and control on the part of the Ottoman government. Below are documents' references and official approval of the ğedik practice, concerning the bread issue.

In 1768 for example, an official document has been issued which constitutes a warning to reaffirm the old and established rules of the ekmekçi (bread producer) and

29Tanzimât-ı hayriyye usûl-ı mehâsin- şumûlî ıktizâsîncâ inhisâr maddesi bit ıhatt-ı humâyûn-ı șevket-makrûn memnû' ise de esnaf-ı merkûme dest-gâhlarını ol mîkdarâ tahşîsi inhisâr-ı bey' ü șîrâ kabîlinden olmayub bir nevî' nişâmları dimek olmak mülâbcesiyle tecdidinde mahzûr
uncu tâ’ifesî (flour providers) of Istanbul. These rules found in the document dated Evâsit-ı Zil-hicce 1181 are:

To have six months' wheat supply in the storehouses during proper periods. To produce and sell properly baked pure, white sacred bread of the right weight, as well as çörek (shortbread) and simid (roll-bread) over the fixed monthly price. Not to close the bakeries they administered. Not to neglect or delay the payments to the state or to the merchants of the unkapâni in return for the flour bought. To get each one of their names recorded in the nizâm defteri. To have guarantors to be called upon whenever necessary. In case one of them dies or moves elsewhere, and his gedik of uncu, çörekçii, ekmekçii or simidci is to be sold, it is their customers', kethûdâs' and trustworthy masters' obligation to come before the kadîs as guarantors. The decision of the court is to be sent to the vizier so that the corresponding Sultanic order is issued. The participants get recorded in the nizâm defteri and baş muhasebe with their guarantors and only after these procedures are completed, can their gedik

30 Divan-ı Humayun Buyruldu Defteri (1181/1768), Published By Osman Nuri, Mecelle: 787.
31 (At the appropriate month or season): vaikt ü zamânında iltu ayılık zarihâ der-anbâr. DHBD.
32 Other wheat products may be counted as tabee kahisi; fodlâ; süükâri; susamli some of which are çörek types and some deserts. See Faroqhi (1995). Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam. Tarih Vakfî Yurt Yayınları: 224-25.
33 närî-î ruızî üzere tämû’î-vezn hâlis ve beyaç ve tabhî nisâbunda nân-î ‘azîz ve çörek ve simid tabh ceyleyüb...DHBD.
34 mutasârınf oldukları firnânîları kapamamak. DHBD.
35 Cânib-i mîrîden ve kapan tüccârîndan aldûkları zahiîrenîn akçâsumi edâda cefât ve te’îrît etmemek.
36 her birînîn ism ü şöhretleriyle nizâm defterine şebt ü kayd... DHBD.
37 kûfela ahz ve vakt-i iktiizâda kefilleriyle müşhaza olunmak. DHBD.
transfer be completed. And the ones who act contrary to the established rules are to be deprived of their bakeries, mills and ğediks.

The rules seem to reveal the conditions of the transfer of a ğedik. The practice of transfer is of particular significance for our analysis. In case of the death of the ğedikli master, the person to replace him is to meet the above-listed requirements. The significance of these rules rest with certain negativities experienced in the past. In some cases, the person who replaced the dead master turned out to be someone obscure; someone who was lacking the necessary qualities of a master. In some cases, again, this obscure person transferred or rented the ğedik to another obscure person. As a result, at the end, merchant’s or state- property ended up debited to their accounts.

These undesirable situations resulting from the possession of ğediks by unqualified and obscure persons, occasionally led to difficulties in the collection of the worth of officially distributed flour, and eventually to loss of the property. The strangers who came to own ğediks were people of low commercial strength. They were not able to stock the proper amount of wheat, at the proper time. They could continue with the trade only on a day-to-day level. As a result, in winter days, as the

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38İçlerinden biri salah-i rahm yahud bir hasıus ile diyar-i ahara gider oldukça mutasarrıf olduğu etmekçi ve uncu ve çörekçi ve simidiği ğedğiniği ahara bey’e murâd eylemekde müşteri ve kethüdalarını ve ihtiyar ustalarından mu’temed kimesnele meclis-i şer’e hazırlın olub müşteriye yahud yerine ikâmet etdirdiği kimesneye kethüdalarını ve sa’ir nizám ustaları tekeflül cilyecekleri huzur-ı asfiyâ i’lâm olunmak ve mucebince şercesudur iden emr-i ‘âlt müşterekini keşefleriyle nizâm defterine ve baş muhâsebeye kayd olunub... DHBD.

39Hilâfını hareket idenlerini förün ve değirmen ve ğedikleri ahara virülmek. DHBD.

40bu nizám-ı müstahsene neyi ‘i’ayet olummayab içlerinden biri bâlada zikr olunduğu üzere salah-i rahm veyalâm hâl ğedik ahlaka girdükde yerine meşhûl-i-hâl bir kimesneyi ikâmât, o dahe kezâlik meşhûl-i-hâl kimesneye i’tûr beacare ve ba’zîları firâr itmekle mâl-i mirt ve mâl-i tüccâr zimmerlerinde kalub... DHBD.

41nizám-ı kadıme ri’i’ayet olummayarak nizâmını ihlalini ve huzûnun cânib-i mirtden tevzî’ olunan hünkâr kârîmetlerini tahtıside ‘usret ve bir vechle hastaret ve telef-i emval ile sa’ir mağarati münnetic olub... DHBD.
vessels rarely arrived at the 객체된 grain was attacked by the excess demand in the market. This led to bread scarcities and difficulties for the population. The measures of improvement concerning such a vital element of provision, included keeping 객체된 in qualified peoples' hands. These measures were for the most part a repetition of the established rules mentioned above. Anyone who would act contrary to these rules would be severely punished and deprived of their 객체된.

The question is, how would such violations be detected before the appearance of bread scarcity? How would the articulation of the chains of the process be guaranteed before that stage? The responsibility rested with the judges. The issue would be followed through the records of 객체된이 (kept by the judge at the 객체된) tevzi’ defteri. Kapan 객체된 defteri would be checked each year before the month of November. Bread makers who lacked the necessary amount of wheat stocks would be deprived of their 객체된.

42 ol kimesneler 구성한 milliden olmamaga 구성한 msrk üzere vakt t zamanyla zehar’ir iddiihve ve cem’inе kadirler olmayub yevmiiyeye ile evkat-guzar olmalaryyla eyyam-г шtada sefa’inin killet-i vurtulardan kapan-г dafta hucum ve tazyik ve niizam-г kadimlerine mugayr harekat-г nafeccaya тasaddi ile ncin-г ‘azizihl killetine ve ‘ibadull-г ahiz zartrette mueddii olduklar... DHBD.

43 Uncu, çörekçi, ve simidci тайfesinden birи ştla-i rahm veyahud mutasarrfin olduugu sfrun ve deгimmenini icar veyahud gedihini bey’e murad idenler gerek muslum ve gerek nasrana eya-men-kane bayt’ ve müteri ve kethiddalari ve niizam ustaları bi’lercumle meclisi-г ser’a hazprtun olub... kendi cinslerinden gayra furuht ve icar ve i’are ittirilmeyub kendi cinslerinden milli olub vakt t zamanyla zehar iddihar ve cem’ itmek üzere tekefful ve her haline mufeahhid olub isim ve sёhretleriyle zabt t tescil olunanak niizam-г кaviyeye radb olundukdan sofrada... DHBD.

44 tenbih ve te’ktд olunan niizamа mugayyr harekata cesareti zehur idenler Muslum ve zimmideh her kim ise o maकчaleler шtren ve alenen tecessuden hali olumyub ve bir tartikle himaye olummак ve хaklarдан bab-г af mescid olarak keyfiyetleri sadraizam tarafina t’lam ile der-akab gedikleri ahara verilub таfe-г mezbureden tارد т teb’id olundukdan baaska... DHBD.

45 Just before the arrival of the cold and the rarity of the incoming wheat. The worst thing was to leave the capital with scarcity of bread in cold winter days.

46 habbaz ve uncu тайfesinin altу shtada kifayet edecеe mikkдr zahiyyeti aldiglari vealımакlari kaban nahi tevz’ defterinden нимыйan olmaga İslambol kahsi olanlar bu hustusu kaban nahi defterinden дaima tecesuslardan hali olmadıklaridan baaska, beher sene ruz-г hsm duхul itmezden mukaddem daht tevz’ defterine bi’n-nefaeeyeb olub altу alyuk zahstarleri tekмйl olmayanlar zarhleri tekмйl itdirilmek ve muhaliyet idenlerin vech-г muharer üzere gedikleri ahara virilub tارد olunmак... DHBD.
Following this example where the wheat stocks and transfer of ğediks constituted the central issues of discussion, we will now turn to the importance of the ğedik practice in terms of the market mechanism. A record out of İstanbul kadi court records of the late eighteenth century (Cemaziye'l-evvel 1198/1784) is about opening a new bakery of francala (fine, white bread), upon request. In the eighteenth century, establishing new bakery would indicate creation of a new ğedik i.e. a new license for the production of bread. The document in question has been written upon a petition submitted by some zimmt Dimitraki to the Divan-i Humayun. The place of the bakery in question was determined ahead. There was already a bakery built on waqf land of Vezir Halil Hamid Paşa, in Arnavud Çaryesi (present-day Arnavudköy). Bread-maker Dimitraki demanded the permission of the sultan in order to activate this workplace, according to the established rules of the esnaf. The permission was conditioned on the decision that would be issued by the kâdi of İstanbul.48

Kâdi's decision necessitated the testimony of the kethûda of the breadmakers, nizâm ustas and ihtiyârlar (elders) who have expressed the exigency of the good-natured non-Muslim community of İstanbul, for bread.49 Similar to the permissions that

47 ICR, No: 51.

48 Francalacı esnaflından Dimitraki zimmt Divân-i humâyûnuma 'arzuhal idib hâlen şadc-i a'zam ve vekîl-i muṭlaḳ şadâkat-i 'ilm düstür-i mükerrem ve mu'azzam müṣîr efham ve muḥterem nizâmü'l-âlem vezirim Halîl Hamiş Paşa adamAllâhub'ct'âla içlâlehu'nûn äsîtâne-i 'aliyyem ve mahahl-i sä'îrede ḥâsîbeten-lilâh ve talîbîn limân Allâhub't'âla müceddeden bînî ve ihyasına mûvaqqîk olduğu evkâfîna zamîn ve ilhâkten Hoğâzîçinde Arnavudkâresî nâm maḥalle vakît' 'arsa-i ḥâliye üzerine müceddeden bînî āylodîji bir bâb francalacı furunun' hâbbazan esnaflûnun şurût ve nişâamlûn üzerê fethü kişâdına kimesne tarîfîndan müদahale olunmamak üzerê yedine emr-i şerîfîn t'âsunu istidâ-yî 'inâyet ümeleğin ... halâ Istanbul kâdisî mevlânâ Muştafa zîdet fêzâ 'ilûhûdan istî'îlam olundukda. ICR, No:51.

49 Âsîtâne-i 'aliyyem tevâbi'inde vakît' hâbbâzân esnaflûnun kethûdâsî ve bîl-cümle nizâm ustalarî ve ta'îfe-i mezîbudênîn müsisîn ve ihtîyârlarî meclîsi-i şer'e gelîb her biri takûrî'î kelâm ve ta'bir-i anû'l-merâm idib âsîtane-i 'aliyyem ve tevâbi'inde kâ'in kaṣâbat ve kûrada vakît' 'aliyyül-mizâc olub ve francala nân-i 'azizîne muhtâc olan 'ibâdullahîn defî-i müzîyağa'larî matlıb olduğundan ıktîzî iden mahallerde rahmûnu'l-ıbad francala firûnu kûsâdina izn-i humâyûnum erzan kilînmek mesbûk olub... ICR, No:51.
had been given to new bakery establishments in Beylerbeyi and Kasımpaşa, in the past, a new permission has been issued for the opening of new bakeries to meet the needs of the residents of Arnavut Kâresi. The gedik of this new bakery has been granted to the petitioner Dimitraki.  

The kadın has announced that he has been permitted and licensed with a hatt-i şerif in order to carry out his art. This hatt-i humâyun has been recorded by the başmühâsebe (head accounting office) and a fermand-i 'alîşân (sultanic order) has been written to put it into action. What can be underlined in relation to the document is that a new gedik is permitted immediately when the needs of the community are testified by a court announcement. The testimony of trustworthy people on this issue have constituted sufficient official proof of the need to establish a new bakery. The decision and the issued imperial order, all depend on this testimony. The place of the new establishment, the name of the gedik owner, and the condition that the gedik be granted to no none else, have been followed and recorded step by step by bureaucratic procedures.

Similar motivation seems to be inherent in the determination of the number of hassa etmekçileri (bakers who served the palace). A record dated 18 Safer
1001(1592), reveals an order to the **Yeniceri Ağası**: In the past and since, the imperial bread and simid bakery has employed 60 bakers, however, during the last 2-3 years, some of the bakers have been expelled from the guild, while others have died. This has reduced the number of bakers employed, to 30. This number is insufficient for the efficient functioning of the imperial bakery. Consequently, 15 workers have been immediately appointed to the bakery.\(^54\)

Another recorded case dated Evâsit-ı Cemaziyel-evvel 1226 (1181)\(^55\) indicates that new bakeries that were established without proving the need for an extra bakery, have been closed down by government action. In early nineteenth century, although the bread production in Pendik Çarayı (Pendik) of İstanbul was sufficient both for the residents as well as for the passers-by, a new bakery was established. A zimmət named Nikoli had established an illegal bakery and had begun production and sale over whatever price he wished, without abiding by the fixed official **narîh**.\(^56\) By these actions, he ran against the rules of the bakers, and consequently he was complained about by the bakers at kadi’s court. The bakers petitioned for the prohibition-closing of Nikoli’s bakery. The issue was inspected by the kapan naïbi Süleyman Muheeddin.\(^57\) As a result of official scrutiny, the old bakery of Pendik village was deemed sufficient to meet the

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\(^{54}\) MD, Vol: 69, 559-381.


\(^{56}\) Pendik çarayesinde vâktı kadın olan bir babı hâbbâz firni dârây-ı mezbûr ağırlısinе ve murtû-1 ubûr iden ibâdullaha kâft vü váft iken dârây-ı mezbûrede nân-1 ‘azziz tabb ve t‘mâl eylemek üzere Nikoli nâm zimmət bir ‘aded hâbbâz firni inşa ve bey’ ü fûruht birle şûrût-ı niçârîlarının inçilâlîni mücib indiğinden... DHİD, No:17.

\(^{57}\) Firni-ı mezkûritun sedd ü bendiyčin emr-ı şerîfim şûrünu istid‘a eyledikleri cihetle hûsûs-ı mezbûr müderris-i kûramından hâlâ kaban naïbi olan Süleyman Muheeddin zîde ‘îlmûyâ havâle olundukda. DHİD, No:17.
requirements of the residents.\textsuperscript{58} The purpose of Nikoli in opening a new bakery was considered as an act of "profiteering" (\textit{Celb-i mâl: mâl toplamak}).\textsuperscript{59} With the announcement of the kadi, this illegally established bakery was closed down by an imperial order.\textsuperscript{60}

According to a record of early eighteenth century, in the Vâlide-i 'Atik Firâni\textsuperscript{61} \textit{has etmek} (pure white bread of high quality) was produced. The establishment possessed 18 stools of bread-sale in the past. The sales licence for each of these stools was officially recorded according to the ğedik practice.\textsuperscript{62} Meanwhile, a court decision was issued saying that in the İbrahim Paşa Çarşısı (İbrahim Paşa Market) at Silivrikapısı, sales at the stool near the shop of the Pazarlı were prevented.\textsuperscript{63}

Following a petition about this prevention, an imperial order was given to the kâdi instructing to guarantee the continuity of the sales at the above-mentioned stool.\textsuperscript{64}

Similarly, the practice of \textit{hava't ğedik} has been documented in some other areas in the eighteenth century. One record concerns the itinerant sales of the bread produce of a bakery of Arnavud Kâresi. The document constitutes an answer to the petition

\textsuperscript{58}Kâres-i mezbûrede kadın olan bir 'aded habbâz firârıında t'mâl olunan nân-ı 'aziz kâres-i mezbûre ahâlisine ve murur-ı ubûr iden ibâdullaha kâfî vü väfi olmağa kat'tâyyen âhâ firâr iânîdîsına muhtâc olmayub... DHID, No:17.

\textsuperscript{59}Fazla kazanç sağlamaq. (obtaining excessive profits)

\textsuperscript{60}Nikoli zimmînin muhdîs olarak bu def'a inşa' etmiş olduğu firûn-ı mezkûruh ma'rifet-i şer'le sedd ü bendi husûsuna mûlbâderet ve hîlîfîndan mücânebet eylemeniz bâbında... DHID, No:17.

\textsuperscript{61}Evâlî-i Safer 1112 (1700) Divan-ı Humayun Mühimme Defteri no; 111, O. N. Ergin, \textit{Mecelle}.

\textsuperscript{62}The sale of a particular bakery’s produce on stools placed at different areas was a variety of the \textit{hava't ğedik} practice.

\textsuperscript{63}Vâlide-i 'atîk firûnî dimeklet ma'rûf kadınmden nân-ı hâş tabbî olunan firûnî kadınım islemlelerinden Sultan Mehmed 'Hân câmî'-i şerîfî kurbunda Karamân-ı sağır ve Karagümürük çarşusunda çerîcî firûnî kurbunda ve iki başçe kurbunda... on iken etmekciler ketlîhâsî tarafından Silivri Kapûsî dâhilinde İbrahim Paşa çarşusunda pazarlı dûkkanına mutassil olan iskemlede nân bey'iine mümâ'anet ve te'addî olunduğu t'âmîn olunmâqın... DHMD, No:111.

\textsuperscript{64}Firûn-ı mezkûruh kadınım iskemlelerinde kadınması üzere nân-ı hâş bey'iine mümâne'et olunmuya deyû... DHMD, No:111.
submitted by zimmi Dimitraki who was the mutasarrif of the bakery ğedik of a francala firm in Arnavud Köy. In this petition, Dimitraki has demanded permission for ten mobile peddlers who would operate in the area from Rumelihisarı up to Beşiktaş. This fact seems to reflect how such havा’t ğediks granted to sellers called ğezdirici or küfeci-tablekăr were permitted to work. It can be said that the criteria of permission for new ğediks included a two-dimensional calculation. One side of the evaluation involved considering the demand and needs of the community for manufactured goods. The other side involved the subsistence and the well-being of the artisans. The mobile ğedik introduces an additional aspect to this evaluation which is the concern for the efficient and thorough distribution of bread to the community. In the above-mentioned document, the demand of Dimitraki has been summarized, and parallel to most of the documents that have been examined concerning the ğedik issue, the related evaluation has depended on the testimony submitted at the presence of the kâdı of İstanbul. The speakers at the court whose testimonies have determined the decision are: the kethüda of the bread-makers, all niżam ustaları (masters in charge of the regulations) and the iḥtiyârlar (elders). According to their testimony, bread produced at the previously established bakery of Arnvudköy had to be sold by itinerant peddlers ğezdirici (küfeci-tablekars) in market places, bazaars and inside maḥalles. 65

Thus, similar to other bakeries, this bakery has been officially allowed to have ten küfeci tabletakăr. 66 This practice enabled an official distribution of the bread produce

65 Bir bāb francalaci firununda ğabbi ve ‘ibādullaha furuħt ideceği francaladan on nefer ğtablakărlar yediyle Rumili hisārdan Beşiktaşa gelince ‘ibādullaha francala bey’ ü şirârlarına kimesne tarafından muhâlefat olunmamak için yedine emr-i şerifim i’tâsim istid’a itmeğin ... DHMD, No:111.

66 Maḥrûse-i Galaṭa’ya muzaf Beşiktaş nahiyesine tabi Arnavudkariesi’ne Ḥaṭṭ-1 humâyün-1 ‘inâyetmekrûnumla bicededden binâ ve inșâ olunan francala firununda ğabbi olunan nân-1 ‘azzizin tablakărlar ile esvâk ve pozâr ve maḥâllât aralarında ğezdiriliüb ‘ibādullaha bey’ olunması lazûme-i ğâlden olmâglı firûn-1 mezkûra daхи sä’ir francala firûnlarına ta’yın olunduğu gibi on ‘aded küfeci ğtablakar ta’yın olunub... DHMD, No:111.
of Istanbul bakeries, by a fixed number of tablakârs who shared the mahalles among themselves. According to the shares, ten mobile sellers of the Beylerbeyi bakery were to sell their produce along the area from Anadolu Kavak Hisarı up to Kadıköy; ten street peddlers of the Ayazma bakery, along the area from Kadıköy to Anadolu Hisarı; and ten itinerant peddlers, in the area from Tophane to Rumeli Kavak Hisarı. A kâdi decision was announced concerning the area lying between Tophane and Rumeli Kavak Hisarı, according to which the street peddlers from the bakeries of Üsküdar, Beylerbeyi and from other bakeries of the Anatolian side of the Bosphorus were forbidden to pass to the aforementioned area. The decision was given to the hands of Dimitraki who had submitted a petition to the Divan-ı Humayun previously. According to the court announcement, an imperial order was to be issued which would state that the two bakeries with their tablakârs were sufficient to carry out bread sales in the area from Rumeli Kavak Hisarı to Tophane. In case a mobile salesman from some other bakery appeared in this area, he would immediately be captured by the zabît (policing officials), and ustas (masters) and be sentenced to kürek punishment\(^\text{67}\) at the Tersâne-i Âmire (the imperial maritime arsenal).\(^\text{68}\)

Another example shows how the practice of gezdirici-tablakâr was limited according to certain criteria. This particular example is about the special case of bakeries that operated to provide for the sefârethanes (embassies) of Istanbul. In 18 Safer 1230 (1815), there were 33 francala bakeries in Istanbul. All others had been prohibited to operate. The production of okkalık francala bread was allowed only at six special bakeries including the Selimiye bakery which were producing particularly

\(^{67}\)Which involved hard labor.

\(^{68}\) Eğer karşı tarafından ve sair firunlardan akıntı burnuma ve gayri işbu iki firuna müshort mevakt'den bir mahalle gezdirici ve küfeci gelir ise bilatvatık fâzlarının ve ustalarla haber virildikde ağz ve kürege vaz' için tersâne-i 'âmireme ırsal olunmak üzere ırsal i'lamı mücebince... DHID, No:18.
for the embassies. Among these bakeries, Selimiye Bakery had 20 gezdiricis.\textsuperscript{69} On the other hand, the six bakeries which were to provide for the embassies were only permitted to sell bread at their dest-gâhs (workshops).\textsuperscript{70}

This is a restriction brought about by considering that the six bakeries would sufficiently meet the bread need of the embassies. Therefore these bakeries were not allowed to have mobile gediks to distribute their production in Istanbul.\textsuperscript{71/72}

According to a record of the end of July, 1708, of the Bursa court records, the kadi of Bursa has sent a letter to Istanbul saying that the bakers of the town of Bursa were considered to be essential figures for the town as payers of army provision dues, (ordu akçası) in times of war, and other tekâlîf payments, and as gedikli providers of bread.\textsuperscript{73} Some residents of Bursa had been baking bread at home and selling their produce to others, at the marketplace.\textsuperscript{74} This constituted a threat for the well-being of

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[69] In other words, the bakery had the licence for 20 havai gediks.
\item[70] Asitâne-i ‘aliye ve bilâd-i sülüsede bi’l-cümle francalâci firunlardan mahall-i ma’lûmede vâkt\’ otuzüç bâb francalâci firun ibâkâ ile ma’dâsun men’i ve okkalîk francala Selimiye Firunûyla eleçlere ma’hsûs ibâkâ külman alh \‘adad firunlara ma’hsûs ve Selimiye firûnmû yıgrim nefer gezdiricileri gezdirûb ... DHID, No:18.
\item[71] According to established rules of the past, one dirhem of francala bread cost 2/3 of one dirhem of pure white-bread. In 1815, two paras of sacred bread was 68 dirhems. Over the calculation of 2/3, four paras of francala would be cooked as 91 dirhems and okkalîk francala’s price would be calculated over vukiyê’s price which was 32 paras. After these calculations of the proper weight and price of okkalîk francala, the artisans were asked to be content with a little profit. As a result, the esnaf put forward the multitude of their expenses and demanded the forgiving of three dirhems out of 91 dirhems. Consequently, francala of the Selimiye bakery (where four paras of francala was to be cooked at 88 dirhems 91-3=88) at the workshops and would be sold by mobile sellers at 28 paras.
\item[72] Ve sâ’il ibkâ buyurulan firunlarda tábhân’i babûnda şeref-efza-yni şıhtfe-ı şudur olan mübârek haft-ı humâyûn-ı şevket-makrûhı şâhâne mücebince şadur olan fermân-ı alîşâna imtişâlen...DHID No: 18.
\item[73] Brusa’dâ vâkî’ hâbbâz tâ’ifesi seferler vükû’unda ordu akçası ve sâ’il tekâlîf edâ ve her bâr ahâli-i şehre üzere tâbî-ı nân ve ki-fâyete müte’ahhîder ve kefillerin gedik sahibi ustalari olub şehirde esedd-i ihtiyacla lüzûmların mukąrler iken... BCR, No:65.
\item[74] ba’zî kimesneler evlerinde etmeği tâbî ve çarşu -pazarda âhara bey ve költükçuluk etmeleriyle... BCR No:65.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
the bread-makers as well as an act against the valid rules of the locality.\textsuperscript{75} For this reason, a court \textit{hüccet} and a sultanic order were previously issued, prohibiting such practices.\textsuperscript{76} Since this warning did not suffice to prevent these producers, a consensus was reached with the participation of the notables of the town of Bursa, and the breadmakers. A nine signatured hüccet was announced. According to this document, the non-licenced \textit{koltukçu} producers were obliged to produce each \textit{aççalık} bread at a 30 dirhem higher weight.\textsuperscript{77}

2.2 Conclusion

\textit{Gedik}, which has been defined as 'usufruct over a work premise' or 'licence to practice a certain trade', was born of a necessity that appeared in the early eighteenth century environment. The traditional structure of artisans was harmonized with the interests of the state and the registration of artisans' names, with their tools and their workshops became a widespread practice. \textit{Gedik}, in fact was a complex phenomenon in relation to the intersecting property rights where the interested parties were the state, waqfs, and the artisans themselves.

Preserving \textit{gedik} in one's hand was contingent upon meeting certain requirements determined by the artisans' regulations. In the case of bakers, these requirements included flour storage; baking pure, white bread of the proper quality and weight, making payments to flour merchants at the right time; having guarantors and

\textsuperscript{75}Tâ'ife-i mezbüreniîa (hâbbâz) perâkende ve perişân olmalarına bâ'is olub nizâm-ı beldeye halel virmekle... BCR, No:65.

\textsuperscript{76}muşaddemî, bir iki def'a hüccet-i şer'iyye ve fermân-ı 'altı ile men' olunmuşken... BCR, No:65.

\textsuperscript{77}koltukçu tâ'ifesî hâbbâz tâ'ifesiniîa narinînî her bir açaçâlîk etmekde otuz dirhem ziyâde işlemek üzere mu'ahede ve ittifâk olduğunu... BCR, No:65.
being recorded in defters. Fulfilling these requirements were partly detected by the ķapan naibi records and the quality requirement was followed by the muḥtesib.⁷⁸

Considering the market mechanism, it can be said that granting ğediks depended on the needs of the population. In case of excess demand from the local population, opening new bakeries was allowed. At the same time, opening bakeries without licence was strictly forbidden. Excess supply was just as undesirable as leaving the population without their daily bread. In order to distribute bread to the residents, further measures were taken by the state, such as granting mobile ğediks.

Not all ğediks were abolished, in practice, following the Anglo-Ottoman Commercial Treaty as the monopolies were left. Bakers' monopoly remained as an exception that survived along with tobacco and flour monopolies.

⁷⁸As will be touched upon in the next chapter.
I went to his bakery. I had his bread weighed and found it light. His oven was still red hot. I had him thrown in, and my business was finished... His theft was a public theft that fell upon the most miserable portion of the people, those who buy their bread by the pound. You approve of the fate of the thief who robs the safe of a financier and is broken on the wheel, but you don't want me to burn the criminal who robs the bread of the poor.¹

— A Turkish kadın reported to Empress Catherine by Diderot. ²

CHAPTER III

QUALITY AND PRICE INSPECTION (İHTISĀB)

3.1 Application in 'Bread'

This section will be an attempt to comprehend and to explain the institution of ışhisāb and the duties and functions of the state officials responsible for the imposition of this institution in Ottoman towns. For this purpose, the analysis will be developed with emphasis on the regulation of price and quantity concerning "bread", in the light of a primary source- "Resm-i ışhisābiyye tahsīline şâdir olan emr-i şerif" dated 1243/1828.³ This imperial order concerning the ışhisāb tax of Ankara comprises extensive detail on the nature of the market price determination and quality control


²It should be noted that as documentary research has shown, Ottoman punishment method practiced in similar cases did not involve such brutality. As mentioned below, from chronicals nizamnames, as well as from miniatures, we know that guilty bakers would be caned in front of others. This quotation may have referred to a single criminal case, or most probably it must contain some exaggeration. In any case, it reveals the importance attached to the issue.
mechanism; on its religious basis; on the responsibilities of muḥtesib (the government official for ihtisāb) and on the fiscal aspect of the ihtisāb tax. At the same time, the document reflects some particularities of the 19th Century Ottoman Economy. Our analysis will thus include occasional references to 19th Century characteristics. For our purposes, the document will be scrutinised considering the legal and the fiscal aspects of ihtisāb, as reflected in the duties of muḥtesib. The legal aspect will be demonstrated by differentiating between Sharī'ī and 'ūrfī (A. 'ūrfī: sultanic/customary) duties of the muḥtesib. These duties enlisted in the document will be grouped accordingly. The fiscal aspect will be handled considering the above-mentioned peculiarities of the 19th Century Ottoman Economy.

The Imperial order dated 1243/1828 has been directed towards three officials of Ankara. These officials are the nāib, mütesellim, and the muḥtesib of the town. The nāib of the town was the judge, imposing Sharī'ī law of Islam. In each case of a crime or misdemeanour, his decision would be necessary to execute the corresponding punishment. The mütesellim was responsible for the reinforcement of Sultanic Law in a locality.4 The third official whose name has been mentioned in the document is the muḥtesib of Ankara. Looking at the document, it can be said that this office used to be held bervech-i emānet, i.e. the official was appointed as the supervisor (emīm) of the ihtisāb tax. He was responsible to collect the tax and send it to the treasury within every tax period. Three ways of tax collection in the Ottoman fiscal system were first, emānet as explained above; second, İltizam Usulu which meant that tax income of

3ACR, No:228-123.
4Yücel Özşay, in his (1977) Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ayanlık, DTCF Yay, Ankara, has analyzed that the post of mütesellimlik constitutes the basis of the strengthening of local notables during the 18th Century. There are numerous examples of ā'yans who have originated from mütesellimlik. The people appointed as mütesellim during the eighteenth century onwards, were mostly chosen among the local people.
one year from a particular tax source (mal) would be auctioned out to the highest bidder. This person would thus become the mültezim. The transaction of the iltizam usülü was called muşafa'a. Later, the term acquired the meaning of the "tax source" itself. The profit margin of the mültezim would usually be fixed at the Islamic profit limit of 10-20%, and usually at 15%. The mültezim was not allowed to raise the auction price, unlimitedly. Moreover, he was required to have two guarantors (kefil bi'l-mal and kefil bi'n-nefs). The difference between emanet and iltizamlık rested in the down-payment of a quarter made in advance in the case of iltizamlık. This down-payment which was useful to meet immediate needs of the treasury, made the iltizam usülü comparably desirable for the state; The third tax collection method was the emtn-i mültezimlik usülü which was a mixture of these two practices.  

This document indicates that emanet was the old practice used in the town of Ankara, however, probably due to the above-mentioned reason and the inclination towards the iltizam practice, the last situation in the town of Ankara reflects the traces of the iltizâm, or the employment of an emtn-i mültezim. As put forward by Ariel Salzmann, following the transitional period of fiscal transformation, iltizam practice stood out in which the state had the role of the distribution of certain rights related to fiscal practices. "More enduring than the legacy of early Ottoman fiscal and military-administrative centralism was the achievement of a legal-administrative system of checks and balances that contained provincial power building and reinforced the state's central role as the distributor of rights, special privileges, stipends, offices, and immunities."  

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Looking at the people addressed in the document, (the na'ib, the mütesellim and the muhtesib) it can be said that these three officials were responsible for the reinforcement of the ihtisâb regulations and the collection of the ihtisâb tax. (muhtesib in particular). But in fact, what were the ihtisâb regulations and the ihtisâb tax? What was their legal basis and the way of legitimisation employed by the state? It is possible to extract solid evidence out of the document in question: The religious orders of _al-'Amr bi'l Ma'ruf wa'n-nahy 'an i'l-Munkar_ constitute the legal basis of these regulations and taxes. The literary meaning of this Qur'anic phrase is "Promote good and forbid evil" directed towards the Muslim community. This duty is considered to be "the basic foundation of the good conditions (well-being) for the World and the people living in the World". The duty mentioned above is the basis of the responsibilities of the muhtesib.

In this document, there is a revision of the ihtisâb rules concerning the town of Ankara. The reason behind this revision is said to be the fact that Sultanic Law and administrative regulations have been neglected and forgotten. This neglect has included the ihtisâb issue, as well. Consequently, in other towns as İstanbul, Edirne, İzmir and elsewhere, the ihtisâb administration was reconsidered so that the ihtisâb regulations were improved. At this point, it might be meaningful to recall that in 1242/1826, a short while before this document was written, ministry of İhtisâb as an

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8 "Salâh-i hal-i 'alem ve 'âlemiyânın üüss-i esası olan emr-i ma'ruf ve nehy-i 'ani'l-münker aşkâmının icrâsî zammında va'z ve ta'hsîs kılınıs olan kanûn-ı ihtisâb..." ACR , No:228-123.
9 "...esâs-ı me'mûriyyetin olan emr-i ma'ruf ve nehy-i 'ani'l-münker aşkâmını..." ACR No:228-123.
10 "...kavûn-ı örfiyye ve nizâmât-ı mülliyyeye layâyikle bakulmuş olduğundan..." ACR No: 228-123.
11 "...kanûn-ı ihtisâb dahi külliyen metruk ve mensiy kalmış olduğundan..." ACR No: 228-123.
administrative unit was established in İstanbul. This unit was under the supervision of the İhtisâb Minister who continued to administer ihtisâb issues until the establishment of şehremâneti in 1271/1854.\(^{12}\)

The legal nature of the aforementioned revision is inherent in two categories. One is the emphasis placed upon Shar‘î duties of the muhtesib concerning the maintenance of peace and order in the society. The other category is the market regulatory mechanism that is to be imposed by controlling the fixed narîh prices, weights and measurements. This is the ḏîrī duty of the muhtesib. He is responsible for the punishment of the ones who run against the regulations, with the help of the kâdt (or nâib in this case), and the mütesellim (to protect the people from injustice and oppression). In official Ottoman documents, the term fuçara’ is often used to indicate all the people living in an Ottoman town. These people are in need of the protection of the sultan according to the Ottoman world view and the traditional conceptualisation of "justice". The re‘âyî, meaning ‘flock’- were given to the Sultans by God, in trust.\(^{13}\) The concern over justice was centred around and premised on the protection of the re‘âyî from oppression that could be exerted by the state officials-the military class, particularly in the form of illegal taxation\(^{14}\)

This protection is executed by the administrators of the Sultan in the provinces, the muhtesib, mütesellim and kâdt. Traditionally, the ideal person who would be employed as muhtesib would be a free, Muslim male with integrity, insight, reverence, and social status. He would possess a profound knowledge of the Shari‘a, moreover, a knowledge of social customs and moors. 'Ilm (knowledge), Rifq (kindness) and Şabr

\(^{12}\)Claude Cahen: 485.

\(^{13}\)In some Ottoman documents, the people of the country are referred to as "re‘âyî ki vedâyî-i halîk-i kibrîyâdîr" meaning ‘entrusted to the safe keeping of rulers (sultans) by God ‘.
(patience) were considered to be important qualities that a muḥtesib would possess.\textsuperscript{15} According to our document, this person has to be both religious, (having the knowledge of religion, well: diyānetkâr) as well as adroit and resourceful (kargûzâr).

The approach to the classification of the functions/duties of the muḥtesib based on the work of Ibn Taymiya (on the institution of ḥisba) has considered these functions in three categories, namely 1. those relating to the rights of God 2. those relating to the rights of people 3. those relating to both.\textsuperscript{16} Our approach, here, is to classify the functions of muḥtesib as Shar'i and 'Orfi. In the Islamic community, custom is allowed to be used in judicial matters not defined in religious law (A. shar') ; for example, in circumstances related to ḥisba and the financial authority.\textsuperscript{17} As put forward by Ibn Taymiya, leadership in Muslim society requires the performance of special duties by the rulers, in order to attain justice. Justice is established through proper knowledge and the responsibility of the rulers towards the community.

Within this moral and religious structure, the functions of the muḥtesib may be perceived in two categories. The 'Orfi duties of the muḥtesib are basically those concerning the market order, price determination, imposition of these prices, control of the market prices and the quality of the goods sold; collecting the ihtisâb taxes on the commodities bought and sold in the market or on the commodities that come from other places into town. These functions and duties are:

\textsuperscript{14}Halîl İnalçık (1973/1994): 66-68.


\textsuperscript{17}Ibn Taymiya (1982/1402 A. H.): 24-25.
To prevent any hindrance to the order of artisans. To assure that all groups of artisans carry out their own tasks, separately. To protect the re'aya from oppression and injustice. To decide on the ithisâb tax which will be imposed moderately, (justly) according to the example of each artisan group in other cities of the Empire. (according to the taxes imposed with the renewed ithisâb kanunu in other towns such as İstanbul, Edirne, Bursa and İzmir) To count and record all the shops, commercial khans and bathhouses and prepare a defter including corresponding taxes on these establishments in a moderate way. To raise the amount of ithisâb tax imposed on cattle coming to town towards November. To charge ithisâb tax from caravan loads of various goods such as firewood, coal and lumber. To charge ğamga resmi (stamp tax) from goods that have reached town without being stamp-taxed elsewhere. To collect the bac-i bazar (market tax) and beyti'l-mâl (bayt al-mâl)

18"...erbâb-ı hirf ve şanayinin şirâze-i nizam ü intizâmalarına halel tatârruk etmeyerek" ACR No: 228-123.

19"...her bir sınıf kendünün âkar ü kisb ve maşlahatiyle iştıgâl..." ACR No: 228-123.

20 "...ohl-i ticaret ve ohl-i hîrfetîn derece-i hâl ve keyfiyyetlerine ve ol tarafîn usteî ü ahvâline göre her bir sınıfdan emsalîne tatbîkan bervech-i i'tidal resmi ithisâb rüsûnuna ma'rifet-i şer ve esnaf kehtûlûlari ma'rifetîyle yegân yegân tahâri ve şebe-i defter olunarak ta'dil ve tesvîlye usteînîe ri'âyetî kararlaştırlûb" ACR No: 228-123.

21"...derûn-ı şehrde kâin bi'î-l-cümle dekakîn ve hân ve hâmam ve särîye ma'rifet-i şer-i şerîf ve cümle ititsâfûyle yegân yegân tahâri ve tahâki ile her birine hadd-i i'tidalde tahâsiâ kulunan rûsum-i ithisâbîyiyyini" ACR No: 228-123

22"...bi'î-l-cümle ahîlî-i memleket ve fukarâ-yi ra'îyyetîn kemâl-i asayiş ve istirahat ve gadr ü hayîdan himâyet ve şiyanetleri kaqîyyesi istihsâl kullanır (icûn)" ACR No: 228-123.

23"...medine-i mezkûreye rûz-i kusum takarrûsbînde başdurmâlak olarak tevâridi eden kara şûrûn beher re'sinden kadımden alnâgelen dönder para resmi-i ithisâba münâsûbî miydâr zam ve ilave olunmas" ACR No: 228-123.

24"...li-eclî't-ticäre gelen kârbân hâmûleleriînî emîti'asına göre beher yükûnden ve hâtâb ve kîmûr ve ecnâs-i kerâstedên münâsûbî vechîle resmi-i ithisâb ..."ACR No: 228-123.

25"...mahal-i sâriyen remi-i ğamga alînmâmîş ise esmânından beher gurûşa birer para remi-i ğamga ..."ACR No: 228-123
taxes that are included in the ifthisab muskat'a-asi of Ankara. 26 To control and lead the craftsmen of the town. To fix the values of all goods, foodstuffs, and drinks with the co-operation and supervision of kadi, mütesellim, all the people that are concerned (and muhtesib himself). To do this in a moderate way. 27 To make sure that goods are not sold above the fixed price. 28 To go out and check all the weights used by the artisans. To punish the ones who have been engaged in trickery, or those that charge high prices, by beating with the cane. (see the diagram) 29 To sentence the ones that have committed greater crimes to ifthisab habsi. (imprisonment) 30 To imprison those that deserve, in the castle and after the completion of their punishment, to set them free without demanding any extra charges. 31 To make sure that no one sells goods above the fixed price or using fraud measuring utensils. 32 Especially to see to the importance of keeping the weight and the price of sacred bread 33 at the proper fixed

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26 medine-i mezktörde kâin dekâktin ve sa'ireden mahsûs olan rûsum-i ifthisâbiyyye ile muskat'a-ı mezktörrenîn rûsumât-ı kadîmesile tevabî'inden olan bâc-ı bazâr ve beytîlâv-ı rûsumatîni vakt ü zamanîyle ahz ü ta'aâlî..."ACR No: 228-123

27...cemî esâya ve erzikiyân sermâyesi ma'rifetiî ve hakimûs-şerî ve mütesellim ve sa'ir læzûm geñeler ma'rifetîyle bi't-ta'harrî vaqtine göre ical eden fiyatî hadd-i i'tidâd üzere vaż ederek,..." ACR No: 228-123.

28...nârîl fiyatî mu'karrereden ziyâdeye bir nesneye bey' ü fürûht edememeleri..." ACR No: 228-123.

29...köla çıkub her ne kadar terâzû ve kanılar ve miykal ve arsun ve endâze ile ahz ü i'tâ eder esnâf vår ise cümesîniîn veznî ve kıvel ve arsun ve endâzelerine ihaî-î enzâr-ı dikkât ederek noksân zühûr edenleriîn eşhabîni iktizâsi veçhile değnek darbiyle ta'zîr ve tekkîr..." ACR No: 228-123.

30...bundan ziyâdece te'dîbe müstehâk olanları ifthisâb habșine ilk..."ACR No: 228-123.

31...kal'aya müstehâk olanları hakimûs-şerî ve mütesellim ma'rifetiîyle kal'aya vaż' ile iślâh-ı nefs eylediklerinden şofîr meccânen sebilîsî ta'hîliyye olunub zînîr bir kimesneden ce ráim alınmamasî..."ACR No: 228-123.

32...nokşan vezin ile ve'yayûd nârîl fiyatî mu'karrereden ziyâdeye bir nesneye bey' ü fürûht edememeleri..." ACR No: 228-123.

33 "nân-ı azîz" ACR No: 228-123.
levels. To make sure that the meat sold by butchers is sold at the proper price and weight. To make sure that porters charge porter fees for the goods they carry, justly. To make sure that lumber, lightwood, coal, vegetables and goods as such are bought and sold at the fixed prices. To search every mahalle (quarter), çarşı-pazâr (market place), hanlar (khans/inns); find every shop and room owned by merchants and artisans and record every one of them. To record anyone who is not among merchants or artisans, but who carry out other types of business in commercial khans. To prepare and to submit a record of expenses of the locality, every six months, to the government in Istanbul.

At the same time, the muhtesib had religious functions as: In case of the marriage of the re'aya to charge ihtisâb tax from these marriages according to the

34n...bo-taḥštis nân'ı 'azîzin sikke ve veznininâ bozuk ve nâtamam olmaması emr-i chemmine ..."ACR No: 228-123.

35n...kaşsaâların şayf ü şîtâda furuCRT eyledikleri lahûn naR ve veznine..." ACR No: 228-123.

36n...hammâl ta'îfesiniâ biR mahalde bir mahâle götûrcüklüleri ahmâl ve eşkâlın âcR-i naklîyyesini hadd-i 'ü tulâde vaz edûb ziyâde ücR-R almamaları."ACR No:228-123.

3Rkereste ve hâtâb ve kömür ve sebeze ve saîr bu misilli esya cümlâ ma'rifetiyle ta'în olunarak fiyatdan ziyâde bey' ü furuCRT olumması. "ACR No: 228-123.

38n...medine-i mezkürede Râ'în bi'l-cümlâ mahâllât ve esvâk ve hanlar ve saîreî ma'rifetiyle yeRân tahâRÎ edûb seksnesiniâ şanâyî ve ism ü şohretlerine ve hâl ü iktidârlarına keshb-i vukûf ve 'Îtîla ile derûn-i sehre Râ'în ve saîr hanlar dertînında ne mîkâr dükkân ve oda ve mağazaları vâr ise içlerinde olan tûccar ve esnaf makûleleri ma'rifeti ve hâkimüS-şer' ve müteselliM ve esnaf kethûda ve yiğitbaşlari ma'rifetleriyle tâlîk..."ACR No: 228-123.

39n...tûccar ve esnafdan olmayub da hanlarnda säkin olarak cehti-i uhrî ile kâr ü kışbe sâlik olanlara hâl ü şanârına dahî mahâllât imamlarsûnda ve saîr ehl-i vukûfûn ta'hâRî ve tektîk ile defter ededek bir sûreti tarafında ve bir sûreti dahî maâkemede hûfz olunmak "ACR No:228-123.

40n...bûndan böyle vûkût bulacaR memleket mesârîfi defteri bu def'a 'adroleti muS'îr Anadolu ve Rumilînîn über köllarına sâdâr kılmûgî vechile beher altî mâhâda bir kere tarafında ve hâkim ve mütesellim cânâblerinden dahî bi't-temhir der-i sa'adette takdîm..."ACR No: 228-123.

41"re'âyâ" refers only to non-muslims as will be explained below.
status of the couples.\textsuperscript{42} To prevent these communities, who have paid ruhsatiiyye charge from committing deeds contrary to Islamic community.\textsuperscript{43} To assure the execution of the al-amr bi’l-ma’ruf wa’n-nahy ‘ani’l-munkar orders with the cooperation and supervision of the kadı and mütesellim. \textsuperscript{44} To remind and reinforce the performance of the evkât-i hamse (daily prayers) five times a day, with the Muslim community. (which was religiously compulsory only for the Muslims.)\textsuperscript{45} To go out to control the execution of oruç (fasting) and namaz; warn the ones who neglect these religious duties. \textsuperscript{46} To see to the order of the town and the well-being of the residents. \textsuperscript{47} To prevent non-Muslims from wearing green and red clothing (which are proper colors for the Muslims) and from covering their heads with white. \textsuperscript{48} To prevent non-Muslims from wearing peştemâl (special bathhouse-clothing) and nalîn (bath clog) so as to differentiate between Muslims and non-Muslims. \textsuperscript{49}

For an interpretation of the ihtisâb practice, to begin with, market control and economic regulation may be considered. According to the Ottoman economic mind,\textsuperscript{50}

\textsuperscript{42} re’âyaniînî gerdeği zuhurunda a’lat ve evsaṭ ve edna i’tibariyle beherinden resm-i ihtisab alınması..."ACR No: 228-123.

\textsuperscript{43} ...mülâf-i mezâkûraye da hátî ruhsatiiyye verdik diyerek zinhâr belde-i İslamiyyeye hârîc ez tavt-ı rağbet hareket evâz gösterilmemek..."ACR No: 228-123.

\textsuperscript{44} ...esâs-ı me’müriyyetînî olan enm-i ma’rûf ve nehy ‘an i’l-münker âhkâmumî âhkîm ü’s-şer’ ve mütesellim ma’rifetleriyle bi’il-ma’iyye icraya..."ACR No: 228-123.

\textsuperscript{45} ...mü’memmen ve muvâhid olanlar (a) farz-ı kaṭ’tî olan evkât-ı hamseyi cema’atle edaya müdâvnet etkilemelerini ‘umûmen tenbih ve te’ktıd’ACR No: 228-123.

\textsuperscript{46} ...aralûk aralîk derûn-ı memlekette dol şegezerek savıv ve sahànı târik ve menâhî münkerata sâlik olanları iktizâsına göre ta’zîr ve tehâde mûbâderet’ACR No: 228-123.

\textsuperscript{47} ...beldenîni tensîk-ı nizâm ve sekenesiniî terfih-i ahvallerine ihtimam ü diikkât..."ACR No: 228-123.

\textsuperscript{48} ...re’âyâ maḵûleisi ehl-i İslâm maḥsûs olan yeşil ve kırmızı eşvâb ihtisâ atmetbi başlarna dahtı beyaz sarmamaları."ACR no: 228-123.

\textsuperscript{49} ...Hamamlarda kefereye verdikleri peştemâl vésa’ireniî ehl-i İslâm verilmemesi ve müsîm ile kefere beyni fark ve temyiz içûn kefereye na’lin giydirtmemesi."ACR No: 228-123.
control over artisans' guilds, trade and market prices was a significant aspect of the continuity of production. Trade and artisanal production were providing the town population of the empire as well as the army. Guilds and small peasants were part of the same traditional structure, the continuity of which was reassured by the state. In relation to this, Halil İnalcık has put forward that "The rules of hisba were fitted to, and upheld, the guild system and as such conformed to the classical Near Eastern ideal of the state, which sought to protect the traditional class structure as being the mainstay of social harmony." 31 Guild regulations, following the confirmation of the sultan, became an ihtisab law. 32

Within this framework, market price determination and its control was a major issue carried out by the state. Together with the price control, quality control over goods produced by artisans constituted the basis of 'pre-industrial town economy'. In this system, state control guaranteed the protection of both the producer and the consumer. This mechanism was particularly valid in the Anatolian towns of the pre-industrial era, where the market was limited. In such circumstances, Ottoman State was economically oriented to fix prices at a moderate level so as to prevent profiteering by merchants and craftsmen. 53 Correspondingly, the quantity of production would be limited in order to prevent too low market prices. 54


31 Halil İnalcık (1969) "Capital Formation in the Ottoman Empire," JEH, XXIX (1) , NYU Press: 106.

52 Halil İnalcık (1970): 216.

The carefully fixed market price was called the narh (P. narkh) price of commodities. According to the chronicler Āli, this institution was one of the "major issues" (umur-i külliyye) rather than one of the "minor issues" (umur-i cüz'î). Viziers, judges and governors were obliged to place uttermost importance to this institution and personally take interest in it. Ottomans did in fact consider the issue to be significant and included narh controls among the duties of the grand vizier. The institution thus survived until the mids of the 19th Century. Inspection of prices and quality of goods required a practice called köla çıkmak (patrol) This was the personal checking of the market place, prices, quality of goods sold and the weights and measurements. This document dated 1243 includes the order of "kola çıkmak" directed towards the muhtesib of Ankara. In Istanbul, during the Classical Age, this task would sometimes be carried out by the grand vizier, the kadi of İstanbul, Yeğniçeri Ağası (head officer of janissaries) and the muhtesib. The regular controller of narh,

\[\text{References:}\]

54. An example of such a practice is the limit put on the number of workshops owned by Istanbul weavers in the 19th Century, as stated in the Divân-i Humâyûn Eşraf Defteri dated 1242 (Halil İnalcık Collection, Bilkent University Central Library, Ankara) cited in the chapter on Gedik.

55. Osman Nuri Ergin (1338), Mecelle-i Umur-i Belediyeye I., İstanbul : 560.


58. Similarly, British government took interest in grain prices: "from 1771, of the average prices of the grains sold in monitored markets, so as to operate successive corn laws; and at local level up to 1836, wherever an Assize of Bread was set, of the average prices of grain or flour, ny which to determine (and then record) the maximum lawful prices of loaves..." Petersen (1995): 182.

59. Ali Seydi Bey, in his Teşrifât ve teşkilât-ı kadımemiz, describes the practice of patrol among the duties of the grand vezir: (Reported by Tevkiy Abdurrahman Paşa) Kânûn-ı kadın mescinde köla çıkan sadrazam şaşıda perşâni ve bekçîbaşı süpürgesiyle yoldaşlarının ünlü dizip kendileri atbaşı beraber eşeler. Çardak çorbacısı süpürgesiyle ve şehir kadısı bir kethüdası perşâni ile beraber giderler. Bu типи dergâh-ı Āli câvuşları, şehir kadısı, yeğniçer gibi ta'kb eder. İhtiasa aşası vezir-i əz-amı'nın önünde sâtrlaraştirılması sarayıbşası ile yürür. Bu şekilde sarayda çıklub iskelen yolundan gidilerek unkapanna uğranır. ... Daha şofra vezir-i Əz-am at
however, was the mutthesib. The ihtisab kanunlari enable us to trace the continuity of the price control mechanism beginning from the Classical Age until the 19th Century.

We have so far touched upon the economic motivation behind state control, however it would be improper to assume a homogeneous state interest in every type of commodity. Again, a pragmatic motivation can be found in the pattern of strict price controls of the Ottoman State. Halil Inalcik, in his "Capital Formation in the Ottoman Empire" has referred to this distinction as: "Free trade in cereals and their export were forbidden, in order to prevent profiteers from speculating in them and to prevent their diversion to foreign markets." In other words, the Ottoman State was exerting pressure of control concerning strict necessities and practicing a relatively liberal price regime concerning luxuries. In our document, we can observe the same pattern by looking at the commodities whose prices have been fixed. These commodities are strict necessities such as bread, lumber, coal, vegetables etc. whose quality and the measurement utensils of sale also constitute an area of state intervention. The reason behind such attention paid to the necessities reflects the "justice" concern of the Sultan or the State: protection of the people from oppression and injustice; the provision of the population with their basic needs at moderate prices and at a good quality. "As the staple food, one that was both 'of the greatest economic value' and 'viewed with mystical respect', bread in France was under the control of the most important man in

60Ibid :19.


the entire kingdom: the King himself. In the King's name, the Grand Provost of Paris had the bakery trade entrusted to him.

Among the above-mentioned commodities, "bread" is probably the most significant of all. This fact is also revealed, as seen in the document, by the term *nān-i 'azīz* indicating bread. Bread was the basic foodstuff feeding the low-income population of the pre-industrial era. It also had the quality of being religiously sacred for the Muslim community. Similar to the hisba regulations of the Ottoman Empire, in France, there was strict control over the quality of flour and baking. As early as the fourteenth century, Huber Collin has quoted a Charter of Beaumont in Argonne specifying penalties:

The baker who bakes bread must do it properly, and it shall be of marketable quality, well baked and made in accordance with the legal standard, which states that it shall be made of the best wheat on the market or within two deniers of that price. And if, on the contrary, it is found to be poorly baked or too small in size, the baker shall pay a fine of five sols and the bread be given to the poor. And if it is found that he has failed to have bread baked every 24 hours he shall pay the same fine... And if it is the fault of the man who tends the oven that the people's loaves were not properly or sufficiently baked, then he shall repay the value of ten loaves.

Since bread was very important, so were the bakers providing the population with bread. Bread was thus a unique commodity that was subject to state control.

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64 Ibid.

65 ACR No: 228-123.

with its exceptional qualities. Again in France, the master baker had to obtain a certificate of his skill before he was allowed to establish a bakery of his own. During the second empire, and in the first days of the early republic the master baker, together with the master fisherman were called *maître*. Both fish and bread were considered "noble foods".

According to research put forward by Evangelia Balta on 'Bread in the Greek lands during the Ottoman Rule', the price of Bread would be determined by the mutual agreement of the bakers, the *kadif* and other officials. The requests would be submitted to the governor. He would refer to the *kadif*, who would invite all the people concerned to decide; the *kethuda*, *muhtesib*, and all the officials concerned would record the narh price. This fixed price would be revised at least twice a year. (during Ruz-i Hizir and Ruz-i Kasım) Occasional renewal of the price depended on the crop

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68 Ösküdarlı Aşık Razi reveals the indebtedness of the community that was felt towards the bread-makers in his verses:

Öpülmeye lâyktur o ayaklar bilhassa  
Hakkıdar gurur ile yalinayak salınsa  
Aç kahırz cümleten bu şehr-i İstanbul'da  
Şehbazın ayakları hamuru yoğurmasa

(Reşat Ekrem Koçu, (1971) "Ekmek, Ekmekçiler," *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, IX :4975.)

69 The sacred character of bread was as significant in the Christian World as it can be observed in the religious rituals: Bread stood for the body within Christian symbolism. Makind and distributing bread carried profound connotations of friendship, communion, giving, sharing, justice—indeed, literally, *companionship*—as Roy Porter asserts in the preface of *Bread of Dreams* by Piero Campanini, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1989. On the other hand, the story of a Turkish *sipahi* is told by Fernand Braudel in *The Structures of Everyday Life* ch.2 "Daily Bread.". The above-mentioned soldier was captured in 1688 by the Germans and was able to cook a dough-bread using his ration of flour and water, displaying greater dexterity than any other soldier. The indispensability of bread for low-income population in different cultures is an issue that can be handled in a comparative perspective considering both the economic practices related to its production, distribution, price and weight as well as its culturally symbolic character.


yield, financial situation, and political changes. The change in price due to the market conditions would be reflected as a change in the weight of a loaf of bread. The quality, the weight and the quantity supplied would be regulated and recorded by the officials. For instance, in the Ramazan of 1013, the quantity of bread supplied by bakers was recorded by the kadı of Ankara as:

oldur ki etmekçi Elhac Mustafa’ya cânib-i şer’den her gün beş ağız etmek işlenmek tenbth olunduğda işlemeüb tahallüf eyledüğü şubası

“Ali Beğ taşte ile Ahmed bin Mehmed ve üstâd Mustafa bin .... Nâm kimesneler şahâdet culeldikleri kayd olundu.

By the ֶkanunnâme-i ihtisâb-i Bursa dated 1502, published by Ö. L. Barkan, the control of the quality of bread has been based on a practice called çasni  şutmak. This process was carried out by respectable people among the craftsmen. Following this process, in Bursa, the price of bread was fixed considering the three qualities of flour. According to the ihtisab kanunu, the standard bread had to be made from sifted, fine flour; well cooked; white and without odor or fragrance. In the same kanunnâme concerning the ihtisâb of Bursa, there are references to the trickery carried out by bread-makers. Making bad quality bread is mentioned to be against the law and the shari‘at.

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72Balta (1994) : 212.
74“Buğdayın a’lässi yüz on aççaya evsâti yüzle ednâsi seksenbeş aççaya olsa etmek yediyüz dirhem bir aççaya olub bahada ziyâde ya noksan olsa bu kıyâs üzere aha dahi ta’yın oluna” Ibid: 16.
75“İnce elekden elenc ve tamam bile ve aç ola ve rayıhâsi olmuya” Ibid.
76“şer’den ve kanundan hârs isç caiğ değildir”Ibid.
In the _ctxt sicils of the town of Ankara, the weight and price of bread are recorded as:

budur ki Kasım bin "Ömer nam etmekçini eteği vezn olunub narh yüzyigrmı iken eteği seksen dirhem geldiği kayd olundu.  

budur ki Hizirbeşe bin "Abdülhaç eteği vezn olundukda narh bir aççaya yüzyigrmı dirhem iken bir aççaya yetmiş dirhem geldiği kayd şodd. 


The quality of bread was not to be determined by weight alone, as mentioned in the kanunname. The record of an under-standard bread describes the dough of the bread to be unpleasant "like mud".

budur ki Şari Hasan'ın dükkânında işlenen etmek meclis-i şer'de vezn olunub narh yüzyigrmı iken almıs dirhem geldiğinden ma'da burçak ve darı ve arpa karışmış dey' müslümanlar şahdet idüb ve ıhâmını balık gibi olub ekli mümkün olmadığı bi't-taleb kayd şodd. 

At a later date, in 1220 (1805), narh requirement for İstanbul bakers was followed as:

Bundan aksam etmekçi eşiğiına bâ-ferman-ı âli virilen narh-ı cäriye ita'at ey-emeyüb 'ibädullahi ızrârdan ıhâmı olmadoğlari ecilden tebdîl çukadarları kulları ahz olunub Mahzîr Ağa kulları ıomruğuna vaż' ü habs

77 5 Şevval 1013; ACR No: IX-1323
78 5 Şevval 1013; ACR No: IX-1322.
79 19 Şevval 1013; ACR No: IX-1443.
80 ACR No: IX-1315.
Apart from the price-regulatory aspect of ihtisāb rules, the issue of the weights and measurements stands out to be an important component of the ihtisāb institution. The measurement utensils that are mentioned in our document are accordingly, *terāzu*, *ḳantar*, *mikyal*, *arşun*, *endāze*, *vezn* and *kiyel*. Halil İnalcık, in his "Introduction to Ottoman Metrology" has touched upon weights and measures in relation to the ihtisāb issue, as follows:

Assaying and the periodical inspection of weights and measures was considered one of the most important duties of the government since the opinion of the populace was that shortages, high prices and famine were often associated with the failure of the authorities to check fraud and abuses committed by merchants and traders...In Istanbul, two officials ḳrlcci (assayer) and ṭamgacı (stamper) under the muḥtesib were constantly in charge of testing and certifying all kinds of measures in use at the market. Using standard measures kept in the public treasury the ḳrlcci did the job of assaying (ṭyar) and then the ṭamgacı certified the correctness and validity by imprinting the official stamp (*mirt ṭamga*) on measures.  

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81 CB No: 878.

3.2 The Fiscal Sphere- Taxation

The fiscal sphere is the mechanism of the imposition of the ihitisab rüşümu (taxes) and the direction, or the use of this tax income, by the state. According to our document, following the revision of the ihitisab regulations, the amount of taxes imposed has been raised.83 The revenue to be collected as the ihitisab tax was to be spent first, on the needs of the officials of ihitisab84 and secondly and more significantly, on the expenses of the newly established army by Sultan Mahmud II, 'Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyye.85 This practice indicates a multi-dimentional phenomenon reflecting the 19th Century political and economic transformation of the Ottoman State specifically on the fiscal side. Politically, the establishment of the new army was the consequence of the modernisation efforts since the abolishing of the Janissary Corps in 1826 known as Vak'a-yi Hayriyye. Economically, this new establishment necessitated further extraction of taxes by the government since the salaries and other expenses would constitute a new burden on the treasury. To meet these expenditures, a separate treasury called Mansure Haznesi had been established.86 Until the end of the 18th Century, the single-treasury system was valid, however, during the 18th century, double-treasury practice was started an example for which is the Mansure Haznesi.87 The tax revenues that were sent to the Mansure Haznesi have been listed in this document as beytu'l-mal (the properties which

83 "...resm-i ihitisaba münäsibi mikdar zam ve ilâve olunması..." ACR No: 228-123.

84 "...ihitisaba me'mûr olanların meşarif-i zarûriyyelerine..." ACR No: 228-123.

85 "'Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyye'niñ meşarif-i la-yuhsasina medar olmak üçün..." ACR No: 228-123.


reverted to the state because there were no heirs)\textsuperscript{88}, bāc-ı bazār, resm-ı āmğa, and taxes separately mentioned along with the related commodities to be taxed. Among these taxes, bāc-ı bazār was levied on merchandise coming from outside and sold in a market in the town; resm-ı āmğa was levied on textiles and metals and other taxes were taken according to the detail ordered in the emr-ı şerf in question. \textsuperscript{89}

The document reflects the bureaucratic side of the application of the double-treasury system, as well. To meet the expenses of the new army, according to the imperial order written from the Divān-ı Humāyūn, ʿilmũḥabers (memos) have been sent to the baş muḥāṣebe (head-accounting office) as well as the zimmet defterleri of the treasury. Baş Defterdar has approved of the situation and the mümzā (signed) ihtisāb Defteri has been recorded by the Divān-ı Humāyūn Kālemī. The muḥṭesib of Ankara has been given a copy of this record.\textsuperscript{90}

\textit{3.3 Conclusion}

The analysis of a nineteenth Century Ottoman ihtisāb document concerning the taxation of the town of Ankara has shown that the ihtisāb office of the town was held according to the emtān-i mültezim practice, by the official responsible for the application of the rules of hisba: the muḥṭesib. The muḥṭesib was to regulate the ihtisāb rules within the framework of the sharʿi precepts of “ordering the good and prohibiting evil.”

The duties and functions of the muḥṭesib within this picture were divisible into two branches: The ‘örft functions and the sharʿi functions. The former of these

\textsuperscript{88}Halil İnalçık (1980): 7.

\textsuperscript{89}Claude Cahen, "Ḥisba," \textit{EI}2:489.
comprised of the economic regulations concerning market control. In this sphere, the state intervention took place in the form of fixing the market prices (narḥ), controlling the quality of commodities sold, and checking the weights and measures used by the providers of goods. These duties of the muḥtesib were closely related to the regulation and control of artisans’ quality of production. The motivation behind such state intervention has been high, concerning strict necessities such as bread and meat; and low, concerning luxuries. The fiscal aspect of the ihtisāb rūsūmu, that is the direction of the tax income, involved the treasury that was newly established for the expenses of Sultan Mahmud II’s reform army, ‘Asākir-i Manṣūre-i Muḥammadiyye. The latter category of the functions of the muḥtesib was the religious (ṣer’i) sphere. This aspect concerned the order of the quarters (maḥalles) of the town of Ankara. A differentiation between Muslim and Non-Muslim residents was inherent in the clothing regulation of the ihtisāb rules. Moreover, the execution of religious duties such as daily prayers and fasting were to be controlled by the muḥtesib. Again, the tax income from taxes such as religious head taxes and marriage-licence taxes was reserved for the financing of the ‘Asākir-i Manṣūre.

In sum, the imperial order dated 1243/1828, concerning the ihtisāb taxes and regulations of the town of Ankara shows the survival of an institution of the Classical Age of the Ottoman era, that has roots back in the Early Islamic Period. It is worth noting that this institution has continued into the nineteenth Century, despite the Empire's subjection to forceful capitalistic pressures as well as European-oriented modernisation movements.

50ACR No: 228-123.
CONCLUSION

Ottoman Empire, with its gigantic size and strategic geography constituted a "complex and multi-dimensional" structure. Ottoman economic policy was shaped by government traditions of Iranian and Islamic origins. Iranian economic tradition implied a strictly controlled, "state-managed" economy in which production of revenues for the ruler played a significant part. Within this structure, justice was important to the extent that it would help to keep the sultan's rule. The Islamic tradition perceived justice as an end in itself, in other words, as the application of Godly justice, on Earth. The Islamic ideal put emphasis on ethics of the marketplace. Excessive profits were forbidden.¹ These two philosophies are said to have been compromised in the Ottoman legal implementation of both kânûn and shari'a.² Kânûn rendered unto Caesar the fiscal affairs of the state, while the shari'a rendered unto God the morality and ethics of the marketplace.³

Following the Classical Age, Ottoman government entered a period of decline, which led the way to "fiscal corruption". At the same time this was a period of mercantilism in pre-industrial Europe. Ottoman 'anti-mercantilist' decline was contrasting the rise of capitalism in mercantilist Europe.⁴ Mercantilism was considered by Eli Heckscher as "the economic system of nationalism," where the interests of the native country were prior to those of all other nations and states. It was believed that, dominance over other countries could be achieved through the weakening of rival countries rather than the strengthening of one's own country. A favourable balance of


³Ibid.
trade was to serve this end.\textsuperscript{4} Mercantilist policies therefore necessitated abstaining from imports and encouraging exports. Gold and silver accumulation would result from this trade policy, which would provide relative strength to the country. On the contrary, Ottoman economic interests were not protected by similar means on the policy level. Ottomans were more concerned with "provisionalism". In other words, imports were not 'undesirable' in so far as they provided an environment of "plenty" for the well-being of the re'aya. Islamic ideal of justice would thus be premised on a market of plentiful and cheap commodities. It seems that it did not matter whether they were imported or produced at home as long as local producers were not seriously damaged by them. Ottomans thus granted the capitulations, whole-heartedly.\textsuperscript{6}

Commodities of provisioning for the needy population, who were "entrusted to the safe keeping of the lawful Sultan" differed in priority. Grain, or wheat for bread production had the first place in this ranking. İstanbul was the primary destination of wheat supplies. The aim of the Ottoman State was to provide grain for the İstanbul market, at moderate prices.\textsuperscript{7} The cultivated land of the Empire belonged to the state. Together with mîrî lands, the çift-hâne system was to provide a continuous grain supply.\textsuperscript{8} While the Ottoman State applied strict measures of control over the grain trade, keeping local production and deliveries at a constant rate; responsibility of offering reasonable prices for local producers constituted a ground of relative flexibility.

A pragmatic motivation seems to have shaped the grain policy, which was not a particularity of the Ottoman era. As put forward by Rhoads Murphey: "Providing an

\textsuperscript{4}Ibid: 191.


\textsuperscript{6}Inalcık (1994) ed. with Quataert: 51-52.

\textsuperscript{7}Ibid: 185.
adequate supply of grain at affordable prices has concerned all governments in all ages and all cultural traditions. In the Graeco-Roman World, when there were no developed networks or institutions of food supplies, people were more vulnerable to food crises that took place within a spectrum from shortage to famine. Still, in important cities as Athens and Rome, profits of traders, millers or bakers were regulated. Centuries later, during the grain crisis of 1917 in Russia, similar measures such as setting up a grain monopoly were foreseen to solve the problem. It may thus be appropriate to state that Ottoman State had a universal scope in its intervention in the grain trade when bread of the re'ayä was concerned.

Bread had an additional symbolic value separate from its exchange value. It was "the staff of life", for it was the "primary symbol of nourishment". Christianity has a literature on the value of bread in which bread, wine and oil are three sacred foods symbolising the miracle of the Eucharist. Jesus Christ himself constituted the essence of bread, whose creation was metaphorically parallel to the making of bread. The traditional image of an average Frenchman was someone with a beret on his head, carrying a litre of red wine in a bag, and with a baguette stuck under his arm. Muslim respect for bread and perception of bread as a sacred food is apparent in the name given to it: nän-ı 'azıź. In the Ottoman era, bread production, apart from the regulatory

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8Ibid.


mechanism over grain supplies, was completed within the framework of two significant practices or institutions: the monopoly of bread production ( qedik) and the rules of the Islamic market-regulatory mechanism ( ihtisab). Qedik was the license to produce a good of state monopoly. The primary condition for holding a license of bread-making was being a qualified master. Masters were additionally to have flour stocks, to bake bread of proper quality and weight, and to make their payments in return for flour, on time. State had a system of records to follow the masters with the trade license. Masters' replacement, expulsion, or granting a new license was made only after careful scrutiny of the views of the elders of the trade, and often by a court announcement. Bread monopoly with its exclusive quality was preserved even in the second half of the nineteenth century, when all monopolies were abolished. The ihtisab regulation comprised the ethical market rules imposed by the religious orders of al-'Amr bi'l Ma'ruf wa'n-nahi 'an i'il-Munkar meaning "ordering good and prohibiting evil". The government official who was responsible to inspect and practice ihtisab rules was the muhtesib. The price, quality, and the weight of "sacred bread" fell in the sphere of activity controlled by the muhtesib. The hisba rules and their implementation was another area of survival of Ottoman institutions.

Production of bread was an artisanal activity. At the beginning of this study, different approaches to the Ottoman guilds' level of autonomy have been mentioned. At this point, it may be asserted that Ottoman State intervened in the bread-making process with a motivation that did not decrease at any period in the Empire's entire life. However, this intervention was not merely shaped by an interest in the artisanal activity—the functioning of the bakers'guild. Bread was a product of the bakers in the last resort, but its story was not at all limited by urban production. Looking at the attitude of the Ottoman state towards this detailed project, it can be said that the state enabled

continuous bread provisioning with every effort. The provisioning project and the producers of basic necessities is probably an improper sphere of scrutiny of the autonomy question. Universally, bread has been subject to strict intervention of governments at all times.
"The residents of wide areas of the capital of the Ottoman State are under the protection of the reflection of the great Sultan's justice which is immune from oppression. Since the center of sultanate is qualified as "the magnet of hearts" (mêqânâtçulu'lı-şulub), everyone near the capital are naturally willing to bring their foodstuffs as well as other commodities (to İstanbul). Since İstanbul is full of blessings of all sorts, its residents are accustomed to comfort and ease by the variety and plenty of these goods. The justice of the sultan upon people elsewhere is considered to be as appropriate and fitting, however, governors, rulers, notables and oppressors do not abstain from causing harm and injustice to the population. As a result of this situation, the gate(court, residence) of the lawful sultan has become the shelter of slaves (kuus) Each time people from other places come to İstanbul in order to lodge their complaints, or for some other business, they see and inspect the plenty, luxury, safety, comfort and order in the city. Thus, they become eager to leave their fatherland and move to İstanbul. As an excessive number of people are accumulated at the capital, migration from other places to reside in İstanbul has been forbidden. Especially, day-laborers and porters residing at khann rooms and at dükkân (stores), were sent back to their homes. According to the public security rules, it has been a regular practice of the past to isolate the capital from the gathering of people. Special attention and continuous efforts of the public officers and state emîns are well-known. As mentioned above, upon causes and circumstances that have occurred by the changes that took place throughout centuries, in all Anatolian lands and Mediterranean islands, governors, rulers, other public officers and tax collectors; particularly the local notables and despots who molest the people, have caused oppressions that have exceeded the bounds. Since safety and comfort have been removed and lost in most of these (Ottoman) lands, troubled people, as a natural humane response, have been hopelessly compelled to leave their fatherland. These people have whole-heartedly and with all their force, gathered at the capital, which they considered a safe place to live in. As previously written, from the icmâl, the state is obliged to provide the necessary amount of goods (for the population). Various difficulties are involved with the collection of grain for the capital. Obviously, there are troubles of gathering sufficient
grain to meet the subsistence needs of the increased population of İstanbul. Most important of all is the provision of a sufficient amount of nān-ı 'aziz (sacred bread). The grain collected from Black-Sea coasts and other places, without exertion of pressure, no longer suffices to meet the requirements of the population of İstanbul. It is known that, subsistence and payment of taxes of the people living in the Mediterranean coasts are conditioned upon their sale of crops to licensed (with permission) foreigners, at higher prices. It is certain that they will not, by their free will, bring their grain to sell in İstanbul. For this reason it has been ordered to purchase five to six hundred thousand keyls of wheat and barley from the Mediterranean coasts at the valid price of that area. The remainder crop has been allowed to be sold, according to past practices, to the foreigners. Near the tersâne at the capital, mîrî (state-owned) granaries have been constructed. Special emîns (requisiton agents) have been appointed to buy (grain) at the current price. These requisition officers were buying the officially determined amount according to law, without causing any harm (injustice) and giving the amount completely to its owners. In time, at the purchasing areas, with exceeding prices, plenty of benefits began to accrue to high offices. Some avaricious and cruel people acquired the requisition office (mûbâya‘açılık) through bribery. They completely left the principle of equity as they took these offices and exceeding the border of moderation, they put the re‘âya into dramatically difficult situations. It became necessary to put forward continuous efforts to prevent mûbâya‘acîs and other grain officers' acts contrary to divine justice and the sultanic orders. They had to be content by a share of only one keyl out of ten keyls of grain. From then on, honest and generous officers were appointed without bribery and with modest gifts. They were required to give the officially-determined amount, completely, to the re‘âya. The ones whose oppression and cruelty was observed would be punished. Through official search, acts and deeds were carefully investigated. Since the people have become happy and content, and since there has been a significant reduction in the oppression related to the income of grain to the capital, the path of justice has been found. Since producers were not accustomed to the taking of grains, by necessity, it is certain that in such cases, they will be offended. Especially, as the foreigners near the Mediterranean islands are ready to pay cash of two to three gurus, for every keyl of wheat, if producers are ordered to take their crop to İstanbul in times of trouble, no doubt, they will not voluntarily sell their grain at 40-50 para. Thus, for the ones concerned and çiftlikts, the cost of each keyl of wheat will reach 55-60 para
including çiftçi, oraçt, irğat wages and other expenses (25-30 para) plus the transportation cost of shipment and carriage. Under these circumstances, they would obviously not be able to acquire any profit, moreover, they would be at loss. These people would not take their crops to Istanbul, by their free will. In case they would be forced to do so, they would altogether give up agriculture. The price of sacred bread depends on the cost of wheat. The Black-Sea wheat costs 30-40 para / keyl. The bakers are willing to buy the Mediterranean wheat at 40 para/keyl, however, high quality Mediterranean wheat cannot be sold at the at the same price. Thus, Mediterranean wheat is sold at 50-60 para/keyl. This is a valid excuse for the bakers. They immediately act as if they have bought all the grain (be it Mediterranean or Black Sea wheat), at the higher price. By way of adulteration, they pressurize the authority so that they are allowed to reduce the weight of nān-ı aʿzīz and increase the price of nān-ı aceze. The grain of nān-ı aʿzīz is prior to every type of grain. Using newly invented practices, reʿāyā, all the concerned, and the çiftliks are being damaged...
APPENDIX II

Religious Regulation of the İhtisab Practice

The religious aspect of this issue, as listed among the religious duties of the muhtesib, was ideally concerning the achievement of peace and order in the society. In Ottoman towns, the maĥalle was a unit of settlement which was built around a mosque, a church or a synagogue. The people living in the maĥalle were responsible to maintain order, to pay taxes and to carry out all the obligations to the state, collectively. Although Muslim and non-Muslim artisans and merchants were subject to the same regulations concerning economic issues, certain restrictions were imposed on the non-Muslims in everyday life. These restrictions are reflected in the clothing regulation in our document. The document reflects this type of discrimination in the colors that are considered suitable only for the Muslims. Concerning the development of such distinctions, Suraiya Faroqhi has asserted that beginning with the eighteenth Century, a considerable number of artisans had joined the military units-the janissary corps. Through this allowance, military units turned into paramilitary ones, which led to the blurring of the distinction between tax paying population and the tax-free military class. According to Faroqhi, this blurring of boundaries led to the emphasis of another boundary: between Muslims and non-Muslims. A reflection of this emphasis is the term re'aya indicating only non-Muslims, as in our document. Another possible motivation behind such a

15Halil İnalçık, “İstanbul,” EI2: 229.
16Ibid: 234.
17ACR no: 228-123.
discriminatory motivation may be illuminated by considering the European commercial connections of non-Muslims that could have created reaction among the bureaucracy.\textsuperscript{19}

The other aspect among the religious regulations is the ihtisâb tax charged from the marriages of the re'aya. This is an area that enables us to determine the status groups of the non-Muslim couples. It is revealed in the document that the status is determined by the cizye (A. djizya) paper of the aforementioned couples. Cizye is the shar'i head tax. It has been put forward by Halil İnalcık that cizye was fixed considering the wealth and living conditions of the taxpayer.\textsuperscript{20} Parallel to the practice concerning the determination of ispençe, (ra'iyyet rûsumu) the religious tax is fixed at three consecutive proportions with respect to the status groups: a'îla, evsâf and ednâ. The proper execution of compulsory worship-prayers and fasting by the Muslims are regulated by the same rules. The control over religious life is thus among the duties of the muhtesib who is, therefore, "ideally" a diyânetkâr and kârgûzâr person.

\textsuperscript{19}Suraiya Faroqhi (1995) : 96.

\textsuperscript{20}Halil İnalcık (1959) "Osmanlılarda Ra'iyyet Rûsumu," Belleten, XXIII: 61.
GLOSSARY

anadolu Üstası: head of bakers in the Anatolian region of İstanbul.

anbâr-i āmire: Imperial granary.

çaşni dutmak: tasting bread by officials, to inspect its quality.

çardak: division of the flour market, where the kapan nâ‘ibi was seated.

dest-gah: work-bench; counter.

etmekci (ekmekçi): bread-maker.

dirhem: a weight of 1/400 of one okka.

francala: fine, white bread.

firinci: baker.

gedik: licence to practice a certain trade or craft

ḥabbāz: bread-maker.

ḥas-nân: pure, white bread.

iāše āmirîği: administration of food supplies.

ibâdullah: "servants of God; men"- the population of the empire, in need of the protection of the sultan.

icâre: rent.

ihîtîşâb: moral laws of guilds and markets.

iskemle: a stool of bread sale with a gedik attached to its position.

İstanbul ustasi: head of bakers in İstanbul proper.

kâpan hacisi: merchant of the flour market.

kâpan nâ‘ibi: the judge of the unkapani in charge of solving business disputes and inspecting rules of provisioning.

koltukçu: salesman without licence; illegal sales-person.
küfeci: mobile salesman of a commodity, with a basket on his back.

kürek: hard labor; penal servitude.

mübāya‘aci: requisition agent.

matbah-i āmire: imperial kitchens.

muhtesib: official responsible for the implementation of ihtisāb regulations in an

Ottoman town.

nān-i ‘aziz: daily bread percieved as something sacred.

nān-i aceze: bread of lower weight compared to "nan-i 'aziz".

niżām āstasi: selected craftsmen and flour dealers who inspected the rules of business in

the unkapani.

okka: a weight of 400 dirhems, or 2.8 lb. (vukiyye)

okkalık francala: fine white bread with a weight of one okka.

re'is: captain of a vessel.

re'ısler kethūdasi: head of vessel captains.

sefīne: a vessel.

simidci: baker of a roll of bread in the shape of a ring.

tablakâr: itinerant peddler of goods who carries them on a circular tray on his head.

uncu: flour dealer.

unkapani: the flour market.

zābit: officer of public security.
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متن نوشته نیست.
تصویری از یک متن فارسی درجه‌بندی شده و نامه‌ای در رنگ قهوه‌ای است. متن به نظر می‌رسد که در مورد یک موضوع مربوط به تاریخ یا ادبیات می‌باشد. بخش‌هایی از متن در میان خطوط قرار دارد و محتوای متن شامل اشارات، علامت‌ها و اعداد است. تاریخ‌ها و اعداد در متن به‌صورت معنی‌دار و قابل درک قرار دارند. متن شامل برخی از اعداد ۱۳، یک صد و هرچند، و تاریخ‌های مربوط به سال‌های مختلف است. متن به‌صورت مختصر و کوتاه قرار دارد و می‌تواند به عنوان اطلاعاتی مربوط به تاریخ یا ادبیات به‌کار رود.
کتابی‌ترین بررسی‌های تاریخی و نظری‌های این زمینه در زمینه‌ی تاریخ‌نگاری و تاریخ‌نگاری دانشنامه‌ای بوده است. در این مقاله، به توضیحاتی در مورد تاریخ‌نگاری و تاریخ‌نگاری دانشنامه‌ای به این شکل می‌رساند:

۱. تاریخ‌نگاری دانشنامه‌ای

در این بخش، به توضیحاتی در مورد تاریخ‌نگاری دانشنامه‌ای می‌رساند.

۲. تاریخ‌نگاری و تاریخ‌نگاری دانشنامه‌ای

در این بخش، به توضیحاتی در مورد تاریخ‌نگاری و تاریخ‌نگاری دانشنامه‌ای می‌رساند.

۳. تاریخ‌نگاری و تاریخ‌نگاری دانشنامه‌ای

در این بخش، به توضیحاتی در مورد تاریخ‌نگاری و تاریخ‌نگاری دانشنامه‌ای می‌رساند.
يريدون فتح غرفة في مكة، ويشترطون فيها أن يامية نساء عاملات بيوت النجاسة، ويشترطون أيضًا أن يثبتوا أنفسهم بشهادة من جاهليات وአملاك ونافذة. ويشترطون أيضًا أن يثبتوا أنفسهم بشهادة من جاهليات وአملاك ونافذة.

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در اینجا چنین بیان می‌شود:

[لاش در نظر گرفته نشده است.]

نام:
مکان:
تاریخ:
صفحه ۳
الدكتور محمد بن أحمد بن عبد الحكيم

24/8/1432

الدكتور محمد بن أحمد بن عبد الحكيم

24/8/1432

الدكتور محمد بن أحمد بن عبد الحكيم

24/8/1432
شما ازدواجی ندارید؟ نبوده یا نبوده‌ی این ازدواجی آنها می‌نوزد.

با توجه به این بوده که این ازدواجی یک فرد دارد، معافیتی ندارد.

دانست که ازدواجی دارد که ازدواجی دارد که ازدواجی دارد که ازدواجی دارد که ازدواجی دارد که ازدواجی دارد که ازدواجی دارد که ازدواجی دارد که ازدواجی دارد که ازدواجی دارد که ازدواجی دارد.

DK: 356

ACR 4/356
درود و عزیزت انتخاب می‌کنید که لقمه‌ای از زندگی و سلامت خانم دختری را از انجمن بیمه‌رسانی کشور به عنوان اولین دارایی بخوانید.

در پی جستجوی دردسرهای مختلف در زندگی و سلامت خانم دختری، از اولین دارایی از انجمن بیمه‌رسانی کشور به عنوان اولین دارایی بخوانید.

برای بازداشت و حمایت از این دارایی، لازم است که به آن‌ها کمک کنید. این دارایی به‌عنوان اولین دارایی از انجمن بیمه‌رسانی کشور به عنوان اولین دارایی بخوانید.

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لطفاً به این دارایی کمک کنید تا توانسته شوند زندگی و سلامت خانم دختری را بهبود بی‌درمانی کنند.

کمک‌تان کشاکش‌ها را بهبود بی‌درمانی کنند.

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لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة المقدمة. إذا كنت بحاجة إلى مساعدة في شيء آخر، فأرجو تقديم الصورة بشكل يمكنني قراءتها بشكل صحيح.
...
öne çıkarılan bilgiler hakkında daha fazlasını araştırmak için kullanılabileceğimiz bir kaynak olduğunu belirtmek isterim. 

Daha fazla bilgi için, lütfen ilgili kaynaklara başvurun. 

Özür dilerim, ancak daha fazla bilgi vermek için daha fazla zaman ve araştırma gereklidir. Ancak, bu bilgilerin doğruluğunu ve geçerliliğini doğrulama için ilgili kaynaklara başvurmanız önemlidir.

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CEVDET BELEDİYE
548 (2)

Müzelerine Eski Topkapı Sarayı'nın büyük bir parçası olarak, 1920'lerde kurulan Muzesi, Türkiye'nin en eski ve büyük sanat müzelerinden biridir. Muzesi, Kütahya'nın tarihî ve kültürel mirasını ve kültürel değerlerini korumak ve yaşatmak için oluşturulmuş ve hala bu amaçla kullanılmaktadır.

Müzenin ilk olarak 1920'lerde kurulduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Muzesi, bir zamanlar Topkapı Saray'ının büyük bir parçası olan bir yapıya dönüştürülmüş ve bu yapıda bir müze olarak hizmet vermektedir.

Muzesindeki eserler, Lịchorian dönemi'nin öncülüğündeki Türk sanatını yansıtır. Eserler, Kütahya'da yapılan tarih incelemeleri ve kazımların sonucu olarak elde edilmiş ve müze olarak sergilenmektedir.

Müzenin hâlâ devam ettiği hizmetinin bir göstergesi olarak, müzenin günümüzde de hizmet vermesi, Türkiye'nin kültür ve tarihine olan ilgisini vurgular.

Müze, Türkiye'nin kültür ve tarihine olan ilgisini vurgular.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي بشكل طبيعي.
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مثنی نامه: 

مهم‌ترین نکات از این متن که در سوی سه‌بلندی قرار دارن است می‌تواند به سه بخش تقسیم شود:

1. مقدمه: 

توضیحاتی در مورد شرایط فعلی و نیازمندی‌های جهانی و اجتماعی.

2. سیاست‌ها و برنامه‌های مربوطه: 

توضیحاتی در مورد برنامه‌هایی که برای پیشرفت و توسعه جامعه طرح شده و بهره‌برداری از آن‌ها شده است.

3. نتایج و پیامدهایی که به دنبال اجرای برنامه‌ها گزارش شده است.

این متن به‌طور کلی درباره اهمیت ویژه‌ای در میان اهداف و برنامه‌ها جامعه و سیاست‌های بهره‌برداری از آن‌ها است.
رویاهایم که کاربردی نبودند، فرم بیاینداشته اند. راک و سفیدی را می‌نویستم، و با توجه به تحقیق‌ها و رازهایی که در جایگاه‌های مختلف دیده‌ام، به‌طوری‌که در زندگی در رابطه با آنها، و در مورد زمینه‌های مختلفی در جهان، راک و سفیدی را می‌نویستم.

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کمک‌یابی که استفاده‌کنندگان از آن استفاده نمی‌کنند و سال‌ها کمک‌یابی را انجام می‌دهند، می‌توانند برداشت‌های خاصی از این خدمات داشته باشند. در زمان کمبود اشتغال و در نتیجه کمبود اشتغال‌ها، کمک‌یابی‌ها ممکن است به شکل اجتماعی و قانونی مورد نیاز قرار گیرند.

در نتیجه، کمک‌یابی‌ها ممکن است به شکل اجتماعی و قانونی مورد نیاز قرار گیرند. در زمان کمبود اشتغال و در نتیجه کمبود اشتغال‌ها، کمک‌یابی‌ها ممکن است به شکل اجتماعی و قانونی مورد نیاز قرار گیرند.