

Bread from the Lion's Mouth

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*Bread from the Lion's Mouth*

Edited by Suraiya Faroqhi

# BREAD FROM THE LION'S MOUTH

*Artisans Struggling for a Livelihood in  
Ottoman Cities*

Edited by

Suraiya Faroqhi



berghahn

NEW YORK • OXFORD

[www.berghahnbooks.com](http://www.berghahnbooks.com)

Published in 2015 by  
Berghahn Books  
www.berghahnbooks.com

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**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Bread from the lion's mouth: artisans struggling for a livelihood in Ottoman cities / edited by Suraiya Faroqhi.

pages cm. – (International studies in social history; volume 26)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-78238-558-5 (hardback: alkaline paper) – ISBN 978-1-78238-559-2 (e-book)

1. Material culture–Turkey–History. 2. Artisans–Turkey–History. 3. Turkey–History–Ottoman Empire, 1288-1918. I. Faroqhi, Suraiya, 1941– editor of compilation.

HD6473.T9B73 2015

331.7'94–dc23

2014029069

**British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data**

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-78238-558-5 (hardback)

ISBN 978-1-78238-559-2 (ebook)

To the memory of Donald Quataert



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## PREFACE

In Turkish, something that is hard to obtain is said to be ‘in the lion’s mouth’. Artisans, in the Ottoman Empire as elsewhere, were often hard pressed when it came to earning their daily bread, and some of them may well have felt that this particular lion had sharp teeth indeed. Even in Istanbul, whose population in normal times had privileged access to grain, timber, firewood and other basic commodities, life was often hard and short. After all, normal times – such as they were – might be brutally interrupted by wars, bad weather, epidemics, fires and the occasional earthquake. This volume deals with the problem of how Ottoman and especially Istanbul artisans sought to survive under these conditions, together with their families and the communities, religious and/or professional, of which they were members.

Books are the products of communal efforts as well, although the communities involved are of a rather different type. Scholars, editors, publishers, grant-givers and other sponsors engage in collective enterprises which they hope, in the fullness of time, will result in publications. Edited volumes even more than other kinds of books require this investment of money and high hopes; and edited volumes that take a long time to assemble – when they finally do appear – owe their existence to the efforts and good will of yet a larger number of people. As all this is very true of the present work, a short account of the way in which it emerged is perhaps in order.

It all began in 2004, when a workshop on Ottoman artisans and crafts (‘Crafts and Craftsmen in the Later Ottoman Empire: From Craft to Industry in the Ottoman Empire and its “Successor States”’) formed part of the 29th German Congress of Oriental Studies [Deutscher Orientalistentag] in the old university town of Halle. Seven of the fifteen contributors to this volume participated, although the chapters now presented are often quite different from the papers that they shared with their colleagues back in 2004. M. Erdem Kabadayı also participated as a graduate student; together with Leda Papastefanaki he is now editing the volume that will be the companion to the present one (‘Working in Greece and

Turkey: A Comparative Labour History from Empires to Nation States 1840–1940'). But one of the chief figures in this enterprise was the late Donald Quataert, who was then still working on his book on Zonguldak coal miners, which appeared in 2006.<sup>1</sup> His contribution will appear in the second volume of the present publication, as it is concerned with rural workers and not with artisans. Those of us who after the end of the conference participated in an outing to the town of Naumburg, still quite medieval in appearance, will not forget how Don, who was an enthusiastic birdwatcher, showed us a falcon standing stock-still in the blustery air, wings spread out as far as they would go.

Numerous are the people and organizations whose generosity brought about the Halle conference, and I can but cordially thank them. Most important among them was Jürgen Paul of the University of Halle, who was co-organizer of the conference and knows so much more about organization than I will ever do. The Gerda-Henkel Foundation of Düsseldorf, Germany, financed the conference in Halle and would also have supported publication if – *mea culpa* – I had 'gotten my act together' within a reasonable time span. But at that time, I am rather ashamed to admit, I was concentrating on my own book on Ottoman artisans, and later on other projects also pushed this one into the background. I therefore apologize to those colleagues whose papers have been delayed as a result.

However the project revived once I had begun to work in the History Department at Istanbul Bilgi University in 2007 and M. Erdem Kabadayı had become a fully-fledged faculty member in the same institution. My colleague's concern was and is with early factory workers, and in 2011 he and Kate Elizabeth Creasey organized a workshop on 'work' ('Working in the Ottoman Empire and in Turkey: Ottoman and Turkish Labour History within a Global Perspective') that brought together scholars working on Istanbul and the Balkans, with a special emphasis on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We are very grateful to Diane Sunar, at that time Dean of the Faculty of Sciences and Literary Studies, for making this second workshop possible. Marcel van der Linden, who because of his concern with non-Western labour forces attended this workshop and suggested that it should lead to a double volume with Berghahn Books, has also had a major share in making this work finally see the light of day. Thanks are also due to the two anonymous readers who made pertinent suggestions, without – thank goodness – demanding that the whole volume be rewritten. I am also most grateful to Giorgio Riello and Anne Gerritsen, with whom we have organized two workshops on consumption – and as so many of the goods that Ottoman subjects consumed were the work of artisans, over the years these two projects have developed in tandem.

But the workshop of 2011 was important also because new people brought us previously un-used or under-used sources and, more importantly, some novel approaches. In the years before 2011, Cengiz Kırılı and Betül Başaran had already made their mark through detailed work on Istanbul registers of the active population, which had been compiled around 1800 upon the orders of Selim III (r. 1789–1807). Apart from their role as a tool of the government, these data can also feature as early urban statistics, and Kırılı and Başaran have treated them as such. They were kind enough to participate in this project at very short notice, as was Nina Ergin, who has long been studying Istanbul bathhouses. At the same workshop our project was also discussed with Murat Güvenç, Eda Yücesoy and their team, now of Şehir University, Istanbul, who have for a long time been mapping Istanbul enterprises of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Without their inspiration and encouragement it is unlikely that I would have had the courage to assemble this volume.

Ali Somay was kind enough to produce the graphs in the chapter by İklil Selçuk. In the last stages of the project I received much help from Özgün Deniz Yoldaşlar, Daniel Ohanian and Büşra Kösoğlu, without whose copy-editing this volume would have taken even longer to come out. Of course, any remaining errors are mine.

## Note

1. Donald Quataert, *Miners and the State in the Ottoman Empire, The Zonguldak Coalfield 1822–1920* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2006).

## Note on Transliteration

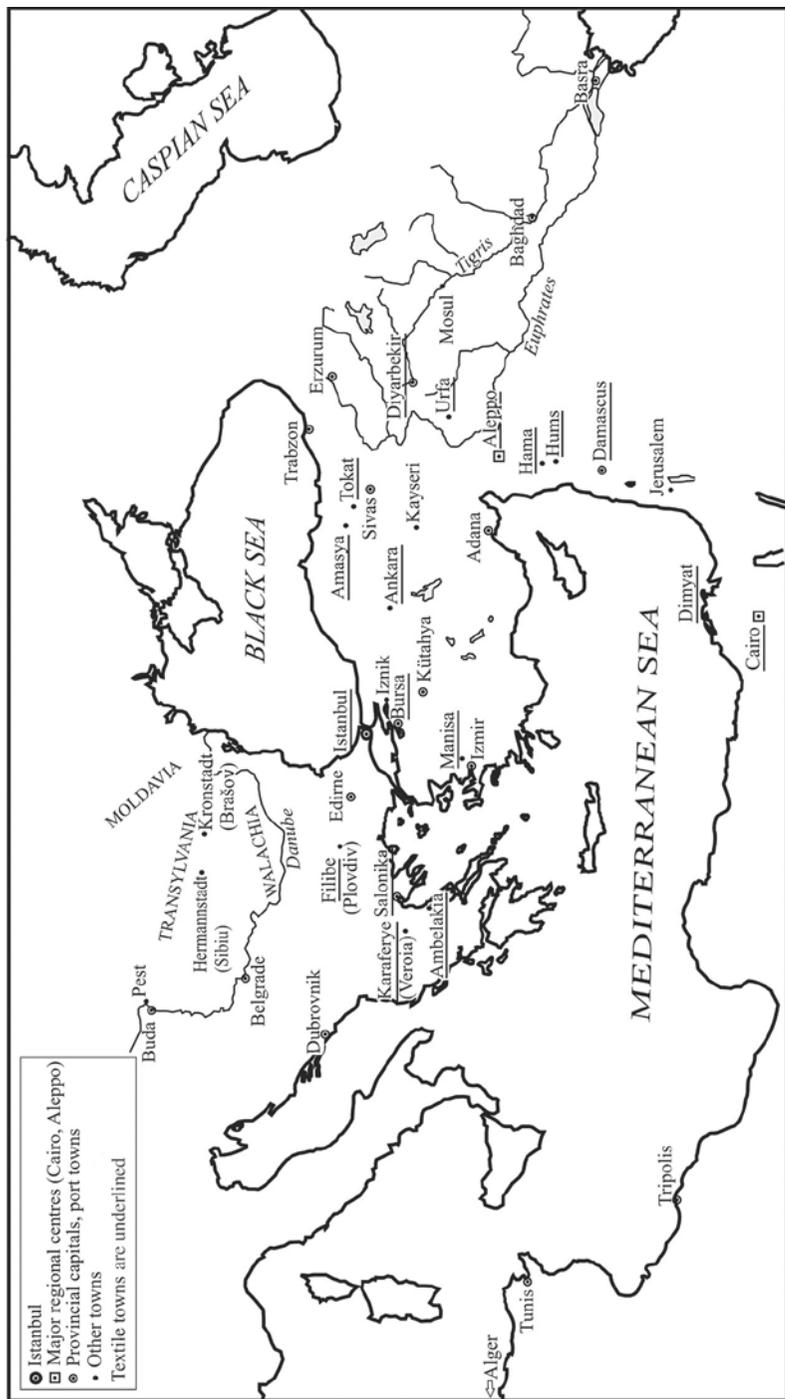
Ottoman-Turkish words have been written according to the conventions of modern Turkish spelling. When using Arabic terms, the different authors have conformed to the rules current in the scholarly traditions with which they are associated.

## TIMELINE

- 1481–1512 Bayezid II reigns: the earliest comprehensive documents concerning artisans date to this period
- 1514 Victory of Selim I over the Safavid shah Ismâil I: numerous artists and artisans carried off to Istanbul
- 1516–17 Victory of Selim I over the Mamluk sultans; conquest of Syria and Egypt
- 1526 Battle of Mohács: defeat and death of King Lajos II of Hungary
- 1541 Ottoman conquest of Buda: institution of direct Ottoman domination over the central section of the kingdom of Hungary
- 1550–57 Construction of the Süleymaniye mosque and appurtenances; the best-documented Ottoman construction site of the early modern period
- 1574–95 Reign of Murad III, known for his lavish patronage of the arts
- 1582 Circumcision festivities of Prince Mehmed, later Mehmed III: the festival book depicts the floats prepared by Istanbul artisans
- 17th century onwards Gradual entry of janissaries into artisan life – and artisans joining the janissaries
- 1611–unknown date after 1683 Evliya Çelebi, travelogue author who produced detailed accounts of Istanbul and Cairo craft guilds
- 1651 Rebellion in which Istanbul artisans played a major role
- 1686 Ottoman loss of Buda to an army of the ‘Holy League’ dominated by Poland and the Habsburgs

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1688	Rebellion in which Istanbul craftsmen participated
1703	‘The Edirne Event’: Sultan Mustafa II (r. 1695–1703) deposed in a rebellion in which Istanbul soldiers-cum-artisans took part, concerned about the loss of markets that a permanent move of the court to Edirne would have entailed
After 1720	More and more artisans have to acquire ‘slots’ ( <i>gediks</i> ) before opening their shops
1730	Dissatisfied soldiers-cum-artisans in Istanbul force Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703–30) to resign, and murder the grand vizier
1789–1807	Selim III attempts to phase out the janissaries, and replace them with a ‘New Model Army’ (Nizam-ı cedid)
1807	Selim III dethroned
1808–39	Reign of Mahmud II
1826	Abolition of the janissary corps, accompanied by much bloodshed: cancellation of many coffee-house <i>gediks</i>
1838	Anglo-Ottoman treaty of Baltalimanı abolishes monopolies including <i>gediks</i> ; but in some crafts the latter linger on for a considerable time
1890–92	Guilds lose their official status in Egypt
1910–12	Guilds abolished in the central Ottoman provinces
First World War	The government forms artisan organizations to gain public support



Map showing selected manufacturing centres in the Ottoman Empire (17th to 18th centuries). (From Faroqhi, *Artisans of Empire*)

# INTRODUCTION

## Once Again, Ottoman Artisans

*Suraiya Faroqhi*

Who would have believed it thirty or forty years ago: with the beginning of the new millennium, the crafts and craftspeople of the Ottoman lands have become a popular topic; and while otherwise the present fashion for Ottoman history current in today's Turkey highlights the 1800s and early 1900s, in the case of artisans the pre-Tanzimat period (late fifteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries) has also come in for its share of attention. We may speculate about the reasons: nostalgia for a defunct empire must be one of them, because in the mega-city of Istanbul, the media and the public are fond of harking back to a supposedly more benign, less aggressive and less consumption-oriented environment in which religion played a dominant role. As for provincial cities, the recent rise of an Anatolian bourgeoisie less dependent on the state apparatus than it had been during the first fifty years of the Republic of Turkey, has also implied a search for a 'usable past'; and since apart from Izmir and to some extent Bursa, most Anatolian towns were not great commercial *entrepôts*, it makes sense to modern commentators to emphasize crafts and craft ethos.<sup>1</sup> As even a casual visitor to medium-sized Anatolian towns like Çankırı or Kırşehir will notice, today's local people like to picture their towns as the former – or even present – seats of mystical fraternities, and particularly stress male bonding in the groupings known as *ahıs*. Nostalgia for the Ottoman past is probably also of significance in the Bosnian case, which is rather special because

of the memories of recent civil war and the present difficult situation of the Muslim population.

Much of this popular imagery is romantic and not realistic; for non-specialists this consideration is beside the point, but historians do need to remain faithful to their sources. As James Grehan has memorably put it, we must not imagine that people of the pre-Tanzimat era had all that much time and energy to focus on religion or other intellectual concerns: keeping body and soul together and ensuring the survival of their families must have kept artisans fully occupied, all the more as the Ottoman elites were committed to keeping the profits of artisans very low indeed.<sup>2</sup> Only in exceptional cases, when the work was especially difficult, could a craftsman count on a legalized profit of 20 per cent; 10 per cent was typical and, in official parlance at least, profit rates even below that limit were not unheard of.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the earthquakes, scarcities, epidemics and, in Istanbul, the numerous fires that periodically destroyed large sections of the city, must have brought destitution to many artisan families. After all, romanticism is always a denial of the workaday world.

As a result of this novel scholarly interest, a significant number of studies have appeared since the present editor completed the writing of *Artisans of Empire* in 2008.<sup>4</sup> This fact of life was brought home to her when teaching a graduate course on the subject in the spring of 2012.<sup>5</sup> As a result the present discussion is an update of her previous work: may the pace of research continue to quicken! Thus monographs on which the authors have spent many years of work may be out of date much faster than they used to be; and those of us who are of the older generation must learn to live with that unsettling experience.

The present Introduction will begin with a discussion of research into the various urban hazards like scarcities, fire, and infectious diseases that shortened the lives of all Ottoman subjects but to which, because of their poverty and close proximity to one another, many artisans were particularly exposed. We will then survey the research covering those workplaces about which we have some information, especially the court ateliers and the manufactories producing armaments and gunpowder; here the study of artisans intersects with that of material culture and the recently emerging research on Ottoman consumption.<sup>6</sup> As a next step, this Introduction will highlight the religious concerns of Ottoman guildsmen. For a long time this issue had occasioned very little interest; but given the resurgence of religion in public life in many polities the world over, historians are also taking note of the limited information that Ottoman sources convey about this matter. In the following section the focus will be on the observations and broadly based explanations relevant to the emergence and decline of Ottoman guilds, followed by a short section dealing with

the features that Ottoman guilds shared, or did not share, with artisan organizations outside the Ottoman Empire, especially in early modern Europe but also in Japan. Moreover, three rather more specific research problems, namely the relationship of artisans to Islamic and sultanic laws, the question of market regulation, and the impact of migration into and out of Istanbul are all closely connected to the more encompassing guild problematic. At the end of this general discussion there will be a short review of the literature focusing on the connection between janissaries and guildsmen, an issue that has taken on a new urgency because historians concerned with nineteenth-century Ottoman transformations have discovered the beginnings of the ‘statistical state’ in the reign of Selim III (r. 1789–1807). These transformations also involved a trend towards autocratic centralization; and Baki Tezcan has recently revived, with considerable verve and elaboration, the statement of the poet Namık Kemal (1840–88) that the janissaries once protected the common people against bureaucratic oppression.<sup>7</sup>

It is against this backdrop that hopefully readers will view the present work; fortunately quite a few participants in current debates have contributed their most recent thoughts and observations to this volume.

### **Artisans at Risk**

In recent years the hazards of urban life, especially in Istanbul, have found their historians. While Nicolas N. Ambraseys and Caroline Finkel had already, in the mid-1990s, shown that the various earthquakes recorded in seventeenth-century Anatolia and Istanbul in fact belonged to a single seismic chain, Ambraseys’ more recent massive study has allowed us to appreciate how often the sultans’ subjects, artisans among them, had to cope with earthquakes. The effects of even moderate quakes could be quite disastrous, due to the destructive conflagrations that often occurred when seismic movements overturned braziers or destroyed fireplaces.<sup>8</sup> As for scarcities and famines, until recently they did not appear very clearly in the historiography. Perhaps this lack of interest was due to the fact that such catastrophes did not sit very well with the image of the ‘well-oiled military machine’ conveyed by Ottoman chroniclers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. After all twentieth-century historians assiduously adopted this vision, largely because of their eagerness to rescue the Ottoman Empire from the opprobrium which the various nationalist historiographies of the 1800s and early 1900s had heaped upon it. But more recently, studies focusing on both the ‘classical period’ (1450–1600) and the crisis-ridden late 1700s have demonstrated that such scarcities

did occur; and the enormous mobilization of men and materiel during military campaigns did not exactly alleviate them. Thus recent work has vindicated the early observations of Lütü Güçer, who already in the 1960s had briefly indicated that Ottoman warfare might endanger peasants' livelihoods.<sup>9</sup> Certainly it is an exaggeration to claim that the difficulties of the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were all due to harvest failures, epizootics, or the elite's general failure to manage climatic change. Yet it is important to include scarcities as a major hazard in the lives of poor Ottoman townspeople, especially artisans.

What did craftsmen and their families eat? Presumably their diets consisted of bread, bulgur, soup, yoghurt and some vegetables – but on this issue hypotheses are easy to formulate but difficult to prove. Probably the better off were sure of obtaining these basic foodstuffs while the poor struggled to obtain even a pittance. Charitable aid was available but only occasionally: as Ömer Lütü Barkan and Amy Singer have both shown, many public kitchens catered mainly for the students of the schools associated with the pious foundations financing them, and also for religious scholars and dervishes. Certainly these institutions also served food to the poor, especially in times of scarcity, but quite often that was not their primary function.<sup>10</sup>

Moreover the texts that document the food eaten by Istanbul urbanites are not only few and far between, but they also concern the eating habits of the comfortably off, while the really poor remain in the darkest of shadows. A piece of anecdotal evidence survives from 1720, the year of the famous circumcision festivities celebrating the sons of Ahmed III (r. 1703–30). However the text at issue has nothing festive about it, being a petition from the blacksmiths working for the naval arsenal who openly admitted that they were not in a position to feed their families. Therefore their wives needed to supplement current income by cooking and selling sheep's trotters.<sup>11</sup> On the one hand we may surmise that the customers of these women were their neighbours, presumably also of limited means, who thus must have consumed, at least on occasion, the cheapest sources of animal protein. But on the other hand, the blacksmiths' admission that they could not feed their families makes us wonder how often artisans, or perhaps their wives and widows, cued up at the gates of the major pious foundations waiting for charitable hand-outs.

Contagious diseases, which as Birsen Bulmuş and Nükhet Varlık have demonstrated were not necessarily bubonic plague though this sickness played a significant role, have also come in for renewed attention.<sup>12</sup> For our purposes, in other words, for determining the impact of contagious diseases upon the lives of artisans, the exact diagnosis may be of limited importance; whether plague, typhus, or even severe influenza, they all left

families without their breadwinners or disrupted workshop routines when masters, journeymen and apprentices fell ill and/or met their deaths. Other diseases, especially those affecting young children, have left so few traces in the primary sources that we can only follow Halil İnalçık, who many years ago pointed to their frequency, given the hygienic conditions of the times.<sup>13</sup>

At least where Istanbul is concerned, fires have become a significant object of study.<sup>14</sup> Many conflagrations must have been caused by bakers of all kinds, but also by traders in timber and firewood, to say nothing of the ropemakers working for the arsenal, who laboured in sheds where the very air was full of tiny but highly inflammable bits of hemp. In addition, scholars have become interested especially because some of these calamities were probably politically motivated. While proven cases are rare, there were so many rumours flying around the Ottoman capital that this or that fire had been set on purpose, for instance by discontented janissaries, that one does wonder whether some of these stories perhaps had a factual basis. Also, even if a fire had not been set deliberately it might still have served a political purpose, sometimes quite a while after it had been extinguished. Thus Hatice Turhan (d. 1683), mother of Sultan Mehmed IV (r. 1648–67) had the Yeni Cami constructed only after the fire of 1660 had destroyed the Jewish quarter previously located on the site.<sup>15</sup> Presumably once a given site had been cleared by fire, it was easier for a member of the elite to take over real estate previously inhabited by ordinary people, and use the land to build a pious foundation.

Some recent studies of the Islamization of Istanbul in spatial terms have emphasized this aspect of great fires; in the aftermath, pressure from the Muslim majority tended to push non-Muslims out of the city, as İnalçık already pointed out over twenty years ago. The expellees tended to settle along the north-western section of the Golden Horn, for instance in Hasköy, or else along the Bosphorus which was sparsely inhabited until well into the 1700s.<sup>16</sup> Even more recently some scholars have expressed their doubts concerning the reality of this presumed process; but their work is not as yet available in print.

Yet for a study of artisans, it is perhaps more relevant to figure out how these men reacted to the loss of workspace once fires had annihilated their premises. Evliya Çelebi has relayed a story of an Istanbul shop originally tenanted by a clog-maker that miraculously survived a great fire.<sup>17</sup> The author ascribed this fact to the saintly aura of this modest craftsman; and when the administrator of the pious foundation to which the shed belonged, aware of the high price that workspace of whatever quality now commanded, passed it on at a higher rent to a Jewish artisan, the latter was soon killed in an accident. An undercurrent of hostility to the

non-Muslim who dared to compete with a Muslim – and a saint to boot – was surely implied in this tale. It was probably observations of this kind that caused the scholar Şânî-zâde (d. 1826), at one time qadi of Eyüp, to view such conflagrations largely as public order problems.

Struggles between artisans, even if they were all of the same religion, were bound to result from any fire in the business district, which was furthermore especially at risk because of the many flammable goods including textiles and ropes – and also clogs – that were stored in the city's workshops.<sup>18</sup>

### **Artisans at Work: Producing Ottoman Material Culture**

However difficult their lives, craftsmen – and occasionally craftswomen – did produce a vast array of items: unfortunately we only know most of them from inventories and other descriptions since few pieces in daily use have actually come down to us. Moreover in the long run the number of goods available to the urbanite with money to spend tended to increase. A recent study by Eminegül Karababa has shown that in Bursa between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries, cheaper variants of previously elite goods became available, thus 'democratizing' consumption, at least to some degree.<sup>19</sup>

Given the relatively more abundant source base concerning luxury goods, many studies of material culture and the people that produced it unavoidably focus on these articles. Metalwork is especially rewarding because Orthodox artisans producing silverware for their churches often recorded not only the names of the patrons who had commissioned the work but also their own, in addition to dating the item in question. Thus the work of Brigitte Pitarakis and Anna Ballian has shown that there existed guilds consisting only of Orthodox artisans; some of these were wealthy enough to offer silver chalices and decorations to the churches and monasteries of their choice.<sup>20</sup> The embroiderers, often female, who produced highly decorated textiles in the Byzantine tradition for liturgical use also often recorded their names and dated their work.

Other manufactures, often of high quality, are on record because of their connection with the Ottoman court and high-level dignitaries. Most attention has been paid to the painters of miniatures. While Ottoman gentlemen of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries regarded painters as subordinate not only to their elite patrons, but also to the authors whose works they illustrated, these personages still were important enough for their workshops and/or their meetings with patrons to feature in miniatures.<sup>21</sup> Moreover they appear in official documents as they featured among the

*ehl-i hıref* or men of skill, a group including not only people that we today would consider artists, but also artisans in the narrow sense of the term; whether the latter had been selected on the basis of special skills remains unknown. In the 1500s apparently some six hundred to nine hundred men were in court employment of this type; and the historiographer and litterateur Mustafa Âlî even claimed that there were two thousand.<sup>22</sup>

An early register comprising the names and payment claims of *ehl-i hıref* (1526) has been published: as it dates to the early years of Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566), we find the names of certain specialists that the ruler's father, Selim I, had brought back after his short-lived conquest of Tabriz.<sup>23</sup> However, as Süleyman had permitted those wishing to return home to do so, the Tabrizi contingent already must have been depleted; moreover during the intervening ten years or so, some of the artisans had surely died. Apart from the people whom the sultan expected to furnish models of Iranian-style art and culture, the palace also employed some artists/artisans who probably came from the West, although their ethnic backgrounds remain unknown.

Members of the *ehl-i hıref* apparently received a retainer in addition to their salaries so that they would be at the disposal of the sultans whenever needed; probably when business was slack they would sometimes work for private patrons too. In the case of miniature artists it has been suggested that when palace patronage fell away during the later 1600s even highly qualified masters might work for foreign embassy personnel eager to take back mementoes of their stays in the Ottoman capital.<sup>24</sup> At the same time, it was customary for members of the court workshops to make presents to the sultans at festivities and other special occasions, for which they may have received rewards. As a result, the relationship of *ehl-i hıref* to their employer did not conform to market requirements as we understand them today, but formed part of a system of court-sponsored redistribution.

A major reason for the importance of *ehl-i hıref*, concentrated in an atelier known as the *nakkaşhane*, lay in the fact that they furnished models for a variety of luxury crafts: at least during the 1500s, designs in textiles, tile-work, faience plates and cups, book-bindings, and the illumination of books resembled one another quite closely. How the diffusion worked is less clear. In some cases palace officials may have sent drawings or even masters familiar with a newly developed design to the sites of manufacture. In other cases, especially where non-royal patrons were involved, emulation may have been a key factor; after all, even in the 1900s and 2000s, the fashion industry has often copied the outfits worn by actresses or other figures in public life. The recycling of valuable items must have also contributed to design diffusion: thus there survives a Bursa silk caftan that in the early 1600s was redecorated for ecclesiastical use by an

Orthodox bishop officiating in the Ottoman lands.<sup>25</sup> In all probability, the patrons that commissioned Bursa-style silks with Christian imagery but featuring the tulips and other florists' flowers so typical of Ottoman courtly designs had not received a sultanic order to use these motifs. Perhaps, for the patrons, the designs had a purely aesthetic appeal; or perhaps these personages wished to impress the recipients of their gifts through their use of designs also favoured by the palace. Matters became even more complicated because Ottoman and Venetian producers of silk cloth tended to copy each other's designs; at least in the Venetian instance the aim was obviously to make these textiles attractive to elite Ottoman consumers. Thus official orders can only have accounted for part of the popularity of *nakkashane* designs.

Our perspective is somewhat limited by the fact that craftwork in certain media has survived much better than in others: thus leather and wood have lower survival rates than faience, but these light and less expensive materials could be taken along on journeys, or even exported. The collection of the Habsburg archduke Ferdinand II (1529–95) in Ambras Castle, just outside Innsbruck, Austria, contains fancy leather shoes and food trays of Ottoman workmanship, in addition to highly decorated wooden plates and spoons from the sultans' lands. Some of these items are still in mint condition and give us an inkling of the fancy but non-royal pieces that were once available on the Ottoman market, spreading the fashion for *nakkashane* designs, even in faraway lands.<sup>26</sup>

Historians of art and material culture have also studied the manufacture of weapons, in part once again because so many luxuriously decorated items survive. A recent publication of the collection of the dukes of Saxony, in the 1700s also intermittently kings of Poland, has revealed weaponry going back to the sixteenth century when these princes, though not necessarily participating in warfare against Sultan Süleyman and his successors, managed to receive gifts of Ottoman *mirabilia* from the Medici rulers of Florence.<sup>27</sup> Certain swords, scimitars and guns feature inscriptions, usually Qur'an verses, but occasionally also lines of poetry. Most importantly for us, in certain cases the manufacturers have left their names and the dates on which they completed their work. Typically these men were Muslims; but whether they worked in Istanbul, or else in some provincial shop, remains unknown. Moreover the man who inscribed his name must often have been but one of the specialists whose labour went into the production of such high-quality goods: for gilding and inlays were presumably the responsibility of separate workshops. While it is known that certain Ottoman arms were revamped once they had reached the Saxon collection, we do not know to what extent such practices were current in Ottoman workshops as well.

In addition to the small workshops, scholarly interest has also concentrated on larger enterprises such as the central cannon foundry, naval arsenal, and gunpowder manufactory.<sup>28</sup> Ottomanist historians have been interested in finding out whether – and if applicable, to what extent – the Ottomans participated in the technological changes in weaponry and tactics that characterized the European scene during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>29</sup> Gábor Ágoston has concluded that in the 1500s and 1600s the Ottoman army produced small- and medium-sized guns in quantities and qualities amply sufficient for the campaigns that the sultans conducted. After all, until the mid-1500s these armies achieved spectacular successes, and even later during the Long War of 1593–1606 they at least managed to take a reasonable number of fortresses from the Habsburg ‘kings of Vienna’. In this context, Ágoston has shown that Ottoman gun-founders, while not part of a technological avant-garde, were not behind their competitors either. In addition his study makes it clear that down to the eighteenth century, the Ottoman armies were self-sufficient in the production of gunpowder; and while they lost this crucial advantage during the mid-1700s, the sultan’s army recovered autarchy at the very end of the eighteenth century. Unfortunately Ágoston’s focus on logistics means that apart from the saltpetre-mining villagers that the author does discuss in some detail, most of the men who actually made Ottoman weaponry have been pushed into the background.

On the naval arsenal, the major work has been done during the past twenty years by İdris Bostan. While his more recent studies have focused on the types of ships manufactured in the Istanbul arsenal and the problem of Uskok piracy in the Adriatic around 1600, his in-depth treatment of the naval arsenal also includes the many categories of craftsmen building the ships or ultimately manning them. In most cases the surviving sources only contain references to the number of specialized artisans mobilized for a given project; and the same limitation applies to the different categories of sailors that kept Ottoman warships going.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps a search in the qadi registers of Galata will add some ‘flesh’ to these ‘bare bones’; for the quarter of Kasımpaşa, administratively part of Galata and located close to the dockyards, was a vibrant site, whose denizens surely often wound up in front of the local judge. A study of the social history of shipbuilders and seamen would also need to include prisoners, those in penal servitude and those who had been taken in warfare. Regrettably these slave labourers, both Muslims and non-Muslims, have still not found their historian.<sup>31</sup>

As for everyday goods, Istanbul bakeries are easily the best-known branch of production, due to the monographs of Mehmet Demirtaş for the 1600s and Salih Aynural for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>32</sup> Aynural has focused on the invasive regulations emitted

by Selim III (r. 1789–1807) and Mahmud II (r. 1808–39), at a time when warfare with Russia had made it difficult to supply Istanbul from its traditional sources along the Black Sea coast. Demirtaş has emphasized that regulation of the bread supply had a long history, including the Byzantine period. He has also discussed in some detail the working conditions of the bakers, who in the 1600s were often either Muslim Albanians or Armenians, with the Muslims forming the great majority. While all bakers regardless of religion were members of the same guild, Muslim masters generally preferred to hire Muslim workmen, claiming that the non-Muslims were not sufficiently careful about hygiene.<sup>33</sup> Beyond this (at least supposedly) practical concern, many Muslims also seem to have felt that the men involved with the preparation of this basic food needed to be pious people who performed their prayers five times a day. In consequence it was probably with some astonishment that Evliya Çelebi noted that in seventeenth-century Cairo the baking of bread was largely a domestic occupation, while women and girls sometimes took care of sales.<sup>34</sup>

### Artisans and Religion or Denomination

In the Balkans Islamization only began in the late Middle Ages, when the sultans had conquered that region. But in Anatolia, to say nothing of the Arab lands, this process was mostly complete by the time the Ottoman sultans took over, between the 1300s and 1517. However certain important Anatolian towns, including Diyarbakir, Sivas and Kayseri, held significant numbers of non-Muslims well into the twentieth century, many of whom must have been artisans. Aleppo, Jerusalem and Cairo were also home to a certain number of non-Muslim craftsmen. In Istanbul, the share of non-Muslims in the population may at times have been over 40 per cent; and thus there must have been many Christian and Jewish artisans in the city.<sup>35</sup> In the Balkans, Muslims often inhabited towns while the countryside remained Orthodox; but even so, at least in certain places, Muslim and non-Muslim craftspeople co-existed, in a proximity that was either relaxed or uneasy according to time and place.

This situation has given rise to three different research questions, connected with the so-called division of labour on the basis of religion, the question of mixed guilds and the role of Islamic mysticism and rules of conduct (*fütüvvet*) in artisan life. We have known for a long time that the adherents of certain religions or denominations sometimes specialized in a given craft, so that we may encounter guilds whose members largely or even exclusively were Muslim, Jewish, Orthodox or Armenian.

In the late 1800s however, certain scholars reified these kinds of situations, claiming that in the Ottoman world, religious adherence overwhelmingly determined the kinds of jobs that people could or could not undertake. If applicable throughout, this principle would have significantly hampered production and trade, as members of a given religion or denomination would have exercised a stranglehold over certain branches. Put differently, if in a given town the number of artisans active in a certain trade and the number of people adhering to the religion or denomination with monopoly rights to the relevant activity had both declined, then bottlenecks must have ensued. After all, members of other religions/denominations would not have been permitted to take the places of the men no longer active in the trade at issue. Presumably the concept of a 'division of labour based on religion' served as an argument for those who claimed that Ottoman social structure was impervious to development and reform.

However Cengiz Kırılı's study of over a thousand Istanbul enterprises functioning around 1800 has shown that for the numerous immigrants arriving in Istanbul searching for work, their place of origin was more significant than their religion or denomination.<sup>36</sup> Serial migration often implied that older artisans ready to return to their places of origin passed on their positions to younger men from the same location, so that Muslim and non-Muslim migrants from a given town/region worked in the very same fields when in Istanbul. In a more recent article, Betül Başaran and Cengiz Kırılı have pooled their knowledge of the different registers that they have unearthed so far, namely the records of mutual sponsorship or mutual guarantees (*kefalet*); for in the crisis-ridden reign of Selim III, a valid sponsor was a prerequisite for living in Istanbul.<sup>37</sup> Kırılı and Başaran thus are planning to look at migration into the capital transcending the putative religion-based division of labour, which now seems to have been limited to certain places and trades, and not sufficiently widespread to determine the fate of producers and production.

Relations between artisans of different religions/denominations who either were members of the same guild or belonged to similar and competing organizations have not been studied very often. To this question Onur Yıldırım has made an important contribution, by analysing a conflict between Muslim and Christian silk-spinners, in which the parties disagreed about the way in which the Muslim members should behave towards their non-Muslim fellow guildsmen.<sup>38</sup> However the conflict about 'honour and respectability', which as the author suggests may have been due to enriched non-Muslims being less inclined than in the past to accept treatment as inferiors, to date has remained quite rare. Of course similar documents may well emerge in the future.

By contrast, conflicts about ‘honour and respectability’ are conspicuously absent from the records on Izmir guildsmen that İsmail Hakkı Kadi has recently studied. This fact is worth noting because Izmir – and to a lesser degree Ankara, which the author also has discussed – are places where we would expect newly rich non-Muslims to chafe under possible contemptuous treatment from their Muslim colleagues.<sup>39</sup> According to the documents that Kadi has located, more often than not the lines of conflict were blurred. Some Muslim and non-Muslim artisans might have been allies, not only when an outsider from Europe was the opponent but in other instances as well. Certainly there is no reason to claim that religion determined what stand the parties took, even in conflicts which, like the ones discussed here, were serious enough to warrant an application to the authorities in Istanbul. I do not know how much significance to attach to a single case discussed by Kadi, in which the archival records show that the carpenters of Izmir working outside of the European quarter were mainly Muslims, with a few others mixed in. On the other hand, a qadi of Istanbul whom the sultan had ordered to report on the dispute at issue considered that, differently from the artisans domiciled in the European quarter, the carpenters in the rest of the city were *all* Muslims.<sup>40</sup> Was the qadi simply generalizing on the basis of insufficient data, or did he have a political agenda, maybe in the sense of neatly separating Muslims and non-Muslims?

Segregation of guildsmen by religion apparently was part of the zeitgeist; and a study of the stonecutters and allied specialties of late eighteenth-century Istanbul has greatly enlarged our understanding of how people of different religions worked – or failed to work – together.<sup>41</sup> In this case, the roles of Muslims and non-Muslims needed redefinition, as Christian artisans in construction complained about interference from their Muslim colleagues. It is noteworthy that the central administration took the side of the non-Muslims. On the other hand the sultans’ officials also had to deal with the complaints from Muslims working in the sultans’ gardens who stated that their non-Muslim colleagues prevented them from doing their jobs. These documents and their discussion by Oya Şenyurt are especially interesting as her findings confirm the tensions that Yıldırım had analysed in an earlier article.<sup>42</sup>

When Muslim and non-Muslim artisans were at loggerheads, the issue usually was economic opportunity. This observation applies to the Izmir cases studied by Kadi, but also to conflicts on record from eighteenth-century Istanbul. Thus Jewish and Muslim spice and drug sellers were involved in a dispute that must have been quite intractable, as the parties, probably due to their dissatisfaction with the qadi’s court, had turned to the central administration.<sup>43</sup> In Istanbul, as in Izmir and Ankara, complaining artisans and shopkeepers typically claimed that their competitors

professing a different religion intervened in their work or monopolized crucial goods, and thus prevented the complainants from making a living.

In the cases discussed in this section, the two parties belonged to different religions. But the very same kinds of conflicts might involve artisans sharing the same beliefs, as apparently few people wanted to pass up opportunities for economic gain. As for the central government, it was primarily concerned with keeping the peace, often admonishing the parties concerned to live in harmony once their dispute had been settled. In spite of the near-terminal crisis of the years around 1800, there is no evidence that the authorities were interested in removing the non-Muslims from the capital altogether and putting Muslims in their places.

Inez Aščerić-Todd has introduced yet a different perspective on artisan life and religion, namely the links of Ottoman guilds, Bosnian style, to the ‘code of conduct’ known as the *fütüvvet*, strongly informed by a mystical reading of Islam.<sup>44</sup> An emphasis on this aspect had been central to the first publications on Ottoman craft organizations; but later on it lost most of its appeal, in part because archival sources do not have much to say on this subject. However many more – for the most part literary – sources on artisan *fütüvvet* are available for Ottoman Bosnia than for other provinces; here local authors did record the inculcation of a set of values based on *fütüvvet* as part of the training of young artisans. We even possess information on the manner in which craftsmen tested prospective apprentices for their willingness to conform to this ethic; the relevant text is a remarkable find, as Ottoman sources from the central provinces and the Arab lands say so little about apprenticeship.<sup>45</sup> Another remarkable feature of the Sarajevo artisan scene is the existence of regular accounts concerning the ‘girding’ of new masters (*şedd kuşanma*); one example is even available in print. The value of these sources lies in the fact that while Evliya has left us a description of one of the more dramatic Istanbul festivities of this type, which Murad IV (r. 1623–40) attended in person, where the Ottoman central provinces are concerned, as yet we have not found any serial accounts concerning these initiation ceremonies.<sup>46</sup>

From these primary sources and Inez Aščerić-Todd’s remarkable discussion one comes away with a major question to which unfortunately I have no answer: to what extent can the situation in Sarajevo provide a model for other Ottoman towns and cities for which the impact of *fütüvvet* is less well documented? Or was there something special about Sarajevo’s situation on the Ottoman border that made local artisans especially concerned about integrating *fütüvvet* values into the exercise of their crafts? What did relations between Muslim and non-Muslim artisans look like, assuming that they existed?<sup>47</sup> Concerning this and other questions, there is so much that we do not know.

## Hypotheses: How Artisan Guilds Emerged and Declined

It is difficult to say much about the emergence of Ottoman craft guilds because they seem to have formed perhaps in the late 1400s and certainly in the early and mid-1500s. But at that time the qadi registers, our principal source for social history at least for the period preceding the mid-eighteenth century, did not yet exist in most towns and cities; or if compiled, they have not survived. The difficulty is compounded by the fact that the terms *hırfet* and *esnaf* can both mean either a craft, such as tailoring or shoemaking, or else the organization of people practising one and the same specialty, or at least related crafts. As for the term *lonca*, which in today's parlance definitely refers to an organization rather than to a trade, in the eighteenth century it seems to have denoted the place where the members of certain guilds used to assemble. Apparently the usage current today only emerged much later: the Redhouse dictionary of 1890 defines a *lonca* as a 'club'.<sup>48</sup>

For the sake of convenience we will translate *hırfet* and *esnaf* as 'guild' when reference is clearly being made to an organization. When the texts refer to office-holders such as *kethüdas*, sheikhs or *yiğitbaşs*, the existence of an organization is not in doubt. Yet even when that is not the case, whenever 'experienced masters' (*ehl-i hibre*) could turn to the courts – or even the central government – to defend artisan interests we can presume the existence of an organization, although it may have been a loosely structured one. It is also quite clear that once artisan organizations had formed, their members attempted to monopolize the exercise of the craft in question. While they may not always have succeeded, this aim of Ottoman artisans is not in doubt either.

Ottoman guilds reached a novel stage in their history in the early eighteenth century when it became common usage to demand that a master must possess an 'opening' or 'slot' (*gedik*) before he could begin to exercise his craft. In seventeenth-century Istanbul this practice must have been exceptional. While Robert Mantran claims the contrary, he for the most part refers to secondary literature that is not concerned with the 1600s at all but with the eighteenth century; in this sense Mantran reflects the temper of the 1950s when he wrote his book, and when the long-term stability and even immobility of Ottoman institutions was nearly axiomatic. There is however one documented instance of seventeenth-century *gediks*, involving the water carriers. Mantran has found relevant archival evidence in the Registers of Important Affairs (*Mühimme Defterleri*), in addition to references in Evliya's great description of the Ottoman capital, which apparently concerns mostly the mid-1600s; and in the qadi registers of the earlier seventeenth century

Eunjeong Yi has located a few more guilds which had already instituted *gediks*.<sup>49</sup> Of course the lack of formally recognized *gediks* did not mean that artisans were free to open a shop whenever and wherever they liked, the permission of the other masters always being a prerequisite. But even so, the institution of highly formalized procedures does seem to be a novelty of the 1700s.

To Engin Deniz Akarlı we owe an early attempt to make sense of the emergence and growing popularity of *gediks*.<sup>50</sup> In an important article, he has suggested that as a measure of self-defence, artisans initiated the idea that they possessed an exclusive right to exercise their crafts or trades in a specified place. For when in the course of the eighteenth century the Ottoman financial administration, hard pressed by continuous wars, began to demand financial contributions from pious foundations, the administrators of the latter attempted to balance budgets by raising the rents of their shops, many of which had been rented out to artisans. In order to make such increases more difficult, the artisans affected claimed that, by tradition, they possessed a right to these shops, which could only be transferred between members of the guild to which the original tenant had belonged. While some artisans certainly defended their tenure in these terms, Akarlı in a later article has admitted that their defence was a weak one, given the request of the pious foundations for a 'fair rent', a demand legitimized by Islamic law.<sup>51</sup>

In another very significant contribution, Onur Yıldırım has suggested that at least in Istanbul the institution of the *gedik* dates to the first quarter of the eighteenth century, in other words to a period of relative prosperity when war-related demands were probably less urgent than they were to become later in the century.<sup>52</sup> When he made this statement the publication of Istanbul qadi registers had not yet begun. But now that the relevant register is available in print, his claim has turned out to be justified in principle, even though many *gediks* apparently date to the years just following 1725.<sup>53</sup> For between 1726 and 1738 the authorities seem to have considered the localization of shops and workplaces in Istanbul a matter of high priority, so much so that they took the unusual step of devoting an entire register to artisan affairs. Certainly not all Istanbul trades acquired *gediks* at the same time, but well before 1740 the trend of the times was obvious.

Unfortunately we do not know very much about the motives of officials and artisans that set out to 'institute *gediks*'. Presumably the officials wanted to intensify control over the artisan realm. As Yıldırım points out, Ottoman crafts had grown in importance with the spurt of population growth characterizing the 1500s, and had not substantially contracted once this process ground to a halt in the following century. After all, in

good times and bad, there had always been substantial immigration into Istanbul, although as Betül Başaran has pointed out, we have no real evidence that the city's overall population increased during the eighteenth century.<sup>54</sup> But as this same author has also noted, for political measures to be taken it was sufficient that the Ottoman elite perceived them as necessary, never mind 'conditions on the ground'.<sup>55</sup> Thus even if the numerous immigrants mainly compensated for Istanbul's population losses due to the sicknesses that spread easily in crowded urban quarters, if the elite believed that Istanbul was constantly growing and becoming unmanageable, measures of control, including the 'fixing' of artisans to specific locations, were likely to enter the official agenda. As for the artisans, we may assume that many established masters welcomed a situation in which they might avoid competition from the many newcomers that sought to make a living in the Ottoman capital.

However there is no rule without exceptions; Oya Şenyurt's rich and informative study of the Istanbul building crafts, which we have already encountered in our discussion of religious tensions, has also enlarged our understanding of how certain guilds might develop 'agreements' that in principle ran counter to the spirit of the 'guild system'. After all, the boundaries between the different branches active on the construction site were often unclear, and we thus find people working on items that were not the speciality of their own guild. Given the possibilities inherent in this situation, some masters became entrepreneurs when they contracted to put up buildings 'ready to use' under their own responsibility. Such arrangements and understandings could even receive official sanction, at least as long as nobody complained. Apart from this relative fluidity, in the building sector it was common enough for *gediks* to be sold at the death of the master, and his heirs would receive the price as part of their inheritance.<sup>56</sup>

This last observation leads us to Yıldırım's suggestion that the institution of the *gedik* may have led to the weakening of the guilds, as the owners of these 'slots' came to regard them as quasi-private property that they could use wherever they wished.<sup>57</sup> Such a statement makes special sense in the case of the so-called *havai gedik*, which in fact was not tied to any particular location. However the situation is somewhat more complicated in the case of the many *gediks* that only allowed the owner to exercise his craft in a certain specified location. Certainly the owner of such a 'slot' could sell it, and the man who acquired it might not have been an acknowledged guild member. In Syria this process must have been widespread, for in the late 1800s and early 1900s the *gedik*, locally called *kadak*, came to denote a simple rent contract.<sup>58</sup> However, at least with respect to Istanbul, I am not at all sure that the guilds lost all oversight

over the *gediks* that had changed hands in this manner. If ‘wild’ transfers had been widespread, we would expect a slew of complaints, recorded for instance in the ‘Registers of edicts sent to the provinces’ (Vilayet Ahkâm Defterleri), of which a sizeable selection relating to Istanbul has been published.<sup>59</sup> But the abuses committed by people who had acquired a *gedik* without being part of the relevant guild are not a very frequent topic, although references certainly occurred in qadi registers and elsewhere. Therefore it is problematic to view these transactions as *the* major reason for guild dissolution in Istanbul; however they may well have been a contributing factor.

As a reason for scepticism we can point to the situation of artisans who around 1830, in other words towards the end of the period concerning us here, turned to the ‘Administration of Sultanic Pious Foundations’ (*evkaf-ı humayun*).<sup>60</sup> Nalan Turna has concluded that under certain circumstances, a connection with this newly founded official body permitted people to rent *gediks* and thus obtain the flexibility postulated by Yıldırım; in other words the monopoly of the relevant guild was much weakened. Yet in other contexts this same connection served to keep ‘outsiders’ out of a given craft. According to the study by Mehmet Demirtaş concerning the crimes and misdemeanours of eighteenth-century Istanbul artisans, it was a punishable act to transfer a *gedik* without official permission, even if the owner merely wished to leave the capital for a limited time period.<sup>61</sup> Admittedly, as the sultan’s officials decreed penalties for this act, it must have occurred, at least occasionally. In brief the results of *gedik* transfers were ambiguous, and it does not seem a good idea to assume that what happened in the Syrian provinces necessarily occurred in Istanbul as well.

Another reason for hesitation is the story of the capital’s tobacco sellers, studied in great detail by Fehmi Yılmaz.<sup>62</sup> While these salesmen had established a guild in 1726, their number increased by leaps and bounds in the course of the eighteenth century, as smoking became a widespread habit. In 1782 the tobacco sellers were subjected to a count intended to limit their number. However, by the early 1800s, it turned out that a significant number had avoided the attentions of the sultan’s bureaucrats; but some twenty years later, these men managed to gain recognition as ‘old and established’ (*kadim*), and most were awarded *gediks*. These counts were also an opportunity to eliminate a sizeable number of non-Muslims who had entered a trade which had started out as a Muslim monopoly, although a small non-Muslim minority did obtain official recognition. In this detailed history we do not find that many outsiders acquired *gediks* and thus became tobacco sellers independent of the guild, although the expansion of the trade and the widespread adoption of *gediks* seem propitious for such a development. Rather it seems that to obtain recognition

as a legitimate tobacco seller, it was necessary to be/become a guild member. But in some cases, something resembling the scenario proposed by Yıldırım may well have occurred; and of course, it is always possible that new document finds will change the picture proposed here.

Another guild monograph concerning the early 1800s ends with a similarly ambiguous conclusion.<sup>63</sup> Nalan Turna's fascinating study focuses on Istanbul barbers' *gediks*, which were peculiarly unstable. For after the janissaries had been abolished in 1826 the government closed many coffee shops – they belonged to janissaries or, at least supposedly, were 'janissary haunts'. However the owners of the relevant *gediks*, invoking their rights as proprietors, were often able to transfer their *gediks* from coffee houses to barber shops; put differently, this meant a decrease in coffee shops and an increase in workplaces occupied by barbers. Turna pays particular attention to *gediks* owned by well-to-do personages who invested often substantial sums in these petty enterprises. Most of these investors were from outside the trade; even female owners of barber shop *gediks* were not unknown. These investors, who typically rented out their 'slots' to actual barbers, under certain conditions escaped control by the guilds; but in other instances they did not manage to do so. In consequence the relevant guild's oversight remained significant and so did the regulations it emitted.<sup>64</sup>

Turna's most important conclusion concerns the fact that, in the early 1800s, barbers' *gediks* really did form private property or something very closely resembling it. These *gediks* could be sold, purchased and inherited even by females, and certain owners tried to protect their investment by registering the *gediks* at issue with a newly created authority, the 'Administration of Sultanic Pious Foundations' that we have already encountered in a different context. Turna therefore concludes that nineteenth-century centralization did not only happen 'from the top down', although presumably this direction was the norm. Under certain conditions, owners anxious to protect what they regarded as their property might be the first to demand measures of centralization and official control.

The most recent contribution to this on-going debate concerns the booksellers, on whose lives and activities İsmail Erünsal has just brought out an impressive monograph, covering the period from 1604 to 1909.<sup>65</sup> As this close-up examination of a very particular trade has appeared just as the present volume is about to go to press, it is impossible to do justice to its richness. Erünsal has given us a broadly based overview of the book trade in the major Ottoman cities, including not only Istanbul, Edirne and Bursa but also the older centres of the Islamic world that formed part of the Ottoman domains; his book encompasses the trade in manuscripts as well as in printed books. The special situation of the booksellers,

who after all handled religious texts, probably explains an organizational peculiarity: until the mid-nineteenth century, the guild head bore the title of *şeyh*, and only after that time do we find a *kethüda* in charge of guild affairs, as had long been customary in most other guilds.<sup>66</sup> From our point of view, the section on the material and immaterial possessions of the booksellers are of special importance: after all, the *gediks* of the booksellers were a significant though immaterial source of wealth. For in the mid-nineteenth century at least, the *gediks* of deceased booksellers, which ‘according to the rules’ were not saleable, might very well appear on the market, with the proceeds divided among the heirs; Erünsal has found many other nineteenth-century cases of ‘commercially available’ *gediks* as well. Clearly at this point of our researches it is best not to generalize very much, as rules that were valid for one guild in a certain place might well not have existed in other cases, or honoured mostly in the breach.

Given these ambiguities how did *gediks* come to an end? Ominous rumblings were already audible in the very early 1800s: while monopolies were a *conditio sine qua non* in guild life, in 1802 the authorities refused a demand from the Izmir silk spinners for an exclusive right to spin raw silk. The author of this sultanic command clearly felt that monopolies were harmful to the community at large. However, on this issue, members of the governing elite were probably of two minds, for in 1807 the same group of artisans did receive the monopoly they had long been lobbying for.<sup>67</sup> Only in the 1830s, under British pressure, did the Ottoman government abolish monopolies once and for all; and in principle at least, this measure should have spelt the end of the *gediks* as monopolistic privileges, though not – as yet – that of the entitlement on foundation-held property as studied by Akarlı. In the latter sense, *gediks* survived, and some new ones were even created in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>68</sup> Moreover the guilds were to continue into the early twentieth century. While officially abolished in 1910–12, artisan organizations strongly resembling guilds operated throughout the First World War and even later.<sup>69</sup>

Incorporation into the European-dominated world economy of the time was certainly an important factor in weakening the guilds. However it seems that the effect was largely indirect – and a point made by John Chalcraft in this volume with respect to Egypt is valid for other parts of the Ottoman Empire as well. As Donald Quataert’s seminal work published twenty years ago has shown, in the 1800s manufacture shifted from guild-organized artisans domiciled in towns and cities to non-organized workpeople, quite a few of them women, some of whom even lived and worked in the countryside.<sup>70</sup> Given this decline in their economic functions, many though by no means all guilds lost so much of their power that their official abolition in 1910–12 was not a major bone of contention.

Thus the end of the *gediks* was a direct consequence of pressure from the European-dominated world economy, while competition from imported goods led to a restructuring of Ottoman production patterns that ultimately made the guilds irrelevant.

In summary, we can discern four periods in the history of Ottoman guilds, although the large number of studies that have been and currently are being published means that this periodization may only be valid for a short time.<sup>71</sup> Before the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, very little is known about guilds; and in many if not most places, organizations regulating craft practice and attempting to monopolize the market may not as yet have existed. It is best to admit that we just do not know.

Brotherhoods imbued with the *fütüvvet* ethos were certainly active at least in Anatolia and later on in Bosnia; but it is hard to say to what extent these organizations had an economic role, and whether or not artisans had a say in them. After all, in some places some of these brotherhoods had some very rich members, who perhaps made the most vital decisions over the heads of their artisan fellows. During the 1500s guilds as organizations defending artisan interests appear more frequently in Ottoman archival documents, and by the late sixteenth century these associations were widespread. During this second stage, *gediks* were not a common feature; however by the early 1700s the Ottoman state apparatus seems to have played a significant role in instituting the monopoly rights of individual artisans to do business in predetermined locations. Given the central role of the *gedik* resulting from this intervention, the period from about 1720 to about 1800, the third stage in Ottoman guild history, may well have been the apogee of the guild as an institution.

But in the long run and in some guilds at least, the holders of *gediks* came to treat these rights and obligations as private property and take guild decisions less seriously than in the past, to say nothing of the fact that the Ottoman elite of the nineteenth century was less unanimous concerning the benefits or disadvantages of monopolies than their predecessors had been.<sup>72</sup> Mea culpa: when studying these questions in the late 1990s and early 2000s, I had been too inclined to generalize on *gediks*, basing my claims on limited data, while recent monographs have pointed out the great variability of attitudes towards exclusive privileges, private property, and *gediks*. Moreover the world economy, into which the Ottoman Empire was increasingly 'incorporated', contributed to the process in a major way by inducing transformations of the labour force that tended to make guilds seem less and less relevant. We may therefore, at least for the time being, count the years between the early 1800s and the end of the Ottoman Empire as the fourth and final stage, preceding guild dissolution.

## Ottoman Guilds and the Non-Ottoman World

During the last twenty years or so, scholars concerned with labour history throughout the world have focused on craft organizations, not only in early modern Europe but also in China, India and Japan. This renewed interest is due to the fact that in the recent past there has been a new emphasis on institutions as factors promoting or inhibiting economic growth. However it is remarkable that in the Ottoman context, major economic historians such as Murat Çizakça, Şevket Pamuk and Timur Kuran, while doing very important work on other institutions, have not made the guilds their major focus. Rather, Çizakça's principal concern is with pious foundations, tax farming, and economic regulation by the state apparatus, Şevket Pamuk has studied monetary policies and compared the changes of European and Ottoman wages over time, while Timur Kuran has investigated the manner in which Islamic law and, in a wider perspective, historical power constellations prevalent in the Middle East may have constrained economic growth. But in this discussion, guilds play a very limited role.<sup>73</sup>

Yet the situation outside of Ottomanist historiography is rather different.<sup>74</sup> While in the past, European guilds had appeared as organizations that hampered economic growth by enforcing monopolies and preventing competition, today they are seen in a more positive light. Historians now stress that guilds ensured the training of youngsters to form the next generation of artisans, and also that they guaranteed the quality of products in a market otherwise fraught with uncertainties. Furthermore, at least some guilds provided their members with aid in case of old age and sickness; and in some localities, guilds had a degree of political power and thus permitted artisans an input, albeit modest, into urban government. In this context, European guild historians have asked to what extent Ottoman artisan organizations may have played a similar role; and in response, a few specialists on Ottoman guilds, particularly Onur Yıldırım, have participated in international projects concerning this subject. Together with his colleagues at Middle East Technical University in Ankara, Yıldırım is working on a database that will cover the guilds of the major Ottoman cities, with special attention to Istanbul, where the guilds have left the most obvious paper trail.<sup>75</sup>

When looking at the international context, we find that different schools of thought promote different definitions of guilds. At present the trend seems to be in favour of very 'broad' delineations; for they facilitate comparisons. Tine de Moor has used a definition wide enough to accommodate both European guilds and the – often informal – organizations of villagers using common lands, like woods or rough pasture, to

supplement the income derived from often very small holdings.<sup>76</sup> The editors of *The Return of the Guilds* have opted for a somewhat narrower definition that posits ‘more or less independent, self-governing organizations’ with a membership of people who work in the same or related sectors and use their organizations to further common ends, of whatever sort.<sup>77</sup> If the older assumption that Ottoman guilds were essentially extensions of the state apparatus still held sway – and some scholars do continue to see matters in this light – then these craft organizations would not therefore qualify as ‘guilds’, at least not in the sense of the definition underlying Lucassen’s, De Moor’s and Luiten van Zanden’s broad ‘international’ comparison project. But since today’s majority consensus seems to be that, in spite of the sometimes heavy-handed interventions of the bureaucracy, Ottoman craft associations also defended the interests of the master artisans, there is no reason to claim any ‘Ottoman incomparability’ in this field.<sup>78</sup>

Even narrower definitions, which emphasize attempts to exert monopoly control over an often limited urban market, are of course current as well: the guilds of the seventeenth-century French town of Dijon, which have been studied in detail, would fit such a definition rather nicely.<sup>79</sup> However Ottoman craft associations also fit into this narrower and more exclusive concept, for while guild masters, like their colleagues of other times and places, did not always succeed in enforcing monopoly control, it certainly was not for want of trying. There are even some interesting parallels where relations of artisans with local power-holders are concerned. During the seventeenth century in the papal city of Bologna, of all places, butchers had to sell their skins and hides to the tanners, while the latter were expected to supply the shoemakers. Only after local demand had been satisfied could leather be exported, a ruling often honoured in the breach; and the needs of the shoemakers, being last in the ‘food chain’, often were disregarded. To the Ottomanist historian this story sounds like a *déjà vu*, as cases of this type so often crop up in sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Ottoman documents.<sup>80</sup>

As we have seen, the *gedik* as a type of property that could be inherited or even sold is today very much at the centre of Ottomanist guild historiography; and in this context the Japanese ‘stock societies’ analysed by Mary Louise Nagata are an interesting subject for comparison.<sup>81</sup> For once the Tokugawa shoguns were securely in power in the early 1600s, they instituted a strongly centralized regime that also attempted to control the market. Under certain conditions the shoguns were quite wary of artisan self-organization; but in other cases, they saw the relevant associations as a means to keep prices down, a view that was quite familiar to Ottoman officialdom as well. Moreover the rule that artisans

had to purchase stock in their associations, a transaction prerequisite for exercising the relevant trade or craft, does remind the Ottomanist of the *gedik* that sometimes – but not always – went together with a right to buy the necessary raw materials and that might also be available for money. Even closer is the analogy with the associations of dyers and other craftsmen, who needed to pool their capital in order to buy expensive implements such as copper vats.<sup>82</sup> These similarities are so intriguing that I much regret my ignorance of Japanese history, thus not allowing me any further comparison.

On the other hand, it would be unrealistic not to take the limits of comparability into account. Documentation, and to some extent gaps in the relevant historiography as well, are the principal limiting factors. Thus, for instance, Catharina Lis and Hugo Soly have recently come up with a lengthy study of the attitudes to work and workers in early modern Europe, which includes an extensive section on artisan self-images and the ways in which the elites viewed artisans, especially the most creative among them.<sup>83</sup> This text makes inspiring reading. On the other hand, the only ‘first-person narrative’ written by an Ottoman working man that has become known, to date, is a text written by a miner who experienced the closing years of the empire and the beginning of the Turkish Republic.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, the pictorial documentation on artisans before the introduction of photography into the Ottoman lands is virtually limited to a few manuscripts illustrated with miniatures, a particularly handsome item surviving from the late sixteenth and another from the early eighteenth century. In both cases we can be sure that the men depicted did not have an input into the images comparable to that of the guildsmen of Antwerp, who commissioned an altarpiece which gave them so much prominence as patrons that local churchmen objected.<sup>85</sup>

To summarize, there are indications that certain parallels between Ottoman and European guilds existed, which go beyond what is immediately apparent. In other words, they only become visible through carefully studying records of artisan practice. Thus only Evliya Çelebi has reported that Ottoman craftsmen also had holy patrons, whose existence came to his attention when describing a great Istanbul parade, which probably took place in 1638.<sup>86</sup>

### **Artisans and the Question of Law and Order**

One of the very few scholars to have spent much time and effort on the connections between Ottoman guilds and the law is Engin Deniz Akarlı.<sup>87</sup> At an earlier stage, as noted, he was concerned with the reasons for the

emergence of the *gedik*. More recently his interest has shifted to the problems of ‘common good’ and ‘social harmony’ to which the Ottoman elite and particularly the religious scholars among its members attempted to find solutions within the framework of Islamic law. By contrast he does not say very much about the conflicts of interest between the Ottoman elite and Istanbul artisans, which – admittedly not very often, as we have seen – have also found their way into the surviving archival documents. However, as a historian, Akarlı is well aware that there was a gap, often quite wide, between legal rules and practical procedures.

In his most recent study, Akarlı begins with a discussion of the aims of Islamic law and the latter’s concept of *maslaha* or well-being. With some qualifications, he admits the justice of the argument, first made by Baber Johansen, that Islamic jurists tended to formulate ‘governmental responsibilities in terms of God’s rights’ and thus made it difficult to establish institutions which might mediate between the interests of individuals and those of the government.<sup>88</sup> However Akarlı believes that this problem, though real, remained manageable during the 1700s, and it was only at the end of the reign of Selim III, and certainly later on, that Ottoman officials came to consider *raison d’état* as a legal good which overrode the rights of the subjects. In the case studied here, a conflict between the government and the Istanbul bakers, two non-Muslim artisans were summarily executed to terrify the others and were thus deprived of their right to a fair hearing in front of a judge.<sup>89</sup> While Islamic jurists permitted such acts in order to protect the community as a whole, Akarlı concludes that the treatment of the two bakers bordered on *zulüm* or arbitrary power, which meant that the sultan and his vizier had undermined the very principles the law was designed to protect.<sup>90</sup>

However Akarlı was also interested in the role of the court as mediator; this aspect was of importance outside of the artisan context as well, as is apparent from the many works of Boğaç Ergene.<sup>91</sup> Thus Ottoman law courts apparently operated according to what in German is called the ‘Subsidiaritätsprinzip’; in other words, if a lower-level organization was capable of dealing with a given problem, higher-level authorities were not supposed to intervene. In the artisan case, whatever guild members were able to settle among themselves did not concern the authorities; and so as these craftsmen employed ‘custom’ as a norm, in the eyes of the authorities they acquired ‘a legally recognized collective entity’.<sup>92</sup> They could either act collectively to pursue their interests, or else they could appoint representatives to act on their behalf, the latter being accorded official recognition. In this roundabout fashion the courts took cognizance of the guilds as corporate bodies, although Islamic law strongly focuses upon individuals.

Mehmet Demirtaş, whose work like that of Akarlı also concerns eighteenth-century Istanbul, has approached the issue in quite a different manner. For Akarlı governmental abuse of power (*zulüm*) was always possible, though more likely to happen in the modernizing 1800s than beforehand. For Demirtaş, by contrast, the Ottoman state *ipso facto* represented the common good, and only errant office-holders could lose their share in this intrinsic virtue. Since the period Demirtaş has discussed precedes the enthronement of Selim III, the question does not arise of whether or not the abuse of power became more likely with the formation of a more highly centralized state. In any case, in Demirtaş's perspective, at least where Istanbul artisans were concerned, the eighteenth-century state had already reached an apogee of centralization. Those artisans who failed to abide by the rules promulgated by officialdom thus amply deserved the penalties meted out to them.<sup>93</sup>

Following this line of thought, Demirtaş is also much concerned with the moral aspects of Ottoman craftsmen's lives, in which as noted, the *abi* tradition was of importance. He also stresses the close connections to the artisan world of certain members of the Ottoman state apparatus who having achieved high positions, came to direct the activities of the guilds.<sup>94</sup> With only slight exaggeration, one may conclude that for Demirtaş, Istanbul artisan guilds were part of the state apparatus, which by definition represented the common interest; in consequence the problems posed by Akarlı lose much of their relevance.

In his work on the guilds of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Bursa, Ömer Düzbakar takes a similar approach.<sup>95</sup> For this author too the centralism of the early modern Ottoman polity, at least when compared to the decentralized set-up of early medieval and feudal Europe, is the key factor in relations between the government and members of the craft guilds. Düzbakar emphasizes that Bursa's proximity to the Ottoman capital ensured that local artisans obeyed orders from the centre, but also that the latter through their guilds could send their complaints to the central authorities and hope for a hearing. As a result, in Düzbakar's view, an artisan discourse opposing the authorities did not emerge. Certain Istanbul documents of the mid-eighteenth century also reflect a notable convergence between the authorities and craft guilds, apparently part and parcel of political culture in the *longue durée*. But due to the closeness of many artisans to the janissaries and urban militias, craftsmen in the late seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century did find occasions to express their dissatisfaction, although perhaps there were more occasions for such actions in Cairo or Aleppo than in the Ottoman capital.<sup>96</sup>

Abdulgennan Mehmet Altıntaş also emphasizes that relations between the Ottoman bureaucratic apparatus and the guildsmen were on the whole

harmonious.<sup>97</sup> In his view, a major reason for this state of affairs was the relative autonomy that officialdom granted guildsmen in regulating their own affairs. Certainly the administration decided on rules promulgated in the name of the sultan without formally consulting with guild representatives. But such edicts (*kanun*) were few in number; and the much more detailed regulations known as *nizam* originated from within the relevant artisan organizations. In many cases, the judge and the market inspector intervened only to uphold regulations that artisan guilds had previously decided on. In fact, an errant guildsman might state in front of his fellows that he was willing to accept dire punishment, which only officials could administer, if he contravened guild rules again.<sup>98</sup> On the other hand, an artisan could often count on forgiveness if he had not annoyed so many colleagues that the latter decided to exclude him from the guild – for in that instance, forgiveness was rare. In the sample of cases discussed by Altıntaş, a few executions also occur; but differently from Akarlı, he does not question whether these punishments sometimes involved the illegitimate use of arbitrary power.

### **Artisans and the Market: A Case of ‘Market Welfare’?**

Relli Shechter, economic historian of the contemporary Middle East, has coined the term ‘market welfare’ for an economic system that prioritizes economic stability and a degree of equity over competition and its – hopefully – attendant consequences of efficiency and economic growth.<sup>99</sup> Shechter views the Ottoman political economy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a system of this type, which possessed considerable staying power, for it remained in place even when in the 1700s the Ottoman centre lost most of its ability to regulate provincial economic life. Local dignitaries, whom we may call mid-level echelons of power, simply took over some of the functions of the central state. As partners in the Ottoman enterprise, provincial and local elites therefore upheld its central features – including the guilds, although the latter are not in the foreground of Shechter’s analysis.

Even so, his article is of interest for our present overview. For while it was published well before the onset of the most recent economic crisis, it is an interesting testimony to the search for ‘alternatives to capitalism’ after Marxism and even non-Marxist socialism have been discredited, at least for the time being. More recently, Linda T. Darling has continued this search in a book discussing the concept of the ‘circle of equity’.<sup>100</sup> The search for a non-socialist alternative to capitalism also casts a new light on the ‘statist’ emphasis in the studies of Aynural, Düzbakar and

especially Demirtaş, which includes a rather extreme and probably exaggerated stress on the moral qualities of the Ottoman state elite and the apparatus that it had created. For while this emphasis on moral superiority on the one hand harks back to the tradition of Turkish nationalism and particularly nationalist historiography, on the other hand it draws some legitimization from the search for a non-capitalist way of running economic life while still retaining a market, albeit not a free one.

However the work of Eunjeong Yi has shown that even in the highly controlled atmosphere of the Ottoman capital in the early 1600s, competition between artisans was not at all unknown. Craftsmen formed partnerships with colleagues from other guilds or rented workshops belonging to a craft that was not their own; by such devices they circumvented the rules of their respective guilds that strictly limited the articles which members were permitted to manufacture and sell. It thus emerges that not all guildsmen had internalized the prescriptions of the ruling elite and the teachings of the *fütüvvet*, which if followed without exception should have made artisans' pursuit of material gain well-nigh impossible. Furthermore in Cairo, whose wealthier craftsmen seem to have profited from the distance separating their city from the Ottoman central government, in the 1600s there were long-established family firms, particularly in the oil-pressing business, whose owners made substantial profits.<sup>101</sup> In this case as well, the flexibility of artisans and their capacity for cooperation might well have set Cairo on the path to economic growth; but in the later 1700s, the in-fighting of the Mamluk power elite and the latter's insatiable revenue demands wound up 'killing the goose that laid the golden eggs'. Like other ideals devised by humans, 'market welfare' must have been pursued by Ottoman artisans with certain reservations – and sometimes not at all.

### **Craftsmen's Migrations into and out of Istanbul**

As this summary shows, Ottoman guild studies mainly deal with the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, with a strong emphasis on the 1700s. While migration to Istanbul surely occurred throughout the history of the Ottoman capital, the eighteenth century records are the most comprehensive and so researchers dealing with migration tend to concentrate on this period.<sup>102</sup> As a result, if we want to establish connections between migrations and guild life, the 1700s and early 1800s will be our period of choice.

It is only with respect to this relatively late period that we can decipher patterns of migration that perhaps were typical of the world of artisans

and labouring men over the *longue durée*. Thus there is evidence that immigrants from a given region clustered in specific jobs: in the district administered by the qadi of Eyüp, by the mid-1700s quite a few grocers had come from a few small towns in today's central Greece, while we find Albanians among the gardeners who were cultivating the vegetables sold in Istanbul markets. Furthermore, quite a few Albanians worked as bathhouse (*hammam*) attendants; by the mid-1700s several thousand of these mostly young men were employed in this rather menial capacity. Interestingly, most of the migrants that have left traces in the Eyüp registers had come from the Balkans.

Presumably people arriving from Anatolia often settled in Üsküdar, thus avoiding the controls that were more likely to occur near the landing stages than elsewhere. Betül Başaran has noted moreover that around 1800, immigrants from eastern Anatolia were especially at risk when it came to expulsion from the capital, perhaps because these people found integration into Istanbul society more difficult than immigrants from Rumelia.<sup>103</sup>

However Albanians also were often targeted by more or less obvious expulsion measures; one of the reasons was probably that migrants from this region who served in the houses of viziers and other grandees felt that they owed a special loyalty to their employers; as a result they might have been willing to fight out the battles of the latter and thus gain a reputation as troublemakers. In addition, they were the epitome of the young mountaineers that in the Ottoman Empire as in early modern France, by seasonal or long-term migration, sought a living that was unavailable at home; moreover some Albanians may have come to Istanbul to escape the blood feuds in which their families had become embroiled. However Ottoman officials regarded migrants of limited resources as a risk to public order, certainly if they could not provide anyone to vouch for them – and sometimes even if they could. In any case, when studying a register of workmen domiciled in Istanbul that were drafted in 1716 to repair the remote fortress of Hotin, it is hard to avoid the suspicion that these workmen had been chosen not for their technical competence but for being juvenile Albanians, many of them domiciled in the business-related structures (*hans*) where they may also have worked.<sup>104</sup>

### **Artisans and Power: The End of the Janissaries and the Emergence of the ‘Statistical State’**

As noted earlier, Baki Tezcan has viewed the abolition of the janissaries (1826) as the major event marking the end of the ‘Second Ottoman

Empire' which had been characterized by a limited yet remarkable expansion of the ruling class – there should be a better word than 'proto-democratization', but that has yet to be invented.<sup>105</sup> Tezcan is certainly not the only recent historian to have focused on the janissaries; he and the young scholars that have published on this question have for the most part been inspired by the example of Cemal Kafadar, the author of two important articles on this topic.<sup>106</sup> Moreover Donald Quataert has, through a brief but substantial study, inspired people to rethink the role of the janissaries in the world of Ottoman craftsmen.<sup>107</sup> Thus it is not by chance that Quataert was the dissertation adviser of both Nalan Turna and Mehmet Mert Sunar, whose work we will now discuss.<sup>108</sup>

Both Sunar and Turna react against the assumption common in the historiography of the earlier Republic, namely that by turning into a hard-to-mobilize militia and being impervious to military reform, the janissaries were largely responsible for the defeats of the Ottoman armies in the eighteenth century. In this discourse, janissaries who had turned artisans and shopkeepers were considered fomenters of corruption, as we have seen. It is worth noting that this claim is much broader than observations on the well-documented fact that certain janissaries were involved in activities that we would describe as typical of *mafiosi*.<sup>109</sup>

Distancing herself from this moralizing rhetoric, Turna has studied early nineteenth-century janissary activities soberly and in detail.<sup>110</sup> Starting from the statement of Quataert and Keyder that, with the abolition of the janissaries, the artisans had lost their protectors, she points out that to a certain extent at least, the end of the janissary corps served the cause of centralization for instance where taxes were concerned.<sup>111</sup> Furthermore, the disappearance of the janissaries opened the way for something we might call 'state factories': in 1827, a year after the abolition of the janissaries, officials opened a state tannery (*miri debbağhane*) that was to produce leather for the newly founded army, the 'Asakir-i mansure-yi muhammadiye'. Traders were forced to sell skins and hides to the new enterprise, which was run by a scribe in the central government. This tendency toward centralization also implied for instance that the guarantees given by guild officials for prospective migrants into the capital were no longer necessarily acceptable. People who tried to enter Istanbul with such sureties might well have faced a blunt refusal.

As for the 'Ministry of the Marketplace' (İhtisab nezareti) that was supposed to control the artisan world, it succeeded but intermittently. While some craftsmen were punished for bringing into Istanbul people of whom the authorities disapproved, perhaps due to their previous janissary connections, on the other hand both artisans and members of the elite urgently needed workmen. As a result prospective employers, both

official and non-official, sometimes conspired to bring in people who might have been removed from the capital as 'jobless' and thus potential troublemakers.<sup>112</sup>

Sunar introduces his argument by a detailed discussion of the historiography, which emphasizes the 1940s and 1950s project of İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, Bernard Lewis and Niyazi Berkes in constructing a history of Ottoman and later Turkish modernization.<sup>113</sup> As a story is much more convincing if it contains a villain, these authors chose the janissaries as an incorporation of everything negative about the Ottoman ancien régime; this choice allowed them to picture Mahmud II as a hero who successfully pushed through the modernization project, against heavy odds. However this narrative meant that the janissaries in their guise as the forces of evil were depersonalized or even dehumanized; and as a remedy against such tendencies, Sunar proposes a closer look at individual people. For this purpose he has analysed two registers containing the names of, and supplementary information on, janissaries that in 1826 and the following years were exiled and even executed. Certainly the surviving data are not sufficient to visualize these victims of Sultan Mahmud II, and the concerns that prompted them to act. But at least Sunar has shown that, contrary to what had often been claimed, Istanbul and Edirne janissaries did not merely practise unskilled or semi-skilled trades, but also crafts demanding some skill, such as locksmiths and shoemakers. While pictured in the older historiography as parasites surviving on public hand-outs, some of these men had in reality entered the very core of the artisan world.

With this discussion we enter the nineteenth-century ambiance in which single men, now unprotected, could even more easily than under Selim III be classified as people who did not possess a protected private sphere and thus were subject to often arbitrary police intervention.<sup>114</sup> But the emergence of the late Ottoman working class, which took place under these conditions, is outside the limits of the present volume.

As this lengthy report has hopefully shown, a new discourse on Ottoman artisans has been emerging during the last fifteen or twenty years, and is still in the process of taking shape; above all, the last five years have been very productive. On the one hand, scholars have tried to approach these men – and very occasionally women – while at work, connecting them to the material culture that quite literally was the work of their hands.<sup>115</sup>

For scholars who study guilds in other cultural and political contexts, the present collection quite obviously foregrounds certain questions while leaving others aside; to some, our coverage may therefore appear insufficiently systematic. But in my opinion it is not a good idea to impose questions on researchers on which the relevant primary sources say very

little: in the Ottoman case ‘apprenticeship’ is perhaps the most obvious example. As a result we cannot say much about the role of the guilds in the transmission of skills, an issue that as we have seen has a significant role to play in the current re-legitimization of guilds among economic historians of Europe. In other instances, the present contributors have avoided certain topics because the necessary groundwork does not yet exist: thus for instance the history of science and technology in the Ottoman world is still in its infancy, so we cannot say anything valid about the relationship between skilled artisans and scientists, another subject favoured by today’s historians of European arts and crafts.<sup>116</sup> Perhaps this issue was important in the Ottoman world as well; but it is too early to tell.

At the same time, the current historiographical favourites, namely the history of law and religion, have had an impact on the study of the artisan world as well. The janissary–artisan link in the Ottoman central provinces, while sometimes referred to in the older literature as the source of all ills, has recently come in for more matter-of-fact investigation. However we still lack a broadly based study on the situation in Istanbul comparable to André Raymond’s work on Cairo and more recently that of Charles Wilkins on Aleppo.<sup>117</sup> As for the guilds as forms of organization, monographs on individual associations or towns, like those undertaken by Amnon Cohen, Eunjeong Yi, M. Mert Sunar, Nalan Turna, Nelly Hanna, Inez Aščerić-Todd and others, have brought out that all over the Ottoman lands, practices differed enormously from period to period and from place to place.<sup>118</sup> In spite of its obvious focus on the central provinces and especially Istanbul, the present collection reflects these issues in their often mind-boggling diversity.

### **The Contributors and their Texts**

As much of what is new in our understanding of Ottoman craft life comes from monographs on artisans working in specific towns or regions, or on individual guilds, the first part of our collection will be devoted to this topic. Most of our analysis will concern Istanbul, although Bursa, Ottoman Hungary, Damascus and Cairo are also represented. Not that the focus upon Istanbul was a conscious choice on the part of the present editor; it just so happens that many historians interested in artisans work on the Ottoman capital, probably because of the large number of primary sources, both published and unpublished, now at the disposal of researchers.

Within the section encompassing monographs, we will proceed chronologically, beginning with İklil Selçuk’s study on artisans as documented

in the qadi registers of Bursa. Extant from the 1480s onwards, these registers provide the earliest coherent documentation on Anatolian artisans available to us. However the information contained in them is notoriously troublesome to interpret. Firstly, it is not always clear whether a given shopkeeper had produced the goods found in his shop and thus should be considered an artisan, or whether he had collected his wares for resale and thus his primary activity was trade. Secondly, as all guild historians have discovered to their chagrin, the terms *birfet* and *taife* – as well as the sixteenth-century expression *esnaf* – can, as already noted, refer both to the trade and the guild. As Selçuk reminds us, it would thus be just as hazardous to claim that Bursa in the late 1400s possessed formally organized guilds as to assert the contrary. However the author has suggested a promising agenda that she intends to follow in the future, namely to check the qadi registers for the first occurrences of guild officials, especially the *kethüdas* that were to play such a central role in later guild history.

Throughout her chapter, Selçuk focuses on the comparison of data from the 1400s with information concerning the late sixteenth century, when the guild hierarchy was firmly in place, concluding that the guilds must have emerged during the intervening one hundred years. But during this period, the record-keeping scribes of the Bursa qadis changed their work habits as well. In the late 1500s they had largely given up writing the brief texts in Arabic that they had favoured earlier on, and now produced longer and more explicit accounts in Ottoman Turkish.

In line with recent research, the author points out that the manner and language of recording had a significant impact on the information conveyed; however we are often not sure how to assess the social and political background of Ottoman bureaucratic practices. Thus the observation that the *ahis*, presumably a major force in many pre-Ottoman and early Ottoman Anatolian towns, occur so rarely in the qadi's records is open to two differing interpretations. Perhaps the *ahis* were no longer very important in Bursa during the late 1400s – this is the interpretation favoured by both Selçuk and myself. But it is also possible that the *ahis* did not show up in the qadi's records because, for a reason we cannot presently reconstruct, they preferred not to appear in court. Moreover absence from court documents did not necessarily mean a lack of influence, for in the 1600s the rules of Bursa's cloth-producers did show a strong impact of *fütüvvet* ethics.<sup>119</sup>

Craftsmen engaged in physical work, in other words producing material goods, appear in this volume especially through the work of Géza Dávid and Ibolya Gerelyes, who focus on the craft of the potter. From two sixteenth-century Ottoman provincial tax regulations (*kanunnames*),

we learn that potters in Buda and Hatvan did not pay any duties on the products they manufactured and sold locally. This exemption must be one of the reasons why potters are so rarely recorded in the registers compiled by the sultans' provincial administrators. It is also very difficult to estimate the quantity of pottery marketed in Ottoman Hungary.

In contrast to this very scanty written evidence, we do have a comparatively rich stock of surviving Ottoman ceramics, derived mostly from the excavation of military and administrative centres, especially the castle of Buda and the adjacent right bank of the Danube. From about 1550 a new type of ceramics appeared in Hungary, significantly different from its medieval counterpart both in shape and in technical execution. Typically of good quality, the new products were bowls and jugs, whose archaeological context unambiguously shows that they had been produced under Ottoman rule. The long-term impact of the Ottoman potter's craft in Hungary, however, is hard to assess: while archaeologists have not found any direct influences, Ottoman features were interwoven with others linked to the traditions of various Balkan ethnic groups. On the whole it appears that interaction between Hungarian and Ottoman potters was limited, a situation quite different from what has been observed with respect to certain other crafts, including leatherwork.

Colette Establet has summarized her and Jean-Paul Pascual's research concerning artisans recorded in the qadi registers of Damascus from the years around 1700. Parallel to what happened in Cairo, the interpenetration of soldiers and the 'people of the marketplace' had become a fact of life in Damascus as well. As artisans, military men typically favoured specialties needed by soldiers, such as the fabrication of saddles or spurs. Establet's analysis also shows the different arrangements by which an artisan might acquire a place suitable for the exercise of his craft: some of these men owned their shops while others rented them, often from pious foundations. In this matter too, the craftsmen of Damascus conformed to a pattern well known from the central provinces. But probably due to their poverty, quite a few artisans apparently did not possess any locale at all. Presumably they did what their nineteenth-century homologues were known to have done, namely they worked outdoors or even at home. Establet stresses the poverty of those people directly engaged with the material world, including even a medical man whose inventory forms part of her sample: only people with close links to the circulation of goods, money and precious metals, such as the men in charge of public weighing scales or goldsmiths, had a reasonable chance of leaving something worthwhile to their descendants.

Nina Ergin is concerned not with artisans and/or pre-industrial labourers as individuals, but with a sizable group of people. A list of 2,400

bathhouse attendants forms the subject of her study: these men all worked in the 177 public baths on record for Istanbul and environs during the mid-1700s. On the basis of the record produced by an officially appointed inspector in 1752 and with the aid of Geographical Information Systems (GIS), she and her colleague Yasemin Özarlan have produced a set of nineteen maps showing the sizes and geographical distribution of the 177 bathhouses documented. In this context the term ‘size’ stands for the number of regular male employees, as the females who also worked in these establishments did not interest Ottoman officialdom. The count was not intended as ‘pure statistics’ but rather as a means of targeting and ultimately evicting numbers of Albanians, who had formed significant networks controlling the public baths, especially on Istanbul’s historical peninsula. It seems that the administration would have liked to replace these men, viewed as possible troublemakers after the rebellion of Patrona Halil, who had once been a bathhouse attendant; for the rebels had toppled Ahmed III (r. 1703–30) and also murdered his grand vizier İbrahim Paşa. Given these circumstances, immigrants from disadvantaged regions of eastern Anatolia, including Sivas and even remote Çemişgezek succeeded in establishing a significant presence in the public baths of the capital. Presumably officialdom regarded these newcomers as harmless, and tolerated or even encouraged their migration. However the ‘snapshot’ quality of the data collected in 1752 unfortunately does not allow us to judge the long-term results of this policy.

With Suraiya Faroqhi’s chapter we are once again in Bursa, focusing on the textile crafts of the years around 1800. Bursa’s textile industry seems to have done rather better than many other crafts of the time. At least the scholarly diplomat Joseph von Hammer, who visited the city in 1804, was impressed by the quantity and quality of textiles, mainly of silk but also of cotton, which local artisans sold to out-of-towners; and he did not say anything about joblessness and distress. Three sample inventories of textile artisans discussed in detail do in fact show that alongside weavers in dire poverty there were some craftsmen who managed to leave substantial estates. However it would seem that if an artisan wanted to do well, he needed to lend out money, for in an environment where cash was at a premium, such an enterprise could result in the accumulation not only of liquid capital but also of social power and occasionally real estate as well.

Our last ‘artisan’ monograph, by Nalan Turna, concerns the shoemakers of early nineteenth-century Istanbul. The fate of this guild differed profoundly from that of the barbers previously studied by the same author.<sup>120</sup> For as we have seen, the Istanbul barbers expanded, when the *gediks* concerning janissary coffee houses were transformed into *gediks*

permitting the opening of barber shops, attracting outside investors in the process. By contrast, the shoemakers were affected by the abolition of the janissaries because the state now directly taxed their products and, moreover, entered shoemaking in a big way so as to provide footwear for the new army of Mahmud II. Interestingly in the shoemakers' guilds there occurred a process resembling that previously discussed by Yıldırım: it became possible for artisans to set up shop without necessarily obtaining the consent of the guild, even before the Tanzimat state put a stop to monopolies in general.

Shoemaking was a craft with numerous branches that presumably, in the 1700s, had all possessed small-scale monopolies. But by the early 1800s quite a few guilds amalgamated. Turna thus analyses a situation in which certain associations decided that their members were better off without monopolies, while others continued to cling to their privileges. The author concludes that the expansion of official demand played a significant role in the abrasion of guild privileges; for under pressure from the state apparatus the number of *gediks* first increased, and then the construction of a large workshop sponsored by officialdom made the monopolies of the shoemakers' guilds virtually meaningless. It is worth noting that all this happened before shoes imported from Europe entered the Ottoman market, in the later 1800s.

Part II of this volume concerns studies dealing with specific problems that historians of the artisan world have identified, namely the janissary penetration into the Istanbul market during the early 1600s, competition and attempted capital formation within Istanbul guilds during the same period, the enduring question of the *gedik* and finally the manner in which Ottoman artisans related to law on the one hand, and coped with raw violence on the other. Similarly to Cemal Kafadar and M. Mert Sunar, Gülay Yılmaz Diko critiques the notion that once the janissaries had entered the marketplace in the 1600s, they became 'fomenters of corruption'. Adopting an approach which resembles that of Sunar and Turna in their work on the early nineteenth century, Yılmaz proposes to look in detail at the economic activities of janissaries.<sup>121</sup>

Admittedly this chapter is not only about artisans but also merchants; for it is all but impossible to neatly separate the two categories. In this context the author stresses that the mobility of janissaries allowed them privileged access to trade, including wholesaling. Some of these janissary merchants managed to leave great inheritances. However there also were soldiers of small means who had no alternative but to enter very modest trades. Thus we find janissaries among the butchers, but also in candle making and the cooking of sheep's trotters – the latter a petty trade which, as we have seen, might also have been practised by women.

Overall, the entry of janissaries into the marketplace and also the penetration of artisans into the janissary corps resulted in a blurring of the boundaries between soldiers and civilians. As a result the separation between members of the ruling elite (*askeri*) and the subject population (*reaya*) came to be less pronounced. For when all was said and done, the janissaries were *askeri*, though frequently situated at the lower end of this privileged group. If we remember that according to Ottoman political thought, *askeri* and *reaya* were to remain quite separate, it becomes clear why sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors viewed this symbiosis of janissaries and the marketplace with a jaundiced eye. On the other hand, for Istanbul artisans who were mostly quite poor and had no access to the governing bodies, it made sense to appoint janissaries as guild heads. Apparently in the early 1600s, soldiers who had purchased guild positions were not as yet commonplace, although this phenomenon, which brought in a slew of novel problems, was to become frequent in the 1700s.

Eunjeong Yi's contribution deals with several vexed questions at a time. On the one hand, she has queried to what extent the *fütüvvat* ethos that supposedly infused artisans, to the point that they were unwilling to tolerate rich people in their organizations, had consequences for their behaviour in everyday life. After all, certain *fütüvvat*-texts taught that people lower in the social hierarchy should respect their 'betters', a precept that could be interpreted in the sense that ordinary guildsmen should properly submit to their guild elders, no matter that the latter were richer and more powerful than the ordinary artisan. In this manner the text might be read as sanctioning hierarchy, the exact opposite of egalitarianism. In fact, the life story of İdris-i muhtefî (d. 1615), a sheikh of the Hamzavi branch of the Melamî-Bayramîs, corroborates Yi's claim that not all dervishes disapproved of wealth, far from it; for this sheikh had a second persona as a very wealthy cloth-trader, which throughout his life permitted him to elude his persecutors for whom he was a dangerous heretic.<sup>122</sup> Thus adherence to the *fütüvvat* ethos did not necessarily mean that riches were considered a bad thing, provided the owner was pious and charitable.

The second vexed question concerns material equality and/or inequality within the Istanbul guilds. While the available documentation does not allow hard and fast conclusions, appreciable differences in wealth seem to have existed, at least within certain craft associations. It was rare for such groupings to expel a member because they regarded him as a merchant, and was not a frequent occurrence as had been assumed earlier. The third question addressed by Yi concerns the borders between artisans, shopkeepers and long-distance traders – clear in theory but often blurred in practice. The author concludes that artisans and poor shop-

keepers tended to protect their turf by very similar tactics; therefore the distinction between craftsmen and petty traders was somewhat arbitrary. Moreover a few artisans were so wealthy that they easily topped most traders, although it remains a mystery how they had amassed their fortunes.

Seven Ağır and Onur Yıldırım have undertaken a careful analysis of *gedik* transfers in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Istanbul, which builds on and refines Yıldırım's earlier work on the subject. Conceptually the two authors differentiate between *gediks* as permanent tenancy rights and *gediks* as licences to practise a particular trade. It is because of the ambiguity involved, which has caused some confusion in the secondary literature, that the authors call attention to the limited usefulness of the term *gedik*. For analytical purposes it would be preferable to have separate terms for the two meanings at issue; however, for us historians, it is always a hard decision to throw out terms frequently used in primary sources.

When discussing permanent tenancy rights, Ağır and Yıldırım start out from the so-called double-rent (*icareteyn*) contracts, which obliged the tenant of foundation-held property to pay a large sum at the beginning of the contract, while once in place he was to enjoy a low rent in perpetuity.<sup>123</sup> *Gediks* presumably emerged as a special type of *icareteyn* contract, which allowed holders more flexibility as they could sell them. In consequence, a secondary market in *gediks* emerged, and it was common enough for the possessors of these tenancy rights to sell them when they could not otherwise liquidate their debts. In consequence, artisans who rented shops might be paying more than the modest sums typically specified in *icareteyn* contracts, as they were mere sub-tenants of the person who had purchased the *gedik*, quite often at auction.

However, in so far as *gediks* were licences to pursue a trade, they remained subject to the authority of the relevant guild; and the masters concerned could decide whether, by means of the *gediks*, they should render the entry of outsiders or journeymen simple or else rather difficult. On this issue, Ağır and Yıldırım agree with the conclusions of Nalan Turna, discussed earlier. Furthermore they suggest that at the root of the *gedik*, there were the permanent *icareteyn* contracts, and only later on did *gediks* come to denote the exclusive right to exercise a certain trade or craft. Last but not least, the authors bring up the intriguing question of to what extent ethno-religious identity played a role when *gediks* passed from one artisan/shopkeeper to another, the cases they located resonating with those previously brought up by Fehmi Yılmaz.<sup>124</sup> To answer these questions definitively, they propose a systematic investigation of all *gediks* 'in the market' during a given time period.

Approaching artisan life from quite a different angle, Engin Deniz Akarlı has pointed out that the majority of Ottoman artisans had a stake in political stability and public peace; for it was in times of disturbance, such as the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, that soldiers and robbers were most likely to extort money from defenceless artisans. Participation in violent acts was the craftsmen's last resort. In reasonably peaceful times, by contrast, they used other means of defending their interests and airing their grievances. Primarily, they worked through the courts and the legal process, and it is this aspect that has mainly retained Akarlı's interest.

Whenever feasible, guildsmen also ignored those government decisions that they considered unfair. Petition campaigns that occasionally turned into public demonstrations helped artisans impress their concerns on judicial and executive authorities. They also targeted the proprietors of shops and khans, their creditors and, in addition, those individuals who wanted to practise a given trade independently of the relevant artisan association. At least as significantly, however, the guildsmen needed to act in sufficiently large numbers and in an organized manner. They petitioned, went to court, lobbied, or even, as a gesture of ultimate protest, closed their shops. Organized artisans and traders could and did tip the political balance in Istanbul, particularly at times of tension and crisis.

With brute force at their disposal, the Ottoman government's various agents certainly did not always use their power in legitimate ways. On the contrary, they were known to abuse their prerogatives so as to promote their own political or material interests. But the officials' power had limits. Within the elite different factions opposed and/or balanced one another; and as a result, artisans and traders through their respective organizations and networks could limit abuses. Furthermore, the authorities wished to maintain a peaceful and stable public order, as required by long-established traditions of governance and legal culture. Limits on arbitrary power also derived from the institutional structure within which, willy-nilly, the Ottoman elite needed to act. Even in the troubled times before and after 1800, the guilds were part of this political and legal culture, so that adhering to the rules devised by these craft organizations must have made sense to most Ottoman artisans.

The chapter by Betül Başaran and Cengiz Kırılı tackles yet another aspect of artisan life. It is based on a series of counts covering Istanbul workplaces and the artisans, shopkeepers and workmen employed in them, which date from the reign of Selim III. Given this kind of data, the authors study artisans as people that the administration considered potentially dangerous; and if need be they were subject to forcible removal from the capital. Başaran and Kırılı's work thus takes up the story begun by Ergin

on the basis of the 1752 bathhouse register. In accordance with a by now established tradition, labour migrants into Istanbul were subject to a great deal of official mistrust; and the sultan's bureaucrats thus expanded the long-established practice of demanding guarantors from newcomers or people otherwise regarded as suspicious, to the urban population in its entirety. People unable to find guarantors that the administration would accept thus became prime candidates for deportation. But in addition to such direct policy concerns, the registers compiled around 1800 also show that the Ottoman bureaucracy was intent upon making its subjects if not transparent – that ambition was not practicable before the computer age – then at least visible and thus subject to a degree of control. It is for that reason that, for the first time in history, Ottoman officials produced a comprehensive overview of Istanbul's population, artisans included.

We now come to the question of how the guilds met their end. In John Chalcraft's perspective, these associations – at least in Egypt – broke up due to economic restructuring and adaptation, and not merely because traditional trades disappeared due to the competition of imported factory-made goods. Increased rivalries between producers furthered by market relations, as well as the loss of customary rights and duties, combined to undermine guild monopolies. The rapid expansion of certain trades further weakened guild organization. In the crucial textile sector it was 'ruralization', rather than economic collapse, which destroyed the guilds. New forms of production emerged involving intensified forms of exploitation. In short, economic changes, furthered by the adaptation of guild members themselves, were the major reasons for the destruction of Egyptian craft organizations.

Even more important was interaction with the state, most of it contentious. Chalcraft has emphasized that nineteenth-century officialdom sought to use the guilds for its own purposes, and artisans resisted as well as they could. It was this grass-roots opposition which induced the colonial government to abrogate the guilds in 1890. Furthermore, the protests of guild members against local exploitation induced the state to meddle in guild affairs, fatally undermining the organizations' autonomy. New forms of adaptation and protest created new arenas, especially sub- and extra-guild networks. When successful, protests against new forms of colonial regulation and exploitation made for new kinds of social organization. Novel networks, some of them criminal such as racketeering, took the place of the apparently ineffective guilds. From the craftsmen's point of view, if in the mid-1800s they had been subjected to sheikhs that all too often cooperated with the ruling dynasty against the best interests of their charges, after 1890 they were pushed 'from the frying pan into the fire', facing the world economy and the colonial state without significant

protection. It may well be that a variation of this model also applied to the central lands of the Ottoman Empire, but further research on this issue will certainly be needed.

## Notes

1. I have ‘lifted’ this expression from: William James Bouwsma, *A Usable Past: Essays in European Cultural History* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).
2. James Grehan, *Everyday Life and Consumer Culture in 18th-Century Damascus* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2007), 8–10.
3. Murat Çizakça, ‘The Ottoman Government and Economic Life: Taxation, Public Finance and Trade Controls’, in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 2, eds Suraiya Faroqhi and Kate Fleet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 241–75.
4. Suraiya Faroqhi, *Artisans of Empire: Crafts and Craftspeople under the Ottomans* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009). As present-day authors have found out to their regret, once a book is in page proofs, it is almost impossible to make major additions/changes; therefore my bibliography in *Artisans of Empire* ends in 2007–8.
5. Many thanks to Said Salih Kaymakçı (doctoral student, Georgetown University), who not only located several articles that I had not seen but also generously shared his photocopies and computer printouts.
6. Donald Quataert, *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922: An Introduction* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2000); Suraiya Faroqhi, ‘The Material Culture of Global Connections: A Report on Current Research’, *Turcica* 41 (2009), 401–31.
7. Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1–13. Engin Akarlı has kindly pointed out that Bernard Lewis had already noted that both Namık Kemal and Adolphus Slade had made observations of this sort in *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 125, 144.
8. Nicolas N. Ambraseys and Caroline Finkel, *The Seismicity of Turkey* (Istanbul: Eren Publications, 1995); Nicolas N. Ambraseys, *Earthquakes in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East: A Multidisciplinary Study of 2000 Years of Seismicity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
9. Salih Aynural, *Istanbul Değirmenleri ve Fırınlari, Zahire Ticareti* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001); Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Lütfi Güçer, *XVI–XVII. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hububat Meselesi ve Hububattan Alınan Vergiler* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi, 1964), 40–41.
10. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, ‘Şehirlerin Teşekkül ve İnkişafı Tarihi bakımından: Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İmaret Sitelerinin Kuruluş ve İşleyiş Tarzına ait Araştırmalar’, *Istanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 23(1–2) (1963), 239–96; Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2002).
11. Suraiya Faroqhi, ‘Women’s Work, Poverty and the Privileges of Guildsmen’, *Archiv Orientalni* 69(2), issue in memory of Zdenka Veselà (May 2001), 155–64, reprint in *eadem, Stories of Ottoman Men and Women: Establishing Status, Establishing Control* (Istanbul: Eren Publications, 2002), 167–77.
12. Birsan Bulmuş, *Plague, Quarantines and Geopolitics in the Ottoman Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012); Nükhet Varlık, ‘Conquest, Urbanization and Plague

- Networks in the Ottoman Empire 1453–1600’, in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London: Routledge, 2012), 251–63.
13. Halil İnalçık, ‘Istanbul’ in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, vol. IV (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), 224–48, 243.
  14. Minna Rozen and Benjamin Arbel, ‘Great Fire in the Metropolis: The Case of the Istanbul Conflagration of 1569 and its Description by Marcantonio Barbaro’, in *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honour of Michael Winter*, eds David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 134–65.
  15. The latter had re-established itself on the site after Safiye Sultan, the mother of Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603), had been unable to complete her projected mosque complex, begun around 1600.
  16. İnalçık, ‘Istanbul’, 240. See also Marc David Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 82–96.
  17. Evliya Çelebi b Derviş Mehmed Zilli, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu –Dizini*, vol. 1, ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay (Istanbul: YKY, 1995), 157–58.
  18. Şâni-zâde Mehmed ‘Atâ’ullah Efendi, *Şâni-zâde Târîhi [Osmanlı Tarihi (1223–1237 / 1808–1821)]*, 2 vols. ed. Ziya Yılmaz (Istanbul: Çamlıca, 2008). For a discussion of fires and the problems they posed, see vol. 1, 117, 119, 126, 233; vol. 2, 483–84, 731, 756, 848–49, 856–57, and 1066–67. I am currently working on a study of Ottoman subjects, often Istanbul inhabitants, and their material culture. This project includes responses to the challenges inherent in the city’s location.
  19. Eminegül Karababa, ‘Investigating Early Modern Consumer Culture in the Light of Bursa Probate Inventories’, *The Economic History Review* 65(1) (2012), 194–219.
  20. Brigitte Pitarakis and Christos Merantzias, *A Treasured Memory: Ecclesiastical Silver from Late Ottoman Istanbul in the Seygi Gönül Collection* (Istanbul: Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, 2006); Anna Ballian, *Relics of the Past/Reliques du passé: Treasures of the Greek Orthodox Church and the Population Exchange, The Benaki Museum Collections* (Athens: Benaki Museum; Milan: 5 Continents Editions, 2011).
  21. For an example see Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, ‘The Visual Arts’, in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 2, 457–547; a major reference is Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda and Zeren Tanındı, *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006).
  22. Bağcı et al., *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı*, 16–17.
  23. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, ‘Osmanlı Sarayında Ehl-i hıref (Sanatkarlar) Defteri’, *Belgeler* 11 (1981–86), 23–76; Bahattin Yaman, *Osmanlı Saray Sanatkarları: 18. Yüzyılda Ehl-i hıref* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2008).
  24. Tülay Artan, ‘Art and Architecture’, in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 3, *The Later Ottoman Empire*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 408–80, 434–37.
  25. Nurhan Atasoy, Walter Denny, Louise W. Mackee and Hülya Tezcan, *İpek. Osmanlı Dokuma Sanatı* (London and Istanbul: TEB İletişim & Yayıncılık and Azimuth Editions, 2001), 245–46.
  26. Some of these items have been published: Veronika Sandbichler, *Türkische Kostbarkeiten aus dem Kunsthistorischen Museum* (Vienna and Innsbruck: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1997), 21–26. See also Luciana Martini, *Cinquanta capolavori nel Museo Nazionale di Ravenna* (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1998), 112–13, for an Ottoman leather tray with spectacular calligraphy. Margret Rauch, ‘Holzobjekte aus dem Reich des Halbmonds’, in Alfred Auer, Margret Rauch and Katharina Seidl, *Fernsucht: Die Suche nach der Fremde vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2009), 45–58, has published two rather remarkable wooden plates with multicoloured decoration, on record in the Ambras collection since 1596.

27. Holger Schuckelt, *Die Türkische Cammer: Sammlung orientalischer Kunst in der kurfürstlich-sächsischen Rüstammer Dresden* (Dresden: Sandstein, 2010). The collection is also remarkable for its precious horse-gear and tent fragments; however, the Saxon court used its Ottoman textiles during festivities, and as a result few of them have survived.
28. İdris Bostan, *Osmanlı Bahriye Teşkilâtı: XVII. Yüzyılda Tersane-i amire* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992); idem, 'Ottoman Maritime Arsenals and Shipbuilding Technology in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries' [www.pdfport.com/.../771574-ottoman-maritime-arsenals-and-shipbuilding-technology-in-the-16th.html](http://www.pdfport.com/.../771574-ottoman-maritime-arsenals-and-shipbuilding-technology-in-the-16th.html) (accessed on 11 July 2012) (copyright: Foundation for Science, Technology and Civilization, Manchester, 2007); Jean Louis Bacqué Grammont, 'La fonderie de canons d'Istanbul et le quartier de Tophane. Texte et images commentés, I. La description de Tophane par Evliyâ Çelebi', *Anatolia Moderna* 8 (1999), 3–42; Şafak Tunç, *Tophane-i amire ve Osmanlı Devletinde Top Döküm Faaliyetleri* (Istanbul: Başak, 2005); Zafer Gölen, *Osmanlı Devletinde Baruthâne-i âmire (18. yüzyıl)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006).
29. Gábor Ágoston, *Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Günhan Börekçi, 'A Contribution to the Military Revolution Debate: The Janissaries' Use of Volley Fire during the Long Ottoman–Habsburg War of 1593–1606 and the Problem of Origins', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 59(4) (2006), 407–38.
30. Bostan, *Osmanlı Bahriye Teşkilâtı*, 66–81 and 57–66.
31. For galley service as a punishment, see Fariba Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul: 1700–1800* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 164–68.
32. Mehmet Demirtaş, *Osmanlıda Fırıncılık: 17. Yüzyıl* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2008); Aynural, *Istanbul Değirmenleri ve Fırınları*.
33. Demirtaş, *Osmanlıda Fırıncılık*, 158.
34. Evliya Çelebi b Derviş Mehmed Zilli, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar 5973, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Pertev Paşa 462 Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Hacı Beşir Ağa 452 Numaralı Yazmaların Mukayeseli Transkripsiyonu – Dizini*, vol. 10, eds Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı and Robert Dankoff (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), 195.
35. İnalçık, 'Istanbul', 234, see the entry for 1535 in the Table.
36. Cengiz Kırılı, 'A Profile of the Labor Force in Early Nineteenth-Century Istanbul', *International Labor and Working Class History* 60 (2001), 125–40.
37. Nalan Turna, 'Pandemonium and Order: Suretyship, Surveillance and Taxation in Early Nineteenth-Century Istanbul', *New Perspectives on Turkey* 39 (Fall 2008), 167–90; Cengiz Kırılı and Betül Başaran, '18. yüzyıl Sonlarında Osmanlı Esnafı', in *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Esnaf ve Ticaret*, ed. Fatmagül Demirel (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2012), 7–20, 19–20.
38. Onur Yıldırım, 'Ottoman Guilds as a Setting for Ethno-religious Conflict: The Case of the Silk-thread Spinners' Guild in Istanbul', *International Review of Social History* 47(3) (Dec. 2002), 407–19.
39. İsmail Hakkı Kadı, 'A Silence of the Guilds? Some Characteristics of İzmir's Craftsmen Organizations in the 18<sup>th</sup> and Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century', in *Ottoman İzmir: Studies in Honour of Alexander H. De Groot*, ed. Maurits van den Boogert (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2007), 75–102.
40. Kadı, 'A Silence of the Guilds?', 84. Among local dignitaries we might even find people allied to European traders, with whom they presumably made profitable business deals.
41. Oya Şenyurt, 'Onsekizinci Yüzyıl Osmanlı Başkentinde Taşçı Örgütlenmesi', *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 26(2) (2009), 103–22.
42. Yıldırım, 'Ottoman Guilds as a Setting for Ethno-religious Conflict'.

43. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Did Cosmopolitanism Exist in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul? Stories of Christian and Jewish Artisans', in *Urban Governance under the Ottomans: Between Cosmopolitanism and Conflict*, edited by Ulrike Freitag and Nora Lafi (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 21–36.
44. Inez Aščerić-Todd, 'The Noble Traders: The Islamic Tradition of "Spiritual Chivalry" (*futuwwa*) in Bosnian Trade Guilds (16<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries)', *The Muslim World* 97 (April 2007), 159–73.
45. Aščerić-Todd, 'The Noble Traders', 164–65.
46. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, ed. Gökyay, 207. Rašid Hajdarević, *Defteri Sarajevskog Saračkog esnafa 1726–1823* (Sarajevo: Istorijski Arhiv Sarajevo, 1998). I thank Cemal Kafadar for providing access to this publication.
47. I thank Said Salih Kaymakçı for coming up with this question.
48. I have used a later edition: James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (Istanbul: Mateosyan, 1921), 1645.
49. Robert Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du dix-septième siècle, Essai d'histoire institutionnelle, économique et sociale* (Istanbul and Paris: Institut Français d'Archéologie d'Istanbul and Adrien Maisonneuve, 1962) – see references for *gedik* in the index. His source for the most part is: H.A.R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East*, 2 vols. as one: *Islamic Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1950–57). For a reference to a *saka gediği* in the Mühimme Defterleri from 1040 to 1630, see Mantran, 'Istanbul', 369. For Evliya's references, also relevant to office-holders and water-carriers, see the index of Evliya Çelebi, vol. 1. It is noteworthy that Evliya uses the term *gedik* very sparingly in his lengthy enumeration of Istanbul craftsmen. For further cases, see: Eunjeong Yi, *Guild Dynamics in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul: Fluidity and Leverage* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004), 56, note 56.
50. Engin Deniz Akarlı, 'Gedik: Implements, Mastership, Shop Usufruct and Monopoly among Istanbul Artisans, 1750–1850', *Wissenschaftskolleg-Jahrbuch* (1985–86), 223–32. Akarlı has pursued his interest in this question with: 'Gedik: A Bundle of Rights and Obligations for Istanbul Artisans and Traders, 1750–1840', in *Law, Anthropology and the Constitution of the Social, Making Persons and Things*, eds Alain Pottage and Martha Mundy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 166–200, and in his contribution to this volume.
51. Engin Deniz Akarlı, 'Law in the Marketplace, 1730–1840', in *Dispensing Justice in Islam: Qadis and their Judgments*, ed. by M. Khalid Masud, Rudolph Peters and David S. Powers (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 245–70, 260–61.
52. Onur Yıldırım, 'Osmanlı Esnafında Uyum ve Dönüşüm', *Toplum ve Bilim* 83 (Winter 1999–2000), 146–77, 157. The same author has shown that some Istanbul guilds only instituted *gediks* at the very end of the eighteenth century: idem, 'On sekizinci Yüzyılda Kurumsal bir Yenilik olarak Gedik: İstanbul'daki İbrişim Bükücü Esnafı Örneği', in *Osmanlı'nın Peşinde bir Yaşam, Suraiya Faroqhi'ye Armağan*, ed. Onur Yıldırım (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2008), translated by Uğur Albayrak, 373–95.
53. M. Akif Aydın et al. (eds), *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri İstanbul Mahkemesi 24 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1138–1151 / 1726–1738)* (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010). My thanks go to Coşkun Yılmaz and Mehmet İpşirli for providing me with a copy of this precious publication.
54. Betül Başaran, 'Between Crisis and Order: Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century', unpublished manuscript, 44. I thank the author for allowing me to consult her work, which has just appeared under the same title (Leiden: Brill, 2014).
55. Başaran, 'Between Crisis and Order', 38–39.
56. Şenyurt, 'Taşçı Örgütlenmesi', 108–9.

57. Onur Yıldırım, 'Ottoman Guilds in the Early Modern Era', in *The Return of the Guilds*, International Review of Social History, Supplement 16, eds Jan Lucassen, Tine de Moor and Jan Luiten van Zanden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 73–93.
58. Randi Deguilhem, 'Naissance et mort du waqf damascain de Hafiza hânüm al-Murâhli (1880–1950)', in *Le waqf dans l'espace islamique*, ed. Randi Deguilhem (Damascus: IFEAD, 1995), 203–25, 219–21.
59. Ahmet Kal'a et al. (eds), *İstanbul Külliyyatı: İstanbul Ahkâm Defterleri*, 10 vols (Istanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1997–98).
60. Nalan Turna, 'Yeniçeri Esnaf İlişkisi: Bir Analiz', in *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Esnaf ve Ticaret*, 21–42, 39. See also Akarlı, 'Gedik: A Bundle of Rights and Obligations', 199.
61. Mehmet Demirtaş, *Osmanlı Esnafında Suç ve Ceza: İstanbul Örneği H 1100–1200 / 1688–1786* (Ankara: Birleşik Yayınevi, 2010), 108–11.
62. Fehmi Yılmaz, 'İstanbul'da Tütüncü Esnafı', in *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Esnaf ve Ticaret*, 127–42.
63. Nalan Turna, 'Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıl İlk Yarısında İstanbul'da Berber Olmak, Berber Kalmak' *İstanbul Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarih Enstitüsü Yakın Dönem Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 9(5) (2006), 171–88.
64. Turna, 'İstanbul'da Berber Olmak', 183.
65. İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sabafluk ve Sabaflar* (Istanbul: Timaş, 2013). I thank Nida Nalçacı who brought this volume to my attention just before I was going to make the final printout.
66. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sabafluk*, 226–27.
67. Kadı, 'A Silence of the Guilds?', 85.
68. Yi, *Guild Dynamics*, 160.
69. Turna, 'Yeniçeri Esnaf İlişkisi', 36; Relli Shechter, 'Market Welfare in the Early Modern Ottoman Economy: A Historiographic Overview with many Questions', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 48(2) (2005): 253–76, 272–73.
70. John Chalcraft, 'Out of the Frying Pan, into the Fire: Protest, the State, and the End of the Guilds in Egypt' (published in this volume); Donald Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
71. For a fine summary of the problems linked to *gediks* in 17<sup>th</sup> century Istanbul, see Yi, *Guild Dynamics*, 148–60.
72. On the tendency of some masters to use the *gediks* as a means of avoiding guild control, see Yıldırım, 'Ottoman Guilds in the Early Modern Era', 74.
73. Çizakça, 'The Ottoman Government and Economic Life'; Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Kurumları* (Istanbul: İş Bankası, 2007); Timur Kuran, *The Long Divergence: How Islamic Law Held Back the Middle East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 132–33 and 312.
74. I use the term 'Ottomanist' for historians of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries dealing with the Ottoman Empire.
75. Yıldırım, 'Ottoman Guilds in the Early Modern Era', 73.
76. Tine de Moor, 'The Silent Revolution: A New Perspective on the Emergence of Commons, Guilds, and other Forms of Collective Corporate Action in Western Europe', *The Return of the Guilds*, 179–212.
77. Jan Lucassen, Tine de Moor and Jan Luiten van Zanden, 'The Return of the Guilds: Towards a Global History of the Guilds in Pre-industrial Times', *The Return of the Guilds*, 9.
78. Gabriel Baer, 'The Administrative, Economic and Social Functions of Turkish Guilds', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 1(1) (1970), 28–50; however shortly before his death the author revised his position: 'Ottoman Guilds: A Reassessment',

- in *Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071–1920)*, *Social and Economic History of Turkey (1071–1920)*, eds Halil Inalcik and Osman Okyar (Ankara: Meteksan, 1980), 95–102.
79. James R. Farr, *Hands of Honor, Artisans and their World in Dijon, 1550–1650* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1988).
  80. Faroqhi, *Artisans of Empire*, 213. For some telling examples, see Ahmet Kal'a, *Debbağlıktan Dericiliğe: İstanbul Merkezli Deri Sektörünün Doğuşu ve Gelişimi* (İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi, 2012), 232.
  81. Mary Louise Nagata, 'Brotherhoods and Stock Societies: Guilds in Pre-modern Japan', in *The Return of the Guilds*, International Review of Social History, Supplements 16, eds Jan Lucassen, Tine de Moor and Jan Luiten van Zanden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 121–42.
  82. Faroqhi, *Artisans of Empire*, 183.
  83. Catharina Lis and Hugo Soly, *Worthy Efforts: Attitudes to Work and Workers in Pre-industrial Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 359–400.
  84. Donald Quataert and Yüksel Duman (eds). 'A Coal Miner's Life during the Late Ottoman Empire', *International Labor and Working Class History* 60 (2001), 153–79.
  85. Nurhan Atasoy, *1582 Surname-i hümayun: An Imperial Celebration* (İstanbul: Koçbank, 1997); Esin Atlı, *Levni and the Surname: The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival* (İstanbul: Koçbank, 1999); Lis and Soly, *Worthy Efforts*, 314.
  86. Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Muhammed Zillî, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 Yazmasının Transkripsyonu –Dizini*, vol. 1, ed. by Robert Dankoff, Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (İstanbul: YKY, 2006), 253–359.
  87. Engin Deniz Akarlı, 'Maslaha from "Common Good" to "Raison d'état" in the Experience of Istanbul Artisans, 1730–1840', in *Hoca 'Allame puits de science: Essays in honor of Kemal H. Karpat*, eds Ka'an Durukan, Robert Zens and Akile Durukan Zorlu (İstanbul: Isis Publicatios, 2010), 63–79.
  88. Akarlı, 'Maslaha', 66.
  89. Whatever the situation for male artisans, the sultanic laws concerning eighteenth-century women were even less respectful of individual rights: Madeline Zilfi, *Women and Slavery in the Ottoman Empire: The Design of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
  90. Akarlı, 'Maslaha', 76–77.
  91. See for example: Boğaç Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Çankırı and Kastamonu (1652–1744)* (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2003); idem, 'Pursuing Justice in an Islamic Context: Dispute Resolution in Ottoman Courts of Law', *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 27(1) (2004), 51–71.
  92. Akarlı, 'Maslaha', 72.
  93. Demirtaş, *Suç ve Ceza*, passim.
  94. Demirtaş, *Suç ve Ceza*, 366.
  95. Ömer Düzbakar, 'Work and Organization in the Ottoman Empire: Notes on the Trade Guilds of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Bursa', *Turkish Studies: International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic* 3–4 (Summer, 2008), 414–53.
  96. 'Abdul-Karim Rafeq. 'Craft Organization, Work Ethics and the Strains of Change in Ottoman Syria', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111(3) (1991), 495–511.
  97. Abdulmennan Mehmet Altıntaş. 'The World of Ottoman Guilds: The Issue of Monopoly', *History Studies: International Journal of History* 2/3 (2010), 11–23; idem, 'Artisans in the Court: Crime and Punishment in the Ottoman Guilds', *International Review of Turkish Studies* 1/3 (2011), 94–109.
  98. Altıntaş, 'Artisans in the Court', 101–3.

99. Shechter, 'Market Welfare', 254.
100. Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East: The Circle of Justice from Mesopotamia to Globalization* (New York: Routledge, 2012).
101. Yi, *Guild Dynamics*; Nelly Hanna, *Artisan Entrepreneurs in Cairo and Early Modern Capitalism (1600–1800)* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2011).
102. Suraiya Faruqi, 'Migration into Eighteenth-Century "Greater Istanbul" as Reflected in the Kadi Registers of Eyüp', *Turcica* 30 (1998), 163–83; Kırılı, 'A Profile of the Labor Force'; Nina Ergin, 'Istanbul's Hamams in 1752: Labor Migration and the Bathing Industry of the Ottoman Capital', *Turcica* 43 ([2011] 2012), 229–54.
103. Başaran, 'Between Crisis and Order', 100–101.
104. Abel Poirineau, *Ils travaillaient la France: métiers et mentalités du XVIIe au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1992); Suraiya Faruqi, 'Controlling Borders and Workmen, all in one Fell Swoop: Repairs to the Ottoman Fortress of Hotin (1716)', in *From the Bottom Up: Ordinary People in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Antonios Anastasopoulos (Rethymno: University of Crete, 2012), 315–31.
105. Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*, 193; the term has a certain affinity with Murat Çizakça's 'proto-pseudo-socialist', see Çizakça, 'The Ottoman Government and Economic Life', *passim*.
106. Cemal Kafadar, 'On the Purity and Corruption of the Janissaries', *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 15 (1991), 273–80; *idem*, 'Janissaries and other Riffraff of Ottoman Istanbul: Rebels without a Cause?', in *Identity and Identity Formation in the Ottoman World: A Volume of Essays in Honor of Norman Itzkowitz*, eds Baki Tezcan and Karl Barbir (Madison, WI; University of Wisconsin Center of Turkish Studies, 2007), 113–34.
107. Donald Quataert, 'Janissaries, Artisans and the Question of Ottoman Decline', in *idem*, *Workers, Peasants and Economic Change in the Ottoman Empire, 1730–1914* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1993), 197–203.
108. Mehmet Mert Sunar, "'When Grocers, Porters and other Riff-raff became Soldiers": Janissary Artisans and Laborers in the Nineteenth Century Istanbul and Edirne', *Kocaeli Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 17(1) (2009), 175–91; Turna, 'Yeniçeri Esnaf İlişkisi'.
109. Ali Çaksu, 'Janissary Coffee Houses in late Eighteenth-Century Istanbul', in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Dana Sajdi (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 117–32, 128–31.
110. Turna, 'Pandemonium and Order'; *eadem*, 'Yeniçeri Esnaf İlişkisi'.
111. Turna, 'Yeniçeri Esnaf İlişkisi', 36–38.
112. Turna, 'Yeniçeri Esnaf İlişkisi', 37.
113. Sunar, 'When Grocers, Porters and other Riff-raff became Soldiers'.
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116. Lis and Soly, *Worthy Efforts*, 365–425.
117. André Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire, au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1973–74); Charles L. Wilkins, *Forging Urban Solidarities: Ottoman Aleppo 1640–1700* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2010).
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119. Cafer Çiftçi, 'Bursa Kumaşçı Esnafının Sanat ve İmalat Nizamı', in *Payitaht Bursa'da Kültür ve Sanat Sempozyumu*, ed. Cafer Çiftçi (Bursa: Osmangazi Belediyesi, 2006), 121–31.
120. Turna, 'İstanbul'da Berber Olmak'.
121. Kafadar, 'Purity and Corruption'; idem, 'Janissaries and other Riff-raff'; Sunar, 'Grocers, Porters and other Riff-raff', 176–84.
122. Nihat Azamat, 'İdris-i muhtefi', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 21 (Istanbul: İSAM, 2000), 489–91.
123. Klaus Kreiser, 'Icareteyn: Zur "Doppelten Miete" im osmanischen Stiftungswesen', *Journal of Turkish Studies* 10 (1986), 219–26. Also published as *Raiyyet Rüşümü, Essays Presented to Halil İnalcık on his Seventieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students*.
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