The history of the Ottoman Empire – a major political, economic and cultural entity on three of the globe’s continents for centuries on end, still presents a major challenge for researchers keen on restoring details of the past or revealing its impacts on nowadays living in the former empire’s territories and beyond.

The city of Istanbul has always been one of the mesmerizing urban pearls of the Mediterranean. The shift in times brought a shift in names – Byzantium, Constantinople, Stanboul, Tsarigrad, Dersaadet (not to mention but a few), but never a shift in this city’s cosmopolitan and everlasting nature. Throughout history it offered a throne to ceasars and sultans, magnetized travelers, artists and adventure seekers, housed its millions of citizens of various origin, race, beliefs, life-stories and occupations. Being the heart of consecutive empires, the city reflected both their glory and decline.

The 19th century Istanbul must have presented a network of vibrant streets, flanked by picturesque architecture, occupied by multinational crowds. Torn between old traditions and modern influences, the metropolis with its flourishing trade and abundance of craftsmen’s
workshops (dükkân) was among the largest and most significant market places in the Ottoman Empire. This paper deals with one particular aspect of the everyday life in Istanbul during the 19th century and namely the functioning of the guilds, which beyond any doubt have always been immanent to urban reality. The paper offers yet another opportunity to get a notion of the crafts and trade in the megapolis, based on a register (defter) of the number of guilds (esnaf), workshops (dükkân), masters (usta), journeymen (kalfa) and apprentices (çırak) in Istanbul, Eyüp, Galata ve Üsküdar (Dersaadet ve bilâd-ı selâse).

This 19th-century register is housed by the Oriental Department of the National Library of Bulgaria among other documents in Ottoman-Turkish language related to the history of the Ottoman empire and in this particular regard – to the Istanbul guilds in the period 17th-19th centuries. In the course of the research on the topic about 50 documents of different types (such as arzuhal, ilm-ü haber, ilâm, takrir and others) were scrutinized. One such a document from 1722 outlines an example of the everyday issues that local

3 For a thorough review of the writings about Ottoman guilds and crafts from various perspective (religious, economic, social, etc.) see Suraiya Faroqhi, Artisans of Empire. Crafts and Craftspeople under the Ottomans (London, 2009), 1-23; also Ahmet Kal’a, “Osmanlı Esnafi ve Sanayisi Üzerine Yapılan Çalışmalarla İlgili Genel Bir Değerlendirme,” Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi, Cilt 1, Sayı 1 (2003), pp. 245-266.
5 On historical urban division of Istanbul see Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, Fatih Devri Sonralarında İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskârı ve Nişfusu (Ankara, 1958).
6 See Аспарух Велков и др., Опис на османотурските документи за занаяти и търговия (XVI-XIX в.) запазени в Ориенталския отдел на Народната библиотека „Св. Св. Кирил и Методий“ (София, 1993).
7 National Library of Bulgaria, Department of Oriental Collections, 1A/1879, f. 1.
craftsmen were facing (see Fig. 1, 1A/18791). It presents an *arzuhal* to the grand vizier of a bread baker from Istanbul, with which he pleads for the newly arrived bakers to be banned from selling bread in his marketing areas of the capital. The reason is that some of his daily baked amount of bread remains unsold due to the competition of newcomers.\(^8\)

\(^8\) Велков и др., *Опис...*, p. 161.
The register in question consists of four sheets (text on 1b, 2a and 2b), dimensions 73.5x25 cm, and includes a total number of 205 entries (see Fig. 2a and 2b, IIr 25/6). Each entry gives information about the name of the craft or occupation, the number of workshops (dükkan) or particular place of service or work (e.g. hamam, bahçe, dolap) and people involved, according to their professional level.
achieved – master, journeyman, apprentice. Although the register
does not bear a date, the possible assumption is that it was compiled
in the second half of the 19th century. It could be established with
the help of other documents, similar in contents9. During that time
period Ottoman authorities introduced an annual tax in return of the
issuing of licenses (tezkere) for practicing the given craft. The due
amount depended on the level in the esnaf hierarchy10 and one reason
for such kind of registers to be compiled was to ease the process of
tax-collection11.

Drawing on the established definition of the meaning of esnaf
as a common name of craftsmen as well as those who earn their living by
producing and trading with goods and services12, the document helps
us reveal about 200 different occupations (specialities) which in-
clude crafts, trade and services. Ten of the document’s entries feature
the word “esnaf” (e.g. kuyumcu, kazazz ve püskülçü ve şeridci, canbaz,
hamamcı, etc.). The question remains as of whether the rest of the
makers, artisans or workers enlisted in the register have belonged to a
professional organisation or have practiced their professions on their
own. A couple of entries count local merchants and such coming
from Egypt, as well as distinguish the workshops of muslim and
non-muslim merchants.

In this regard a striking impression leaves the fact that in about
one third of the 141 entries giving complete information, the number
of workshops (dükkân) is equal (or differs by 1 or 2) to the number
of masters. At the same time the average number of apprentices (if
any) per master is less than 1, with very few exceptions (e.g. hamamcı

9 National Library of Bulgaria, Department of Oriental Collections, 190/1 and
Цг 77/1.
10 On the question of the established esnaf hierarchy see for example Ashhan
Nakiboğlu, “18. y.y.’da İstanbul Esnafının Sorunları,” Turkish Studies –
International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish
or Turkic 8/7 (2013), pp. 363-392.
11 Стефан Андреев, „Занаятчийски тезкерета от Троян – 1872 г.,” Известия
12 Ahmet Ka’a, “Esnaf,” in Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi İslam Ansiklopedisi (Ankara,
2002), XXV, 423.
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– 8 apprentices per master; paşacı, çörekçi and gözlemeci – 4; helvaci, pasdirmacı, işkembe sorbaci – 3; sucu – 2,4). It seems that people involved in food industry could afford (or needed) a comparatively bigger number of apprentices per capita and still the figures set a prevailing picture of rather small-scale businesses. Another aspect of the described situation may be well explained by the fact that very often members of the same or similar guilds would work together in a common workshop to cut the costs of instruments and utensils needed for setting up a workspace of their own, as suggested by Faroqhi.

The analysis of the data that could be extracted from the spoken register goes in various directions. In terms of numbers, according to the register the most populated professional group is that of boat and bargemen (kayıkçı ve mavnacı) – 6092 men, followed by porters (hamal) – 4605, and barbers and coffeemakers (berber ve kahveci) – 4080. On the other end of the least represented professions is the only one seller of canary birds (kanariyeci), opium dealers (afyoncu – 5), the flag makers (bayanrakçısı – 6), sand clock makers (kum saatçi – 7) – all goods and services obviously of a comparatively rarer demand. The majority of the shops (dukkân) in Istanbul seem to belong again to barbers and coffeemakers; second to come are the tobacconists (duhancı) with 1399 shops and the shoemakers (kunduracı, yemenici, pabuşçu, mestçi) with 1125 shops. Within the categories of craftsmanship, the largest group of masters (1982) is the one of barbers and coffeemakers, followed by shoemakers (1786) and tailors (1218). It goes without saying

13 In comparison, the makers of woollen cloth (abaci) in Bulgaria in the 1830s worked on their own or from time to time with the help of 1-2 apprentices. Nikolay Todorov, “19. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Bulgaristan Esnaf Teşkilâtında Bazı Karakter Değişmeleri,” İÜIFM, XXVII (1967-68): 1-36. See also Demirel, op.cit.
15 For an insight on why these two occupations go together since the 17th-century ban on public drinking of coffee issued by Sultan Murad IV, see Sadık Müfit Bilge, “Osmanlı İstanbulunda Berber Esnafı (Fetihten 1830’lara İstanbul Esnaf ve Sosyal Hayat Tarihine Bir Katkı)” in Osmanlı İstanbulu II (İstanbul, 2014), s. 187-206.
that the above mentioned figures could be interpreted in regard with the real, everyday demands or needs of a given service during the period\textsuperscript{16}. The location of Istanbul as a sea capital throws light on the need of maritime labour, whereas popularity of barbershops might be explained with the array of services they offered, such as shaving, hair-dressing, leech bleeding, teeth pulling, etc.\textsuperscript{17}

In terms of specialization of crafts the reviewed document demonstrates the variety already reached during the spoken period. Following the popular approach\textsuperscript{18} to have crafts categorized according to the prevailing type of raw materials used for the given production here is the range of types, according to the document: 38\textsuperscript{19} professions deal with textile (e.g. \textit{terpoşcu, takyeci, şorapçı}); 13 – metal (\textit{kazganç, şivici, lenger timürçü}); 12 – wood (\textit{selva sandukçu, iskemlecî}); 7 – leather (\textit{debbâş, saraç}); glass – 4 (\textit{ayneci, şişeci}); paper – 3 (\textit{kağıtçî}); wax – 2 (\textit{balmumcu}); clay – 1 (\textit{şömlek haffaşî}). Fourty one of the enlisted professions could be referred to the food and drink industry (like \textit{poğaçacı, şekerlemeci, sebzeci, kebabçı, aşçı and so on}) and 45 – to the group of workers (\textit{ayvaz, konak işçileri, bağçevan}), merchants (\textit{cererî, canbaz}) and people offering various services (\textit{kalafatçı, boyaci}) or even entertainment (\textit{rakkas, çalgacı}).

Together with the aspects of history and sociology the register poses some issues of linguistic analysis. The terms of crafts and professions well illustrate the process of word formation of nouns with the corresponding meaning applying the Turkish euphonic \textit{-ci}

\textsuperscript{16} In his paper on the Ottoman guilds (1750–1850) Ömer Demirel presents numbers of the guilds in Istanbul towards the end of the 18th century (based on \textit{ahkâm defterleri}) and suggests a tendency towards increasing the number of guilds catering for the basic needs of the population, followed by those involved in transportation by sea and land. Ömer Demirel, “Osmanlı Esnafi (1750–1850)”, Accessed on January 20, 2015 \url{http://www.tarihtarih.com/?Syf=26&Syz=351623}

\textsuperscript{17} Bilge, op.cit.

\textsuperscript{18} It is applied among many others as well as by Amnon Cohen, \textit{The Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem} (Brill, 2001).

\textsuperscript{19} Figures may differ as a result of different interpretation: for example \textit{a sabtiyan tüccars} could be referred to both as a dealer and someone who is professional when it comes to leather.
particle – balıkçı, boyaç, balıkmıc20. This does not always allow for
designating details about the profession by the document alone. Further
sources need to be applied in order to establish whether the
person was a maker/ an artisan/ a merchant/ a dealer/ a worker/ a
farmer or an employee in the given field of occupation – for example
fincancı21, kayıkçı, mavnacı, not to mention but a few. On the one
hand as if language could not “catch up” with the high level of diversifi-
cation of crafts and professions reached by the mid-19th century; on
the other hand there was the common practice of offering the crafted
goods predominantly in the workshop itself, by the people who made
them. Other terms are of Persian and Arabic origin – bakkal, ressam,
attar which not only comes to remind of that linguistic blend the
Ottoman-Turkish represented, but also may reflect further relations
to the origin or cultural influences on craft practices. Some of the
nouns are presented in Persian plural form for animate beings -an –
nalbandan, kuyumcuyan22. The document adds to the vast spectrum of
terms for designating occupations in the field of crafts, manufacture
and trade. This list of terms changes over times parallel to industrial
and economic developments, and therefore it is an important (though
indirect) source for restoring fragments from the living in the 1800s.
One such peculiar detail is, for example, the specialization within the
craft of shoemaking, as known today. The register mentions kunduracı,
yemenici, pabusçu, mestçi (see Glossary) who are indeed all shoe makers
but of different and specific kinds of shoes23. The same approach is
largely applied to all textile industries and the impact of such a list
of terms could be further expanded to the research of, let’s say, tradi-
tional types of clothing in the Ottoman Empire24.

20 James W. Redhouse, Grammaire raisonnée de la langue Ottomane (Paris, 1846):
179; R. Youssouf, Grammaire complète de la langue Ottomane (Constantinople,
21 This entry in particular says “tubasız ve fincancı” which gives relevance to
interpret this occupation rather as the one of a merchant than of a maker.
22 Luigi Bonelli, Elementi di grammatica Turca Osmanli (Milano, 1899), p. 35.
23 Suraiya Faroqhi comments on the specialization of artisans in the cities.
Suraiya Faroqhi, History of Turkey, p. 340.
24 Words like dülbend and yağlık are still used to designate parts of traditional
clothing in some areas of Bulgaria and their origin and introduction to
In regard with the general research on historic documents in Ottoman-Turkish language it is worth mentioning some of the difficulties posed by the register. First, while it proved quite difficult to establish the meaning of some words, whereas others were interpreted by comparison to other known lists of esnafs\textsuperscript{25}, a real challenge present a certain number of entries that so far remain unclear in meaning. The word \textit{hamamcı} can be pointed out as an example of a particular difficulty – actually this is an homonym with two different meanings – 1. \textit{a director of a public bath}; 2. \textit{a skilled brick layer or stone mason}\textsuperscript{26}. The additional mentioning of \textit{hamam (bath)} in the register allows the assumption of the first meaning, although both are professions and correspond to the documents context. Second, no explanation was found why the overall figures at the end of the document do not match the addition of all the figures within the given categories. A further research in the field could possibly throw a light on this peculiarity.

No matter how abundant is the information about guilds (in terms of organization, function and role in socio-economic life of the Ottoman Empire) revealed by historians and anthropologists, according to Demirel\textsuperscript{27} even more sources are still needed for the picture of professional distribution within guilds to be revealed at its fullest. Bearing on the fact that guilds and relations between members determined life and occupation of whole families for generations on end, their research could as well be extended to the general question of urban structure in empire towns. In this regard the spoken register presents yet another chance of raising the curtain of 19\textsuperscript{th} -century history of Istanbul a little higher.

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Bulgarian language could be better explained within the broader context of crafts, trade and fashion in the 19\textsuperscript{th} -century empire.

\textsuperscript{25} Baykara, op.cit.; Demirel, op.cit.; Диаманди Ихчиев, „Еснафски документи и еснафски организации в турско време,” Списанието на Българското икономическо дружество, 7 (София, 1907).

\textsuperscript{26} James W. Redhouse, \textit{A Turkish and English Lexicon} (Constantinople, 1890).

\textsuperscript{27} Demirel, op.cit., p. 3.
Glossary\textsuperscript{28} of the terms for crafts and occupations as listed in the register with signature II\textcircled{2} 25/6

\textbf{a}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{abacı} – a maker or seller of woollen homespun cloth or garments
  \item \textit{afyoncu} – a maker or seller of opium
  \item \textit{ağ iplikçi} – a maker or seller of threads for making nets
  \item \textit{araba imalcı} – a maker of wheeled vehicles
  \item \textit{arayıcı} – a seeker, a searcher
  \item \textit{arpacı} – a dealer in barley, especially as food for horses
  \item \textit{astarcı} – a maker of linings
  \item \textit{aşçı} – a cook
  \item \textit{ayneci} – a maker or seller or mirrors
  \item \textit{ayvaz} – servant, footman
\end{itemize}

\textbf{b}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{bağçıvan} – a gardener
  \item \textit{bardakçı} – a maker or seller of mugs
  \item \textit{basmacı} – a maker or dealer in printed matter or printed goods
  \item \textit{bakkal} – a grocer
  \item \textit{balkıç} – a fisherman; a fishmonger
  \item \textit{balmumcu} – a wax-chandler
  \item \textit{bayrackı} – a maker or seller of flags
  \item \textit{berber} – a barber
  \item \textit{bez gömlekçı} – a shirt maker or seller
  \item \textit{bezzaz, ince ve kaba} – a draper
  \item \textit{biçakçı} – a maker or seller of knives, cutler
  \item \textit{boğacı} – a peddler who goes from house to house with small wares, handkerchiefs and the like
  \item \textit{boyacı} – a dyer
  \item \textit{bugaçaci} – a maker or seller of bugacha
  \item \textit{cameşuycu} – a washerman
  \item \textit{canbaz} – a horse-dealer
  \item \textit{celab} – a drover of cattle or slaves
  \item \textit{ç} \textit{çadırçı} – a tent maker
\end{itemize}

\section*{Notes}

çakmakçı – a maker or seller of steels for striking fire
çalgacı – a musician
şerçi – an itinerant dealer, especially one who deals by barter, a pedlar of small wares
şorapçı – a maker or seller of socks or stockings
şukacı – a woolen draper
şuval meramatçı – a sack mender
debbağ – a tanner
devatçı – a maker or seller of pen-and-ink cases (cf Red-house devatgâr)
dubancı – tobacconist
dülbendci – a seller of muslins
elektör – a maker or seller of sieves
enfiyeci – a maker or seller of snuff
esirci – a slave-dealer
eskici – a dealer in rags or second hand wares
fenerci – a maker or seller of lanters
fesşî – a maker or seller of fes (red woolen cap worn in the Ottoman Empire)
fincancı – a maker or seller of coffee or tea cups
fodulacı – a maker or seller of fodula (a kind of cake of fine, white flour, served out at public soup-kitchens)
fişçî – a cooper
fürceci – a maker or seller of brushes
gaytancı – a maker or seller of cord or braid used for trimming
haffaf – a maker or seller of shoes
halâç – a cleaner or dresser of cotton-wool, the work being done with a bow and mallet
halatçı – who makes or sells ropes or hawsers
hamamci – a director of a public bath; a skilled brick-layer or stone-mason
hasırcı; ~ kaba – a maker or seller of hasır (mat, woven of rushes, palm leaves etc.)
helvacı – a maker or seller of helva
iğneci – a maker or seller of needles or pins
imameci – a maker or seller of amber mouthpieces for pipes
ipşî – a ropemaker
iskemleci – a maker or seller of chairs or stools
işkembe çorbacı – who cooks/sells tripe soup
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k
dayıfçı – a maker or seller of kadayıf (a kind of pastry made of eggs, honey and sesame seeds)
kağıtçı – a paper dealer
kahveci – a coffee-maker; a coffee-shop keeper
kahve değirmenci – a coffee miller
kalafatçı – a caulker
kalaycı – an artisan who tins copper vessels
kalemtraşçı – a maker of knives for cutting reed pens
kanariyeci – a seller of canary birds
kantar iamalçı – a maker of steelyards
kassap – a butcher; a slaughterer; a meat-salesman
kayıkçı – a boat-builder; a boatman
kayık yapıcı – a boat-builder
kazgancı – a maker or seller of copper caldrons or iron steam-boilers
kazzaz – a manufacturer of silk; a silk-mercier
kebabçı – a cook who roasts, bakes, broils
kiraz çubukçu – a maker or seller of cherry-stick tobacco pipes
kirişçi – a maker or seller of cat-gut
koçaç – a coachman, driver
kogacı – a maker or seller of buckets; mesin ~ - a maker or seller of leather buckets
koltukçu – a hawker, a peddler or auctioneer of second-hand clothing; a keeper of a small and out of the way wine-shop
kömürçü – a charcoal burner or a charcoal dealer
kunduracı – a maker of shoes of European style
kurabiye
covenci – a maker or seller of kurabiye
kuru yemışı – a dealer in dry fruits
kuyumcu – a gold and silver-smith; a jeweler
küfeci – a maker or seller of chip baskets
külahçı – a maker or a seller of külah (a conical hat or cap)
kürkçü – a furrier
l
Lahur şalı – dealer of shawls, woven in the Indian town of Lahur
leblebici – a maker or seller of parched peas
lenger timürçü – a blacksmith who makes anchors
limoncu – a seller of lemons
lüleci – a maker or seller of pipe-bowls
makaracı – a maker or seller of ink
manav – a fruiterer
mavnacı – a bargee, a lighter-man
merkebci – an owner or driver of donkeys
mestçi – a maker of mest (light, soleless boot, worn in the house or inside of over-shoes)
mikrazci – a maker or seller of scissors
misk yağıci – a dealer in musk
mizancı – who weighs with scales
mücellit – a bookbinder
murekabci – a maker or seller of ink

nalbant – a shoeing-smith, a farrier
nalçeci – a maker or seller of naleç (an iron heel or clip nailed on to a boot)
nalınçi – a maker or seller of nalın (a pair of sandals, shoes, clogs, pattens, or horseshoes)
nişasteci – a maker or seller of starch
nobucu ve koru baklaci – a seller of chickpea and beans

oturakcı – a maker or seller of seats/water-closets
oyuncakçı – a maker or seller of toys

örücü – one who plaits, inter-neats or knits together

p
pabuşçu – a maker or seller of slippers
paçacı – a maker or seller of paça (a dish of food prepared from trotters)
pasdırmaçı – a maker or seller of pasdirma (meat flavoured with spices and garlic and cured under pressure)
pekmezci – a maker or seller of pekmez (boiled grape juice, used as treacle)
peştemal havlıcısıyan – a dealer in or keeper of peştemal (a large towel, used in baths as a waist-cloth)
püskülcü – a maker of tassels

r
rakas – a professional dancer
ressam – a draughtsman, painter

saatçısı – a watch or clock maker; kum – maker of hourglasses (sand clocks)
sabuncu – a maker or seller of soap
sahbaf – a bookseller
sahtiyandan perdahtçısı – who polishes leather
sahtiyandan tıccarı – a dealer in Morocco leather
saka – a water-carrier
samancı – a dealer in straw
saraç – a saddler
sebzeci – a green-grocer
selva sandukçu – a maker or
seller of chests/boxes of cypress tree
semerci — a maker or seller of pack saddles
sepetçi — a maker or seller of baskets
simsar — a commercial broker
sucu — a seller of water
süpürgeci — a maker or seller of brooms
sütçü — a seller of milk
şekerçi — a confectioner
şeridci — a maker of galloon, ribbon, braid
şirugancı — a maker or seller of sesame oil
takyeci — a maker or seller of takke linen skull cups
tarakçı — a maker or seller of combs, rakes, etc.
tavukçu — a poulterer
terazı iamacı — a maker of scales
terpoşçu — a maker or seller of terpoş (an ornamental scull cap)
terzi — a tailor
tohum pazarı — a dealer in grain
tubafçı — a dealer in curiosities or pretty trinkets
turşuçu — a maker or seller of pickles
tuzcu — a seller of salt
uçu — a dealer in flour
üsturacı — a maker or seller of razors
üütücü — an ironer, hot-presser
yağlıkçı — a manufacturer of or dealer in common pocket handkerchiefs
yedekçi — a man who leads a spare horse, a man who tows boats where a current is strong
yelkenci — a sailmaker
yemenici — a maker of eastern shoes
yogurtçu — a maker or seller of youghurt
yorgancı — a maker or seller of quilts; an upholsterer
yufkacı — a maker or seller of yufka (a kind of pastry)
yumurtacı — a maker or seller of eggs
zahireci — a grain-merchant; a provision-merchant
zeyt yağcı — a seller of olive oil