

THE BARBER'S MIRROR:

AN OBSERVATION ON ETHNO-RELIGIOUS DIVISION OF LABOUR THROUGH
BARBERS OF THE LATE EIGHTEENTH TO MID-NINETEENTH-CENTURY
OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE CAPITAL AND PROVINCIAL CENTRES

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The Barber's Mirror:

An Observation On Ethno-Religious Divison Of Labour Through Barbers of the Late Eighteenth to mid-Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire in the Capital and Provincial Centres

Berber Aynası:

Etnik Dini İşbölümüne On Sekizinci Yüzyıl Sonundan On Dokuzuncu Yüzyıl Ortasına Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Başkent ve Eyalet Merkezlerindeki Berberler Üzerinden bir Gözlem

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Abstract of the thesis submitted by Serdar Furtuna, for the degree of

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Title: The Barber's Mirror: An Observation on Ethno-Religious Division of Labour Through Barbers of the late Eighteenth to mid-Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire in The Capital and Provincial Centres

This study investigates the barbers in Ottoman Empire specifically in Istanbul, Bursa and Salonica and 16 major cities between the late 18th and the mid-19th centuries, as a major occupational figure and their transition as a response to political, social and economic change in the empire.

Barbers of those cities will be analysed in terms of several parameters in the light of the available data from *kefalet* registers for Istanbul and *temettuat* records for Bursa, Salonica and the rest of the cities to explore the ethno-religious collaboration among barbers.

The question of ethno-religious division of labour in Ottoman Empire has been long debated by the orientalists and historians. The stereotypes foreseeing pure dependency on religious identity and the craft been performed, have been largely disproven by the recent academic studies mostly by those conducted to see the ethno-religious division on various state and private enterprises of the Ottoman Empire.

This thesis attempts to contribute the debate in a broader sense by testing the validity and degree of ethno-religious division of labour through a sample craft; barbers of late 18th century Istanbul, and in a micro space; barbershops.

Furthermore, the study will also track and map the geographical distribution and residential patterns of mid-19th century Bursa and Salonica barbers on neighbourhood basis to analyse whether they mirrored the ethno-religious characteristics of the neighbourhoods or followed the population and pre-industrial labourforce. In that sense, it is also aimed to add value to further studies on occupation and demographics.

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü'nde Tarih Yüksek Lisans derecesi için

Serdar Furtuna tarafından Eylül 2015'te teslim edilen tezin özeti.

Başlık: Berber Aynası: Etnik Dini İşbölümüne On Sekizinci Yüzyıl Sonundan On Dokuzuncu Yüzyıl Ortasına Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Başkent ve Eyalet Merkezlerindeki Berberler Üzerinden bir Gözlem

İşbu Yüksek Lisans tezi, 18.yüzyıl sonundan 19.yüzyıl ortasına Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İstanbul, Bursa, Selanik ve 16 eyalet merkezindeki önemli bir meslek grubu olan berberleri ve İmparatorluk'taki politik, sosyal ve ekonomik değişimler karşısındaki mesleki dönüşümlerini ele almaktadır.

Sözkonusu şehirlerdeki berberler, İstanbul için “kefalet” kayıtları, Bursa, Selanik ve diğer şehirler için “temettuat” verileri ışığında çeşitli parametreler üzerinden analiz edilerek berberler arasındaki etnik dini işbirliği araştırılacaktır.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda etnik-dini bazlı mesleki uzmanlaşma konusu oryantalistler ve tarihçilerce uzun yıllardır tartışılmaktadır. İcra edilen meslekle icra edenin etnik-dini kimliğinin tam bir uyum içinde olduğuna ilişkin kalıplaşmış yaklaşım son yıllarda özellikle Osmanlı devlet ve özel kurumlarındaki etnik-dini ayırım üzerine yapılan akademik çalışmalarla büyük ölçüde çürütülmüştür.

İşbu çalışma, tartışmaya daha geniş bir perspektiften bakmayı hedefleyerek, etnik dini ayırımının geçerliliğini ve derecesini örnek bir meslek, 18.yüzyıl sonu İstanbul berberleri ile örnek bir mekan, berber dükkanları üzerinden test etmektedir.

Bunun yanısıra çalışmada berberlerin coğrafi dağılımları ve yerleşimleri, 19.yüzyıl ortası Bursa ve Selanik berberleri için mahalle bazında incelenip haritalandırılarak berberlerin etnik-dini ayırım, nüfus yoğunluğunu veya endüstriyelleşme öncesi mesleki yoğunluktan hangisi veya hangilerine paralel yerleşim gösterdikleri izlenecektir. Bu yönüyle gelecekte yapılacak meslekleri ve demografik çalışmalara katkı sağlanması hedeflenmektedir.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vi
ABBREVIATIONS	x
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER TWO: THE SHAVING BIB – SETTING THE SCENE.....	5
The Religious Hair	5
Ottoman Beard	7
Barber’s Craft.....	12
Ottoman Barbers	14
CHAPTER THREE: THE RAZOR – BARBERS OF ISTANBUL	22
Istanbul “The City in Turmoil”	22
Introducing <i>Kefalet</i> Registers as a Source	24
<i>Kefalet</i> Registers of 1792	26
Barbers in the Registers	36
CHAPTER FOUR: THE SCISSORS – BARBERS OF BURSA AND SALONICA	51
Ottoman Empire in Change.....	51
Transition in Tax Collection	54
Introducing <i>Temettuat</i> Registers as a Source	58
Bursa “The Silk Centre”	63
Bursa in <i>Temettuat</i>	66
Bursa Barbers	77
Salonica “The Cosmopolitan Port”	82
Salonica in <i>Temettuat</i>	85

Salonica Barbers.....	94
CHAPTER FIVE: THE MIRROR – COMBINED SETS OF FIGURES	100
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION	109
APPENDICES	114
Appendix 1: Istanbul Districts and Number of Barbershops and Barbers.....	114
Appendix 2: Bursa Barbers, Their Residency and Ethno-Religious Characteristics....	117
Appendix 3: Salonica Barbers, Their Residency and Ethno-Religious Characteristics.	119
BIBLIOGRAPHY	120

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

MAPS

Map 3.1: Geographic Areas of Istanbul Represented in <i>Kefalet</i> Registers.....	30
Map 3.2: Barbershops in Greater Istanbul	38
Map 3.3: Barbershops in Historical Peninsula ‘A Closer look’	39
Map 3.4: The Geographical Distribution of Barbershops in Istanbul according to the Shop Size.....	42
Map 3.5: Ethno-Religious Characteristic of Total Barber Labourforce	43
Map 3.6: Ethno-Religious Characteristic of Barbershop Keepers	45
Map 3.7: Ethno-Religious Characteristic of Barber Employees.....	46
Map 4.1: Ethno-Religious Division of Bursa Neighbourhoods	70
Map 4.2: Total <i>Temettuat</i> Observations of Bursa city per Neighbourhood.....	71
Map 4.3: Secondary Occupation Density of Bursa city per Neighbourhood.....	74
Map 4.4: Mapping Barbers of Bursa on Ethno-Religious Division of the Neighbourhoods	78
Map 4.5: Mapping Barbers of Bursa on Total <i>Temettuat</i> Observations per Neighbourhood.....	79
Map 4.6: Mapping Barbers of Bursa on Occupations in Secondary Sector.....	80
Map 4.7: Ethno-Religious Division of Salonica Neighbourhoods.....	87
Map 4.8: Total <i>Temettuat</i> Observations of Salonica city per Neighbourhood	89
Map 4.9: Secondary Occupation Density of Salonica city per Neighbourhood	91
Map 4.10: Mapping Barbers of Salonica on Ethno-Religious Division of the Neighbourhoods	95
Map 4.11: Mapping Barbers of Salonica on Total <i>Temettuat</i> Observations per Neighbourhood.....	96

Map 4.12: Mapping Barbers of Salonica on Occupations in Secondary Sector	97
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Map 5.1: Mapping Barbers of İstanbul and 18 Major Cities	100
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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. The Men’s Bathhouse	9
2. Portrait of Richard Pococke	10
3. Self Portrait of Jean-Etienne Liotard.....	10
4. Turkish Barbers and Their Shops.....	15
5. A Bursa Silk Factory.....	66

FIGURES

Table 3.1: The Geographical Distribution of Istanbul Workforce according to the Registers Specified.....	29
Table 3.2: Shops and Garden by Frequency (above 100 shown).....	31
Table 3.3: Masters/Shopkeepers having Military Titles	35
Table 3.4: The Geographical Distribution of Barbershops and Barbers in Istanbul	40
Table 3.5: The Geographical Distribution of Barbershops in Istanbul according to the Shop Size	41
Table 3.6: Ethno-Religious Characteristics of Total Barber Labourforce	43
Table 3.7: Ethno-Religious Characteristics of Barbershop Keepers.....	45
Table 3.8: Ethno-Religious Characteristics of Barber Employees.....	46
Table 3.9: Combined Ethno-Religious Characteristics of Barbershop Keepers and Employees	48

Table 3.10: Collaboration between Barbershop Keepers and Employees with different Ethno-Religious Characteristics. Permuted Correspondence Table. “Shopkeeper’s view”	49
Table 3.11: Collaboration between Barbershop Keepers and Employees with different Ethno-Religious Characteristics. Permuted Correspondence Table. “Employee’s view”	50
Table 4.1: Distribution of <i>Temettuat</i> Registers per Province	60
Table 4.2: Silk Weaving Mills and its Share in Total Production in Bursa	65
Table 4.3: <i>Temettuat</i> Figures of Bursa.....	68
Table 4.4: Top 10 Bursa Neighbourhoods in Terms of Total <i>Temettuat</i> Observations and the Ethno-Religious Breakdown of the People Recorded	72
Table 4.5: Most Frequent Occupations in Bursa.....	75
Table 4.6: Most Frequent Occupations per Ethno-religious Group in Bursa	76
Table 4.7: Bursa Neighbourhoods having more than Five Barbers Residency.	80
Table 4.8: Income distribution of Bursa Barbers per Status	81
Table 4.9: Trade Traffic of Salonica Harbour between 1838 and 1845.....	84
Table 4.10: <i>Temettuat</i> Figures of Salonica	88
Table 4.11: Top 10 Salonica Neighbourhoods in Terms of Total <i>Temettuat</i> Observations and the Ethno-Religious Breakdown of the People Recorded	89
Table 4.12: Most Frequent Occupations in Salonica	92
Table 4.13: Most Frequent Occupations per Ethno-Religious Group in Salonica.....	93
Table 4.14: Income Distribution of Salonica Barbers per Status.....	98
Table 5.1: Barbers in Total Workforce based on <i>Kefalet</i> and <i>Temettuat</i>	102
Table 5.2: Ethno-Religious Characteristics of the Barbers Recorded in <i>Temettuat</i> and <i>Kefalet</i>	104
Table 5.3: Status of the Barbers Recorded in <i>Temettuat</i> and <i>Kefalet</i>	106

Table 5.4: Income Distribution of Barbers in 18 Cities Based on *Temettuat* 108

Graph 3.1: Ethno-Religious Distribution of Total Labour Force in Istanbul (%)..... 32

ABBREVIATIONS

BDOA	<i>Başbakanlık Devlet Osmanlı Arşivleri</i> (Ottoman State Archives)
BŞŞ	<i>Bursa Şer'iyeye Sicilleri</i> (Bursa Court Records)
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
IAM	Historical Archive Of Macedonia (Thessaloniki)
IRCICA	<i>İslam Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi</i> (Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture)
ISAM	<i>Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi</i> (Turkish Religious Foundation Centre for Islamic Studies)
PST	Primary, Secondary, Tertiary
TTK	<i>Türk Tarih Kurumu</i>
A	Armenian
C	Catholics
R	Roma
J	Jewish
M	Muslims
NM	Non-Muslims
OC	Orthodox Christians
P	Protégés
U	Unknown

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Barber craft is known as one of the oldest surviving occupations in the service sector and believed to have remained the same through time and different places, but it is not likely. With its strong religious, social, cultural and personal symbolism, hair and facial hair have shaped and changed the nature of the craft. Barbers were not just barbers; they were also surgeons, dentists, herbalists and circumcisers in most of the societies including the Ottoman Empire.¹ Their intimate connections with the clients made barbers social and cultural figures and keen public observers² and transformed barbershops into one of the most significant social spaces where Ottoman men gathered to socialise and exchange ideas.

This study aims to observe barbers in Ottoman Empire specifically in Istanbul, Bursa and Salonica and 16 major cities between the late 18th and the mid-19th centuries, as a major occupational figure and their transition as a response to political, social and economic change in the empire. Physical and functional changes in the barbershops and the barber's guild were also an area of interest in this study.

Barbers of those cities will be analysed in terms of several parameters, such as geographical distribution, ethno-religious characteristics, status and wealth in the light of the available data from *kefalet* registers for Istanbul in the late 18th century and the *temettuat* registers for Bursa, Salonica and the rest of the cities for the mid-19th century, to answer the following research questions:

¹ For a general overview of barbers and their functions in the Ottoman Istanbul, see Koçu, Reşat Ekrem (2002). *Tarihte İstanbul Esnafı* (Istanbul: Doğan Kitap), pp 47-59.

Koçu is an important source for the thesis not only for his works on Istanbul and artisans but also his translations of significant foreign travelers' works on Istanbul and his production of Turkish clothing and dressing dictionary where lots of information could be found on barbers and hair styles. Koçu, Reşat Ekrem (1967). *Türk Giyim, Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü* (Ankara: Başnur Matbaası)

² Ibn Budayr, an 18th century barber in Damascus, wrote a chronicle of major events in Damascus echoing the public voice, see Sajdi, Dana (2013). *The Barber of Damascus: Nouveau Literacy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Levant* (California: Stanford University Press), pp 1-13.

- What was the level of ethno-religious division of labour in a barber's craft?
- What was the level of collaboration between barbers in ethno-religious basis?
- Did residential patterns of barbers match the ethno-religious characteristics of the neighbourhoods?
- Was there a correlation in barbers' density with the accumulation of the secondary labour force?
- Did barbers mirror the geographical distribution of their customers or not?
- How popular was the barber's craft compared to other occupations?
- What was the income level of the barbers compared to the other occupations and how did it vary among the barbers per status and per city?

One of the major aims of the study is to reveal ethno-religious collaboration among barbers. The historiography interpreting division of labour in Ottoman Empire in terms of ethnic, religious and racial difference assuming non-Muslims dominated in trade and commerce and Muslims working in agriculture passed long ago.³ There were countless examples from the scholarly works in Ottoman social history proving the existence of the collaboration between the religious identities from the very beginning until the end of the Empire. People from different religions were included as members of the same guild organization of their craft and were represented in the same guild delegation⁴ or they could be working in the same state factory.⁵

As a complement of Cengiz Kırılı's pioneering work on *kefalet* registers indicating his overall observation on religion and occupation,⁶ this study aims to contribute to the

³ Atabaki, Touraj, Gavin D. Brockett (2009). "Ottoman and Republican Turkish Labour History: An Introduction", in *Ottoman and Republican Turkish Labour History*, eds. Touraj Atabaki and Gavin D. Brockett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp 12-13.

⁴ Faroqhi, Suraiya (2005). "Understanding Ottoman Guilds", in *Crafts and Craftsmen of the Middle East Fashioning the Individual in the Muslim Mediterranean*, eds. Suraiya Faroqhi and Randi Deguilhem (London, I.B. Tauris), p 15.

⁵ Faroqhi, Suraiya (2005). "Understanding Ottoman Guilds", in *Crafts and Craftsmen of the Middle East Fashioning the Individual in the Muslim Mediterranean*, eds. Suraiya Faroqhi and Randi Deguilhem (London, I.B. Tauris), p 15.

⁶ Kırılı, Cengiz (2001). "A Profile of the Labor Force in Early Nineteenth-Century Istanbul", *International Labor and Working Class History*, 60, pp 129-134.

debate by observing a sample occupation, barbers of the late 18th century in Istanbul, and their ethno-religious collaboration in a micro space level, barbershops.

Another dimension is to analyse the residential patterns of Bursa and Salonica barbers on a neighbourhood basis. A neighbourhood in Ottoman context was the smallest unit of collectiveness of urban life,⁷ generally consisting of people sharing the same religion, ethnic group or denomination.⁸ Yet this study aims to track whether barbers simply mirrored the ethno-religious identity of the neighbourhood or they followed population and industrialization as Wrigley claimed for the barbers' craft.⁹

Last but not least, it is hoped that the various and detailed maps and figures created for the study can provide general indications on the residential areas, ethno-religious characteristics and population density for late 18th century Istanbul, and mid-19th century Bursa and Salonica.

The following chapter aims to explore the barber's craft. The chapter starts with the religious meaning of hair and facial hair for different religions and denominations to grasp different attitudes of barbers and their clients having different ethno-religious backgrounds. Then, it continues with the functions and transformation of the barbers and barbershops in Ottoman and the Western world as a response to political, social and economic changes.

The third chapter focuses on barbers and barbershops of Istanbul in the late 18th century in the light of *kefalet* registers. It starts with the political struggles of the era that forced *kefalet* surveys to be conducted in Istanbul, then continues with the content and outcomes of the survey, and finally focuses on the barbers and barbershops based on their geographical distribution, status, shop size, and ethno-religious distribution.

The remaining chapters focus on *temettuat* observations in Bursa and Salonica cities. Starting with the major political and economic events in the late 18th and the early

⁷ Boyar, Ebru, Kate Fleet (2010). *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p 121.

⁸ Faroqhi, Suraiya (2000). *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris) (2000), p 147.

⁹ Wrigley, E.A (2004). *Poverty, Progress, and Population* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press), p 294.

19th century that paved the way for *tanzimat* and transition in the tax collection, the fourth chapter continues with a general evaluation of content and outcomes of *temettuat* survey that was required for the implementation of that transition and conducted in the mid-19th century. After discussing Bursa and its economic significance as a silk trade centre, and Salonica as a cosmopolitan port, *temettuat* figures of each city are revealed together with barber figures and maps by means of their residential patterns, ethno-religious distribution, status and wealth.

The fifth chapter combines the barbers' figures of Istanbul, Bursa and Salonica in addition to 16 major cities recorded in *temettuat* and analyses barbers' proportion within the total workforce together with their ethno-religious characteristics, status, and wealth comparatively.

The final chapter indicates the outcomes and concluding remarks of the study.

CHAPTER 2:

THE SHAVING BIB –SETTING THE SCENE

“Long hair minimizes the need for barbers”¹⁰

Albert Einstein

The Religious Hair

Einstein, with the above quote, reminds us the dependency of barber craft for removal of the hair but also expresses his aim of not wasting his time in barbershops (along with many other places) and that could explain why he had his hair so grown. Yet deciding on removing or growing hair/facial hair would never been that easy in the past. Therefore, this chapter will start with the complex relationship between of man and his hair including the facial hair, simply beard and moustache.

Hair has always attributed to significant social, cultural, religious, sexual and personal symbolisms since prehistoric times and always seen as a strong mark for individuals to form a group identity and for groups to maintain control among individuals.¹¹

In religious perspective, Jewish people were required to grow beard as stated in Old Testament, “You shall not round off the side-growth of your heads nor harm the edges of your beard.”¹² In addition, Jewish barbers were ordered not to shave but trim the head.¹³ That Jewish beard style was completely opposite of the ancient and contemporary Egyptians who had been shaving their heads to keep cool in the heat and to prevent infestation with lice.¹⁴

¹⁰ Clark, Ronald (1971). *Einstein: Life and Times* (New York: World Pub. Co.)

¹¹ For more on hair symbolism see;

Leach, E. Ronald (1958). *Magical Hair* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill)

Hallpike, C. Robert (1969). “Social Hair”, *Man*, 4, pp 256-265.

Synnott, Anthony (1987). “Shame and Glory: A Sociology of Hair”, *The British Journal of Sociology*, 38, 3, pp 381-413.

¹² Bible Lev. 19:27 (New International Version)

¹³ Bible Ezek. 44:20 (New International Version), “Also they shall not shave their heads, yet they shall not let their locks grow long; they shall only trim the hair of their heads”.

¹⁴ Peterkin, Allan (2001). *One Thousand Beards: A Cultural History of Facial Hair* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press), pp 17, 18.

In Christianity, St. Paul instructed men to cut the hair in New Testament as “Doth not nature itself teach you, that if a man has long hair it is a shame unto him.”¹⁵ Clement of Alexandria, at the end of the 2nd century AD, dignified beard as a sign of the manhood and decried razor shaving for being a feminine attitude in his detailed instruction manual.¹⁶ Above statements of both St. Paul and Clement of Alexandria were clearly aiming to signify hair in a gender point of view. The following church fathers defined it as a differentiator between Christians and Jews but also Egyptians and barbarians.¹⁷

As time goes by, hair and facial hair had become a centre of visual opposition between Eastern and Western churches. Throughout the 9th century, Roman priests grew beards while their Greek counterparts were clean-shaven. Nevertheless, a century later, during the Great Schism between churches, the positions were irrecoverably reversed. While Byzantine clergy claimed the beard as a fundamental element of their church tradition, Roman church forbade growing beard not only for the clergy but also for the whole community with the declaration of Archbishop of Rouen who had threatened to excommunicate anyone with bearded face in 1096.¹⁸

In Muslim world, the only statement attributed to hair in Quran was the instruction of entering Masjid al-Haram with shaven heads and short haircuts.¹⁹ Growing or shaving beard was regulated through the hadiths especially by Prophet Mohammed’s statement of “Do not act like disbelievers, trim closely the moustache, and let the beard grow”²⁰ narrated by Ibn Umar and all four denominations of Islam had a consensus on growing beard with some little variations.

¹⁵ Bible Cor. 11:6 (New International Version)

¹⁶ For the instruction book see <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/02093.html>.

¹⁷ Bromberger, Christian. (2008). “Hair from the West to the Middle East through the Mediterranean”, *The Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 121, no. 482, pp 379-399.

¹⁸ Peterkin (2001), p 25.

¹⁹ Quran 48:27 (Sahih International translation), “You will surely enter al-Masjid al-Haram, if Allah wills, in safety, with your heads shaved and [hair] shortened, not fearing [anyone]. He knew what you did not know and has arranged before that a conquest near [at hand]”.

²⁰ Hadith Sahih Bukhari 7:72:781.

It was also advised to trim the moustache until making upper lips visible and the extent of the beard was described as holding the beard in hand and cutting off the leftovers.²¹

As to his companion's observations, Prophet Mohammad had his hair grown to a moderate level and took good care of it. For the head shave, Evliya Çelebi narrates that the Prophet had his head shaved by Selman-ı Farisi, the spiritual leader of all the Muslim barbers, during entering to Mecca²² as instructed in Quran but he did not repeat it again. Moreover, there was a hadith that the Prophet asking for mercy to the people having their head shaved or trimmed short²³ as it was seen as a sign of disease.

Ottoman Beard

Turkic men were traditionally portrayed with their long hair, shaved beard and grown moustache before their conversion to Islam. However, contemporary miniatures evidenced that the same tradition was still alive during Seljuk Period and they did not vanish until the 15th century in Anatolia when the Sunni doctrine became dominant.²⁴

Additionally Mongol invasion in the 13th century marks a major turning point for hair and beard in Anatolia since the numerous Sufi Orders flourished afterwards. Having been intertwined with Central Asian religious traditions including Buddhism, shaving hair was perceived as a symbolic rejection of love for world in many Sufi Orders. Also keeping the head scalp was one of the main rituals for joining Bektashi order.²⁵ Another group in Qalandari order removed all the hair in their face including eyebrow (*çıhar-ı darb*)

²¹ Al- Jibālī, Muhammad (1999). *The Beard between the Salaf & Khalaf: Lahyah bayna al-salaf wa-al-khalaf* (Arlington: Al-Kitaab & as-Sunnah).

²² Evliya Çelebi (2011). *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol.1, ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları), pp 289-290.

²³ Hadith Sahih Bukhari 2:26:785.

²⁴ Mülâyim, Selçuk (2004). "Selçuklu İkonografisinde Saç", in *Saç Kitabı*, ed. Emine Gürsoy Naskali (Istanbul: Kitabevi), pp 70-73.

²⁵ Sabuncu, Zeynep (2004). "Bektaşî Geleneğinde Saç", in *Saç Kitabı*, ed. Emine Gürsoy Naskali (Istanbul: Kitabevi), pp 74-77.

whereas the ones in Haidari order did not shave their beards but left a scalp lock on their heads.

In Mevlevi order, methods of shaving hair were described in a book called “*Tıraşname*” with four stages: Trimming or shaving the beard to demonstrate rejection of love for the world, trimming whiskers to show rejection of the self; trimming eyebrows to signal release from all attachments but that of the love of God; trimming the hair to symbolize the aspirant’s role as a clod of earth under the tread of others.²⁶

Thus, it is argued that hair removal have become widespread among Ottoman Muslims although not required in Sunni Islam. The general style of Ottoman hair and beard was described by English traveller Moryson at the end of the 16th century as “Ottoman men had their hair shaved and remain a scalp lock. They grow moustache and beard.”²⁷ Growing a scalp lock top knot was more common among Janissaries who possibly had the fear of insult if they would become beheaded by the enemies so that their brothers in arms could carry the head by the lock from the battlefield.²⁸

Also depictions of the cropped and shaven heads of male bathers in the hammams were apparent in Ottoman miniatures that support the likelihood of head shaving being a constant practice, at least among those living in Istanbul, until the mid-nineteenth century.²⁹ (See the illustration 1)

The beard on the other hand was perceived as a sign of respect, power and intelligence so that growing it was only privileged to Pashas and higher rank officials working in the state service (*askeri*), but the ulamas and ordinary public had the complete

²⁶ Atasoy, Nurhan (1992). “Dervish Dress and Ritual: The Mevlevi Tradition, trans. M.E.Quigley Pınar”, in *The Dervish lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey*, ed. Raymond Lifchez (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp 253-268.

²⁷ Reyhanlı, Tulay (1983). *İngiliz Gezginlerine Göre XVI. Yüzyılda İstanbul’da Hayat (1582-1599)* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı), p 70.

²⁸ Koçu (1967), “Perçem”, p 190.

²⁹ Aykut, Susan (1999). “Hairy Politics: Hair Rituals in Ottoman and Turkish Society”, *24th Annual Conference of the Australian Association for the Study of Religions*, Charles Strong Memorial Trust.

liberty on growing it.³⁰ It was very frequent practice to punish the criminals by shaving their beard as a sign of humiliation.

Shaving the beard was also perceived as sign of a non-Muslim identity. An imperial edict mentions about a grain merchant who was captured in his way to a Russian port at the end of the 18th century. As since it was totally forbidden for Muslim merchants to navigate to the Russian border at that time, the cunning merchant immediately shaved his beard to prove his non-Muslim identity and not to be punished.³¹



1. The Men's Bathhouse (1810), The Stratford Canning Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum, No: D.118-1895.

Several European travellers grew beard to complete cultural transformation to Ottoman world especially in the 18th century when beards had totally gone out of style

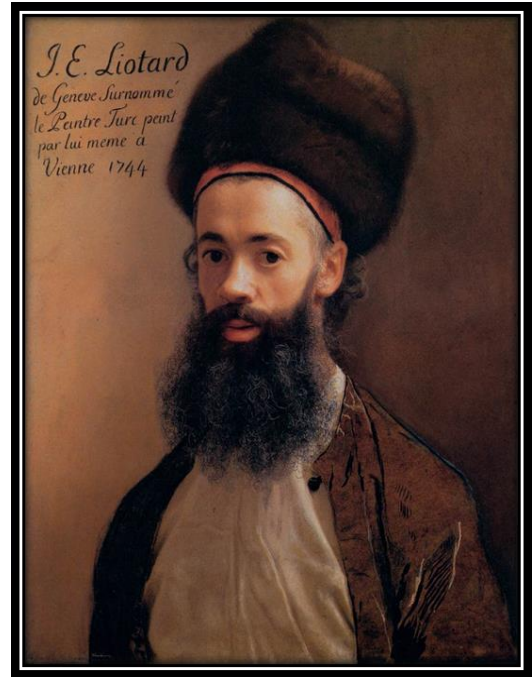
³⁰ Ubcini, M.A. (1977). *1855'te Türkiye: La Turquie Actuelle*, vol. 2.trans. Ayda Düz (Istanbul: Tercüman), p 45.

³¹ The Ottoman State Archives, Turkey (Başbakanlık Devlet Osmanlı Arşivleri), henceforth BDOA. BDOA, *Hatt-ı Humayun*, HAT. 227/12606 (29/Z/1212) “Ehl-i İslam ve reaya tüccar sefinelerinin bila-izin ve ferman Rus iskelelerinde gelip gitmeleri memnu iken kapan tüccarlarından erzakla ve izin tezkiresiyle Kalas'a azimet eden bir kapan tüccar sefinesinin reisi sefineyi satması ve sakalını traşla Hıristiyan olduğu mesmu olmakla ne vechile muamele olunacağı”

throughout Western Europe and shaving became the sign of Western civilization.³² Irish archaeologist and theologian Richard Pococke recorded the gradual growth of his facial hair, left a lock on his hair during his travels in the Ottoman Empire between 1737 and 1741 as a progressive transformation into a new cultural identity, and portrayed by another Turkish beard fan Jean-Etienne Liotard.³³ (See illustrations 2 and 3).



2. Portrait of Richard Pococke (1739)
Painted by Jean-Étienne Liotard
Musée d'Art ET d'Histoire, Genève



3. Self Portrait of Jean-Étienne Liotard
(1744) Uffizi Gallery, Florence

On the other hand, those religious stereotypes in hair and beard had always exceptions because of social, cultural and fashionable interactions among communities. For instance, the earliest known Ottoman historiographer *Aşıkpaşazade* had some complaints about Ottoman subjects who were imitating Europeans as opposing the beard tradition and fell into a habit of shaving it, as early as the 15th century.³⁴

³² Sherrow, Victoria (2006). "Beard", in *Encyclopedia of Hair: A Cultural History* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press)

³³ Rosenthal, Angela (2004). "Raising Hair", *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38, 1, pp 1-16.

³⁴ Aşıkpaşazade (2003). *Osmanoğulları'nın Tarihi*, eds. Kemal Yavuz, M.A.Yekta Saraç (Istanbul: K Kitaplığı), p 99. Thanks to Prof. Hakan Erdem for reminding that source.

Another striking example to underline non-religious factors on growing beard was a violent controversy in 1720 Ottoman Salonica between an Italian Jew who had settled for business purposes in the city having no beard as per to western Europe custom, and the rabbinate there who insisted that the newcomers must wear their beards.³⁵

Furthermore, foreign travellers' accounts provide some information on non-Muslim subjects' shaving habits in the empire. Edward Brown, a British physician and traveller talks about a barber in Edirne who was capable of trimming every man according to the fashion of his country, during his travel to Balkans in 1669. As to his observations, Greeks preserved a ring of hair on the centre of their heads and shaved the rest. The Greek Priests neither shave nor cut their hair, but wear it as long as it will grow and many of them have thick heads of hair.³⁶

For the Armenians, Edmondo De Amicis states that it was not possible to recognize the physical difference including the beard between them and Muslims.³⁷ Another observers Miss Pardoe tells her disappointment when she saw an Armenian merchant with a shaven head.³⁸

The attempts of westernizing the Ottoman Empire starting from the late 18th century had gradual effects on hair and facial hair as well. After the abolishment of Janissaries in 1826, Mahmut II discouraged the wearing of long beards and introduced significant changes of costume. He laid down for his new army European-style tunics, trousers and boots.³⁹ Changes to traditional headdress practices were harder to implement because of their religious implications. Nevertheless, in 1828, with the consent of the

³⁵ Horowitz, Elliot (1994). "The Early Eighteenth Century Confronts the Beard: Kabbalah and Jewish Self-Fashioning", *Jewish History*, vol. 8, no. 1/2, pp 95-115.

³⁶ Brown, Edward (1673). *A brief account of some travels in Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thessaly, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Friuli: As also some observations on the gold, silver, copper, quick-silver mines, baths, and mineral waters in those parts : with the figures of some habits and remarkable places.*(London), p 60.

³⁷ Amicis, Edmond de (2010). *İstanbul*, trans. Filiz Özdem (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları), p 129.

³⁸ Pardoe, Miss (2004). *Şehirlerin Ecesi İstanbul: Bir Leydinin Gözüyle 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Yaşamı*, trans. Banu Büyükkal (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi), p 17.

³⁹ Quataert, Donald (1997). "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3, pp 403-425.

ulama, the turban was banned in favour of the cylindrical hat called *fez*,⁴⁰ which became the standard headgear of the official and aspiring classes, both Muslims and non-Muslims.⁴¹

By the removal of turbans, hair became visible and opposing to the tradition, growing hair become popular especially among younger generation.⁴² However, this time not religion but the state ordered military officers and soldiers in constant state edicts not to grow hair and moustaches and trim them in a proper way.⁴³

Barber's Craft

The profession of barbering is one of the oldest crafts in the world. Archaeological studies indicate that some crude forms of facial and hair adornment were practiced among prehistoric people in the glacial age. In Ancient Egypt the barbers' art included shaving, haircutting, beard trimming, hair colouring and facial makeup. Barbers who worked among Jews were banned from shaving their heads or trimming their beards. But they were the elite members of the Greek society around 500 BC where men prized their well-trimmed beards. In 296 BC, Sicilians brought Greek barbers to Rome whereas they worked in their own shops and public baths.⁴⁴

During the Middle Ages barbers worked in Western European monasteries and shaved the monks who were expected to be clean shaven also assisted those monks for their surgical operations. When Pope Alexander III, the Council of Tours, forbade the clergy to act as surgeons in 1163, the task was taken over by the barbers. From then they

⁴⁰ Faroqhi, Suraiya (2004). "Introduction, or Why and How one Might Want to Study Ottoman Clothes", in *Ottoman Costumes: From textile to identity*, eds. Suraiya Faroqhi, Christopher K. Neumann (Istanbul: Eren), p 23.

⁴¹ Quataert (1997), p 421.

⁴² Koçu (1967), "Avrupa", pp 18-19.

⁴³ There were several state edicts found in the Ottoman State Archives, forbidding military officers to grow hair and mustaches and ordering to be shaved in a proper way in the mid-19th century, only two decades after janissaries were abolished and the clothing law was enforced.

BDOA, *Hatt-ı Humayun*, HAT. 67/1618 (29/Z/1254) "*Subay ve erlerin bıyık ve saçlarının uzatmalarının yasaklanması*"

BDOA, *Hatt-ı Humayun*, HAT. 71/1625 (29/Z/1255) "*Askeri zabıt ve neferlerin saçlarını Rumeli sekbanları veya dervişler gibi çok uzatmayıp yakışacak biçimde uygun bir şekle getirmeleri*"

⁴⁴ Sherrow (2006). "Barbers", pp 50-55.

were as “barber surgeons” simply performing bloodletting, cupping therapy and pulling teeth.

The first barber guild in Europe was established in London in 1308 as Worship Company of Barbers followed by French barbers and surgeons in 1391 who were also allowed to enter University of Paris to extend their knowledge.⁴⁵

As the largest and most civically active body of medical practitioners, the barber surgeons played a vital role, but also remained vulnerable to abasement due to the regular contact with death and disease necessitated by their work.⁴⁶ With the advancement of science of medicine, barber surgeons were restricted to perform any medical practice in the mid-18th century in France and in England.

The loss of prestige of Western European barbers was recovered by a new fashion “wigs”. The use of wigs was fashioned by Louis XIV in the mid-17th century and became a widespread phenomenon later on. The barbers then also started to function as wig makers and wig designers. They were additionally in charge of installation and periodical maintenance. Therefore, the occupation was shifted from a barber craft to a free working and trend setting coiffeur and those coiffeurs especially ones in France, were claiming that their performance should be regarded as an art rather than a craft.⁴⁷

Wig makers had their golden age during the 18th century. After the French Revolution, people stopped using wigs as a rejection to the Old Regime and then hairstyles with natural hair became popular. Although powdered wigs were in use for a long more time in the courts and parliaments, wig makers had very little activity in the 19th century since almost nobody was using wigs.

Barbers got back to the core business and kept working in the hair cutting, trimming of beards and hair designs. Besides, although not allowed to do it, they kept

⁴⁵ Andrews, William (2009). *At the Sign of the Barber's Pole; Studies in Hirsute History* (Dodo Press), pp 26-32.

⁴⁶ Chamberland, Celeste (2009). “Honor, Brotherhood, and the Corporate Ethos of London's Barber-Surgeons' Company, 1570-1640”, *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*. No 64, pp 300-332.

⁴⁷ Falaky, Falçay (2013). ”From Barber to Coiffeur: Art and Economic Liberalisation in Eighteenth-Century France, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* vol.36, no.1, p 36.

practicing bloodlettings and dental extractions in many places especially in towns where the professionals of medicine were not available. By 1850, medical practices eliminated and the craft then re-organized, solely based on the hair care.⁴⁸

Ottoman Barbers

Ottoman barbers had the similar tasks as their European counterparts. In addition of the very nature of the craft for shaving heads and trimming beards⁴⁹ many Ottoman barber also excelled in dental care, administered circumcision, applied leeches for bloodletting and vacuum cups for congestion relief; some became famous as herbalists.⁵⁰

There were three types of barbers in Ottoman Istanbul based on their workplace. Barbers in shops; before the mid-16th century barbers were operating in independent barbershops but by the introduction of the coffeehouses, they were mainly integrated into those coffeehouses. Indeed foreign travellers' accounts continuously mention that the coffeehouses were also barbershops in Ottoman land.⁵¹ (See illustration 4).

Second group of barbers were located in the hammams possibly due to the fact that shaving and trimming was a part of a cleaning process. Hammam barbers were observed and described by Jean de Thévenot, a French traveller who travelled to Istanbul in 1656, as “bath attendants shave the beard and underarm then leave the razor to the client for personal use.”⁵²

⁴⁸ Andrews (2009), pp 96-98.

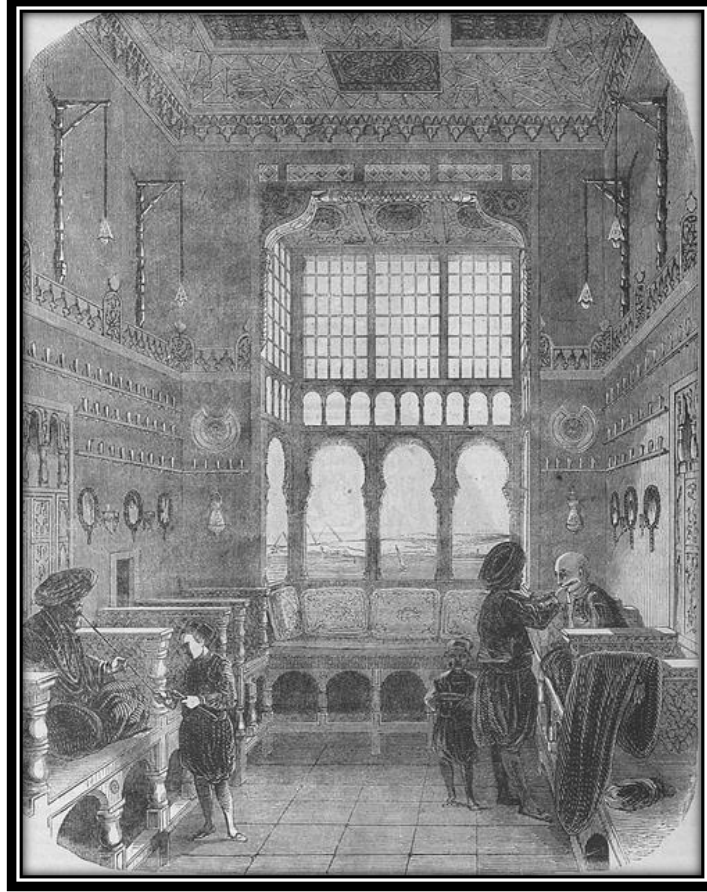
⁴⁹ There was no coach on barbershops until Tanzimat era and traditional Ottoman barbers were placing their clients on stools. Therefore, the barbers were first leaning their clients head on their left knee and shave the left part of the face then leaning it on the right knee and shave the right part of the face. Evliya Çelebi narrates that he was very surprised to observe that barbers of Vienna was staying stable during the shave but turning the coaches from one side to another in his famous Seyahatname. Evliya Çelebi (2011). *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol.7, ed. Seyit Ali Kahraman (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları), pp 110,111.

⁵⁰ Artan, Tülay (2011). “Forms and Forums of Expression: Istanbul and Beyond, 1600-1800” in *The Ottoman World* ed. Christine Woodhead (London: Routledge), p 388.

⁵¹ For a short but vivid depiction of a shaving experience by a mid-19th century Istanbul barber and his Armenian *çırak* who were working in a coffeehouse see *The Illustrated Magazine of Art*, Turkish Barbers and Their Shops, vol. 4, no. 20 (1854), pp. 81-82

⁵² Thévenot, Jean de (1978). *1655-1656'da Türkiye*, trans. Nuray Yıldız (Istanbul: Tercüman), p 87.

The last group was the street barbers who were less capable of mastering in their craft and were surrounding in the most crowded places like piers, city gates and mostly trimmed relatively poor boatmen, porters and peddlers.⁵³ Those street barbers were not welcome to work very close to the resident barbershops as they could entice the clients or *çıraks* of the resident barbers.⁵⁴



4. Turkish Barbers and Their Shops
The Illustrated Magazine of Art, vol. 4, no. 20 (1854), pp. 81-82

The earliest known state regulation on barbers is dating back to Selim I's reign stating that "Barbers should be observed, should not shave Muslim clients head by the razors that they used to shave non-Muslim's heads and should not use the towels for Muslim that were used for non-Muslims'. Razors and towels of Muslims should be

⁵³ Aksu, Fatma Aysu (1996). *Geleneksel Erkek Berberliği* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı), pp 14-15.

⁵⁴ BDOA, Mühimme 82/154 (29/Z/1026) "Galata'da, ayak berberi denilen bazı şahısların berber dükkânları yanında berberlik yapıp işlerine engel oldukları ve hiçbir tekâlif vermedikleri, ayrıca bazı berberlerin de birbirlerinin çıraklarını ayarttıkları bildirildiğinden, ayak berberlerine berber dükkânlarının yanında çalışmamları, berberlere de birbirlerinin çıraklarını ayartmamaları hususunda tenbihte bulunulması."

different.... Additionally bath attendants should be capable of shaving the head and should not use the towel and razor for Muslims that they used for non-Muslims’.”⁵⁵

The similar statements for barbers and bath attendants were repeated by the subsequent the code of laws during the reign of Süleyman I and Ahmet I for the 16th and the early 17th century. These regulations strictly underlining to use different sets of instruments for Muslims and non-Muslims also evidencing the common use of barbershops regardless of religious identity from the very beginning.

Other aspects of state regulation on barber craft were on price fixing (*narh*), training and organization. In the year 1640; charge for trimming was fixed as one *akçe* and the duration of apprenticeship for barbers and for surgeons were stated not less than five years and two years respectively.⁵⁶

The organization of the barber craft was not much different from the other artisanal groups that were assembled in the form of guilds. In addition of being special craft organizations having internal hierarchy and official leadership, guild in Ottoman context also implies associations of artisans having capability of initiating court cases or petitioning the central administration in order to protect craft interests.⁵⁷ Ottoman guilds were considered to be rigidly restrictive and monopolistic but without political autonomy of any sort and featured apprentice (corresponds to *çırak* in Ottoman), journeyman (corresponds to *kalfa* in Ottoman) and master (corresponds to *usta*) hierarchy.⁵⁸

Generally, a barber guild in Ottoman would consisted of a guild warden (*kethüda*), his assistant (*yiğitbaşı*), appointed by the kadi, also accompanied by a sheikh, his assistants (*nakib*) and prayers (*duacı*) but there could be exceptions. Their duties were including mediation between barbers and the authorities, inspection for the obedience to the craft

⁵⁵ Akgündüz, Ahmet (1990). “Yavuz Sultan Selim Devri Kanunnameleri”, in *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, no. 3 (İstanbul: FEY Vakfı), p 115.

⁵⁶ Yücel, Yaşar (1992). *Es'âr Defteri (1640 tarihli): Osmanlı Ekonomi, Kültür, Uygarlık Tarihine Dair bir Kaynak* (Ankara: TTK Basımevi)

⁵⁷ Faroqhi, Suraiya (2009). *Artisans of Empire Crafts and Craftspeople under the Ottomans* (London: I.B.Tauris), p XVI.

⁵⁸ Quataert, Donald (2001). “Labour History and the Ottoman Empire, c. 1700–1922”, *International Labor and Working Class History*, 60, p 97.

regulations and price fixing, testing and approval for the advancement in the craft hierarchy from *çırak* to *kalfa* and *kalfa* to *usta*.⁵⁹

Both Muslims and non-Muslims were members of the guild and non-Muslims could be represented in the guild delegation. Court records in the early 17th century depict that among 50 guilds having guilds delegation identified, 34 of them including barbers delegation had only Muslim names in the delegation; the rest consisted of either non-Muslim or mixed religious groups.⁶⁰ The *kethüdas* of the guilds having mixed religious members were always Muslims and some were also heading non-Muslim guilds as those of non-Muslims were represented by a non-Muslim *yiğitbaşıs*.⁶¹ However, Muslim *kethüda* could not count on the automatic support of the kadi when his non-Muslim guildsmen were dissatisfied with him.⁶²

By the mid-18th century, an innovation called “*gedik*” was emerged in the guild system, granting the masters of a particular craft the exclusive right to practice their craft as well as to the usufruct of the tools and implements in their workshops.⁶³ Ownership of the implements, not only enabled the master to become his own boss as a fully-fledged *usta*, but it also provided him with a slot among a group of fellow *ustas* and thereby with a work place at a specific location in the marketplace.⁶⁴ That also means that without *gedik*

⁵⁹ Turna, Nalan (2001). “Ottoman Craft Guilds and Silk-Weaving Industry in Istanbul”, MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University.

⁶⁰ Yi, Eunjeong (2003). *Guild Dynamics in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul: Fluidity and Leverage* (Leiden: Brill), pp 271-289.

⁶¹ Faroqhi, Suraiya (2008). “Guildsmen and Handicraft Producers”, in *The Cambridge History of Turkey: vol. 3* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p 343.

⁶² A court record on assigning the Christian silk-thread spinners’ guild members to organize a separate excursions to celebrate the advancement of Christian *çıraks* to the rank of *kalfa* that were rejected by the Muslim *kethüda* in mid 18th century is a good example to see the interreligious conflict within the guild structure. See Yıldırım, Onur (2002). “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), pp 407–419

⁶³ Yıldırım, Onur (2008). “Ottoman Guilds in the Early Modern Era”, *International Review of Social History*, 53, pp 73-93.

⁶⁴ Akarlı, Engin Deniz (2004). “Gedik: A Bundle of Rights and Obligations for Istanbul Artisans, 1750-1840”, in *Law, Anthropology, and the Constitution of The Social: Making Persons and Things*, eds. Alain Pottage, Martha Mundy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp 175-176.

ownership one could not run a shop or gain *usta* title no matter he was mastered in a craft or not.⁶⁵ In that sense, *gediks* restricted the total labourforce.

Gediks could have been transferred by inheritance. If the artisan in question did not leave behind a son capable of succeeding him, the right to open a shop would have passed to the senior *kalfa*. If the artisan left a son too young to take over his father's shop, the *kalfa* could have been allowed temporary tenure with a sum of money changing hands when the young *usta* took up his inheritance.⁶⁶ Also the owner of the *gedik* had right to sell, rent or submit as a security for credit loans and the person who acquire it might not have been the guild member.

For barber's craft, the *gedik* transfer from masters to individual investors was also a common phenomenon. Facing financial difficulties some barbers looked for reliable investors and welcomed non-barbers who would buy their *gediks*. Pious foundations, janissaries and other individuals including females were the major investors. As a result, the shop owners who were not barbers bought *gediks* and rent them out to the barbers. That development in the private property also led some barbers to lose their occupation on their *gediks* as well.⁶⁷

Additionally numbers of the 18th century documents reveal that the transfer of *gediks* and their shares from one ethnic group to another was in principle strictly prohibited⁶⁸, on the other hand *gedik* transfers between different religious groups in barber craft was not infrequent.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Aynural, Salih (1992). "19. Yüzyıla Giren İstanbul Esnafının Hiyerarşik Yapısı", *Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları Dergisi*, vol. 37-38, pp 125-127.

⁶⁶ Faroqhi, Suraiya (2005). "Ottoman Craftsmen: Problematic and Sources with Special Emphasis on the Eighteenth Century", in *Crafts and Craftsmen of the Middle East Fashioning the Individual in the Muslim Mediterranean*, eds. Suraiya Faroqhi and Randi Deguilhem (London, I.B. Tauris), p 87.

⁶⁷ Turna, Nalan (2006). "Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılın ilk Yarısında İstanbul'da Berber Olmak, Berber Kalmak", *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları*, no 9, pp 171-188.

⁶⁸ Ağır, Seven, Onur Yıldırım (2015). "Gedik: What's in a Name?", in *Bread from the lion's mouth: Artisans struggling for a livelihood in Ottoman cities*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (New York: Berghahn Books), pp 232,233.

⁶⁹ BDOA, *Cevdet Belediye*, C.BLD. 68/352 (6/R/1236) "Beyoğlu'nda Ağacami'nde Mustafa'nın hanesi altındaki berber dükkanının gedik alatına mutasarrıf Abdullah Usta kendi arzusuyla yarısını Erakil veled-i Ohannes'e ve diğer yarısını da Pıraşköve'ye sattığından müşterilere suret verildiğine dair"

Barbershops, along with or within the coffeehouses were the most important male public spheres where the rumours and gossips especially state talk (*devlet sohbeti*) became widespread. The 17th century Ottoman state historian Mustafa Naima describes the gathering within those places as “the crowd of good-for-nothings.” Having seen the strong janissary linkage, state authorities perceived those coffeehouses and barbershops as a potential threat for public resistance and showed very little tolerance to those state talks.⁷⁰

Hence, during Murat IV’s reign, the coffee and coffee houses were banned and there became a scarce of barbers in the city for a short period.⁷¹ Moreover, Selim III had huge complaints for the false rumours spread in the coffeehouses and barbershops as he expressed his intention to shut them down.⁷² He ordered to warn those people to beware the provocative talks in the barbershops and coffeehouses against the state and punish those people along with shopkeepers.⁷³ Nevertheless, the state talks in coffeehouses and barbershops and other public spheres were unavoidable. Vast majority of the spy reports of the mid-19th century were recorded in coffeehouses and barbershops.⁷⁴

By the abolishment of janissaries in 1826, all coffeehouses including those of barbershops having janissary connections or being located in the areas closed to Sublime Porte offices were closed down.⁷⁵ Immediately after, the property owners demanded to change over of those coffeehouses into barbershops and the government allowed them to do so within few years after 1826.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Sajdi, Dana (2007). *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century* (London, I.B. Tauris), p 202.

⁷¹ *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, “Berberler”, pp 154-155.

⁷² Kırılı, Cengiz (2009). *Sultan ve Kamuoyu: Osmanlı Modernleşme Sürecinde "Havadis Jurnalleri" 1840-1844* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları), p 23.

⁷³ BDOA, *Cevdet Zabitiye*, C.ZB.7/302 (2/Z/1212) “*Bazı kimselerin kahvehanelerde ve berber dükkanlarında mesalih-i devlete dair bir takım aracif neşrettikleri anlaşıldığından bu gibi hallerden sakınılması, aksi halde yapanların ve dükkan sahiplerinin tecziye edileceği hakkında ferman*”

⁷⁴ For the general overview of spy reports and its distribution of public places where the reports were recorded see; Kırılı, Cengiz (2000). “The Struggle Over Space: Coffeehouses of Ottoman Istanbul, 1780-1845”, PhD Thesis, State University of New York at Binghamton, pp 185-192. For the details of the report see; Kırılı (2009), pp 1-26.

⁷⁵ Turna, Nalan (2006). “The Everyday Life of Istanbul and its Artisans. 1808-1839”, PhD Thesis, Binghamton University / SUNY, pp 193-195.

⁷⁶ BDOA, *Hatt-ı Humayun*, HAT. 548/27034 (29/Z/1246) “*Kapatılmış kahvehanelerden berberli ve gedikli bazılarının açılmasına ruhsat verilmiş olmakla, evkafa ait böyle bir kaç dükkanın açılmasına müsaade itası.*”

Ubicini depicts that transformation with some exaggeration as “by the closure of the coffeehouses, some 2.000-3.000 coffeehouses were immediately transformed into barbershops, Ottomans were having haircut and shaving everywhere but behind the curtains it became a shelter for smokers and coffee addicts.”⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the ownership structure was dramatically shifted from janissaries to private investors.

In order to prevent the reverse transformation from barbershops to coffeehouses, the government took some measures to ensure that the shop was not in shape of a coffeehouse. The barbershops were required to be a single storey, low ceiling buildings in average 6-7 meters length (8-10 *zira*) and 4-5 meters width (6-7 *zira*) having no wooden bench, garden or additional doorways⁷⁸ and were controlled by the architect officer (*hassa mimaran*), the kadi and the market inspector (*ih̄tisab ađası*) before confirming the change. After having the confirmation of ownership, the new investors could have moved their *gediks* in.

That major transformation followed by Mahmut II’s reform in clothing, *Tanzimat* and other reforms had gradually changed barbers’ and barbershops. Almost a century later than England and France, barbers were officially restricted to perform medical operations including bloodlettings and dental extractions.⁷⁹ Especially after the first constitution; barbers in the urban areas had completely changed and abandoned their traditional dress codes, tools and trimming styles⁸⁰ and started to follow European fashion in hair and facial

⁷⁷ Ubicini (1977), p 67.

⁷⁸ Bilge, Sait Müfit (2014).” Osmanlı İstanbul’unda Berber Esnafı”, *Osmanlı İstanbulu II, II.Uluslararası Osmanlı İstanbulu Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi), pp 187-206.

⁷⁹ BDOA, *Meclis-i Vala*, A.}MKT.MVL.70/41 (27/Ra/1271) “*Dersaadet ve Bilad-ı Selase’de, berber esnafı ile sair hekimlik gibi tababet ilmine müdahale edenlere fırsat verilmemesi.*”

BDOA, *Meclis-i Vala*, İ..MVL 321/13637 (27/Ra/1271) “*Dersaadet ve Bilad-ı Selase’deki berber esnafının dış çekmesinin, kan almasının ve attar esnafının ilaç satmasının önüne geçilmesi.*”

⁸⁰ For Ottoman barber’s dress codes, tools, shaving style and social role also see;

Arslan, Mehmet (2009). *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri* (İstanbul, Sarayburnu Kitaplığı)

Ergene, Celal (1995). “Geçmişte bir Berber Dükkanından Esintiler ve Unutulan Traş Önlükleri”, *Kültür ve Sanat Dergisi*, March, pp 55-56.

Evren, Burçak (1999).” Berberler”, in *Osmanlı Esnafı* (İstanbul: Doğan Kitapçılık), pp 46-54.

Gürbüz, İncinur Atik (2012). “Divan Şiirinin Sevimli Yüzleri Osmanlı Şiirinde Berberler”, *Turkish Studies - International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, vol.7/3.

Koçu, Reşat Ekrem “Berberler”, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, pp 2515-2526.

Koçu, Reşat Ekrem (2002). *Tarihte İstanbul Esnafı* (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap)

hair. They even started to call themselves “*perukar*” (wigmaker) to be distinguished from the traditional barbers.⁸¹

In the next chapters, barbers of Istanbul in the late18th century, and barbers of Bursa, Salonica and other major 16 cities in the mid-19th century will be analysed in terms of several parameters comparatively.

⁸¹ Nazır, Bayram (2012). “Güncel Konuların Konuşulduğu Mekan: Berber Dükkanları”, in *Dersaadet’te Ticaret* (Istanbul: Istanbul Ticaret Odası), pp 236-243.

CHAPTER 3: THE RAZOR

BARBERS OF ISTANBUL

This chapter focuses on barbers and barbershops of the late 18th century Istanbul in the light of *kefalet* surveys. Before proving the outcomes, the social and political struggles of the city that enforced governors to conduct *kefalet* will be explained briefly together with the survey's content and general findings.

Istanbul "The City in Turmoil"

Administration, control and surveillance of the gigantic capital had always been a major concern of Ottoman State not only for organizing continuous food, product and service supply for the inhabitants that consist of couple of hundred thousand people,⁸² but also for maintaining social stability that was necessary for the political legitimation of the ruling Sultan. However, due to the recurrent food shortages, unemployment, increasing prices, material and psychological costs of relentless wars, fires, epidemics, and unprecedented urban uprisings, Istanbul have become increasingly vulnerable at the end of the 18th century.⁸³

The major potential threat for social stability were Janissaries, who had took part in more than twelve full-fledged revolts in the capital until their abolishment in 1826, that had severe impact in daily life and led major change in ruling elite. Six of these revolts ended only after the ruling Sultan descended from his throne.⁸⁴

⁸² There are several estimates about the population of the city for the 18th century ranging between 300.000 and 500.000 inhabitants, see Behar, Cem (1996). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ve Türkiye'nin Nüfusu 1500-1927, Tarih İstatistikler Dizisi*, vol. 2 (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü), pp 69-70.

More recent study of Betül Başaran suggested the population of the city at the end of the 18th century was slightly above 400.000 as she based her study on 1829 census documented by contemporary historian Ahmed Lütfi Efendi; see Başaran, Betül (2007). "The 1829 Census and the Population of Istanbul during the late 18th and the early 19th centuries", in *Studies on Istanbul and Beyond: The Freely Papers*, vol.1, ed. Robert G. Ousterhout (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum Publications), pp 53-71.

⁸³ Başaran, Betül (2006). "Remaking the Gate of Felicity: Policing, Social Control, and Migration in Istanbul at the end of the Eighteenth Century, 1789-1793", PhD Thesis, The University of Chicago, p 16.

⁸⁴ Kafadar, Cemal (1981). "Yeniçeri-Esnaf Relations: Solidarity and Conflict", MA Thesis, McGill University, p 71.

In addition, of their strong political ties, Janissaries also had strong attachments with the artisans and other labour force. Starting from second half of the 16th century by the degeneration of *devşirme* system, they began to participate in social and economic life and performed labour and artisanal works. It was a time when the power of janissary officers was at its peak and they mainly involved in the supply of meat and other daily necessities, and invested in bakeries, groceries and other businesses through their agents.⁸⁵

Janissaries had also invested in guild wardens (*kethüdalık*), market inspectors (*ihtisab ağalığı*) and some other guilds like coffeehouses and barbers. While some of them in higher status engaged in the most profitable businesses like textile trade,⁸⁶ the majority of janissaries established connections with some low skilled labours like peddlers, boatmen and porters that constituted the highest portion of the labour force.⁸⁷ On contrary, some artisanal guild members like butchers and boatmen had joined the army or bought janissaries' payment checks (*esame*) and started to receive the salaries for themselves.⁸⁸

Those artisans and labourers having janissary background or attachment had always supported and sometimes led⁸⁹ the revolts. On the other hand, artisanal guilds having no janissary attachment were only supportive when they were also suffered by the state policies.⁹⁰ Starting from 1740, when Janissary patronage disrupted the commercial life, artisanal guilds turned against janissaries and janissary artisans and then they actively supported the state.

Another potential threat was the migration. In the second half of the 18th century Istanbul was attracted an uncontrollable flow of rural migrants in search of work and

⁸⁵ Yi (2003), p 63.

⁸⁶ Yılmaz, Gülay (2011). "The Economic and Social Roles of Janissaries in a 17th Century Ottoman City: The Case of Istanbul", PhD Thesis, McGill University, pp 194-198.

⁸⁷ Turna, Nalan (2012). "Yeniçeri-Esnaf İlişkisi: Bir Analiz", in *Osmanlıdan Cumhuriyete Esnaf ve Ticaret*, ed. Fatmagül Demirel (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları), pp 22-25.

⁸⁸ Selim III had swears two of his barbers who also had salary from artillery corps. "*Tıraş için huzuruma gelen berberlerden ikisi topçu esamemiz var diye naklettiler... Hakka razı olup muin olmayanı Allah kahreyesin.*" Çelik, Yüksel (2010). "Nizam-ı Cedid'in Niteliği ve III.Selim ve II.Mahmut Devri Askeri Reformlarına Dair Tespitler", in *III. Selim ve Dönemi: Nizâm- Kadîm'den Nizam- Cedîd'e : Selim III and His Era : From Ancient Régime to New Order*, ed. Seyfi Kenan (Istanbul: ISAM Yayınları), pp 570.

⁸⁹ Patrona Halil, who was a janissary and bath attendant, was the leading figure of 1730 revolt.

⁹⁰ Artisanal guilds were actively participated to janissary revolt occurred in 1703 as the traditional craft industry severely affected by the European manufactured imports.

socio-economic opportunities. Although they somehow filled the gaps in the labour force caused by mortalities mainly due to plague epidemics,⁹¹ migrants were perceived as a potential threat to political stability. Uprisings and various real or imaginary urban disorders were often attributed to the presence of uncontrolled elements in the capital and especially to those of provincial and unsettled younger males who came seeking employment.⁹²

Introducing *Kefalet* Registers as a Source

Historically all labourforce of the Ottoman territory including artisans had always been under a strict surveillance of the State directly or through artisanal guilds for various reasons such as;

- Minimizing the risk of potential gatherings and resistance.⁹³
- Controlling product and service supply, price and quality,
- Preventing undesirable occupational migrations and fluctuations in wages,
- Identifying artisan's tax obligations.

In that respect, occupational surveys had been conducted time to time. A record in 1764 stating "limitation of the number of barbershops in Hasköy which consisted of 49 shops and preventing an attempt to increase that number"⁹⁴ is an evidence that the number of shops were counted by the authorities. Furthermore, names of the employees in certain occupations like chandlers, blacksmiths, ink makers, cutlers, coal dealers, boatmen, carriers etc. were enlisted in Kadi *Sicils* in detail during the first quarter of the 18th century.⁹⁵

⁹¹ A plague in 1778, had supposedly killed more than one third of the city population, see Faroqhi, Suraiya (2009), p 113.

⁹² Başaran (2006), pp 26-27.

⁹³ Kütükoğlu, Mübahat (2003). "Osmanlı Esnaf Sayımları", in *Osmanlı Öncesinde, Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Döneminde Esnaf ve Ekonomi Semineri*, vol.2, (Istanbul: Globus Dünya Basımevi), pp 405-410.

⁹⁴ Kal'a, Ahmet, Ahmet Tabakoğlu (1998). *Istanbul Ahkam Defterleri, İstanbul Esnaf Tarihi 2, İstanbul Külliyesi VII, (1764-1793)* (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırma Merkezi), p 22.

⁹⁵ ISAM (2010). *Istanbul Kadi Sicilleri, İstanbul Mahkemesi 24 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1138 - 1151 / M. 1726 - 1738)* (Istanbul: ISAM Yayınları), item no 35, 41,42,56,59,61,81,82,88-92,98-102,106,122,123, 134,139,146-161,164,168, 169,187,189,200,201,225,226,230-232,238-240,257,265-273,287,290,295.

Another effective method of surveillance was “*kefalet* system” which can be translated as standing surety. It was basically requiring each individual having a transaction to find a bondsman who would stand for surety for that person and take the responsibility for the wrong doings. The aim was to link the individuals to larger groups so that the actions of the individual would affect the society as a whole and a close system of collective watchfulness could be maintained.⁹⁶

Kefalet was an inevitable instrument to limit the settlement policy. To be able to leave from one place to another one should have a bondsmen who would stand for surety for that person and pay the taxes during his/her leave. Bondsmen were also responsible to find and bring that person back if he/she would not return on time.

Additionally *kefalet* was used for the labourers working for the state. An edict in 1573 was ordered to find workers to work for the construction of Selimiye Mosque who should have been bonded to each other. The aim of bonding was clearly to increase the watchfulness among workers and to prevent their slowdowns, walkouts and desertions.⁹⁷

In order to prevent gatherings in public places like commercial buildings, coffeehouses and barbershops where the discussions were made and oppositions could arise especially in the time of social and political crises, *kefalet* was effectively used by means of bonding artisans and shopkeepers to each other whom would become liable for others wrongdoings.⁹⁸

Kefalet was common in private sector as well. All labour force was expected to stand for surety for each other also masters for their employees and property owners for their tenants, and it was recorded to *kefalet* registers by Janissary sergeants and guild wardens. It was recorded that 497 worker whom no one stood surety for were sent off from the city in 1763.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Kırılı (2000), p 72.

⁹⁷ Saydam, Abdullah (1997). “Osmanlılarda Kefalet Usulu”, *Tarih ve Toplum*, No:164, pp 4-12.

⁹⁸ Turna, Nalan (2008). “Pandemonium and Social Order: Suretyship, Surveillance and Taxation in Early Nineteen Century Istanbul”, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No:39, pp 167-189.

⁹⁹ Kütükoğlu (2003), p 408.

However all those *kefalet* and occupational records conducted before 1792 were irregular, regional¹⁰⁰ and more often targeted only certain groups that were associated with public disorder in the eyes of the ruling elite.¹⁰¹

Kefalet Registers of 1792

Beginning from his very early reign, Selim III (1789-1807) had concentrated on reinstatement of the central authority that was weakened by the ongoing wars and highly empowered notables (*ayan*) and he focused on establishing himself firmly in Istanbul by planning a new order for the city. Given the massive grain scarcities and fear of negative reactions from his forthcoming attempts to reform the military, he first proclaimed that the city was overcrowded and full of undesirable elements.¹⁰²

Furthermore, an incident he experienced by an unidentified person yelling and throwing musket balls at him in Ayasofya Mosque in December 1791 increased Selim's personal commitment to make Istanbul a safer place. Right after the incident, he issued a decree and ordered military police (*zabıta*) to investigate all quarters of the city and its adjacent townships of Eyüp, Galata and Üsküdar to purify the capital from unemployed and unidentified vagrants having no bondsman.¹⁰³

For this purpose, huge volume of registers were prepared for each district and individuals who stayed in bachelors' quarters, commercial shops, bathhouses, *hans*, dervish lodges and theological schools (*medrese*) along with all commercial shops, shopkeepers, gardens, boatmen, porters and peddlers in the city were enlisted. The registers were repeated every six months for a brief period in the early 1790's. The registers did not cover the merchants, traders and labourforce working in following institutions:

¹⁰⁰ There were *kefalet* registers in larger scale like the one been conducted in 1728 for the out of the city walls and in 1763 for Galata and Kasımpaşa districts, but these records were on regional basis. See Kütükoğlu Mübahat (2003), pp 408-409.

¹⁰¹ Başaran, Betül (2014). *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century between Crisis and Order* (Leiden: Brill), p 110.

¹⁰² Faroqhi (2009), p 19.

¹⁰³ Başaran (2014), pp 94-96.

- Larger state enterprises imperial arsenal (*Tophane*)
- Naval dockyard (*Tersane*)
- Grand Bazaar and certain market places
- Various workshops in large business oriented buildings (*hans* or inns)¹⁰⁴
- Some public baths and taverns that were prohibited during Selim III's reign.¹⁰⁵

Within the register, following parameters were recorded;

- Number, location and type of commercial shops and gardens,
- The number of employees in each workplace,
- Names, nicknames, military titles, ranks (if any), religious titles (for Muslims if any), residency, hometown, occupational status and bondsmen of the artisans, shopkeepers and their employees working in those shops and gardens,
- The same type of information was also recorded for all peddlers, porters and boatmen working at various piers, water carriers in various neighbourhoods, and freelance carpenters.¹⁰⁶

The very large scale and depth of the survey also evidence Selim III's vision for centralization of the authority and modernization of the state. Unlike preceding *kefalet* surveys, where the guilds or guild wardens had the authority, 1792 survey was conducted with the full initiation of the state authority to end the power vacuum.¹⁰⁷

Going beyond the military reforms and borrowing new concepts like being a "statistical state" or power just like European counterparts should also be in the agenda of the reformist Sultan. Therefore, *kefalet* registers could be perceived as the one of the earliest attempts for the statistical state that would be followed by population censuses, income surveys (*temettuat*) and other censuses during Tanzimat Era.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Only number of *hans* and rooms within those *hans* were recorded, there were also information on ethnicity of the inhabitants but no reliable record on occupation.

¹⁰⁵ Başaran, Betül, Cengiz Kırılı (2015). "Some Observations on Istanbul's Artisans During the Reign of Selim III (1789-1808), in *Bread from the Lion's Mouth: Artisans Struggling for a Livelihood in Ottoman Cities*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (New York: Berghahn Books), p 260.

¹⁰⁶ Kırılı, Cengiz, Betül Başaran (2012). "18. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Osmanlı Esnafı", in *Osmanlıdan Cumhuriyete Esnaf ve Ticaret*, ed. Fatmagül Demirel (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları), pp 7-9.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, pp 10-11

¹⁰⁸ Başaran, Kırılı (2015), pp 260-262.

With considering the restrictions and limitations already mentioned, *kefalet* registers provide unique and unmatched information on Istanbul workforce of the late 18th century. The studies conducted on *kefalet* registers of 1792 have been dominated by Cengiz Kırılı and Betül Başaran in various books and articles that this study is continuously referring to. Additionally, Nejdet Ertuğ analysed *kefalet* registers of Bosphorus¹⁰⁹ and Nalan Turna specified *kefalet* registers in her analysis on artisan janissary relationship.¹¹⁰ Those records in the registers have also been utilizing for an overall evaluation in terms of provisioning the capital.¹¹¹

As indicated in Table 3.1, the Greater Istanbul was splitted into ten geographical areas for the recording purposes in which first eight of them were registered in Records of the Imperial Council (*Beylikçi Kalemi*, abbr.A.DVN). Records of Eyüp, Sütlüce and Hasköy were registered in Records of the Office of Chief Accountant (*Başmuhasebe Kalemi*, abbr. D.BŞM) and records of Kasımpaşa and Beyoğlu were found in Population Registers (*Nüfus Defterleri*, abbr. NFS)

The intermuros were divided into four regions: Southwest part; southern part of Beyazıt-Topkapı main axis, starting from Divanyolu (No.I). Eastern part of Çemberlitaş; the area between Sirkeci on the north and Cankurtaran on the south (No.V), northern part; starting from Beyazıt to Bahçekapı on the east and Unkapanı on the west bank covering Süleymaniye, Beyazıt and Odunkapısı (No.VI), northwest part; between Beyazıt on the west, Unkapanı on the north, Ayvansaray on the northwest and Topkapı on the east. (No.VII)

Other areas were mainly; neighbouring districts of the city walls (No. III), Eyüp, Sütlüce and Hasköy districts (No.IX), Galata (No.IV), Kasımpaşa to Beyoğlu (No.X), between Fındıklı, Tophane and Galata (No.II) and all Bosphorus shore from Dolmabahçe

¹⁰⁹ Ertuğ, Nejdet (2000). “Osmanlı Kefalet Sistemi ve 1792 Tarihli Bir Kefalet Defterine Göre Boğaziçi”, MA Thesis, Sakarya University, idem, *Osmanlı Döneminde İstanbul Deniz Ulaşımı ve Kayıkçılar* (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2001), idem, *Osmanlı Döneminde İstanbul Hamalları* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2008)

¹¹⁰ Turna (2008).

¹¹¹ Yıldırım, Onur, Seven Ağır, Ongoing Project Provisioning Istanbul in <http://provisioningistanbul.feas.metu.edu.tr/>

to Rumeli Feneri on the west and Beykoz to Kadıköy on the east (No.VIII) were also covered separately in the registers.

Table 3.1: The Geographical Distribution of Istanbul Workforce According to the Registers Specified ¹¹²

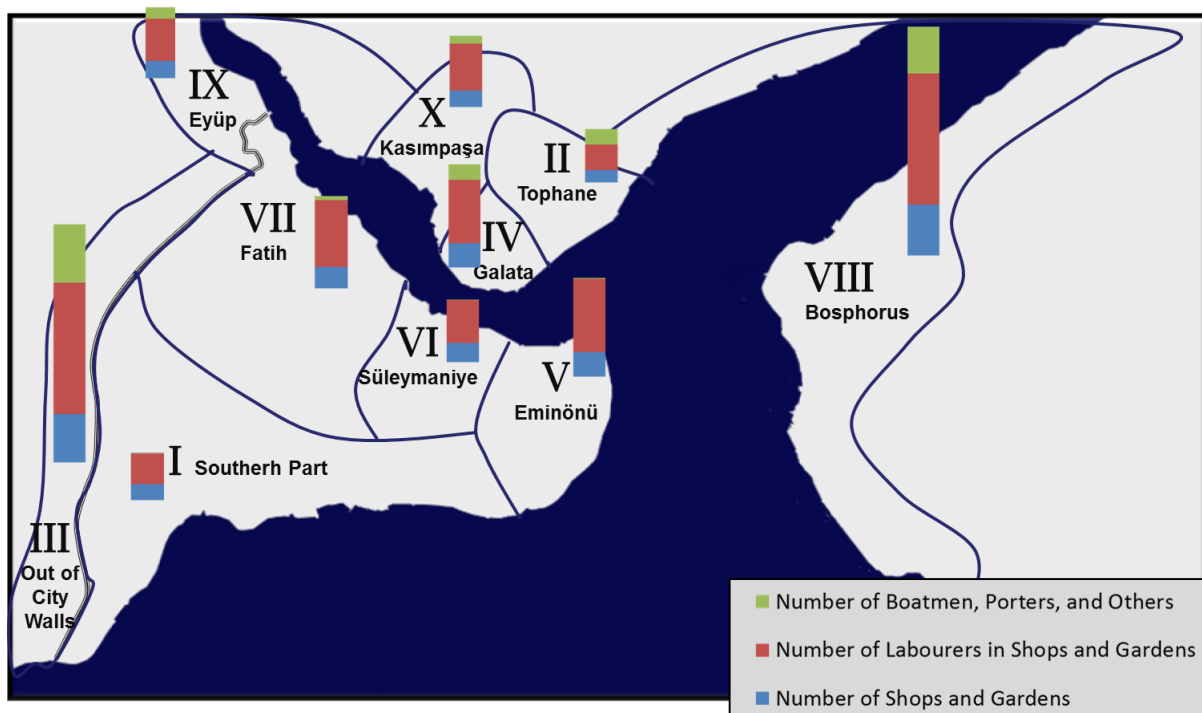
No	Geographical Area Covered	Number of Shops and Gardens	Number of Labourers in Shops and Gardens	Number of Boatmen, Porters and Others ¹¹³	Total Number of Workforce
I	Beyazıt-Topkapı-Yedikule-Kumkapı (<i>Southern Part</i>)	858	1.640	25	1.665
II	Tophane-Fındıklı-Galatasaray-Sirkeci (<i>Tophane</i>)	667	1.373	812	2.185
III	Out of City Walls, The Neighbouring Districts	2.588	7.015	3.129	10.144
IV	Galata	1.300	3.392	828	4.220
V	Intermuros Istanbul from Çemberlitaş to Sirkeci (<i>Eminönü</i>)	1.324	3.926	42	3.968
VI	Beyazıt-Odunkapısı-Süleymaniye (<i>Süleymaniye</i>)	1.036	2.293	25	2.318
VII	Vezneciler-Edirnekapı-Eğrikapı-Unkapanı (<i>Fatih</i>)	1.155	3.590	219	3.809
VIII	The Bosphorus between Kadıköy and Dolmabahçe (<i>Bosphorus</i>)	2.739	7.019	2.523	9.542
IX	Eyüp-Sütlüce-Hasköy (<i>Eyüp</i>)	943	2.269	589	2.858
X	Kasımpaşa-Beyoğlu (<i>Kasımpaşa</i>)	879	2.517	413	2.930
	Total	13.489	35.034	8.605	43.639

Those areas will be mentioned frequently in the following pages in order to demonstrate barbershops and barber labourforce. Furthermore, for the sake of convenience, the representative names shown in parentheses in the geographical area section of Table 3.1 will be used in table demonstrations and the area codes will be used for map demonstrations as shown in Map 3.1.

¹¹² Başaran, Kırılı (2015), p 265. (geographic representations were added in paranthesis)

¹¹³ Others include itinerant and loosely organised labourers such as water carriers, horse-cart drivers, wood-cutters, fishermen, night-watchmen, grave-diggers etc.

Map 3.1: Geographic Areas of Istanbul Represented in *Kefalet* Registers



Based on the registers, there were 13.489 commercial shops including gardens in Istanbul where 35.034 people including shopkeepers were working in. If boatmen, porters, peddlers and other free-lance labourers of 8.605 people included, total workforce recorded would be 43.639.

The shops in the intermuros (I, V, VI, and VII) covered only 32% of the total, where the shops in Bosphorus and Out of City Walls covered 40%. The labourers in the shops and gardens also follow the same distribution that was already mentioned for the shops in the intermuros. However, if boatmen, porters and peddlers included, the representation of the intermuros in the total workforce falls down to 27% as 65% of those boatmen, porters and peddlers were gathered in the Bosphorus and Out of City Walls.

The average labourforce per shop was slightly less than three people indicating the small-scale nature of businesses within the city. The exceptions were bakeries, mills and public baths that were partly registered in *kefalet* each having 15 to 20 workers and some

textile printing workshops (*basmahane*) in Yenikapı and Üsküdar-Ayazma that each were operated with 40 to 60 workers.¹¹⁴

The commercial shops in the registers, represents 300 different types of professions. Coffeehouses and barbershops, two most important sites for sociability, were leading in terms of number of shops that together consisted 20% of the total. Orchards and vegetable gardens (*bahçe-bostan*) combined constituted the third largest subgroup followed by grocers (*bakkal*), green grocers (*manav*), tailors (*terzi*) and tobacco shops (*duhani*). The first 17 professions recorded to have more than 100 shops/gardens in *kefalet* is shown in Table 3.2 and they comprises more than half of the total shops been recorded.

Table 3.2: Shops and Garden by Frequency (above 100 shown)¹¹⁵

Coffeehouses (<i>kahvehane</i>)	1.631
Barber (<i>berber</i>)	1.065
Fruit and vegetable gardens (<i>bahçe- bostan</i>)	544
Grocer (<i>bakkal</i>)	484
Green grocer (<i>manav</i>)	421
Tailor (<i>terzi</i>)	421
Tobacco shop (<i>duhani</i>)	396
Herbalist/pharmacist (<i>attar</i>)	328
Light shoe maker (<i>yemeni dikici</i>)	237
Butcher (<i>kasap</i>)	227
Maker/Seller of cauldrons (<i>kazgan</i>)	212
Wood seller (<i>keresteci</i>)	173
Bread bakery (<i>ekmek fırını</i>)	156
Tinsmith (<i>kalaycı</i>)	126
Furrier (<i>kürkçü</i>)	125
Manufacturer seller of pipe stems (<i>lüleci</i>)	111
Maker of coarse woolen cloth (<i>abacı</i>)	105

In *kefalet*, ethno-religious backgrounds of the inhabitants were not recorded; however, names and titles of the employees and masters written in the registers allow distinguishing religious affiliations with some negligible error margin, mostly due to common usage of some Armenian and Orthodox Christian names.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Başaran, Kırılı (2015), p 267.

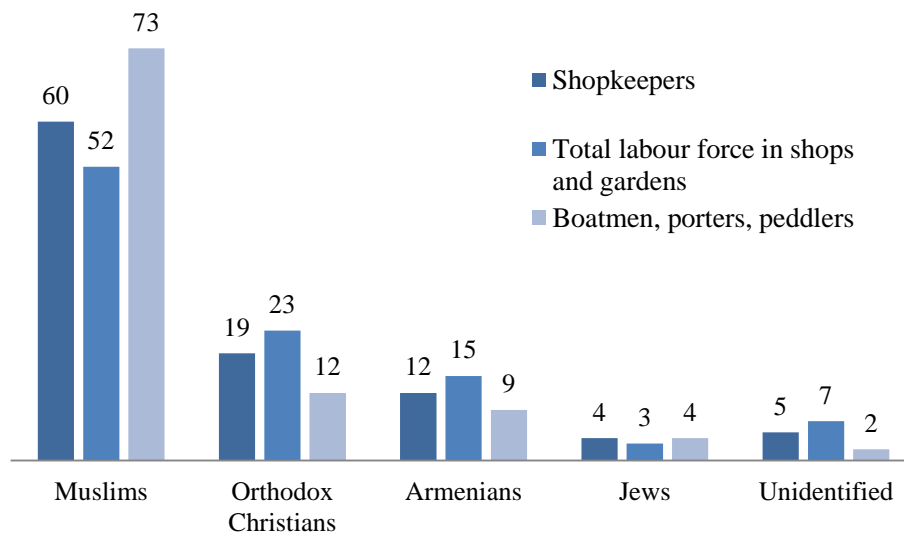
¹¹⁵ Kırılı, Başaran (2012), pp 15-16. Barbershop figure is updated.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, pp 16-17.

Furthermore, ethnic backgrounds of the Orthodox population, which encompassed Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, some Albanians and others could not be determined,¹¹⁷ and the group will be stated as Orthodox Christians in the following pages. Accordingly ethno-religious groups were classified in five categories; Muslims, Armenians, Orthodox Christians, Jews and Unknown for the barbers whose ethno-religious characteristics could not be identified.

Graph 3.1 represents the ethno-religious breakdown of the labour force among three categories; per shopkeepers, per total labour force in shops and gardens and per boatmen, porters and peddlers.

Graph 3.1: Ethno-Religious Distribution of Total Labour Force in Istanbul (%)¹¹⁸



The ratios of first two indicate that the ethno-religious groups participated in the working life more or less in proportion to their share of population,¹¹⁹ but also suggesting that Muslim's were more of the shopkeepers than Armenians and Orthodox Christians

¹¹⁷ Başaran, Kırılı (2015), pp 265-266.

¹¹⁸ Kırılı, Başaran (2012), p 17.

¹¹⁹ Behar demonstrates Muslim – non Muslim ratio as 48 – 52 on the basis of 1844 and 1856 census reports. See Behar, Cem (1996), p 73. On the other hand Başaran uses that ratio as 58 – 42 for the intermuros of Istanbul considering more historical estimates of the 16th and the 17th centuries. See Başaran (2014), p 61.

compared to their contribution to labourforce. However, Muslims were much more concentrated in the third category presumably due to higher janissary affiliation.¹²⁰

The records for the home provinces of labourers were not stated in nearly half of the registers especially for the intermuros. However, the remaining data could be utilized to comment on the migration and regional alliances. The figures reveal that 2.307 out of 4.157 shopkeepers recorded (55%) were recent migrants. With respect to boatmen, porters, peddlers and free-lance labourers like water carriers, woodcutters, fishermen the migration rate were much higher and 3.459 out of 4.609 men (77%) working in these occupations and having home province data were migrants.¹²¹

It is also worth to mention that the migrants came from limited number of towns mainly from Balkans and Anatolia and mostly on the basis of '*hemşehri*' (fellow townsmen or villager) relationship between the migrants and resident shopkeepers and labourers. Therefore, it could be argued that labour force and expertise in the occupations subject to higher migration in late 18th century Istanbul mostly followed the geographical root of the shopkeeper or labourers.¹²²

Some examples on the accumulation; all manufacturers of coarse woollen garments (*abacı*) were from Kalofer, more than half the migrants from the island of Chios worked as lemon-sellers, and a significant share of the migrants from Kayseri were in construction-related professions such as lumber-sellers, nail-sellers or stonemasons. The *hemşehri* linkage was also identical for porters, boatmen and unskilled labourers in pier level. All porters and boatmen in Ahırkapı Pier were from Kemah and Eminönü Hasır Pier were migrants from Çankırı and Divriği.¹²³

Hemşehri network was pragmatic for all parties; for migrant by means of minimizing the risk of travel, finding accommodation and local job; for the resident

¹²⁰ For more detailed number on boatmen and porters see Ertuğ's below studies where he claims much higher janissary affiliation for boatmen and porters than Kırılı and Başaran. Ertuğ (2008), pp 64-68, 201-244.

Ertuğ (2001), pp 27-30, 110-144.

¹²¹ Başaran, Kırılı (2015), pp 267-268.

¹²² Kırılı (2001), pp 134-138.

¹²³ Başaran, Kırılı (2015), pp 271-272.

employers mainly securing loyalty and sometimes overwork and low wages. In some cases, *hemşehri* relationship could have been more deterministic than the religious identity. For instance, the all the migrants to work for bakeries and mills in which 75% were run by Armenians and remaining by Muslims came from few places in Central and Eastern Anatolia, namely Ağın, Karahisar, Kuruçay, Erzurum, Sivas and Divriği regardless of their religious identity.

Military titles were carefully observed and recorded. The registers revealed that 30% of all shopkeepers, 6% of their employees which consisted of 19% of total labour force in shops and 17% of all boatmen, porters and peddlers, roughly 18% of the entire Muslim labour force documented in the registers had the military titles such as *beşe*, *bostanî*, *bölükbaşı* and *karakullukçu*. In some registers especially for those covering intermuros, numbers of janissary regiments (*cemaat* or *bölük*) were also recorded.¹²⁴ Although having a military title did not necessarily mean being solely an active member of the janissary corps as previously discussed, the registers confirm the high penetration of janissary attachment among labour force not limited to particular region or profession but represented in all areas.¹²⁵

Table 3.3 demonstrates the occupations that contained the highest number of masters/shopkeepers who had the military titles. Based on the results the first ten occupations shown below consisted of 55% of the total 2.485¹²⁶ military titleholders. The extreme amount of coffeehouse keepers with military titles was partially due to outnumbered coffeehouses in the city.

Hence comparing those military titleholders with the total number of masters/shopkeepers of those occupations, tinsmiths seemed to be the leading figure with 52% followed by coffeehouse keepers with 42% and green grocers with 41%.¹²⁷ Also 30% of butchers were run by the military titleholders. Considering the fact that some of these

¹²⁴ Kırılı, Başaran (2012), p 18-19.

¹²⁵ Başaran, Kırılı (2015), p 272.

¹²⁶ Ibid, p 271.

¹²⁷ The higher janissary involvement on green grocers could be as a result of they could usurp, steal or under buy the fruit and vegetables from gardeners on their way to market. See Çağman, Engin (2011). "18. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Esnafılık "Gıda Sektörü", PhD Thesis, Marmara University, pp 168-170.

shops were run by non-Muslims, the ratio of Muslim shopkeepers having military title should be even higher for those occupations.

For barbers however the ratio was 15% and by eliminating the non-Muslim shopkeepers from the barbers' dataset, the figure slightly increases up to 18%. The low janissary connection could be surprising at the first instance due to the fact that the barbers were resided in the coffeehouses, but as it will be seen in the next page *kefalet* registers covered very little number of barbers working in those coffeehouses. It seems that janissaries' investments on barbers mentioned in the previous chapter were highly limited with *gedik* ownership which to be relied on the masters and the shopkeepers having any military attachment.

Additionally, religious title for Muslim labour force was recorded which could provide some indication on wealth. Some 21% of Muslim shopkeepers were recorded with religious titles mostly as *molla* (student of the Islamic religion), *seyyid* (descendant of the prophet Muhammad) or *hacı* (one who completed the pilgrimage) which was a sign of wealth since pilgrimages were a religious obligation only for those who had the financial strength. *Seyyids* and *mollas* were also exempted from taxation and were likely to accumulate more wealth than others were.¹²⁸

Table 3.3: Masters/Shopkeepers having Military Titles¹²⁹

Coffeehouse keeper (<i>kahveci</i>)	680
Green grocer (<i>manav</i>)	172
Barber (<i>berber</i>)	158
Butcher (<i>kasap</i>)	68
Tinsmith (<i>kalaycı</i>)	65
Maker/seller of sweet pastries (<i>çörekçi</i>)	56
Light shoe maker (<i>yemeni dikici</i>)	44
Barley dealer (<i>arpacı</i>)	41
Maker/seller of <i>helva</i> dessert (<i>helvacı</i>)	40
Tobacco shop (<i>duhani</i>)	38

¹²⁸ Kırılı (2001), p 131.

¹²⁹ Kırılı, Cengiz (2015). "18. Yüzyıl Sonunda İstanbul'da Yeniçeri-Esnaf İlişkileri", paper presented at the *International Conference On Ottoman Studies I: Janissaries*, (May 25th 2015) Yıldız Technical University

The rate of having religious title among boatmen, porters and peddlers were only 4.5% that should be as a result of temporary and low profile nature of the business. It should be also noted that these religious titleholders were not necessarily be the true *seyyids* or *hacıs* and could only be using the title for its prestige and financial advantage.

Briefly, *kefalet* register of early 1790's, perhaps the most comprehensive and detailed registers on occupation and labour force that has been unearthed so far,¹³⁰ enables us to create almost a complete topography of Istanbul's economic activities excluding trade and to confirm certain patterns among workforce of Greater Istanbul. Admitting the importance of ethno-religious affiliation, the effect of provincial / regional networks and janissary connections should not be underestimated.¹³¹

Barbers in the Registers

In this section, the potentials of *kefalet* registers will be analysed with the given data in terms of a sample profession; barbers. The register data¹³² consists of the following information for 1065 barbershops and 1999 barbers working within those shops;

- Type and usage of the barbershops.
- Location of the barbershops.
- Number of barbers working in each barbershop.
- Ethno-religious identity of each shopkeeper of the barbershops.
- Ethno-religious identity of each employee working in the barbershops.

In the type and usage of the barbershops section, 1050 of 1065 records were stated as barbershops. For the remaining fifteen records; seven of them were recorded as barbershop and coffeehouse, three of them barbershop and surgeon (all were located in Kasımpaşa), three of them inside Fatih Mosque were barbershop in barrack, one recorded as a private barber of Hamleci Osman Beşe and another one was recorded as street barber. In the analysis, all 1065 records were taken as barbershops.

¹³⁰ Ibid, p 127.

¹³¹ Başaran, Kırılı (2015), p 272.

¹³² I would like to sincerely thank to Cengiz Kırılı for providing the barbers data in *kefalet* registers.

Street barbers and barbers in the coffeehouses seemed to be highly underrepresented in the register. According to Evliya, there were 2.000 street barbers in Istanbul (intermuros), five times higher than 400 resident barbers working in 300 barbershops in the mid-17th century.¹³³ The credibility of those numbers are in question, nevertheless street barbers should have covered very high percentage in the total barber labourforce. In *kefalet*, there was only one street barber was recorded that could indicate either those street barbers did not tell their profession as barber or they were even not recorded in the registers.

Additionally only seven shops were represented as barbershops and coffeehouses. Relying on the travellers' accounts telling that every coffeehouse was also barbershop, one could expect to see minimum 1624 barbers working within those coffeehouses. By adding the unrepresented barbers possibly working in various *hans* and hammams, the expected barber labourforce should have been much more than those recorded in the registers.

In the location section, the geographical definitions of barbershops have highly referred to city gates, piers, bathhouses, mosques and marketplaces where the people gathered most. Some 80 barbershops were addressed directly within mosques, mosques courtyards and surroundings whereas 95 were around city gates, 58 were around piers, and 92 were around hammams including nine barbershops resided within.

Map 3.2 and Map 3.3 were prepared to demonstrate the distribution of barbershops in Greater Istanbul and in historical peninsula that could also provide some indications on the residential areas population density of the capital at the end of the 18th century. Those 1065 barbershop locations were grouped into 90 districts for the map demonstration and the detailed list of barbershops and total barber labour force per district is shown in the Appendix 1. There were less than five barbershops in 37 districts mostly the ones on Bosphorus shores where the residency level should be considerably low.

¹³³ Evliya Çelebi (2011), vol.1, p 290.

Map 3.2: Barbershops in Greater Istanbul

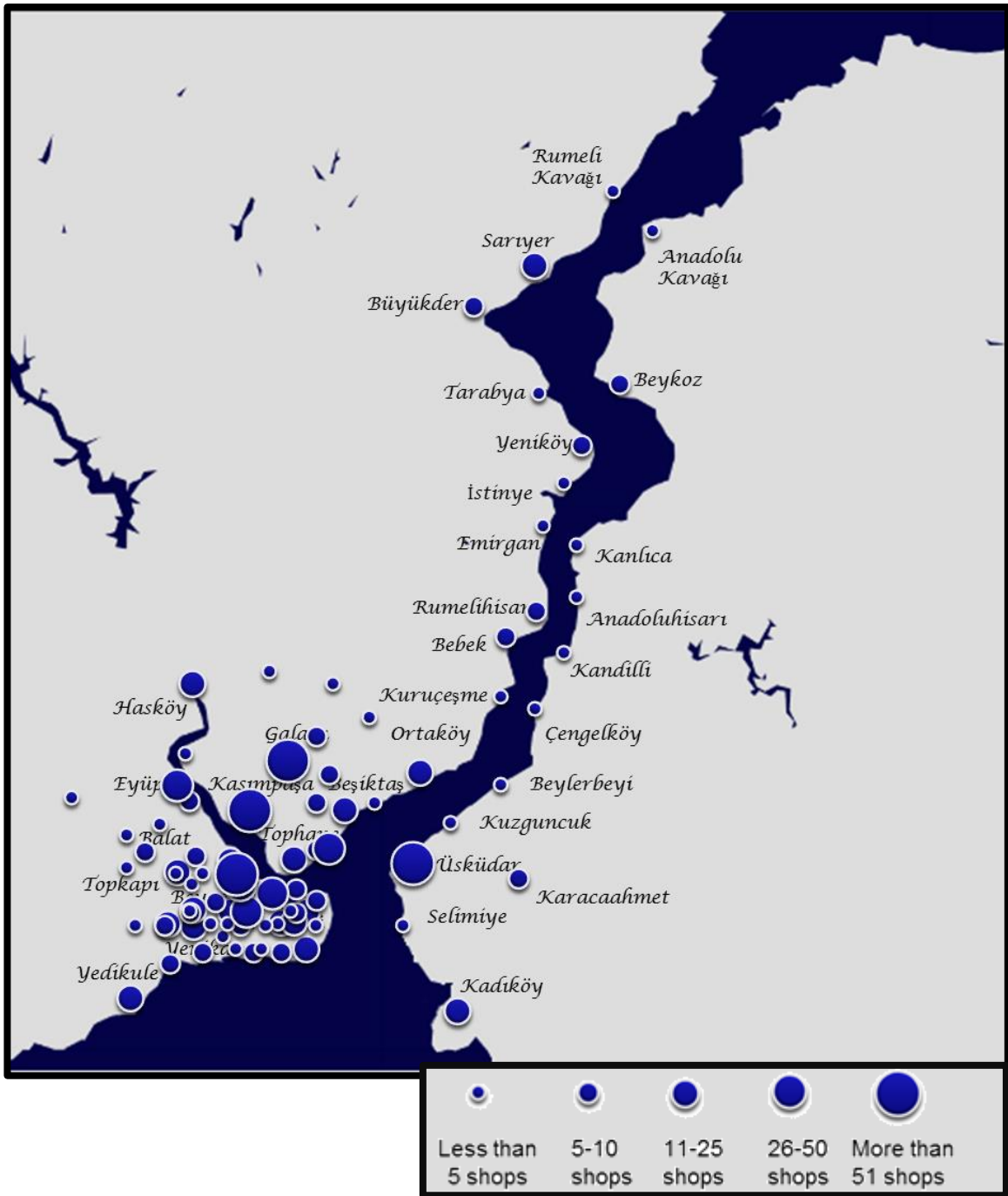


Table 3.4: The Geographical Distribution of Barbershops and Barbers in Istanbul

No	Geographical Area	Number of Barbershops	Barbershops in Shops Total %	Number of Barbers	Barbers in Total Labour Force
I	Southern Part	48	5,6	72	4,4
II	Tophane	70	10,5	118	8,6
III	Out of City Walls	53	2,0	117	1,7
IV	Galata	86	6,6	184	5,4
V	Eminönü	111	8,4	217	5,5
VI	Süleymaniye	197	19,0	409	17,8
VII	Fatih	140	12,1	228	6,4
VIII	Bosphorus	238	8,7	398	5,7
IX	Eyüp	45	4,8	87	3,8
X	Kasımpaşa	77	8,8	169	6,7
Total		1.065	7,9 (average)	1.999	5,7 (average)

As a complementary for coffeehouses, barbershops also functioned as social spheres for males in micro level and favoured by the neighbourhood in Ottoman territories. Additionally demand for those places would increase in social, political and economic turmoils like been observed at the end of the 18th century in Istanbul when people were more willing for social interaction.

That barbershop to total commercial shops ratio were highest in Süleymaniye region (19%) and lowest in Out of City Walls (2%). In attempt to understand the huge difference between above regions, it could be useful to zoom in the boatmen, porter and peddlers, who were the major clients of street barbers. Out of City walls showed the highest penetration by far and Süleymaniye along with the Southern Part had the lowest. Therefore, it could be suggested very low number of barbershops in Out of City Walls compared to the total shops could possibly be caused by the huge amount of street barbers performing in that region.

The registers indicate that the barber labourforce consisted of 5,7% of the total recorded labourforce working in the shops and gardens. If boatmen, porters and peddlers were to included, that ratio would drop down to 4,6 %. The decrease in the comparative

ratios when switching from barbershops to barbers also denotes lesser barbers working in barbershops (average 1.88) than the overall labour force working in commercial shops (average 2.60) which underlines the small scale nature of the business.

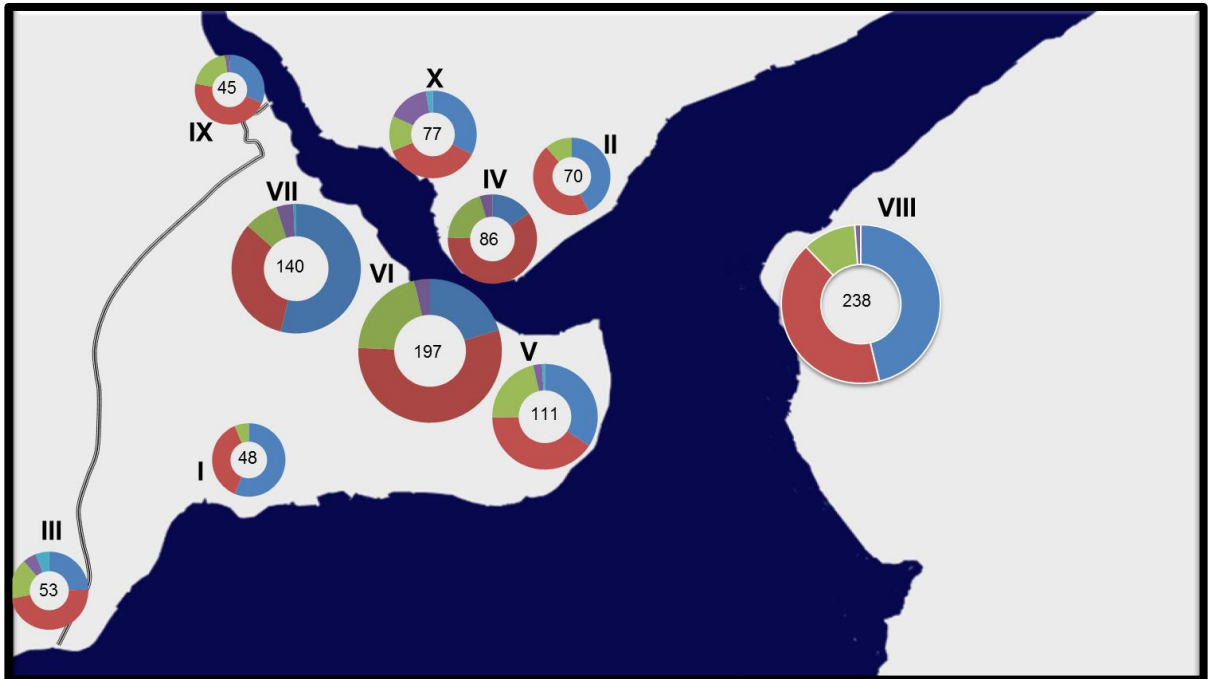
However, there were also some barbershops in which total personnel could reach up to four or five barbers. Table 3.5 and Map 3.4 indicates that 81% of barbershops were run by an *usta* only or *usta* and his *çırak*, 15% of the barbershops were run by three barbers; *usta*, *kalfa* and *çırak*. Remaining 4% were run by four barbers; an *usta*, a *kalfa* and two *çıraks*. Only six barbershops, one located in Kasımpaşa, one in Eminönü and remaining three in Out of City Walls, were run by five people. Those shops having more than three barbers or more were mostly concentrated on city gates, piers and market places.

Size of those shops could also provide some indication about region's urbanization and wealth. In Southern part, the ratio of barbershops having three or more barbers was only 6% whereas that ratio was at its height in Kasımpaşa region with 28% mostly neighbouring to Naval Dockyard and Kasımpaşa Pier.

Table 3.5: The Geographical Distribution of Barbershops in Istanbul according to the Shop Size

No	Geographical Area	One Barber	Two Barbers	Three Barbers	Four Barbers	Five Barbers	Total
I	Southern Part	27	18	3			48
II	Tophane	30	32	8			70
III	Out of City Walls	13	25	9	3	3	53
IV	Galata	13	52	17	4		86
V	Eminönü	38	45	24	3	1	111
VI	Süleymaniye	40	109	41	7		197
VII	Fatih	76	46	12	6		140
VIII	Bosphorus	110	99	26	3		238
IX	Eyüp	14	21	9	1		45
X	Kasımpaşa	25	28	10	12	2	77
Total		386	475	159	39	6	1.065

Map 3.4: The Geographical Distribution of Barbershops in Istanbul according to the Shop Size



■ One Barber ■ Two Barbers ■ Three Barbers ■ Four Barbers ■ Five Barbers

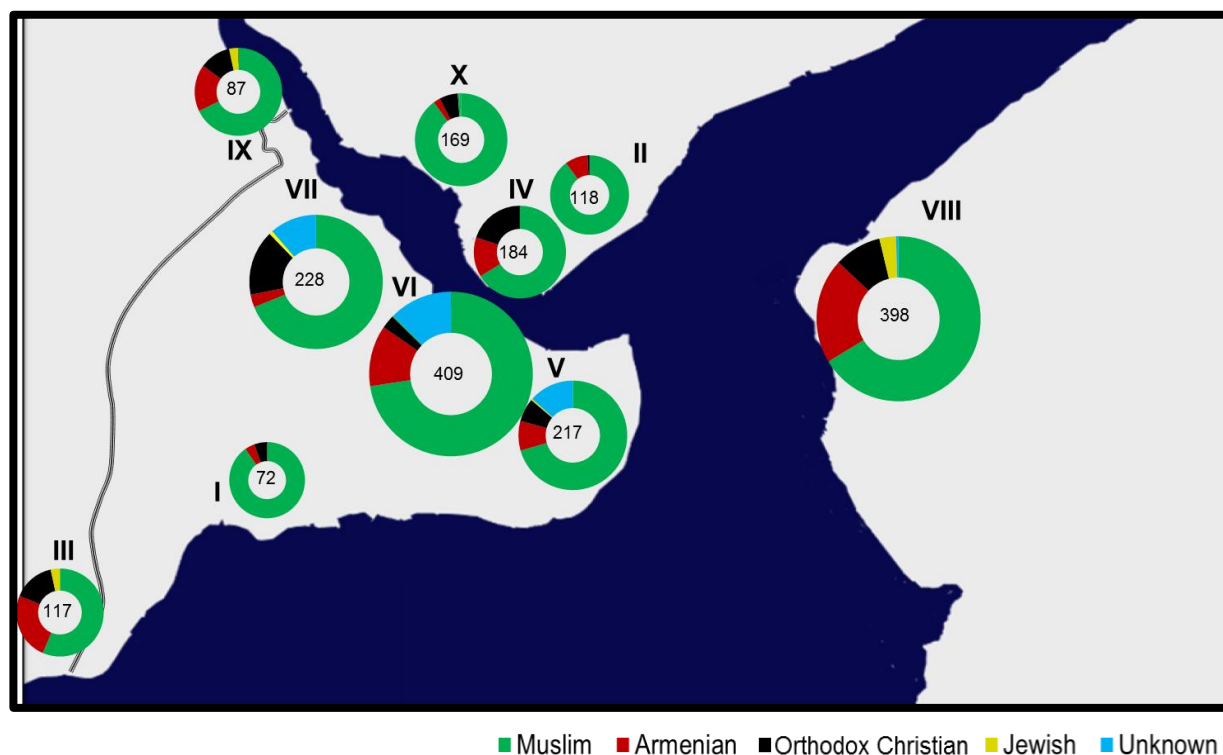
Table 3.6 and Map 3.5 demonstrate the ethno-religious group distribution of total barber labourforce based on ten geographical areas. The results indicates that 72% of barber labour force recorded in *kefalet* were Muslim, 12% of them were Armenian, 9% of them were Orthodox Christian, 6% of them were Unknown. There were only 25 Jewish barbers in the city.

The areas having more than 90% Muslim barber labourforce were Southern Part, Kasımpaşa, and Tophane regions. The lowest Muslim barber concentrations were in Outside the city walls, Bosphorus and Galata regions and with the average 60%. Armenian barbers were concentrated in Bosphorus and Süleymaniye and Orthodox Christian barbers were overrepresented in Bosphorus, Fatih and Galata. Small Jewish barber community mostly worked in Bosphorus and barber labourforce with unknown religious identity employed in intermuros, mostly in Süleymaniye region.

Table 3.6: Ethno-Religious Characteristics of Total Barber Labourforce

No	Geographical Area	M	A	OC	J	U	Total
I	Southern Part	65	3	4			72
II	Tophane	106	11	1			118
III	Out of City Walls	66	29	18	4		117
IV	Galata	120	25	36		3	184
V	Eminönü	153	19	15	1	29	217
VI	Süleymaniye	297	49	11	1	51	409
VII	Fatih	157	7	36	2	26	228
VIII	Bosphorus	264	82	37	13	2	398
IX	Eyüp	59	15	10	3		87
X	Kasımpaşa	152	4	11	1	1	169
Total		1.439	244	179	25	112	1.999

Map 3.5: Ethno-Religious Characteristics of Total Barber Labourforce



In order to define and analyse the collaboration between barber masters and employees on ethno-religious level, total labour force data was divided into two sections; shopkeepers and barber employees. Shopkeepers were the people in charge of administering the barbershops. They were not necessarily the owners of the shops but the master barbers and their religious characteristics were also definitive in terms of overall character of the barbershop.

Table 3.7 and Map 3.6 shows clearly that the Muslim penetration became higher in terms of barbershop keeping. In average 80% of the barbershop keepers recorded in *kefalet* were Muslims whereas 12% were Armenians and 6% were Orthodox Christians.¹³⁴ Jewish shopkeepers ran only 16 barbershops and masters with no record for religious identity ran only two shops. Regional distribution of the shopkeepers based on their religious identity follows the same pattern of the regional distribution of total barber labourforce.

As to the comparison between barbershop keepers' above mentioned ethno-religious distribution with the entire shopkeepers' in *kefalet* registers as previously shown in Table 3.2; Muslims seemed to represent much higher penetration in barbershop keeping than their overall share in shop keeping (20% higher). Armenian barbershop keeper's proportion was in accordance with the overall Armenian shopkeepers rate and Orthodox Christian barbershop keepers rate was significantly lower (13%) than their overall average. Jewish and Unknown identities were not active in keeping barbershops although they constituted 9% of the overall shop keeping.

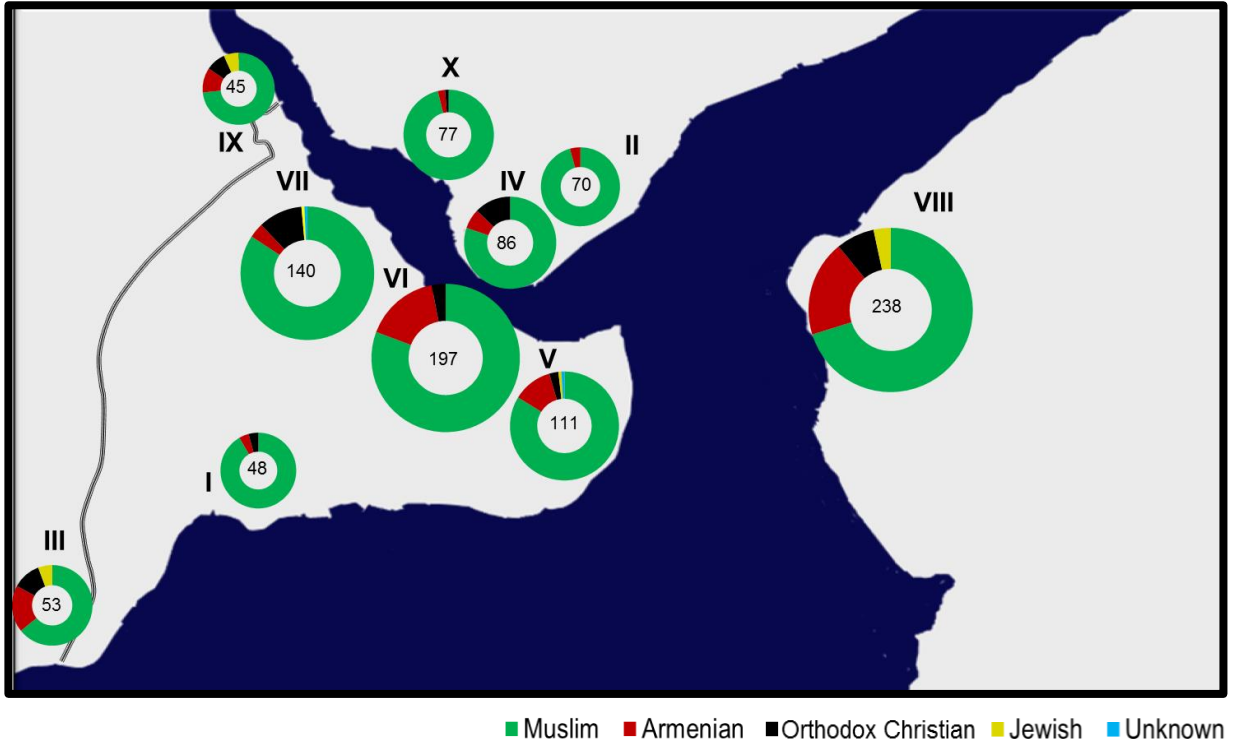
The trend was also similar in comparison of total barber labourforce with total labourforce in shops and gardens mentioned in the registers. Therefore, it can be stated that barber's craft especially barbershop keeping was more of a Muslim profession than other ethno-religious groups at the end of the 18th century Istanbul based on *kefalet* registers.

¹³⁴ It should also be noted that although they were few, Orthodox Christian barbershops were bigger in terms of shop size. 46 % of barbershops run by Orthodox Christians had three or more barbers working in, whereas that ratio was 17% in Muslim barbershops and 20% in Armenian barbershops.

Table 3.7: Ethno-Religious Characteristics of Barbershop Keepers

No	Geographical Area	M	A	OC	J	U	Total
I	Southern Part	44	2	2			48
II	Tophane	67	3				70
III	Out of City Walls	34	10	6	3		53
IV	Galata	69	6	11			86
V	Eminönü	93	13	3	1	1	111
VI	Süleymaniye	159	32	6			197
VII	Fatih	118	5	15	1	1	140
VIII	Bosphorus	167	45	18	8		238
IX	Eyüp	33	5	4	3		45
X	Kasımpaşa	74	2	1			77
Total		858	123	66	16	2	1.065

Map 3.6: Ethno-Religious Characteristics of Barbershop Keepers

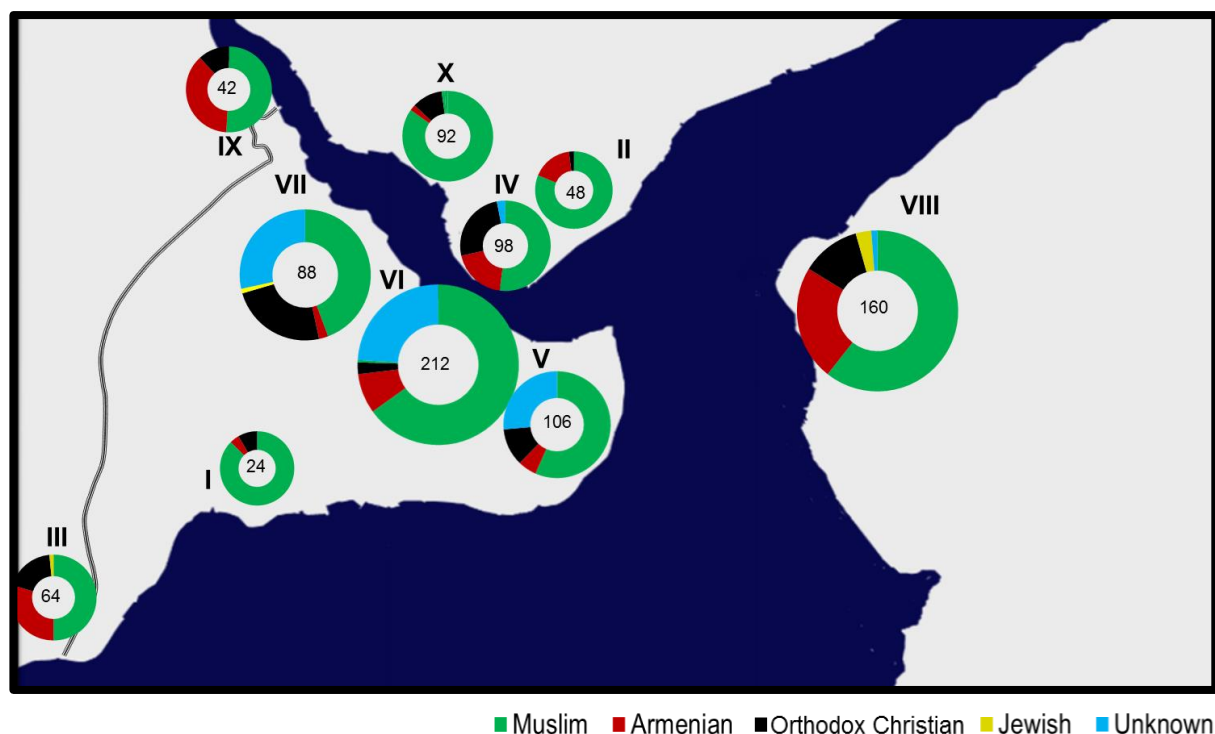


The religious characteristics of barber employees were identified in Table 3.8 and Map 3.7. Based on the register data some 934 barbers employed in barbershops, but the information related to their status was not available.

Table 3.8: Ethno-Religious Characteristics of Barber Employees

No	Geographical Area	M	A	OC	J	U	Total
I	Southern Part	21	1	2	0	0	24
II	Tophane	39	8	1	0	0	48
III	Out of City Walls	32	19	12	1	0	64
IV	Galata	51	19	25	0	3	98
V	Eminönü	60	6	12	0	28	106
VI	Süleymaniye	138	17	5	1	51	212
VII	Fatih	39	2	21	1	25	88
VIII	Bosphorus	97	37	19	5	2	160
IX	Eyüp	26	10	6	0	0	42
X	Kasımpaşa	78	2	10	1	1	92
Total		581	121	113	9	110	934

Map 3.7: Ethno-Religious Characteristics of Barber Employees



As a general assumption, if there were two barbers working in a barbershop, one should be *usta* and other should be *çırak*. *Kalfas* were observed in the barbershops having three or more labourers and mostly only one *kalfa* was present in barbershop. Other employees were *çıraks* in general.¹³⁵ Therefore, it can be assumed that only 204 of those 934 barbers were *kalfas* and the remaining employees were *çıraks*.

Muslim barber employees' rate within total barber employees recorded in *kefalet* was 62% in average, relatively low compared to Muslim barbershop keeper's rate and it was highest in Southern Part (88%) and lowest in Fatih region as 44%.¹³⁶ Armenian barber employees were 13% of the total barber employees recorded where they represent highest in Out of City Walls (29%) and lowest in Fatih (2%).

Orthodox Christian barber employees represented 12% of the total, highest in Galata (25%) and lowest in Tophane (2%). Employees with unidentified religious identity consisted of 12% where 79% of them employed in Eminönü, Süleymaniye and Fatih regions. There were only nine Jewish barber employees having no significance on the ratios.

For better analysing and demonstrating the correlation between barbershop keepers and employees in terms of their ethno-religious characteristics, "correspondence analysis" method is used. The method was developed by Jean-Paul Benzécri in 1973 and widely utilized by Pierre Bourdieu to evaluate the categorical data in social sciences.¹³⁷ From then it became a widely acclaimed model in all physical, social, human and biological sciences.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ I would like to thank Cengiz Kırılı for sharing his overall observations on *ustas*, *kalfas* and *çıraks* of Istanbul barbershops during our oral communication.

¹³⁶ Although Muslims employees represent 44% in Fatih, 84% of the barbershops in the region were administrated by Muslim shopkeepers who heavily employed Orthodox Christians and religiously unidentified barbers.

¹³⁷ Lebaron, Frédéric (2009). "How Bourdieu 'Quantified' Bourdieu: The Geometric Modelling of Data", in *Quantifying Theory: Pierre Bourdieu*, eds. Karen Robson and Chris Sanders, (New York: Springer), pp 11-29.

¹³⁸ For two recent applications of the correspondence analysis in Turkey see; Başaran (2014), pp 117-130.

Güvenç, Murat, Hasan Kirmanoğlu (2009). *Türkiye Seçim Atlası, 1950-2009: Türkiye Siyasetinde Süreklilik ve Değişim : Electoral Atlas Of Turkey, 1950-2009 : Continuities And Changes In Turkey's Politics* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi)

The method requires breaking down the value of the goodness-of-fit statistic into components due to the rows and columns of the contingency table.¹³⁹

In order to utilise the method for barbers and their ethno-religious characteristics, firstly two individual tables representing ethno-religious characteristics of barbershop keepers and barber employees per region are combined in a cross-tabulation format as shown in Table 3.9. The rows represent the shopkeepers with different ethno-religious background and the columns represent the employees hired by those shopkeepers having the same ethno-religious categories. Then the row values of the cross-table are converted into percentages by dividing each row to the row total to prepare the first correspondence table demonstrating the shopkeepers view. Also another table is prepared for the columns with the same methodology to create the second correspondence table demonstrating the barber employees' view.

Table 3.9: Combined Ethno-Religious Characteristics of Barbershop Keepers and Employees

		E M P L O Y E E S					Total
		M	A	OC	J	U	
S H O P K E E P E R S	M	577	30	26	2	64	699
	A	3	87	1	0	37	128
	OC	1	3	86	0	7	97
	J	0	1	0	7	0	8
	U	0	0	0	0	2	2
	Total	581	121	113	9	110	934

The permuted correspondence Table 3.10 represents the master employee relationship in “shopkeepers (masters) perspective”. The results reveal that based on *kefalet*, 82.5% of Muslim shopkeepers have employed only Muslim barbers and remaining 18% have employed barbers from other religious identity, in which unidentified identities consisted half of that ratio.

¹³⁹ Greenacre, Michael J., Jörg Blasius (2006). *Multiple Correspondence Analysis and Related Methods* (Boca Raton: Chapman & Hall/CRC), pp 4-14.

For Armenian case, 68% of Armenian shopkeepers have worked with only Armenian barbers but the remaining 32% have employed others mostly the ones whose religious identities were unrecorded. As to Orthodox Christians, some 88% of Orthodox Christian shopkeepers have employed only Orthodox Christian barbers and the remaining 12% shopkeepers have employed others.

Table 3.10: Collaboration between Barbershop Keepers and Employees with different Ethno-Religious Characteristics. Permuted Correspondence Table (%).
“Shopkeeper’s view”

		E M P L O Y E E S					Total
		M	A	OC	J	U	
S H O P K E E P E R S	M	82.5	4.3	3.7	0.3	9.2	100.0
	A	2.3	68.0	0.8	0.0	28.9	100.0
	OC	1.0	3.1	88.7	0.0	7.2	100.0
	J	0.0	12.5	0.0	87.5	0.0	100.0
	U	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	62.2	13.0	12.1	1.0	11.8	100.0

The high amount of unidentified employees may seem to be as a burden to make bolder conclusions on the collaboration level. Assuming that most of those unidentified employees were of the shopkeeper’s religion, then again Muslim barbershops employed considerable amount of Armenian and Orthodox Christian employees (minimum 8% of total employees working in Muslim barbershops) but much less ethno-religious integration in Armenian and Orthodox Christian barbershops. If the unknowns were mostly due to the common Armenian and Orthodox Christian names as discussed previously, then they mostly represent non-Muslim ethno-religious identity and their ratio in Muslim barbershops should be much higher.

In Table 3.11, the collaboration level was analysed on “employee’s perspective”. The figures depict that nearly all Muslim employees (99%) were employed in barbershops operated by Muslim shopkeepers. Only three of them worked for Armenian and one of them for an Orthodox Christian barbershop.

The ratio of employees working for the master having the same religious identity was 72% for Armenian and 76% for Orthodox Christians employees. The remaining Armenian and Orthodox Christian employees mostly worked for the Muslim masters and the interactions between these two religious identities were negligible. Only three Armenian employees worked for Orthodox Christian and only one Orthodox Christian employee worked for an Armenian barbershop.

Table 3.11: Collaboration between Barbershop Keepers and Employees with different Ethno-Religious Characteristics. Permuted Correspondence Table (%).
“Employee’s view”

		E M P L O Y E E S					Total
		M	A	OC	J	U	
S H O P K E E P E R S	M	99.3	24.8	23.0	22.2	58.2	74.8
	A	0.5	71.9	0.9	0.0	33.6	13.7
	OC	0.2	2.5	76.1	0.0	6.4	10.4
	J	0.0	0.8	0.0	77.8	0.0	0.9
	U	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.2
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The employees with no religious identification were either working for Muslim (58%) or Armenian (34%) shopkeepers. Jewish employees were not accumulated enough to conduct a statistical analysis.

As an overall conclusion, there is a high tendency for barbershop keepers to employ barbers having the same ethno-religious background. On the other hand, Muslim barbershop keepers who were relatively overrepresented employed approximately one quarter of non-Muslim *kalfas* and *çıraks*.

In the next chapter, barbers of Bursa and Salonica in the mid-19th century will be analysed and despite the difference in time and source, the results will be compared with the barbers of Istanbul in limited fashion.

CHAPTER 4: THE SCISSORS

BARBERS OF MAJOR CITIES: BURSA AND SALONICA

This chapter deals with the barbers of the mid-19th century Bursa and Salonica cities as per to *temettuat* surveys. Before revealing the results, the political, social and economic transition of the empire that leded governors to consider changing tax collection method and conduct *temettuat* survey will be discussed together with the survey's content and general findings for those two cities. Additionally Bursa and Salonica were described briefly in terms of their economic activities and its transition.

Ottoman Empire in Change

Ottoman Empire was struggling with the serious military and economic setbacks at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. This period also marks the introduction of the “Eastern Question” for the Great Powers over how to dispose of the lands under Ottoman rule and thus, their political and economic intervention on the state were radically increased by then.¹⁴⁰

Inadequate response to the changing technology of warfare has led humiliating military defeats especially against Russia in 1768-1774 and 1789-1792 wars. Thus, Selim III have become fully motivated to undertake radical reforms in the military together with other institutions¹⁴¹ aiming to match with Great Powers and to reassess the central authority over the economic resources that was already controlled by the provincial power-holding elite for some decades.¹⁴² However, his attempts were ceased with his dethronement by a bloody rebellion in 1807.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Aksan, Virginia (2008). “War and Peace”, in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*: vol. 3. ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp 81-118.

¹⁴¹ Çelik, Yüksel (2010), pp 565-590.

¹⁴² For the comparative analysis on power holding struggle see Yaylacioğlu, Ali (2008). “The Provincial Challenge: Regionalism, Crisis and Integration in the Late Ottoman Empire (1792-1812)”, PhD Thesis, Harvard University, pp 192-294.

¹⁴³ For a comprehensive review of Selim III era, his reforms and rebellion see, Yıldız, Aysel (2008). “Vaka-yı Selimiyye or The Selimiyye Incident: A Study of the May 1807 Rebellion”, PhD Thesis, Sabancı University, pp 110-184.

After a brief period of chaos, Mahmut II accessed to the throne with the aid of notables and had to share his power with them, as implied in a treaty named *Sened-i İttifak*. In the following years, he regained his authority gradually by neutralizing the notables and marked his absolute power by abolishing the janissaries in 1826. After eliminating the strongest advocates of protectionism, he managed to undertake the reforms on administration, education and social life, including a clothing law removing ethnic, religious and social differences among the subjects.¹⁴⁴

During his reign, Mahmut II had to deal with a chain of severe problems like Russian defeats in 1812 and 1829, Serbian and Greek revolutions that ended up with secessions of these territories from the empire, the autonomy of Egyptian Governor Muhammed Ali and he had to rely on international diplomacy and balance of powers to keep the empire intact.¹⁴⁵

In such an attempt, Ottoman government signed a free trade treaty with England named as Anglo-Turkish Commercial Convention (*Balta Limanı*)¹⁴⁶ in 1838. This agreement then became the basis for all foreign trade as the government also signed for several other European countries in the following three years.¹⁴⁷ Under the terms of the free trade agreements, the Ottoman State abolished all internal monopolistic privileges including the ones that had been granted to artisans and traders in Istanbul except the fixed *gedik* ownership or other government acknowledged papers and charters.¹⁴⁸

Due to its nature of eliminating the domestic protections, the agreement was viewed as a milestones for empire's transition into economic liberalism¹⁴⁹ and for the same reason it worsened the economic conditions that was already catastrophic around

¹⁴⁴ Quataert (1997), pp 412-417.

¹⁴⁵ Aksan, Virginia (2007). *Ottoman wars, 1700-1870: An Empire Besieged*. (Harlow: Longman), pp 259-306.

¹⁴⁶ For the details of the agreement and aftermath see Kütükoğlu, Mübahat (2013). *Balta Limanı'na Giden Yol: Osmanlı-İngiliz İktisâdî Münâsebetleri (1580-1850)*, (Ankara: TTK Yayınları)

¹⁴⁷ For a recent study on the macro economic impact of 1838 see Pamuk, Şevket, Jeffrey G. Williamson (2011) "Ottoman de-Industrialization, 1800–1913: Assessing the Magnitude, Impact and Response", *Economic History Review*, 64, pp 159–184.

¹⁴⁸ Akarlı, Engin Deniz (2004), pp 198-199.

¹⁴⁹ Quataert, Donald (1994). "The Age of Reforms (1812-1914)", in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire vol. 2: 1600-1914*, eds. Halil İnalcık, Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p 764.

the 1820's and 1830's. The endless wars, territorial losses and to a lesser extend the cost of reforms have caused huge budget deficits and highest debasement rates that was unmatched with the previous centuries in the Ottoman history.¹⁵⁰ Within 54 years from 1788 to 1842, Ottoman *kuruş* have lost about 90% of its value against the leading European currencies.¹⁵¹

Second and more striking landmark reflecting the major change in political, social, administrative and economical dynamics of the empire was *Hatt-ı Hümayun* Edict, declared right after Mahmut II's death and major defeat to Egyptian Governor in 1839, outcomes of which could only be refrained by European especially British involvement. It also seals the beginning of a new era; "*Tanzimat*".

The edict called for reforms to eliminate inequality and create justice for life, honour and property of all subjects; Muslim or non-Muslim, rich or poor. It promised a host of specific measures to eliminate corruption, abolish tax farming and regularize conscription of all males.¹⁵² Although the decree did not explicitly say that Muslim and non-Muslim are equal, it strongly implied equality of all subjects before the law¹⁵³ by stating that the privileges should be applied without exception to all subjects.¹⁵⁴

The significance of *Hatt-ı Humayun* lies in the principles of superiority of law, equality of the subjects and prioritizing the property rights and prosperity of the people. In that sense, it underlines a major shift from a traditional theocratic state structure to a more westernized approach.¹⁵⁵ Sultan's absolute power was also restricted as he

¹⁵⁰ Pamuk, Şevket (2003). *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p 188-200.

¹⁵¹ In 1788 one English pound was exchanged for eleven *kuruş*, by 1844 the exchange rate was ten times higher. Pamuk (2003), p 193.

¹⁵² Quataert, Donald (2005). *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p 66.

¹⁵³ İnalçık, Halil (2011). "Sened-i İttifak ve Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu", in *Tanzimat: Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, eds. Halil İnalçık, Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası), p 106. (Original work published in 1964, *Bellekten*, vol. 112, pp 603-622)

¹⁵⁴ Findley, Carter V. (2008). "The Tanzimat", in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol.4, ed. Reşat Kasaba (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p 18.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, pp 106-108.

committed himself to fulfil the criteria's written in the edict¹⁵⁶ and by the establishment of a new assembly (*Meclis-i Ahkam-ı Adliye*) to prepare the legislations. Thus, the civil bureaucrats would become the legislative power of the empire afterwards.¹⁵⁷

Growing politisation of ethno-religious differences together with Russian expansion policy and European powers resistance have triggered another massive conflict, which ended up with Crimean War in 1854 where Ottoman Empire allied with England, France and Piedmont against Russia.¹⁵⁸ At the end of the war another edict was declared as *Hatt-ı Şerif* in 1856 explicitly stated the equality of non-Muslims with Muslims, just a month before Treaty of Paris where Ottoman Empire was formally admitted to the concert of Europe. Becoming the first Non-western State to conclude a treaty on a footing of formal equality with European powers, the empire thus attained on paper the collective European security guarantee that Ottoman diplomats had advocated for a century.¹⁵⁹

Transition in Tax Collection

One of the major aspects of *Tanzimat* reforms was on financial system and tax collection. The aim was to achieve financial centralization by eliminating tax farming and simplifying highly complicated and inefficient land tax to an individual taxation method based on ability to pay¹⁶⁰ as clearly mentioned in *Hatt-ı Humayun*.¹⁶¹ However, the real agenda was to increase tax revenue and to curtail the power of local intermediaries.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁶ Karal, Enver Ziya (2011). "Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu'nda Batı'nın Etkisi", in *Tanzimat: Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, eds. Halil İnalçık, Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası), p 130. (Original work published in 1964, *Belleten*, vol. 112, pp 589-600)

¹⁵⁷ Şener, Abdüllatif (2011). "Osmanlı Bütçeleri ve Türkiye'de Bütçe Hakkının Ortaya Çıkışında Cumhuriyet Öncesi Gelişmeler", in *Tanzimat: Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, eds. Halil İnalçık, Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası), p 746. (Original work published in 1988, *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi*, vol. 99, pp 70-74)

¹⁵⁸ Badem, Candan (2010). *The Ottoman Crimean War, 1853-1856*. (Boston: Brill), pp 60-87.

¹⁵⁹ Findley, Carter V. (2010). *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity: A History, 1789-2007* New Haven: Yale University Press), pp 81-83.

¹⁶⁰ Şener, Abdüllatif (1990). *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Vergi Sistemi* (Istanbul: İşaret), p 22.

¹⁶¹ "...hiçbir vakitte semere-i nafiası görülmeyen iltizamat usulu... her ferdin emlak ve kudretine göre bir vergi-i münasib tayin olunarak kimseden ziyade şey alınmaması..." See Gülhane Hatt-ı Humayunu in İnalçık, Halil, Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu (2011). *Tanzimat: Değişim sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası)

¹⁶² Özbek, Nadir (2014). "Tanzimat Devleti, Vergi Sistemi ve Toplumsal Adalet 1839-1908", *Toplumsal Tarih*, vol. 252, p 25.

Until late in the sixteenth century, Ottoman Empire had relied on *timar* system in which state giving the right to the members of the ruling class to collect certain agricultural taxes, mainly tithe (*öşür*) for their own account in lieu of a salary and required to provide particular number of completely equipped soldiers for campaigns.¹⁶³

In that system the taxes, mostly collected in kind (*ayni*), were spent locally and large portion of the revenues never reached the central treasury.¹⁶⁴ The other important source of revenue, head tax (*cizye*) to be paid by non-Muslims was always collected in cash and placed directly into the central treasury until its abolishment in by *Hatt-ı Şerif* in 1856.¹⁶⁵

Within the changes in military technology and the need to maintain larger, permanent armies at the centre, the *timar* system began to lose both its military and fiscal significance. As a result, pressures increased to collect a larger part of the rural surplus at the centre. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the *timar* system began to be abandoned in favour of tax-farming (*iltizam*) and the tax units (*mukataa*) to be auctioned off at Istanbul in annual or tree year basis.¹⁶⁶

The *mukataas* were not only on the tax farming income of the territories ranging from a village to a province or group of provinces, but also economic activities or enterprises that have the potential to generate revenue.¹⁶⁷

By 1695, the *mukataas* were started to be auctioned off in life time basis (*malikane*) and those tax farmers (*malikaneci*) were required to pay the lump sum payment (*muacele*) determined by the auction and the annual payment (*mal*) fixed by the state. Seventy nine years after its establishment, the *malikane* system dominated the Ottoman

¹⁶³ Kütükoğlu, Mübahat (2001). “The Structure of the Ottoman Economy”, in *History of the Ottoman State, Society and Civilisation*, ed. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, Feridun Emecen (Istanbul: IRCICA), p 587.

¹⁶⁴ Pamuk, Şevket (2006). “Osmanlı Devletinin İç Borçlanma Kurumlarının Evrimi 1600-1850”, in *Osmanlı Maliyesi: Kurumlar ve Bütçeler*, eds. Mehmet Genç, Erol Özvar (Istanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi), p 28.

¹⁶⁵ İnalçık, Halil (1994). “The Ottoman State Economy and Society”, in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire vol.1: 1300-1600*, ed. Halil İnalçık, Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p 68

¹⁶⁶ Pamuk (2003), p 86.

¹⁶⁷ Genç, Mehmet (2006). “Osmanlı Maliyesinde Mukataa Kavramı”, in *Osmanlı Maliyesi: Kurumlar ve Bütçeler*, eds. Mehmet Genç, Erol Özvar (Istanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi), p 62.

financial system, number of tax farms assigned as *malikanes* increased by 347% and annual total revenue (*muacele+mal*) that these tax sources yielded increased by 1400%.¹⁶⁸

However, the system did not fulfil the expectations due to the inability of the state to regain the control of its revenue sources after the death of *malikaneci* as they had right to sell their *mukataas* too.¹⁶⁹ Besides, those intermediaries, namely *malikanecis*, their creditors (*sarrafi*) and their own tax collectors (*mültezim*) ended up earning more than the state¹⁷⁰ that paved the way for the rise of the local notables (*ayan*) who held the considerable part of the tax farms as a new powerhouse.¹⁷¹ In that sense the tax farming policy of the state became an important precondition for political decentralization.¹⁷²

Therefore, the state attempted to abolish tax farming by *tanzimat* reforms and replaced them with the state officials responsible for the tax collection (*mulhasıl*) in 1840. It ended up with failure as the state revenue dropped drastically due to the inexperience of those *mulhasıls* to deal with the complexities of tax collection and lack of corporation of the landlords and other interest groups whose privileges were threatened.¹⁷³ In addition, salaries of those *mulhasıls* and their assistants generated a heavy burden on the treasury even so that it exceeded tax revenues they collected.¹⁷⁴

The new system of direct revenue collection was abandoned as early as 1842 and old tax farming practices were resumed and survived as long as the empire lasted. However, this time state took some extra measures to keep tax farmers local and in small scale as the tax units were reduced to village level¹⁷⁵ from province and auctions were

¹⁶⁸ Çızakça, Murat (1996a). *A Comparative Evolution of Business Partnerships: The Islamic World and Europe, with Specific Reference to the Ottoman Archives* (Leiden: Brill), pp 159-160.

¹⁶⁹ Pamuk, Şevket (2014). "Fiscal Centralisation and the Rise of the Modern State", *The Medieval History Journal*, 17, pp 1-26.

¹⁷⁰ Çızakça (1996a). p 165-168.

¹⁷¹ Üstün, Kadir (2013). "The New Order and its Enemies: Opposition to Military Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1789-1807", PhD Thesis, Columbia University p 195.

¹⁷² Ianeva, Svetla (2012). "The Non-Muslim Tax-Farmers in the Fiscal and Economic System of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century", in *Religion, Ethnicity and Contested Nationhood in the Former Ottoman Space*, ed. Jørgen S. Nielsen (Leiden: Brill), p 50.

¹⁷³ Şener (1990), p 41-44.

¹⁷⁴ Çakır, Coşkun (2001). *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Maliyesi* (Istanbul: Küre Yayınları), p 47.

¹⁷⁵ Özbek (2014), p 28.

organized in local towns rather than Istanbul where the big tax farmers and their financiers mostly resided.¹⁷⁶

On the other hand intentions to shift to individual taxation based on ability to pay remained in surface and surveys (*temettuat* survey) were conducted accordingly which will be discussed further in detail. In practice, the attempts were limited to combine various complicated tax items (*tekalif-i örfiye*) into one simple tax (*ancemaatin* tax) in which the entire inhabitants of the villages/ neighbourhoods were held responsible collectively.¹⁷⁷

Individual taxation was introduced with the new cadastral census in 1858 and then regulation in 1860, which was based on property and income (*temettuat* tax). However, it was limited for the artisans, local merchants¹⁷⁸ and property owners in city and towns. The agricultural tax remained to be levied on collective basis.¹⁷⁹

The central government took advantage of these financial reforms and increased its capacity for revenue gathering rapidly. The state revenue was 563 million *kuruş* in 1841 and rose to 1.2 billion in 1861 and to 2.4 billion in 1875. However, the expenditures increased even faster and reached to 2.9 billion *kuruş* in 1875.¹⁸⁰ Even worse, the

¹⁷⁶ Köksal, Yonca (2002). “Local Intermediaries and Ottoman State Centralization: A Comparison of the Tanzimat Reforms in the Provinces of Ankara and Edirne (1839-1878)”, PhD Thesis, Columbia University, p 79.

¹⁷⁷ Özbek (2014), p 25.

¹⁷⁸ Foreign merchants were exempted from *temettuat* tax and could not be integrated due to the pressures of the European Powers, Şener (1990), p 204.

¹⁷⁹ Kaya, Alp Yücel, Yücel Terzibaşoğlu (2009). “Tahrir’den Kadastro’ya: 1874 İstanbul Emlak Tahriri ve Vergisi: “Kadastro Tabir Olunur Tahrir-i Emlak”, *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, vol. 9, pp 15-24. For the regulation to apply property tax from cities and towns see;

“*Malum-ı ali-i vekaletpenahileri buyrulduğu üzere tahrir-i emlakın nizamının icraatına müteallik bazı kavaid teshiliyle tahsir olunduğu sırada emr-i tahririn şehir ve kasabalara hasrıyla kura emlakı tahririnin muvakkaten icrasına sarf-ı nazar kılınması ...*” BDOA, *Meclis-i Mahsus*, I.MMS 34/1409, 27 Za 1283 (1867, April 2nd).

For the regulation to continue with the existing ancemaating tax in villages and urban areas see;

“*Eyalat ve Elviyede Kura ve Mahallatın Muayyen Olan Vergilerinin Beynel Ahali Tevzii Hakkında İcrası*

Lazım Gelen Muamelata Dair Nizamname”, 15 B 1277 (1861, January 27th), *Düstur*, I. Tertib, vol.1, 1279, pp. 279-283.

¹⁸⁰ Güran, Tevfik (2003). *Osmanlı Malî İstatistikleri Bütçeler, 1841-1918: Ottoman Financial Statistics Budgets* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü), p XXII.

increasing public deficit forced the state to borrow from the European financial markets by 1854 that have led to a snowballing effect of accumulated debts from 1863 on.¹⁸¹

By 1875, the debts reached to 20 billion *kuruş*, ten times higher than the revenues and the state had to declare the bankruptcy at the same year. Finally, Ottoman Public Debt Administration (*Duyun-u Umumiye*) was established in 1881 to exercise European control over parts of Ottoman finances and ensure orderly payments on the outstanding debt.¹⁸²

Introducing *Temettuat* Registers as a Source

Temettuat registers are the results of a unique attempt of conducting wealth and income survey within the Ottoman territory to materialize the aim switching from communal and indirect taxation to an individual and direct one based on ability to pay mentioned in *Hatt-ı Humayun*.

In fact, the real aim was never replacing the existing tax structure with an income-based system but to achieve fair distribution of the predetermined tax load.¹⁸³ Hence, the centrally appointed *mulhasıls* who were also held responsible for supervising property and income surveys were expected to distribute the previous tax level of their region per household on the valuation of property, land and animals that the households owned and the annual revenues that the artisans and merchants earned.¹⁸⁴

The survey conducted by *mulhasıls* in 1840 ended up with failure on both accuracy and scale, and triggered some severe social unrests not only provoked by the notables and other interest groups who lost their stakes but also by the misapplication and misconduct of those *mulhasıls*.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Eldem, Edhem (2005). “Ottoman Financial Integration with Europe: Foreign Loans, the Ottoman Bank and the Ottoman Public Debt”, *European Review* 13, no. 03, pp 431–445.

¹⁸² Pamuk (2003), pp 204- 214.

¹⁸³ Özbek(2014), p 25.

¹⁸⁴ Kaya, Terzibaşıoğlu (2009), pp 13-14.

¹⁸⁵ For the social unrest due to the Tanzimat and tax collection reforms see;

İnalçık, Halil (2011). “Tanzimat’ın Uygulaması ve Sosyal Tepkiler”, in *Tanzimat: Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, eds. Halil İnalçık, Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası), pp 171-195.

In 1845, Ottoman administration decided to undertake the survey again but this time cooperated with local notables and religious leaders. Local headmen's (*muhtar*) and religious leaders (imams for Muslims, priests for non-Muslims) were appointed to conduct the survey under the supervision of agricultural director (*ziraat müdürü*).¹⁸⁶

Additionally the method of registering property, land and animals based on their estimated values was given up as it created a huge conflict between *mulhasıls* and taxpayers previously.¹⁸⁷ Instead, the actual revenue generation of those properties, land, animals and their estimated revenue for the next year were carefully recorded.¹⁸⁸

The survey of 1845 was not based on each individual but households, who were seen as a unit of wealth, and following information was gathered from each head of the households and other taxpayers in the household if any that could also be women.

- Personal information on name, neighbourhood, status and profession.
- List of movable and immovable properties of the household (including land, animal and other properties), including actual revenue earned from those properties and estimated revenue for the next year.
- Additional revenue of the head of the household and his sons/brothers from an occupation, labour or other service.
- Total annual revenue of the household.
- Amount of tax payment paid in cash and in kind.
- For non-Muslims, the ability to pay *cizye* tax was recorded as low (*edna*), medium (*evsat*) and high (*ala*).¹⁸⁹

The survey covered most of the Ottoman territory excluding Istanbul, Arab and Kurdish lands, the Eastern Black Sea Cost, Bosnian lands and the Aegean Islands; those

Uzun, Ahmet (2002). *Tanzimat ve Sosyal Direnişler, Niş İsyamı Üzerine Ayrıntılı bir İnceleme (1841)* (Istanbul: Eren), pp 39-85.

¹⁸⁶ Güran, Tevfik (2004) "Temettuat Registers as a Resource about Ottoman Social and Economic Life", in *The Ottoman Empire and Societies in Change: A Study of the Nineteenth Century Temettuat Registers*, eds. Hayashi Kayoko, Mahir Aydın (London: Kegan Paul), p 7.

¹⁸⁷ Kaya, Terzibaşıoğlu (2009), p 15.

¹⁸⁸ Kütükoğlu, Mübahat (1995). "Osmanlı Sosyal ve İktisadi Kaynaklarından Temettü Defterleri", *Bellekten*, c.LIX, vol.225 (Ankara: TTK Yayınları), pp 405-411.

¹⁸⁹ Öztürk, Said (2000). "Temettuat Tahrirleri", *Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi*, Vol: 4-5, pp 562-566.

are the territories that were either not subject to income tax or difficult for tax collection. As a result, approximately 1.100.000 household data were gathered from 543 *kazas* in 17.540 registers in which the provincial distribution is shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Distribution of *Temettuat* Registers per Province ¹⁹⁰

Provinces	<i>Kazas</i>	Registers
Ankara	42	1.401
Aydın	96	1.411
Bolu	96	2.299
Ceyazir-i Bahr-i Sefid	8	26
Edirne	31	1.623
Erzurum	5	316
Hüdavendigâr	59	2.491
Konya	67	1.025
Niş	12	817
Rumeli	21	45
Salonica	3	370
Silistre	23	987
Sivas	61	2.297
Üsküp	9	365
Vidin	10	316
Miscellaneous		1.751
Grand Total	543	17.540

The survey and evaluation process took much more time than expected and Porte asked for compiled report to see the total tax payment and average tax payment per household which was calculated as 178 million *kuruş* and 64,5 *kuruş* respectively. Also taxation rate was estimated as 14.5% on average.¹⁹¹

At the end, it was realized that taxation per household could not be materialized due to the late arrival and possibility misleading data and Porte decided to approximate the tax burden for each area and impose tax accordingly. The bulk of data was never used

¹⁹⁰ Güran (2004), p 6.

¹⁹¹ Yoichi, Takamatsu (2004). "Ottoman Income Survey", in *The Ottoman Empire and Societies in Change: A Study of the Nineteenth Century Temettuat Registers*, eds. Hayashi Kayoko, Mahir Aydin (London: Kegan Paul), p 40.

again. The survey was never been repeated and stored in the Ottoman State Archives Catalogue, *Maliye Varidat* section, until it has been permitted for public use in 1988.¹⁹²

Starting from the permission for public use, *temettuat* registers were used among scholars extensively.¹⁹³ There have been remarkable articles, MA and Ph.D. thesis written on certain provinces or *kazas*' social and economic structure based on *temettuat* registers.¹⁹⁴ Apart from the use of data in provincial or *kaza*-based research, there were few attempts to interpret *temettuat* data to answer broader social and economic questions.

The data gathered from *temettuat* registers, provides much deeper and more accurate information than those of *tahrir* books recorded in the 15th and the 16th centuries.¹⁹⁵ Some of the strengths and usage capacity of the data are underlined as follows;

- It does not indicate any sampling and entire population was intended to be covered.
- The basic personal information such as name and occupation were expected to have higher accuracy rate.
- It allows to portrait very rich social, agricultural, ethnic and occupational depiction of the period.
- It enables to map Ottoman territories for that time period in terms of certain elements like, cultivated/non-cultivated areas, grain map, real estate map and ethnic map and occupation map.
- It allows making comparative analyses between cities or social, ethnical or occupational groups within the cities.

¹⁹² Ibid, p 44.

¹⁹³ Before 1988, very limited of registers could be found in *Maliyeden Mudevver* and *Kepeci* classifications and those registers was first introduced to academic world by Tevfik Güran's article. Güran, Tevfik (1985). "Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıl Ortalarında Ödemiş Kasabası'nın Sosyo-Ekonomik Özellikleri", *İÜİF, Ord. Prof. Dr. Ömer Lütfi Barkan'a Armağan Özel Sayısı*, İstanbul 1985.

¹⁹⁴ An extensive compilation of the list of articles, MA and Ph.D. thesis written on *temettuat* could be found in. Öztürk, Said (2003). "Türkiye'de Temettuat Çalışmaları", *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, C 1.S.1 , p 287-304.

¹⁹⁵ Kütükoğlu (1995), p 395.

However, *temettuat* registers have also some weakness and shortcomings due to its aim, method and implementation as shown below;

- Main point was to determine tax burden of the households and the survey was based on self-claim, therefore reliability of the data on income and taxes might be low.
- Expenses were not allowed for deduction from income, thus the income figure on the registers did not represent wealth but the scale of economic activity.
- No availability for time series, as it was conducted only once.
- Lower capability of testing the accuracy.
- The registers for certain territories of the empire are not available that decreases the reliability.¹⁹⁶
- As the survey was mainly based on the head of household and other taxpayers in the house, the data on non-households, poor's and remaining members of the households were ignored.

The data of this study was gathered from M. Erdem Kabadayı who has been currently analysing the occupation structure of 18 major Ottoman cities namely Amasya, Ankara, Bursa, Edirne, Erzurum, Filibe, İvranya, Konya, Kütahya, Manastır, Manisa, Niş, Rusçuk, Salonica, Sivas, Tokat, Üsküp and Vidin in the light of *temettuat* registers within a research project.¹⁹⁷

Among these cities, Bursa and Salonica were the top two that contained the most solid population data and complete ethnicity distribution map on neighbourhood basis comparable with *temettuat* registers. Besides, the early signs of industrialization in mid-19th century was most visible in those two cities and heterogeneous structure of Salonica in terms of ethno-religious characteristics was compelling to for the purpose of this study. Therefore, Bursa and Salonica were selected for the detailed analysis on barbers

¹⁹⁶ Güran, Tevfik (2000). “19.Yüzyıl Temettuat Tahrirleri”, *Osmanlı Devletinde Bilgi ve İstatistik* , ed. Halil İnalçık, Şevket Pamuk (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü), pp 79-81.

¹⁹⁷ *An Introduction to the Occupational History of Turkey via New Methods and New Approaches (1840 - 1940) Project Nr. 112K271, Ongoing TUBITAK Project.*

but the rest were also used for the general comparison. The focus of the study was on cities only. *Temettuat* registers on villages and rural settlements were not covered in the study.

The data source contains following information for each observation coming out of *temettuat*. The name, ethnicity, declared residency in neighbourhood basis, occupation (up to three occupations if declared) occupation status, declared annual income earning from each occupation and annual declared income of the entire household.

Bursa “The Silk Centre”

Bursa, the first capital of the Ottoman Empire, had always borne political and more importantly economic significance due to its vital location in the trading roots. Along with the highly developed native woolen industry, silk became the principle source of international exchange and wealth for western countries from the 13th to the 18th centuries. By the end of the 13th century, due to the disorders in Mongol Empire, raw silk import from China had stopped and totally replaced by Iran mainly by the city Tabriz.

With the changing trade roots due to the collapse of Ilkhanid Empire, Bursa became one of the major entrepôt in world markets for raw silk by the end of the 14th century to be distributed to Europe through Genoese merchants stationed in Pera. Additionally the city became a centre for all kinds of exports to Iran via Iranian merchants including western woolen cloth, pearls from the Gulf, sugar from Egypt and Cyprus and even spices from India.¹⁹⁸

After the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the city continued to flourish as a silk trading hub. Between 1487 and 1513 annual revenue from the scales (*mizan*) tax on raw silk at Bursa was around six million *akçe*. Five or six caravans arrived to the city annually carrying 120 tonnes of raw silk and considerable amount of raw silk was weaved within the city by one thousand looms.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ İnalçık (1994), p 218-221. For the transformation of the city to a silk centre and a central trade root and beyond see İnalçık’s article “Bursa and Silk Trade” in İnalçık (1994), p 218-251.

¹⁹⁹ İnalçık, Halil (1996).”Türkiye’nin Tekstil Tarihçesi Üzerine Notlar”, in *Bir Masaldı Bursa*, ed. Engin Yenal (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları), p 61-67.

The demand for raw silk had peaked in the 17th century so that England's raw silk import from Ottoman Empire had increased 275%.²⁰⁰ However, Bursa lost its vital role in silk trade first to Aleppo then to Izmir for various reasons; capture of Bursa by Celali rebels, heavy tax burden of the city, Shah Abbas's declaration of new trade root as Izmir, the shift to direct sea trade could be among them.²⁰¹

Interestingly diminishing international demand for raw silk, aided Bursa manufacturers to recover in cloth production that had been ignored in favour of raw silk trade previously.²⁰² Furthermore, raw silk production was expanded in the city as a result of increasing cost of Iranian raw silk especially at the beginning of the 18th century²⁰³ and Bursa remained as a manufacturing centre for local consumption.²⁰⁴

In the beginning of the 19th century, European demand for raw silk again sharply mounted as Western prosperity and per capita consumption increased. Then Bursa regained its reputation as a raw silk centre.²⁰⁵ By the mechanization of silk weaving in Europe starting from 1824, the entrepreneurs started to establish centralized factories to produce raw silk compatible with needs of European silk weaving mills.²⁰⁶

The first factory appeared in the city in 1838 founded by a French Glazial family and immediately followed by many others. As to British vice-council Maling's report in

²⁰⁰ Çızakça, Murat (1996b). "XIV.-XIX. Yüzyıllar Arasında Bursa İpekçiliği", in *Bir Masaldı Bursa*, ed. Engin Yenil (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları), p 73.

²⁰¹ Goffman, Daniel (1999). "İzmir: From Village to Colonial Port City", in *The Ottoman City between East and West Aleppo, İzmir and Istanbul*, Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, Bruce Masters (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) pp 85-90.

For the discussion of the change in the trade roots also see;

Faroqhi, Suraiya (2004). *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (London, I.B. Tauris), p 54.

Ergenç, Özer (2006). *XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa -Yerleşimi, Yönetimi, Ekonomik ve Sosyal Durumu Üzerine Bir Araştırma* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları), pp 218-221.

Tekeli, İlhan (2007). "Anadolu'da Kent Tarihi Yazıcılığı Konusunda bir Yöntem Önerisi", in *Bursa'nın Kentsel ve Mimari Gelişimi*, ed. Cafer Çiftçi (Bursa: Bursa Osmangazi Belediyesi Yayınları), pp 75-77.

²⁰² Çızakça, Murat (2004). "Price History and Bursa Silk Industry: A Study in Ottoman Industrial Decline 1550-1650", in *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*, ed. Huri İslamoğlu-İnan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp 260-261.

²⁰³ Faroqhi, Suraiya (2008b). "Declines and Revivals in Textile Production", in *The Cambridge History of Turkey: vol. 3*. ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp 362, 363.

²⁰⁴ Ibid, pp 81-118.

²⁰⁵ Quataert, Donald (1993). *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p 117.

²⁰⁶ Ibid, p 118.

1872, the number of silk reeling factories in Bursa had reached up to 90 as of 1860 where some 5.145 workers employed in.²⁰⁷

The dramatic shift to mechanization in the mid-19th century also transformed the occupational structure and the urban space of the city. First traditional reeling, based on hand-spinning almost vanished as clearly shown in Table 4.2, and non-Muslim women became the sole labourforce for these new factories as they constituted 96% of the total factory labourforce.²⁰⁸

Table 4.2: Silk Weaving Mills and its Share in Total Production in Bursa²⁰⁹

Year	Number of Mills	% Made in factory
1845	1	1
1846	2	1
1847	3	2
1848	4	4
1849	8	7
1850	11	9
1851	15	11
1852	21	16
1853	25	22
1854		20
1855	29	48
1856 ²¹⁰	53	28
1857	64	50
1858	82	75
1859		80
1860	83	78
1861	88	79
1862	90	85

These factories were cumulated especially in two regions nearby Cilimboz and Gökdere rivers to reach the water supplies easily²¹¹ and more importantly to find labour supply from non-Muslim women. Cilimboz was crossing the northwest side of the city

²⁰⁷ Günaydın, Nurşen, Raif Kaplanoğlu (2000). *Seyahatnamelerde Bursa* (Bursa: Bursa Ticaret Borsası Kültür Yayınları), pp 150-151.

²⁰⁸ Kaygalak, Sevilay (2006). “Kapitalistleşme Sürecinde bir Osmanlı Anadolu Kenti: Bursa, 1840-1914”, PhD Thesis, Ankara University, pp 152-153.

²⁰⁹ Quataert (1993), pp 122-123.

²¹⁰ In 1856, a devastating “pebrin” epidemic had damaged the cocoon and despite the increasing mechanization, Bursa manufacturers could not achieve the previous production levels for many years. Kaygalak, Sevilay (2008). *Kapitalizmin Taşrası: 16. yüzyıldan 19. Yüzyıla Bursa'da Toplumsal Süreçler ve Mekansal Değişim* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları), p 158.

²¹¹ Ibid, p 47.

where Orthodox Christians²¹² were populated and Gökdere was flowing by the southeast between the residential areas of Armenians.



5. A Bursa Silk Factory in 1885 where all labourers were non-Muslim women as seen from the picture.²¹³

Bursa in *Temettuat*

In the early sixteenth century, Bursa was the most important town on Anatolia by far and had 8.003 taxpaying inhabitants according to 1530-31 registers, which enables to approximate the population around 36.000.²¹⁴

In 1573, the taxpayers have risen to 15.959, confirming that the population should have doubled within forty-three years, most likely due to the growth of the economic importance of the city, particularly in the silk and textile industries that offered job

²¹² As already mentioned in Chapter 3, the term “Orthodox Christians” will be used to indicate not only Greeks but other Slavic elements. Newer scholarship has already shown the heterogeneity of Orthodox Christians and suggesting that Greek-Orthodox *millet* was not even present identity. For the most recent literature see Ozil, Ayşe (2013). *Orthodox Christians in the late Ottoman Empire: A Study of Communal Relations in Anatolia* (London: Routledge), p xi-xii.

²¹³ Graham-Brown, Sarah (1988). *Images of Women: The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East, 1860-1950* (New York: Columbia University Press), p 162.(Original work published in *Sehbal Magazine*, 1910)

²¹⁴ Faroqhi (2000), p 43.

opportunities for the new settlers of Bursa.²¹⁵ Although Christian and Jewish taxpayers in Bursa have risen approximately five times during that period, non-Muslims still remained not more than 5% of the overall population.²¹⁶

Evliya narrates that there were 23.000 households living in 176 Muslim, seven Armenian, nine Greek, 6 Jewish and one Roma (*kıptıyan*) neighbourhood in the mid-17th century.²¹⁷ The foreign travellers visiting Bursa during the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century indicates different estimates on the population varying from 40.000 to 75.000.²¹⁸

The first population census conducted in 1831, which kept continuing by recording deaths and births until 1838, is problematic due to the lost census records for non-Muslims, whose census records was tracked in another document prepared in 1838.²¹⁹ Taking the proceeding census record conducted between 1839-1843 into consideration, the combination of results states 10.739 Muslims and 6.228 non-Muslims²²⁰ totally 16.937 males were living in the city in the mid-19th century, which should have been around 40.000 by adding females and others and overall Bursa population including villages and rural areas should have been around 70.000-75.000.²²¹

In 1845 *temettuat* register data, 7.759 people were recorded for the entire Bursa city including 377 Muslim women. No record was found for non-Muslim women.²²² Some 61% of the entire observations were recorded as Muslims whereas 21% were Armenians, 12% were Orthodox Christians and 5% were Jews. Additionally a small Armenian Catholic community and some 23 Romas²²³ were also recorded in the registers.

²¹⁵ Lowry, Heath (2003). *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts* (Indiana: Indiana University Ottoman and Modern Turkish Studies Publications), p 28.

²¹⁶ Ibid, pp 28-29.

²¹⁷ Evliya Çelebi (2011). *Evliya Celebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol.2, ed. Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, Zekeriya Kurşun (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları), pp 9-12.

²¹⁸ Satıcı, Emre (2008). "19. Yüzyılda Hüdavendigâr Eyaleti", PhD Thesis, Ankara University, pp 69-74.

²¹⁹ Kaplanoğlu, Raif (2013). *1830-1843 Yılları Nüfus Defterlerine Göre Bursa'nın Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yapısı* (Bursa: Nilüfer Akkılıç Kütüphanesi Yayınları), pp 9-11.

²²⁰ Ibid, pp 27-30.

²²¹ Satıcı (2008), p 74.

²²² Kaplanoğlu, Raif (2011). *1844 Yılı Temettuat Defterlerine Göre Değişim Sürecinde Bursa'nın Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yapısı* (Bursa: Nilüfer Akkılıç Kütüphanesi Yayınları), p 87.

²²³ In the making of the 1845 survey Turks, Kurds and Arabs were all counted and categorized as Muslims without differentiating their ethnical characteristics. Only Roma was a first and foremost ethnical category

Table 4.3: Temettuat Figures of Bursa

	Observations Total	Ethnicity %	Tertiary Service	Barbers	Barbers in Ethnicity %	Barbers in Observation %
M	4692	60.5	1004	123	66.5	2.6
A	1623	20.9	254	54	29.2	3.3
OC	963	12.4	83	5	2.7	0.5
J	360	4.6	58		0.0	0.0
C	98	1.3	21	3	1.6	3.1
R	23	0.3			0.0	0.0
TOTAL	7759	100.0	1420	185	100.0	2.4

Like the rest of the urban areas in Ottoman territory, households of Bursa city were recorded on the basis of neighbourhood,²²⁴ except some 203 people including all Armenian Catholics who were listed without residency. It was already known by 1831-1838 censuses that there were 164 neighbourhoods in the city,²²⁵ however only 137 of them were found in *temettuat* registers.

In order to verify the actual number of neighbourhoods in 1845, Bursa *Varidat* registers of 1853 were analysed from the literature. Although *Varidat* covered relatively limited information compared to *temettuat*, the neighbourhood of each household was one of the essential data been documented.²²⁶ In 1853, some 145 neighbourhoods were recorded in *Varidat*, and additionally nine neighbourhoods that existed in *temettuat* were non-existent in *Varidat*.²²⁷ Therefore, it could be assumed there were no less than 154 neighbourhoods existed in the city by 1845 and *temettuat* data only covered 137.

for the Ottoman statecraft. The Ottoman Sinti and Roma were registered as (*kıptiyan* in Ottoman) in general, without mentioning their religious affiliations, although there were Muslim and non-Muslim Roma in the Ottoman Empire. See Kabadayı, M. Erdem (2014). “Changing Neighbors and Neighborhoods in Ankara, Bursa and Salonika from the Ottoman Empire to Nation States: Urban Fabrics Compared Across Time and Space, 1845-1945”, working paper presented at the international workshop *Visible and Invisible Urban boundaries in the Ottoman and Post-Ottoman World from a Comparative Perspective*, (22-23th May 2014), Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin.

²²⁴ Kütükoğlu (1995), pp 397-398.

²²⁵ Kaplanoğlu (2013), pp 9-10.

²²⁶ Kaplanoğlu (2011), pp 19-21.

²²⁷ *Ibid*, pp 30-34.

Neighbourhoods were one of the strongest identifiers of Ottoman territory as a smallest unit of collectiveness of the urban life,²²⁸ integrally relating moral, administrative and legal issues within.²²⁹

The residential patterns of those units usually ran along lines of ethnicity and religion.²³⁰ Hence, the survey results of Bursa city reveal that Muslims and non-Muslim citizens recorded in the registers did not mix with each other in 119 neighbourhoods of which Muslims were solely registered in 101, Armenians in eight, Orthodox Christians in eight, Jews in one and Romas in one of them.

On the other hand, residency in a neighbourhood was not exclusive to one single community and in many regions households of different religious communities clustered together in Ottoman cities according to wealth and many other complex set of determinants.²³¹ Although ethno-religious identity was perceived as the most effective one, it was always subject to transgression both in legal and illegal ways and the existing of 'mixed' neighbourhoods can be understood as a sign of realization of such transgressions.²³²

Bursa *temettuat* registers were also evidencing ethno-religiously mixed residency in 18 neighbourhoods where Muslims lived with either Armenians or Orthodox Christians. It should be also noted that those Armenians and Orthodox Christians in Bursa have paid attention not to live in others neighbourhood.

In Map 4.1 the ethno-religious density of the *temettuat* observations are reflected on the most available and compatible city map on neighbourhood basis which was created

²²⁸ Boyar, Ebru, Kate Fleet (2010). *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p 121.

²²⁹ Canbakal, Hülya (2004) "Some Questions on the Legal Identity of Neighborhoods in the Ottoman Empire", *Anatolia Modern* (Yeni Anadolu), vol.X, pp 131-138.

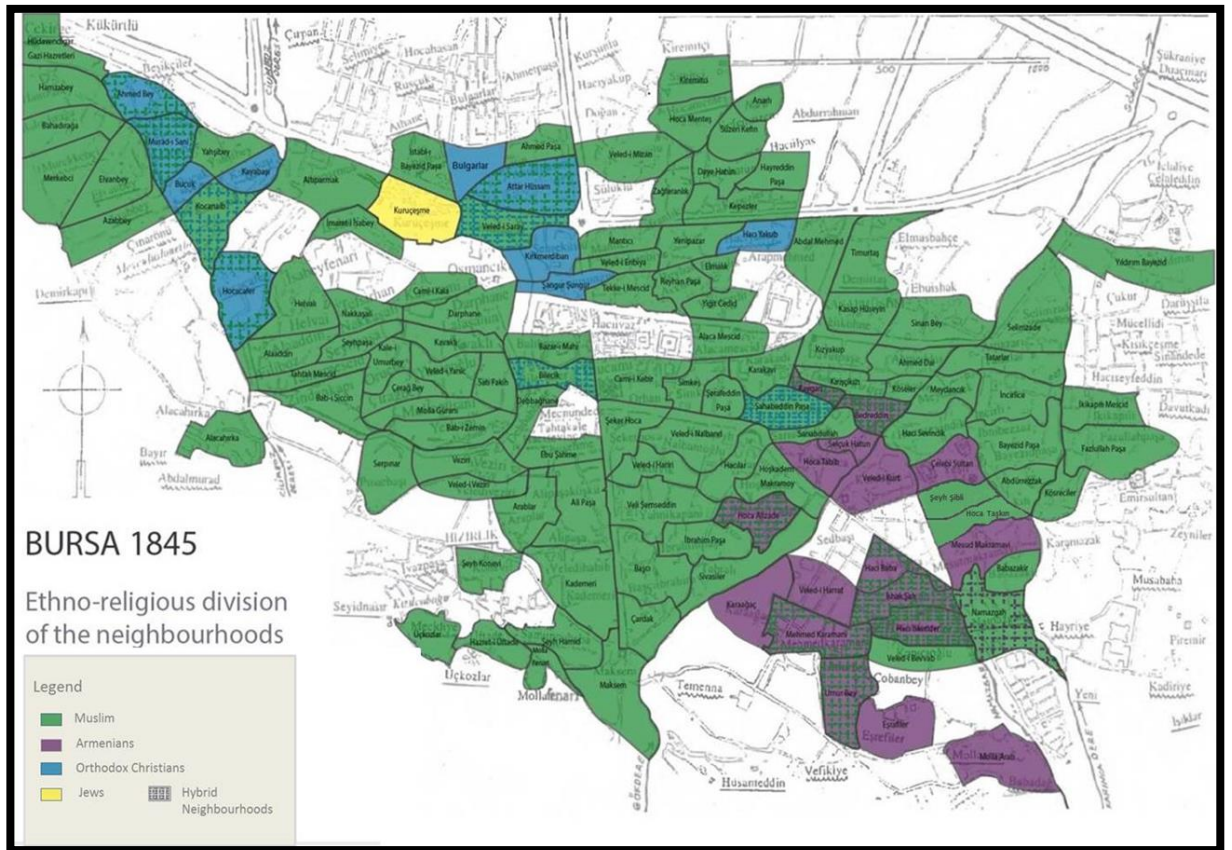
²³⁰ Behar, Cem (2003). *A Neighbourhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in Kasap Ilyas Mahalle* (New York: State University of New York Press), pp 4-5.

²³¹ Quataert (2005), pp 179-180.

²³² For Ankara it was Bölücek-i Atik where 106 Muslim, 55 Armenian and 95 Orthodox Christian were recorded in temettuat see Çelik, Semih (2010). "The Rich, the Poor and the Hungry: Social Differentiation and Famine in Ankara in 1845", MA Thesis, Bilgi University, pp 36-40.

some 35 years after *temettuat* survey by a French insurance company on 1/1.000 scale.²³³ Between 1845 and 1880, the city was hit by a devastating earthquake and restructured by Ahmet Vefik Paşa in accordance with the emerging needs of industrialization,²³⁴ and therefore, the map might require some reservations on the neighbourhoods and borders.

Map 4.1 Ethno-Religious Division of Bursa Neighbourhoods²³⁵



The ethno-religious distribution map reveals that Muslims mentioned in *temettuat* data have expanded in all the neighbourhoods, but did not mix with the other ethno-religious groups in the centre. In parallel with the historical records,²³⁶ non-Muslim

²³³ Kaplanoğlu, Raif (2008). “Kent Haritalarına göre Bursa’nın Kentsel Gelişmesi”, *Bursa Şehrinin Gelişmesi ve Kentsel Planlama Kültürü*, ed. Yusuf Oğuzoğlu (Bursa: Osmangazi Belediyesi Yayınları), p 74.

²³⁴ Kaygalak (2006), pp 178-193.

²³⁵ I owe thanks to Berkay Küçükbaşlar for preparing and M. Erdem Kabadayı for sharing the maps of Bursa.

²³⁶ Çetin, Osman (1994). *Sicillere Göre Bursa’da İhtida Hareketleri ve Sosyal Sonuçları, 1472-1909* (Ankara: TTK Basımevi), pp 25-32.

elements were mostly resided out of the city centre. Armenians were cumulated in the southeast and Orthodox Christians in northwest where common inhabitation was mostly visible in domination of non-Muslim residents mentioned in the register.

Total number of observations was also mapped on neighbourhood basis to have an idea on the population distribution. As shown in Map 4.2, in 88 quarters out of 137, there were less than fifty people recorded per neighbourhood and that number exceeded hundred only in 16 quarters.

In Table 4.4, the first 10 neighbourhoods having the highest number of observation were listed with the ethno-religious breakdown of the people recorded. Both two maps and figure underline the fact that although Muslims had expanded in larger territories especially within the centre, non-Muslims had concentrated in smaller districts that constituted the higher population penetration per neighbourhood

Map 4.2 Total *Temettuat* Observations of Bursa city per Neighbourhood

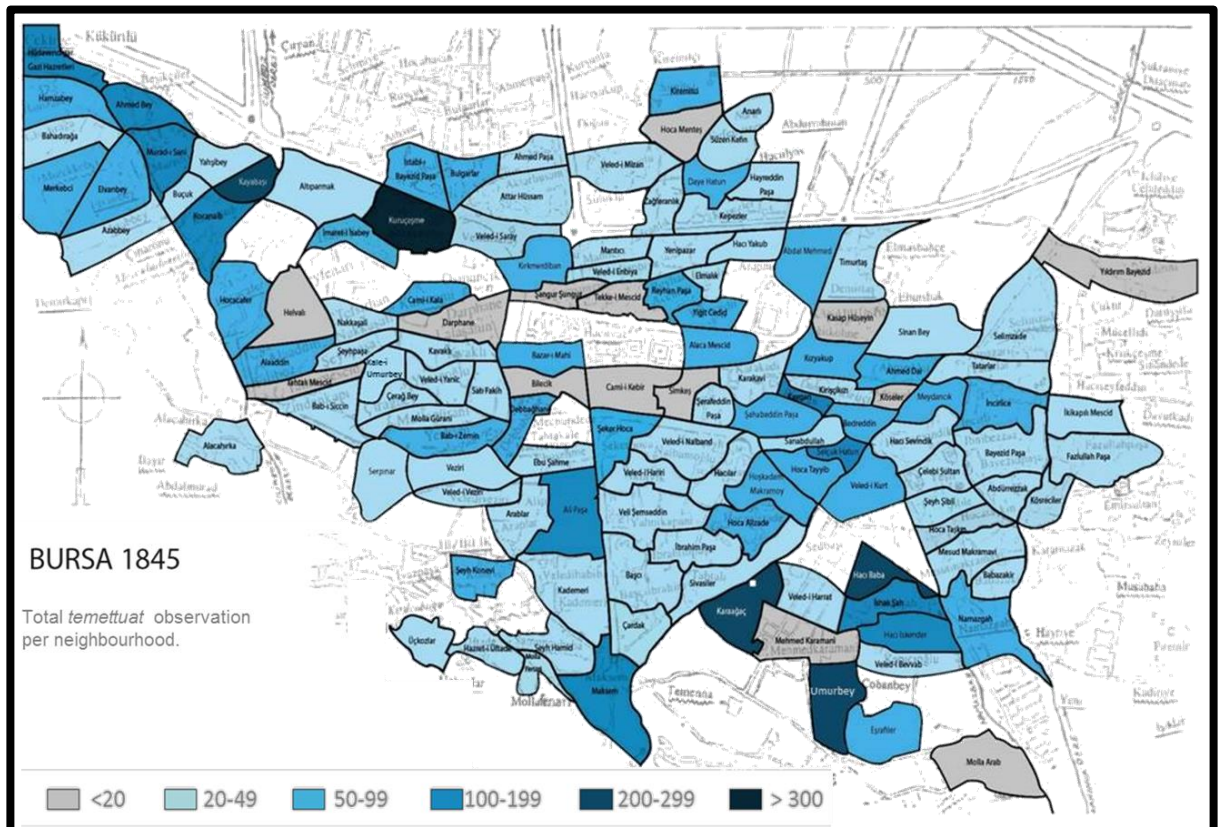


Table 4.4: Top 10 Bursa Neighbourhoods in Terms of Total *Temettuat* Observations and the Ethno-Religious Breakdown of the People Recorded.

Neighbourhood	Observations Total	M	A	OC	J
Kuruçeşme	358				358
Umurbey	236	58	178		
Hacı Baba	224	15	209		
Kayabaşı	212			212	
Karaağaç	210		210		
Murad-ı Sani	186	93		93	
Hoca Mehmed Karamani	183	6	177		
Kocanaib	162	85		77	
Hacı İskender	150	22	128		
Hüdavendigar Gazi Hazretleri	136	136			

In order to reveal overall occupational structure of those 7.759 people into the primary, secondary and tertiary classification,²³⁷ this thesis benefitted from a revised version of PST coding system²³⁸ which was developed by INCHOS (The international network for the comparative history of occupational structure) group to provide common occupational coding and common methodologies to ensure commensurable results.²³⁹

Primary occupations are those in which raw materials are produced such as agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, fishery and mining. Secondary sector comprises those industries in which raw materials are converted into finished products and the tertiary includes the transportation, communication, administration and other service activities including barber craft.²⁴⁰

²³⁷ For the terminology and examples of primary, secondary and tertiary classification see; Wrigley (2004), pp 164-173.

²³⁸ PST system of occupational coding has been developed by E.A. Wrigley and used to code all the occupational data collected on The occupational structure of Britain c.1379-1911 project directed by Leigh Shaw-Taylor within the University of Cambridge History of Population and Social Structure research group. See the article and occupational codes in <http://www.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/occupations/britain19c/pst.html>

²³⁹ Shaw-Taylor, Leigh et al (2010). The Occupational Structure of Nineteenth Century Britain: Full Research Report
ESRC End of Award Report, RES-000-23-1579 (Swindon: ESRC)

²⁴⁰ Wrigley E.A. (2010). The PST System of Classifying Occupations. On line, <http://www.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/occupations/britain19c/papers/paper1.pdf>

Based on the registers 17% of the people observed were either unemployed or having their occupation unstated in the registers. For the occupation holders, 12% of the people registered were occupied in primary, 50% in secondary and remaining 38% were occupied in tertiary sectors. Additionally some 341 people were recorded to have the second job. It should also be noted that by-employment rate could be higher as it was seen in many other countries in textile industry.²⁴¹

The ratio of the people working in tertiary services and professions where barbers were represented in were 22% and only 185 of them were barbers that constitute 2% of overall observation. Within secondary sectors, 29% of them recorded to work in clothing and textiles, 12% in food and drink processing, 11% in footwear and 48% of them were recorded to work in various other branches. It should also be noted that by 1845, there was only one silk weaving factory in the city and none of the people were recorded as factory labourers.²⁴²

One of the aims of this study is to reveal the correlation between barbers and industrialization, but since Ottoman cities including Bursa was at the preliminary stage of industrialization in the mid-19th century, the focus has shifted to labourforce in the secondary sectors who would be the main source for industrial labourforce in the following decades.

In Map 4.3, secondary occupation level of the city is shown as the percentage of people working in secondary sector within the overall occupation level of each neighbourhood and demonstrates a widespread distribution. However the density in northwest and southeast areas were relatively higher as the occupation level in secondary sectors were the highest among Orthodox Christians (66%) and Armenians (53%) mentioned in *temettuat*.

²⁴¹ For British and Japan examples of by-employment in textile see; Wrigley (2004), p 263;

Saito, Osamu, Tokihiko Settsu (2007). "Unveiling Rural By-Employment Patterns and its Implications for National Income Estimates in Early Phases of Japan's Industrialisation", *Hi-Stat Workshop on Historical Occupational Structures: Asian and European Perspectives*, Hitotsubashi University, p 4-11.

²⁴² Kaplanoğlu (2011), p 76.

The city was at the edge of a massive industrial investment in 1845 and huge amount of cheap and skilled labourforce was required who were mainly non-Muslim women. In the absence of the efficient public transportation and for security reasons, it was crucial to establish factories nearby their residential areas. In that sense both three maps complete each other to grasp the most populated non-Muslim residential areas of the city where the secondary occupation holders lived in. The *temettuat* results indicate two major zones, in the northwest and the southeast, which would also became the manufacturing hubs of Bursa in the second half of the 19th century.

Map 4.3 Secondary Occupation Density of Bursa city per Neighbourhood

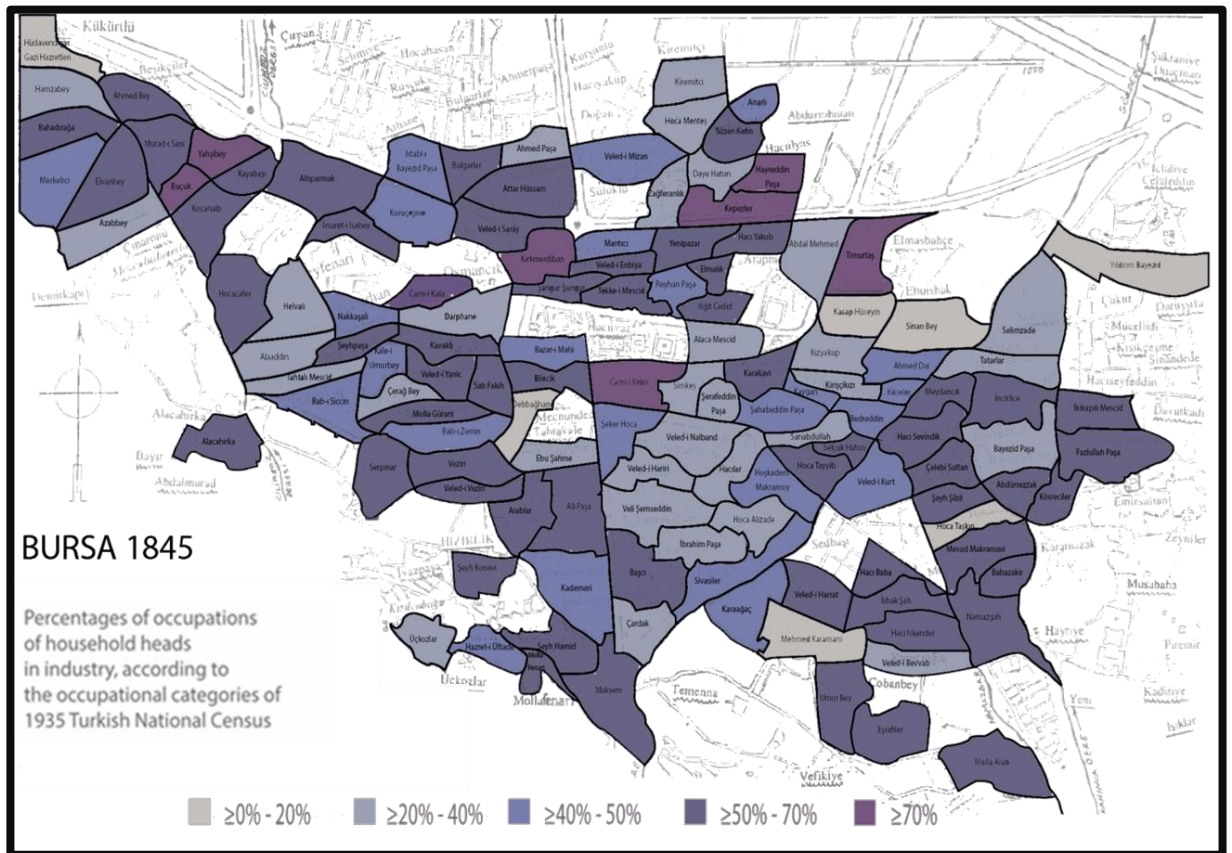


Table 4.5 depicts the most frequent occupations based on *temettuat* results where barbers were in the seventh rank, after farmers (*rençber*), silk weavers (*dolapçı*), cobblers (*dikici*), tailors (*terzi*), labourers (*tebaa*) and silk-cotton weavers (*sandalcı*). The figures reveal remarkable number of people working in textile related occupations.

Table 4.5: Most Frequent Occupations in Bursa

Farmer (<i>rençber</i>)	407
Silk weaver (<i>dolapçı</i>)	270
Cobbler(<i>dikici</i>)	253
Tailor (<i>terzi</i>)	251
Labourer (<i>tebaa</i>) ²⁴³	197
Silk-cotton weaver (<i>sandalcı</i>) ²⁴⁴	187
Barber (<i>berber</i>)	185
Cloth Merchant (<i>bezzaz</i>)	136
Firewood seller (<i>oduncu</i>)	126
Joiner (<i>dülger</i>)	116
Dealer in second hand wares (<i>eskici</i>)	108
Servant (<i>hizmetkar</i>)	100
Carpenter (<i>doğramacı</i>)	95
Weaver/Seller of Silk (<i>kazzaz</i>)	86
Imam	85
Headman (<i>muhtar</i>)	82
Butcher (<i>kasap</i>)	75

Additionally the most frequent occupations of each ethno-religious group recorded in the registers were also analysed as shown in Table 4.6. The results depict some significant job concentration on ethno-religious basis. Muslims in the register represents the overall occupational tendency due to their weight in the overall observation.

Orthodox Christians were specialized to weave a special *sandal* fabric and that was the most preferred job documented in the registers. The relatively high household income of those recorded *sandalcıs* who were all living in Muradiye neighbourhood nearby the silk weaving factory, make us think that their wives and daughter were possibly working in the factory.²⁴⁵ Furthermore, they seem to have more concentrated in dealing with

²⁴³ Kaplanoğlu claims that “*teba*” should refer to factory labourer. See Kaplanoğlu (2011), p 84.

But it is unlikely since nearly the entire factory labourers were non-Muslim women who were not listed in the register data.

²⁴⁴ *Sandal* refers to a special fabric woven with cotton and silk together. Ayverdi, İlhan, Ahmet Topaloğlu (2006). *Misalli Büyük Türkçe Sözlük: Asırlar Boyu Tarihi Seyri İçinde*, (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı), “Sandal”, p 2667.

²⁴⁵ Kaplanoğlu (2011), p 84.

farming business than other ethno-religious groups proportionally and vast majority of joiners and grocers in the city were Orthodox Christians.²⁴⁶

Armenians, the second biggest group after Muslims in the registers were more of a tailor (*terzi*), carpenter (*doğramacı*), locksmith (*çilingir*) and jeweller (*kuyumcu*) and less of a farmer. They were highly dealing with cloth and textile trade other than weaving.

Jewish people in the register constitute the smallest and the poorest ethno-religious group that was also observable in their occupational structure as they were mostly peddlers (*çerçi*), porters (*hamal*) and tinkers (*tenekeci*).²⁴⁷ But the highest among of Jewish people in the register were dealing with silk weaving and selling.

Table 4.6: Most Frequent Occupations per Ethno-religious Group in Bursa

M		A		OC		J	
Silk weaver (<i>dolapçı</i>)	266	Tailor (<i>terzi</i>)	160	Silk-cotton weaver (<i>sandalcı</i>)	148	Silk weaver / seller (<i>kazzaz</i>)	50
Farmer (<i>rençber</i>)	258	Cloth Merchant (<i>bezzaz</i>)	114	Farmer (<i>rençber</i>)	102	Peddler (<i>çerçi</i>)	43
Cobbler (<i>dikici</i>)	174	Carpenter (<i>doğramacı</i>)	82	Joiner (<i>dülger</i>)	91	Porter (<i>hamal</i>)	33
Labourer (<i>tebaa</i>)	166	Locksmith (<i>çilingir</i>)	62	Cobbler (<i>dikici</i>)	37	Tailor (<i>terzi</i>)	33
Firewood seller (<i>oduncu</i>)	125	Cloth dealer (<i>kapamacı</i>)	57	Grocer (<i>bakkal</i>)	36	Silk broker (<i>kazzaz dellalı</i>)	20
Barber (<i>berber</i>)	123	Barber (<i>berber</i>)	53	Tailor (<i>terzi</i>)	33	Tinker (<i>tenekeci</i>)	19
Second hand wares (<i>eskici</i>)	86	Textile printer (<i>basmacı</i>)	48	Clay labourer (<i>çamurcu</i>)	21	Butcher (<i>kasap</i>)	18
Imam	85	Farmer (<i>rençber</i>)	47	Servant (<i>hizmetkar</i>)	21	Seller in a market (<i>pazarıcı</i>)	12
Blacksmith (<i>nalband</i>)	73	Labourer (<i>amele</i>)	40	Headmen (<i>muhtar</i>)	21	Trader (<i>simsar</i>)	10
Tanner (<i>debbağ</i>)	68	Jeweller (<i>kuyumcu</i>)	38	Furrier (<i>kürkçü</i>)	20	Chimney sweeper (<i>bacacı</i>)	8

²⁴⁶ Kaplanoğlu (2013), pp 104-105.

²⁴⁷ Ibid, p 106.

Bursa Barbers

Based on 1845 registers there were 185 barbers in the city living in some 70 neighbourhoods and 95% of them were either Muslim or Armenian. Although total numbers of Armenian barbers were less than half of the Muslims, barber craft was more popular among Armenians. As already shown in Table 4.3, some 3,3% of the Armenian community in Bursa mentioned in *temettuat* were barbers, whereas that ratio was 2,6% among Muslims. There were only five Greek barbers, three Armenian Catholic barbers and no Jewish barbers mentioned in the registers.

Unlike *kefalet* registers of Istanbul, there was no evidence for the barbershops in *temettuat*. About the number of barbershops in the city, kadi records dating back to 1757 informs that there were 116 barbershops in Bursa and most of them were in poor conditions.²⁴⁸ Additionally Evliya narrates some 75 coffeehouses servicing in Bursa in 1640,²⁴⁹ that should also have serviced as barbershops.

Barbers and coffeehouses integration could also be verified by the registers. A tax register of 1827 documenting total number of artisans of the city, mentions 69 Muslim and 19 non-Muslim totally 88 barbers and 122 coffeehouse keepers.²⁵⁰ In *temettuat*, which was conducted less than two decades later, barbers were more than doubled and the coffeehouse keepers were reduced down to 61 people that could indicate that significant amount of people recorded as coffeehouse keeper in 1827 registers should have been recorded as barbers in 1845.

As mentioned previously *temettuat* data provides the residencies of those barbers on neighbourhood basis. Although the barbers were among the very few professions like bakers catering the basic necessities of the neighbourhood,²⁵¹ it is not clear whether those

²⁴⁸ Kepecioğlu, Kamil (2009). “Berberler”, *Bursa Kültüğü*, vol. 1 (Bursa: Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi), p 196.

²⁴⁹ Kepecioğlu, Kamil (2009). “Kahve”, *Bursa Kültüğü*, vol. 2 (Bursa: Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi), pp 275-278.

²⁵⁰ BŞS. C22, p.28-29, cited in Çadırcı, Musa (2013). *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentlerinin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları), pp 136-137.

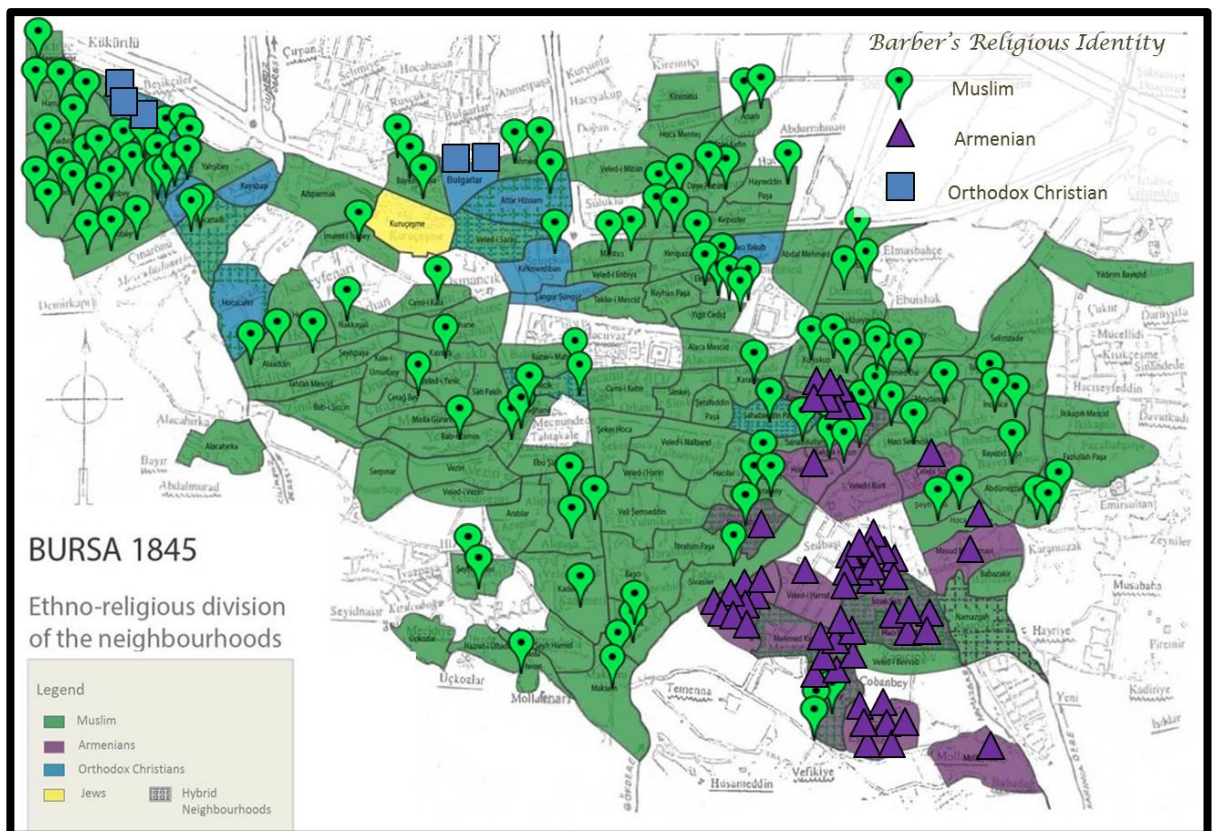
²⁵¹ Eldem, Edhem (1999). “Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital”, in *The Ottoman City between East and West Aleppo, İzmir and Istanbul*, Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, Bruce Masters (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) p 153.

barbers also performed their craft in the same neighbourhoods that they declared as a living place. Thus, neighbouring districts of their residencies should also be observed.

Following maps demonstrate the residential patterns of barbers recorded in *temettuat* on neighbourhood basis. Map 4.4 compares the ethno-religious characteristics of barbers and the neighbourhood they lived in.

It is identical that barbers recorded in the registers were totally living in the areas based on their ethno-religious identity. As for the neighbourhoods where Muslims and non-Muslims lived together, barbers were also seemed to follow the similar ethno-religious proportion of the total observations.

Map 4.4: Mapping Barbers of Bursa on Ethno-Religious Division of the Neighbourhoods

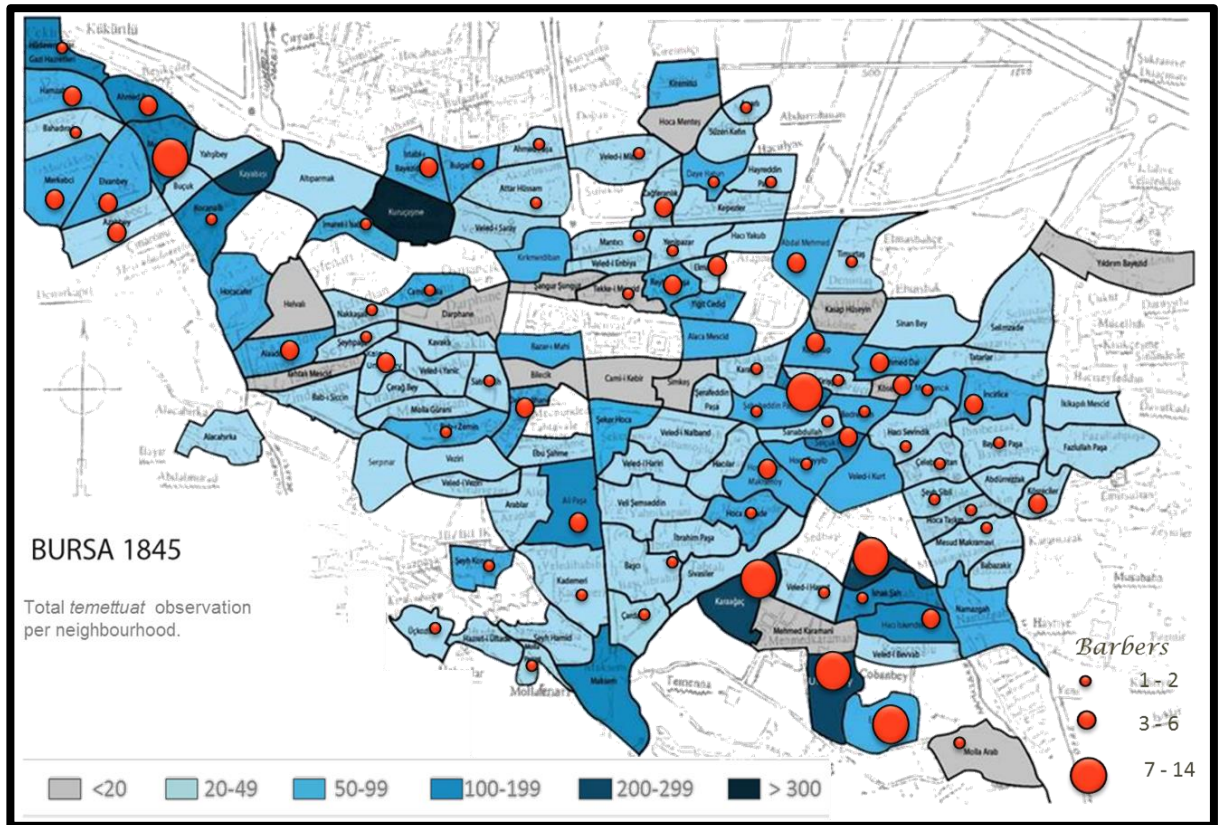


Only two neighbourhoods were exceptional. In Murat-1 Sani, a Greek and Muslim equally dominated neighbourhood there were only one Greek but eight Muslim barbers registered and there were three Muslim barbers were reside in Selçuk Hatun where

Armenian people had the majority. The detailed list of number of barbers and their ethno-religious identity neighbourhood basis is shown in Appendix 2.

Map 4.5 indicates the barbers residency with the overall observation mentioned in *temettuat*. There was no record for any barber residency in two most populous neighbourhoods, namely Kuruçeşme of Jews and Kayabaşı of Orthodox Christians. The required labourforce could possibly be supplied by the overrepresented neighbouring barber population in the northwest. Other highly populous area in the east and southeastern part of the city were the places where barbers were widely represented.

Map 4.5: Mapping Barbers of Bursa on Total *Temettuat* Observations per Neighbourhood



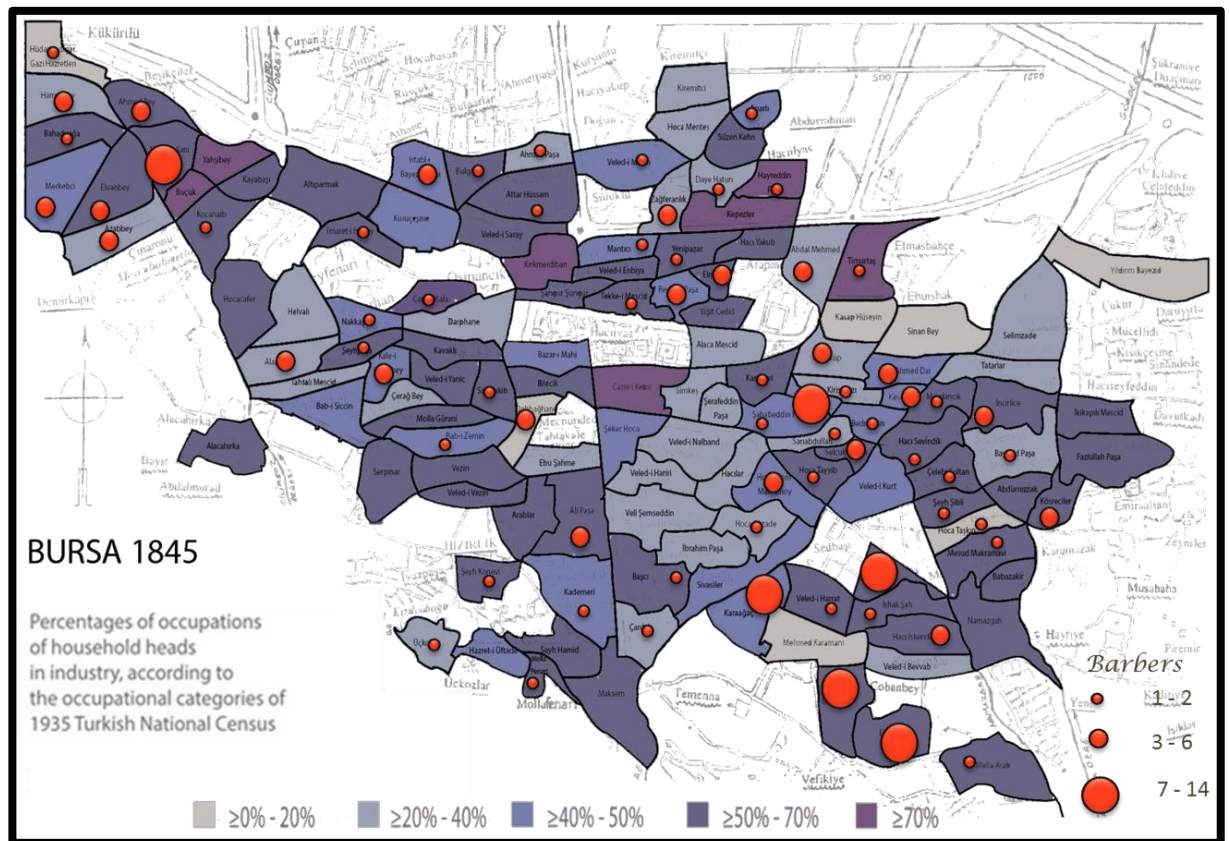
Barbers were stretched into 70 neighbourhoods within the city more or less following the overall demographical patterns. They exceeded five barbers only in seven of them as shown in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: Bursa Neighbourhoods having more than Five Barbers Residency.

Neighbourhood	Barbers	Observations Total	Rank in Total Observations
Hacı Baba	12	224	3
Karaağaç	9	210	5
Murad-ı Sani	9	186	6
Umurbey	8	236	2
Kayganzade	8	100	16
Eşrafi	7	75	29
Merkebcı	6	55	46

Additionally barbers' residencies were combined with the map demonstrating secondary occupation level of each neighbourhood in Map 4.6 where people recorded to live in was shown in percentages of the entire secondary occupational level of the city to see where pre-industrial labourforce lived in.

Map 4.6: Mapping Barbers of Bursa on Occupations in Secondary Sector



Wrigley claims for the barbers craft that, as per to the intense nature of the hair cutting business, the unwillingness of the clients of a cheap service to move far, left barbers no option to follow the geographic distribution of their clients.²⁵² Additionally since secondary sectors require more cohabitation than primary agriculture, barbers should accumulate more in these neighbourhoods. Hence, *temettuat* results indicates the similar pattern for Bursa barbers as well.

The status, income and wealth of barbers were also recorded in detail in *temettuat*. Their statuses were registered as *çırak*, *kalfa* and *usta*. There were 27 *çırak* those of whom 12 of them were Armenian and 15 were Muslim; 35 *kalfa* those of whom 11 were Armenians, 22 were Muslims and two were Greeks. Only one Muslim was recorded as *usta* and remaining 122 were recorded without any status, who were mostly Muslims (85) and Armenians (31). Very high amount of those recorded with no status should have been barbershop keepers and masters.

The income declaration contains some biases on tax burden as mentioned previously, however the averages could still provide some indications about the overall wealth of the barbers also comparison between their status and ethno-religious identities. The layered distribution of barbers' income per status is shown in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8: Income Distribution of Bursa Barbers per Status

Income layer (in <i>kuruş</i>)	<i>Usta</i>	<i>Kalfa</i>	<i>Çırak</i>	Total
> 1001	3			3
501 - 1000	24			24
301 - 500	53	17	5	75
151 - 300	20	13	11	44
1 - 150	9	3	10	22
No Income	14	2	1	17
Total	123	35	27	185

²⁵² Wrigley (2004), p 294.

The results indicate accumulation for *ustas* and *kalfas* between 301-500 *kuruş* annual income declaration and for *çıraks* it was less than 300 *kuruş*. However some of those *ustas* had capacity to earn much more as expected. Accordingly, the highest annual income declarations were made by İbrahim ibn Mehmed with 1.640 *kuruş*, Abdülkadir ibn Mehmed and Agob with 1.500 *kuruş*. As to ethno-religious distribution of declared income, Armenian barbers seemed to declare slightly higher revenues (392 *kuruş* average) than Muslim barbers (363 *kuruş*).

In overall being a barber in Bursa was not a high income generation business compared to other occupations based on *temettuat* results. Their average income (372 *kuruş*) was significantly lower than the city average (543 *kuruş*) but slightly over two occupations having the maximum labourforce, farmers (322 *kuruş*) and silk weavers (343 *kuruş*).

As to by-employment two Muslim household heads, one was headman and the other was unoccupied, declared barbers as their second occupation and also seven barbers declared a second occupation other than barbership; two Armenian barbers were also headmen, one Muslim barber were also headmen, three Muslim barbers were also farmer and one was also carpenter.

Salonica “The Cosmopolitan Port”

Salonica has been a major trading centre of the Balkans due to its strategic geographic position lying on the southern coast of the main body of the Balkan Peninsula and linking Adriatic Sea to Black Sea and Danube River to Aegean.²⁵³ For the Ottomans too it was an intermediary station in the complex network of commodity transport routes and a maritime city directly linked with Central Europe.²⁵⁴

²⁵³ Gounaris, Basil (1994). “Selanik”, in *Doğu Akdeniz’de Liman Kentleri (1800-1914)*, eds. Çağlar Keyder, Y. Eyüp Özveren, Donald Quataert (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları), pp 105-107.

²⁵⁴ Vlami, Despina. (2009. “Entrepreneurship and Relational Capital in a Levantine Context: Bartholomew Edward Abbott, the “Father of the Levant Company” in Thessaloniki”, *The Historical Review / La Revue Historique* Institute for Neohellenic Research, vol. VI, p 135.

Due to the favourable agricultural and economic conditions and proximity to major ports, agriculture in the coastal lines of Northern Greece and Thrace as well as Western Anatolia were commercialized more than other regions.²⁵⁵ However, Salonica along with İzmir emerged as a major centre of French trade in the 17th and the 18th centuries.²⁵⁶ By the end of the 18th century, volume of trade at the port of Salonica reached to 9.5 million *kuruş*, a tenfold increase in a century.²⁵⁷

The importance of the port gained momentum at the beginning of the 19th century by the entrance of the British cotton traders who started to utilize Salonica as a passage to central Europe after the continental blockade initiated by French during Napoleonic Wars. Then the city became a frequent stopover for western European vessels loaded with textiles, luxury goods and colonial products that were exchanged for grains, cotton, tobacco, silk and wax.²⁵⁸

The trade growth in the city was upwards but unstable as shown in Table 4.9, due to many other factors affecting the instantly changing demand for port of Salonica including internal politics, like question of Mehmet Ali of Egypt, natural calamities such as plague of 1837 together with major fires, fluctuations in the harvest and changing international economy and demand.

Thessalian plain was one of the substantial cotton cultivation and textile manufacturing centres. At the beginning of the 19th century, the city exported 22,500 bales of raw cotton, while supplying another 15.000 bales to local manufacturers in Ambelika, a cotton yarn-manufacturing centre in the south of Salonica where one quarter of cotton yarn export of the whole empire was produced.

²⁵⁵ Pamuk, Şevket (2004). "Commodity Production for World Markets and Relations of Production in Ottoman Agriculture, 1840-1913", in *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*, ed. Huri İslamoğlu-İnan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p 195.

²⁵⁶ Faroqhi, Suraiya (1999). *Approaching Ottoman history: An introduction to the Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p 62.

²⁵⁷ Genç, Mehmet (2004). "A Study of the Feasibility of Using Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Financial Record as an Indicator of Economic Activity", in *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*, ed. Huri İslamoğlu-İnan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p 362.

²⁵⁸ Vlami, Despina. (2015). *Trading with the Ottomans: The Levant Company in the Middle East* (London: I.B.Tauris), pp 132-134.

Table 4.9: Trade Traffic of Salonica Harbour between 1838 and 1845²⁵⁹

Year	Number of Vessels	Tonnages	Number of Crews
1838	450	23.876	4.693
1839	243	15.123	1.916
1840	388	21.253	1.949
1841	440	36.524	3.557
1842	561	41.596	4.413
1843	355	25.731	2.576
1844	471	28.101	3.604
1845	630	53.081	6.352

However after British steam power machines caused yarn price to fall by two-thirds within twenty years, Ottoman yarn export ceased forever by the mid-19th century and Ambelakia was abandoned.²⁶⁰ Yet Salonica weavers continued to weave textile products by British cottons.²⁶¹

During 1850's, the major export item of the city was raw silk. The first silk weaving factory of the Ottoman Empire was established in Salonica in 1829 that followed many others.²⁶² In 1844, total number of silk weaving factories in the city was 35, which were mostly established by Franks and where some 1500 labourers, mostly non-Muslim girls were employed.²⁶³

Through the end of the century raw silk factories requiring cheap labour were replaced by many others in different industries such as a distillery, six soap factories, one factory each for tile and bricks, nails and cigarettes, as well as ten other factory establishments and Salonica became the most industrialized city of the empire having the highest population density.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁹ From the reports of Charles Blunt, British consul in Salonica. See Özdemir, Bülent (2003). *Ottoman Reforms and Social Life: Reflections from Salonica 1830-1850* (Istanbul: Isis Press), Appendix A.

²⁶⁰ Quataert (1993), pp 27-35.

²⁶¹ Ibid, p 96.

²⁶² Quataert, Donald (2002). "The Industrial Working Class of Salonica, 1850-1912", in *Jews, Turks, Ottomans: A Shared History, Fifteenth Through the Twentieth Century*, ed. Avigdor Levy (New York: Syracuse University Press), pp 194-211.

²⁶³ Özdemir (2003), pp 121-123.

²⁶⁴ Quataert (1994), pp 902-904.

Salonica in *Temettuat*

Salonica was one of the most cosmopolitan cities of the empire containing one of the biggest communities of Sephardic Jews in the Mediterranean. Based on *tahrir* records in 1502, there were 1.680 Muslim households, 1.237 Orthodox Christians households and only 754 Jewish households in the city in which 686 of them were Sephardic migrants after 1492.²⁶⁵ Within 17 years Jewish households have reached to 3.143 and they became the most populous ethno-religious community in Salonica followed by Orthodox Christians with 1.387 households and Muslims with 1.374 households according to the abbreviated register.²⁶⁶ After then Jews continued to be the biggest ethno-religious community in Salonica, but the demography of the city was always subject to change due to immigration, emigration²⁶⁷ and epidemics.

At the time of the first census in modern times in 1831, Salonica had the smallest Muslim population of any major Ottoman city.²⁶⁸ Based on the results total male population were 12.714 in which 4294 were Muslim, 5670 of them were Jewish and 2.758 were Orthodox Christian and 23% of the population was recent immigrants.²⁶⁹ By adding the females, the population should be around 25.000-30.000 people in 1831.²⁷⁰

There are different views on the effects of Greek War of Independence starting from 1821 on the Orthodox Christian population in Salonica. Dimitriadis tells that the Greek population in the city reduced severally but not more than 7.000 people by 1831.²⁷¹ Özdemir claims that the impact should be much less as evidencing very few cases of property sales of former Greek subjects mentioned in *Kadi Sicils*.²⁷²

²⁶⁵ Kiel, Machiel (2010). "Selanik", *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 36 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı), p 354.

²⁶⁶ Faroqi, Suraiya (2004). "Salonica", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. IX (Leiden : Brill), p 123.

²⁶⁷ Jews not only immigrate, at the end of the 16th century some considerable number of Jewish manufacturers left the city and settled to Izmir and Manisa to better cope with the increasing raw cotton prices. See Emecen, Feridun (1997). *Unutulmuş bir Cemaat Manisa Yahudileri* (Istanbul : Eren), pp 35-37.

²⁶⁸ Mazower, Mark (2005). *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims, and Jews, 1430-1950* (New York: Vintage Books), p 36.

²⁶⁹ Anastassiadou, Meropi (2001). *Tanzimat Çağında Bir Osmanlı Şehri Selanik 1830 – 1912*, trans. Işık Ergüden (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları), p 55.

²⁷⁰ Özdemir (2003), p 75.

²⁷¹ Dimitriadis, Vassilis. (2005). "The Esnaf System and Professions in Nineteenth-Century Thessaloniki", *Archivum Ottomanicum*, ed. György Hazai, vol. 23 (2005/6), pp 131- 141.

²⁷² Özdemir (2003), pp 73-75.

The residential patterns of Salonica in the mid-19th century suggests a strong segregation by religious community indicating separate Jewish, Muslim, and Greek Orthodox quarters and further depicts these respective quarters generally clustered together.²⁷³ Even so that a Jew in Salonica could live his entire life without having to exchange more than a few sentences in a language other than Judaea-Spanish.²⁷⁴

Within 70 neighbourhoods recorded in *temettuat*, the Jews solely lived in 13 neighbourhoods that were located in the southern part of the city viewing the harbour and the sea, the Orthodox Christians lived in nine neighbourhoods occupying mainly southeast part of the city and in various distant monasteries surrounded by Muslim or Jewish quarters. Although Muslims did not have the majority in demographics, some 44 Muslim neighbourhoods located in the northern and western part of the city covered the widest territory.²⁷⁵

The only exception for the religious segregation was observed in Ayasofya neighbourhood where some 258 Jews and 6 Muslims were registered. However those of six Muslims most likely lived in east border of the neighbourhood that was surrounded by the Muslim quarters of Akçe Mescid, Timurtaş and Debbağ Hayreddin.²⁷⁶

Other ethno-religious identities mentioned in the registers were Protégées (*müstemin*) and Romas who amalgamated in Orthodox Christian and Muslim neighbourhoods. Protégées were mainly Orthodox Christians possessing European passports. In 1845 they mainly belonged to the Greek clergy.²⁷⁷ Yet they were recorded to live in seven Orthodox Christian neighbourhoods and solely recorded in four districts mostly in isolated monasteries. Romas whether Christians or Muslims lived in three Muslim neighbourhoods, namely Kale-i Bala, İki Şerefeli and Gülmezoğlu.

²⁷³ Quataert (2005), pp 179-180.

²⁷⁴ Rozen, Minna (2008). "The Ottoman Jews", in *The Cambridge History of Turkey: vol. 3*.ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Cambridge University Press), pp 260-261.

²⁷⁵ Anastasiadou (2001), pp 55-71.

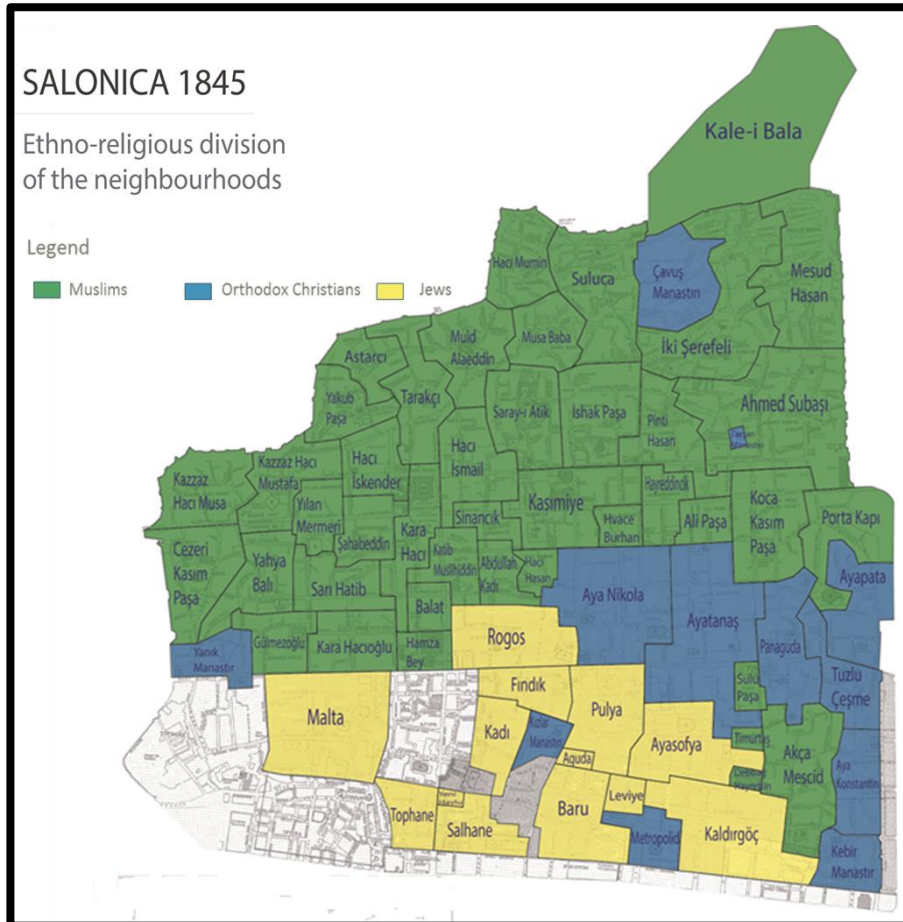
²⁷⁶ Kaya, Dilek Akyalçın (2013). "Les Sabbatéens Saloniciens (1845-1912) : Des Individus Pluriels Dans Une Société Urbaine En Transition", PhD Thesis, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, p 42.

²⁷⁷ Kabadayı (2014), pp 6-7.

The ethno-religious distribution of the neighbourhoods is displayed in Map 4.7, which was prepared by Vassilis Dimitriadis on the basis of cadastral records of the late 19th century. The uncoloured areas mostly in the south and west part of the city map represent subsequent settlements after 1845.²⁷⁸

The overall results of 1845 *temettuat* survey was consistent with 1831 population census²⁷⁹ which validates that the entire city was covered in *temettuat*. The data constitutes totally 7.730 observations for the city of which only 158 of them were women. Unlike Bursa where non-Muslim women were not represented, nearly half of those women registered were non-Muslims Christians but no record for Jewish women.

Map 4.7 Ethno-Religious Division of Salonica Neighbourhoods²⁸⁰



²⁷⁸ Ibid, p 44.

²⁷⁹ Kaya (2013), p 53.

²⁸⁰ I owe thanks to Dilek Akyalçın Kaya for data sourcing and M. Erdem Kabadayı for sharing the maps of Salonica.

As shown in Table 4.10 nearly half of the people recorded in the registers were Jewish (47%) and the remaining were Muslims (28%) and Orthodox Christians (22%) that also cover Bulgarians and other Slavic elements in addition of Greeks, there were also 148 Protégés and 63 Romas recorded in the city. Unlike Istanbul and Bursa there was no Armenian living in Salonica by 1845.²⁸¹

Table 4.10: *Temettuat* Figures of Salonica

	Observation	Ethnicity %	Tertiary Service	Barbers	Barbers in Ethnicity %	Barbers in Observation %
M	2200	28.5	846	95	96.9	4.3
OC	1713	22.2	231			
J	3606	46.6	431	3	3.1	0.1
P	148	1.9	16			
R	63	0.8				
TOTAL	7730	100	1524	98	100	1.3

The distribution of *temettuat* observation per neighbourhood in Map 4.8 shows the frequency in the southern part of the city where Jewish and Orthodox Christians lived and infrequency in the northern and western part, the residential areas of the Muslims. The results are mostly correlated with the size of the residential areas per ethno-religious groups. Jews and Christians who had to live in relatively smaller areas generated higher population density within their neighbourhoods and it was reverse for Muslims.

Hence, seven of the first ten neighbourhoods in terms of *temettuat* observations were of Jews and remaining three were of Orthodox Christians as shown in Table 4.11. Akçe Mescid, a Muslim neighbourhood having the highest observation was ranked in the 16th.

²⁸¹ According to the researcher Minasyan, Armenians have disappeared Seventeenth and eighteenth century to reappear at the last four of the nineteenth century see Minasyan, Anahid Ter (2001). "Küçük Bir Ermeni Cemaati", in *Selânik 1850-1918 "Yahudilerin Kenti" ve Balkanlar'ın Uyanışı*, ed. Gilles Veinstein, trans. Cüneyt Akalın (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları), pp 175-182.

Map 4.8: Total *Temettuat* Observations of Salonica city per Neighbourhood.

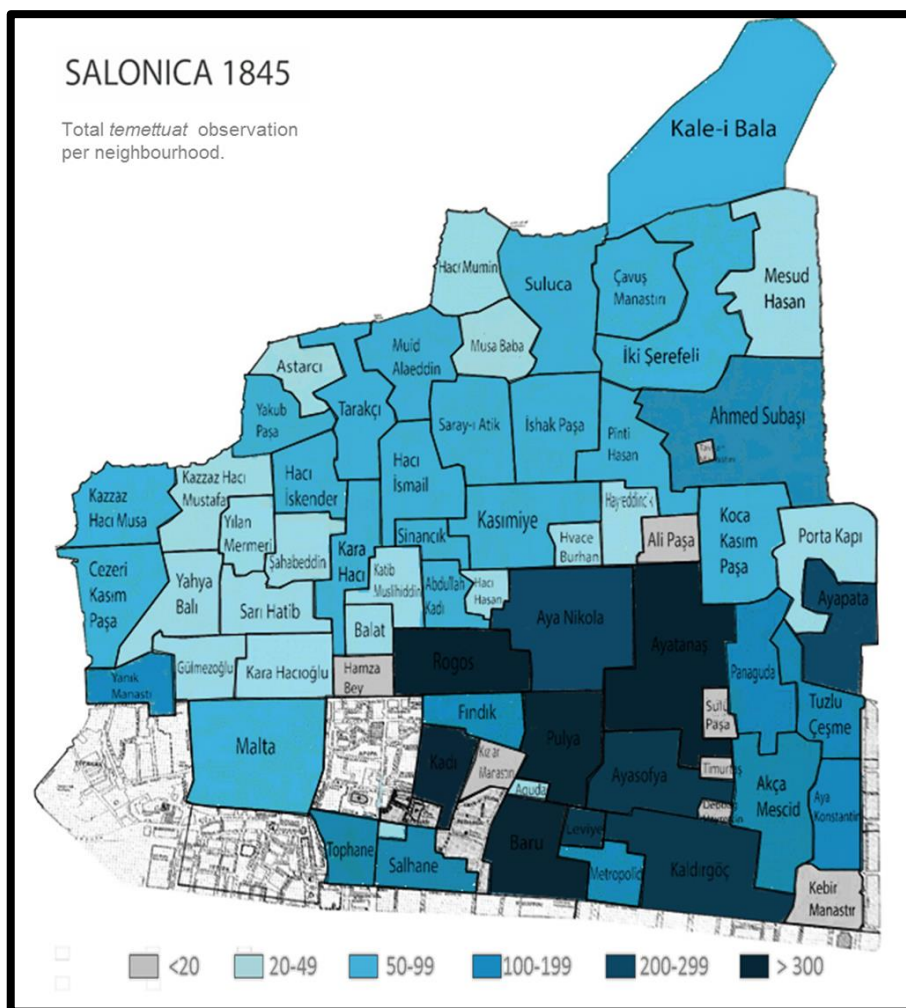


Table 4.11: Top 10 Salonica Neighbourhoods in Terms of Total *Temettuat* Observations and the Ethno-Religious Breakdown of the People Recorded.

Neighbourhood	Observations Total	J	M	OC	P
Rogos	695	695			
Baru	647	647			
Pulya	509	509			
Aya Tanaş	507			458	49
Kadı	336	336			
Leviye	291	291			
Ayasofya	264	258	6		
Aya Kostantin	261			261	1
Ayapata	260			259	
Kaldırgöç	256	256			

Concerning the occupational structures of the people recorded in Salonica, a very high 31% of the people were either unemployed or having their occupation unstated in the registers. That ratio was 41% among Jews, 24% among Orthodox Christians and 15% among Muslims.

The extreme high unemployment ratio of Jews could partially be related to the disappearance of traditional broadcloth (*çuka*) production of Salonica Jews who had been exclusively weaving it as a fabric for Janissary uniforms from the late 15th century on.²⁸² By the abolishment of the Janissary corps in 1826, the broadcloth industry also vanished and those of Salonica Jews working on that business lost their jobs. Evidentially no Jewish people recorded as occupied in the broadcloth industry in *temettuat*.²⁸³

Some 3,5% of the people declared to have an occupation were employed in primary sectors and that was the lowest ratio within the *temettuat* results of the 18 cities. Additionally there was no single *temettuat* record for agricultural labourer (*rençber*) but 121 farm owners in the city. They could have been either seasonal workers as Özdemir claims to be the case for Salonica agricultural life for the mid-19th century²⁸⁴ who were not recorded in the registers or the servants (*hizmetkar*) mentioned as the most frequent occupation, could be referring to agricultural workers as Güran argues.²⁸⁵

Remaining 39% were employed in secondary and 57,5% were employed in tertiary sectors which was the highest tertiary rate among 18 cities signifying the commercial characteristic of the city. The ratio of the people working in tertiary services and professions where barbers were represented in were 29% and only 98 of them were barbers that constituted 1,3% of overall observations. Additionally only 13 people in the city declared to have a second job.

Within the secondary sectors, 31% of people recorded to work in clothing and textiles, 17% in food and drink processing, 10% in footwear and 42% of them recorded to

²⁸² Gökaçtı, Mehmet Ali (1997). “Maliye Nezareti Temettuat Defterlerine Göre 1845 Yılında Selanik”, *Tarih ve Toplum*, vol. 168, p 21.

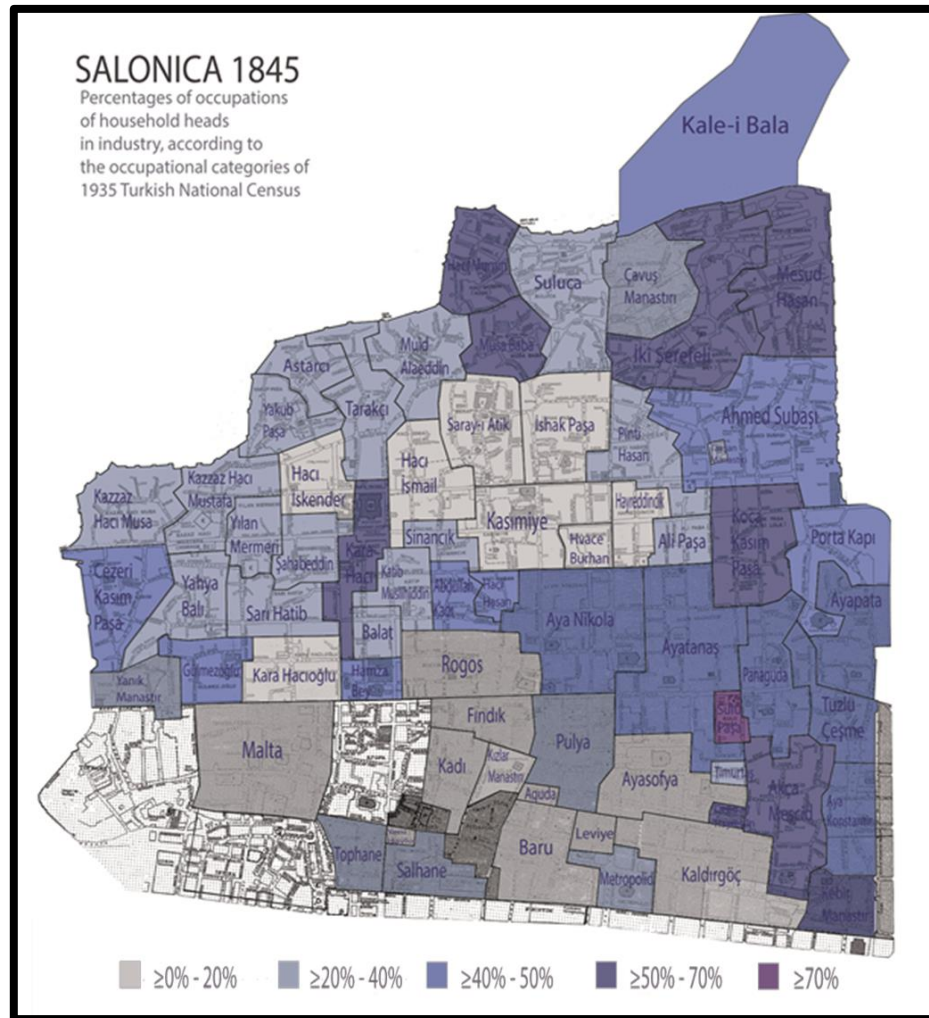
²⁸³ Kaya, Dilek Akyalçın (2014). “Living off others’ aid”: The Socioeconomic Structure of Salonica’s Jews in the Mid-Nineteenth Century”, *Jewish History*, vol. 28, pp 313–336.

²⁸⁴ Özdemir (2003), pp 145- 151.

²⁸⁵ Güran, Tefik (1998). *19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarımı* (Istanbul: Eren), p 164.

work in various other branches. By 1845 there were significant amount of silk weaving factories, also soap and a noodle factory were existed²⁸⁶ where mostly non-Muslim women and girls employed. Nevertheless, the track for industrial labour in *temettuat* was very limited due to very low frequency of records for women and even if they were in *temettuat* registers, they recorded as unemployed.

Map 4.9: Secondary Occupation Density of Salonica city per Neighbourhood



Secondary Occupation holders' percentage within the neighbourhood is demonstrated in Map 4.9. Due to higher tendency to work on tertiary sectors, Jewish

²⁸⁶ Gökaçtı (1997), p 20.

neighbourhoods located on the southern side of the city had relatively lower percentage of secondary workforce (26% average), on the other hand the eastern corner had the highest secondary labourforce accumulation per neighbourhood as Orthodox Christians were mostly employed in the secondary sectors (56% average). Muslims in secondary sectors were mostly concentrated in districts neighbouring to Orthodox Christians around citadel.

Salonica in the mid-19th century was a commercial city par excellence, marked by strong occupational diversification, a large number of economic sectors, and a multitude of occupations in each sector.²⁸⁷ As shown in Table 4.12, merchants and traders (*çerçi, zuhurat tüccarı, simsar, bezzaz*) had the significance presence along with the essential businesses in all port cities; transport of goods and persons (*kayıkçı, hamal*). Also manufacturing activities especially in textiles (*debbağ, pabuççu, abacı*) was remarkable. Barbers were in 13th rank.

Table 4.12: Most Frequent Occupations in Salonica

Servant (<i>hizmetkar</i>)	623
Porter (<i>hamal</i>)	250
Agricultural Merchant (<i>zuhurat tüccarı</i>)	250
Peddler (<i>çerçi</i>)	187
Tanner (<i>debbağ</i>)	169
Tailor (<i>terzi</i>)	142
Farm Owner (<i>çiftlik sahibi</i>)	121
Cloth Merchant (<i>bezzaz</i>)	119
Trader (<i>simsar</i>)	110
Shoemaker (<i>papuççu</i>)	107
Boatmen (<i>kayıkçı</i>)	100
Grocer (<i>bakkal</i>)	98
Barber (<i>berber</i>)	98
Joiner (<i>dülger</i>)	91
Maker of coarse woolen cloth (<i>abacı</i>)	84
Baker (<i>ekmekçi</i>)	82
Labourer (<i>ırgat</i>)	77

²⁸⁷ Kaya (2014), p 323.

Table 4.13 demonstrates the most frequent occupations of each ethno-religious group recorded in the registers. Although occupational monopoly on ethno-religious basis was very rare in Salonica in the mid-19th century,²⁸⁸ only about one quarter of occupational guilds were on mixed religious membership and this was a low proportion compared with other Ottoman cities.²⁸⁹ Therefore, the ethno-religious concentrations on certain occupations were more significant in the city.

Table 4.13: Most Frequent Occupations per Ethno-Religious Group in Salonica

M		OC		J	
Servant (<i>hizmetkar</i>)	341	Shoemaker (<i>Papuççu</i>)	85	Porter (<i>hamal</i>)	249
Tanner (<i>debbag</i>)	169	Maker of coarse woolen cloth (<i>abacı</i>)	80	Servant (<i>hizmetkar</i>)	221
Farm Owner (<i>çiftlik sahibi</i>)	121	Baker (<i>ekmekçi</i>)	80	Agricultural Merchant (<i>zuhurat tüccarı</i>)	188
Barber (<i>berber</i>)	95	Labourer (<i>ırgat</i>)	72	Peddler (<i>çerçi</i>)	180
Hosier (<i>çorapçı</i>)	71	Joiner (<i>dülger</i>)	61	Cloth Merchant (<i>bezzaz</i>)	109
Blacksmith (<i>nalband</i>)	62	Servant (<i>hizmetkar</i>)	60	Tailor (<i>terzi</i>)	107
Agricultural merchant (<i>zuhurat tüccarı</i>)	62	Tavern-keepers (<i>meyhaneci</i>)	55	Trader (<i>simsar</i>)	106
Maker or seller of loin cloths (<i>peştemalçı</i>)	51	Grocer (<i>bakkal</i>)	54	Butcher (<i>kasap</i>)	54
Weaver of goat hair (<i>muytab</i>)	39	Boatmen (<i>kayıkçı</i>)	46	Second hand wares (<i>eskici</i>)	46
Tinsmith (<i>kalaycı</i>)	37	Herbalist/pharmacist (<i>attar</i>)	45	Grocer (<i>bakkal</i>)	42

All the individuals declared as a farm owner in *temettuat* were Muslims, consequently the servants (*hizmetkar*) as a most frequent occupation among Muslims could be related to agricultural labour. Additionally, the most famous and profitable artisans in the city was tanners (*debbag*), who were all Muslims.²⁹⁰ By 1840, cheap British yarn brought a new textile activity to local residents predominantly Muslims, hosiery

²⁸⁸ Anastassiadou (2001), p 282.

²⁸⁹ Quataert (2002), pp 205-206.

²⁹⁰ Anastassiadou (2001), p 274.

(*çorapçı*).²⁹¹ Muslims were also weavers of goat hair (*muytab*) and loin cloths (*peştemalci*) and involved on the trade of the agricultural products that they produced.

Jewish people in the city were the main player of the commercial activities and based on *temettuat* 68% of people recorded to deal in trading activities were Jewish.²⁹² They were traders (*simsar*) and cloth merchants (*bezzaz*), but also small retailers such as agricultural merchants (*zuhurat tüccarı*), peddlers (*çerçi*) and second hand dealers (*eskici*) which generated far less income.²⁹³ But the most frequent occupations among Jews were portorage (*hamal*) and servantry (*hizmetkar*) that required no qualified labour power. Majority of the tailors (*terzi*) and butchers (*kasap*) in the city were also Jewish.

Orthodox Christians were mostly skilled in artisanal works where 43% of them involved in.²⁹⁴ They were particularly dominated shoe making (*papuççu*), coarse woolen cloth weaving (*abacı*), bakery (*fırıncı*) and joinery (*dülger*) and tavern keepers (*meyhaneci*) businesses. As to the registers vast majority of people recorded as labourer (*ırgat*) were Orthodox Christians.²⁹⁵ Additionally Orthodox Christians were more of grocers (*bakkal*) and boatmen (*kayıkçı*) than the other ethno-religious identities.

Salonica Barbers

Based on the combination of market registers (*ihtisab*) and pious foundation accounts (*vakıf*) between 1832 and 1839, there were some 2.350 shops in the city where Muslims ran 976 of them, 815 were of Orthodox Christians and 566 were of Jews.²⁹⁶ However registers recorded only 63 barbershops in which nine of them were barbershops only and 54 were coffeehouses also barbershops.²⁹⁷

²⁹¹ Quataert (1993), p 96.

²⁹² Kaya (2013), pp 63-65.

²⁹³ Kaya (2014), p 328.

²⁹⁴ Kaya (2013), p 74.

²⁹⁵ The term “labourer” has more potential to indicate manufactural labour.

²⁹⁶ Anastasiadou (2001), pp 273-276. The records in Historical Archive Of Macedonia (Thessaloniki) stated by Anastasiadou are as follows;

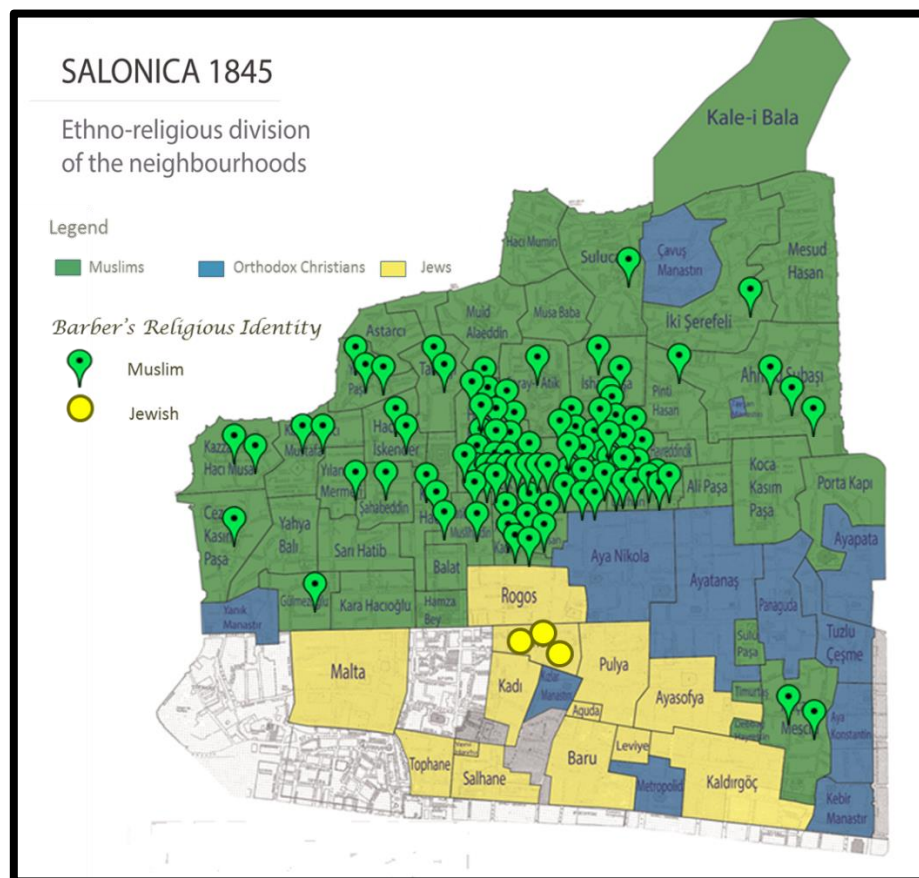
Market register book no (ihtisab defteri) 227 dated in 1832; Pious foundation (vakıf) record no’s 32, 51(214), 16 (244), 47(218), 9(240), 29(213) dated between 1389-1839.

²⁹⁷ Ibid, pp 279-280.

Those coffeehouses and barbershops were scattered to the neighbourhoods and although majority of them were run by Muslims there were also Jewish and Orthodox Christian coffeehouses existed in Salonica in the mid-19th century.²⁹⁸ Additionally there were coffeehouses and barbershops in larger *hans* mainly located in the crowded regions of the city, near the portside and next to the bazaars in the south, central and eastern zones mostly occupied by Jews and Orthodox Christians.²⁹⁹

In *temettuat* and there were 98 barbers recorded in which 95 of them were Muslim and the craft was the 4th most frequent occupation among Muslims. Remaining three were Jewish and no Orthodox Christian barber was recorded.

Map 4.10: Mapping Barbers of Salonica on Ethno-Religious Division of the Neighbourhoods

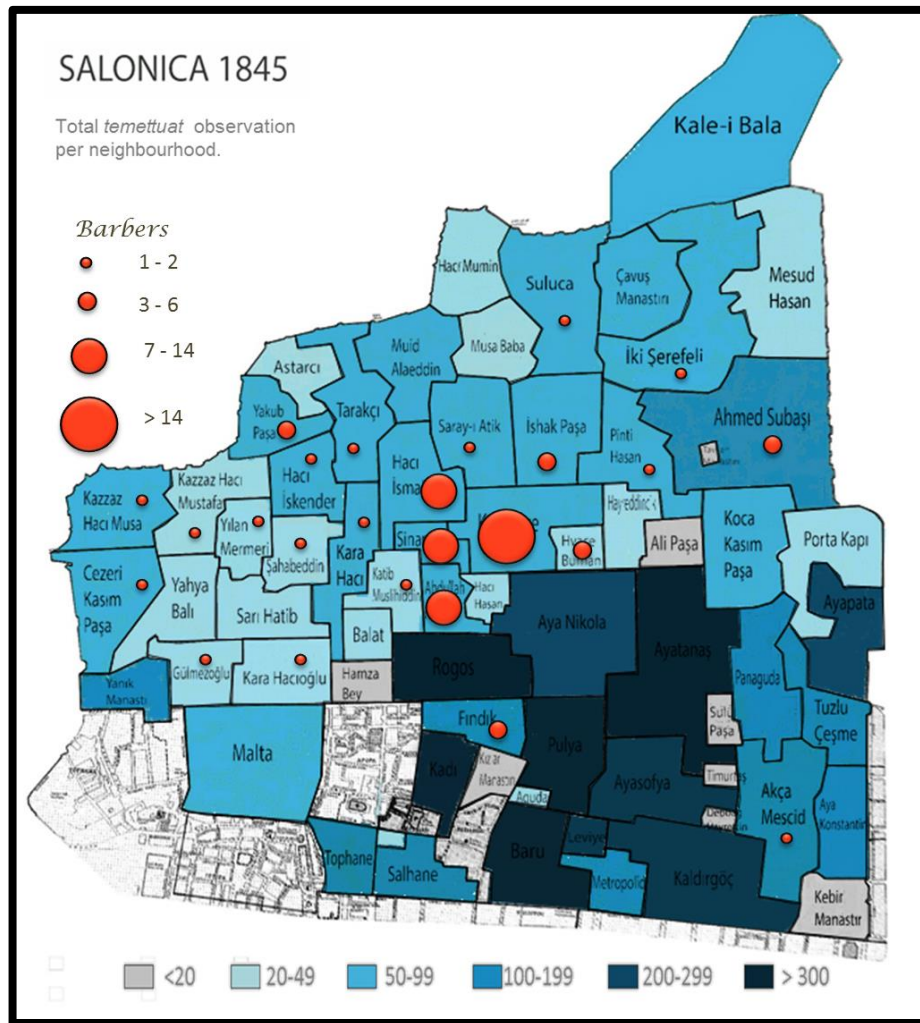


²⁹⁸ Anastassidou, Meropi (1998). “Son Osmanlılar Döneminde Selanik Kahvehaneleri”, in *Doğu'da Kahve ve Kahvehaneler*, eds. Héléne Desmet-Grégoire, François Georgeon, trans. Meltem Atik, Esra Özdoğan (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları), pp 87-98.

²⁹⁹ Anastassiadou(2001), p 280.

Map 4.10 demonstrates the residential patterns of barbers who lived in 25 neighbourhoods. As already observed in Bursa but much more cohesively barbers of Salonica utterly lived in the areas according to their ethno-religious identity. In 21 of these neighbourhoods, there were three or less barbers per neighbourhood that suggests the establishment of barbershops or coffeehouses on neighbourhood basis.

Map 4.11: Mapping Barbers of Salonica on Total *Temettuat* Observations per Neighbourhood

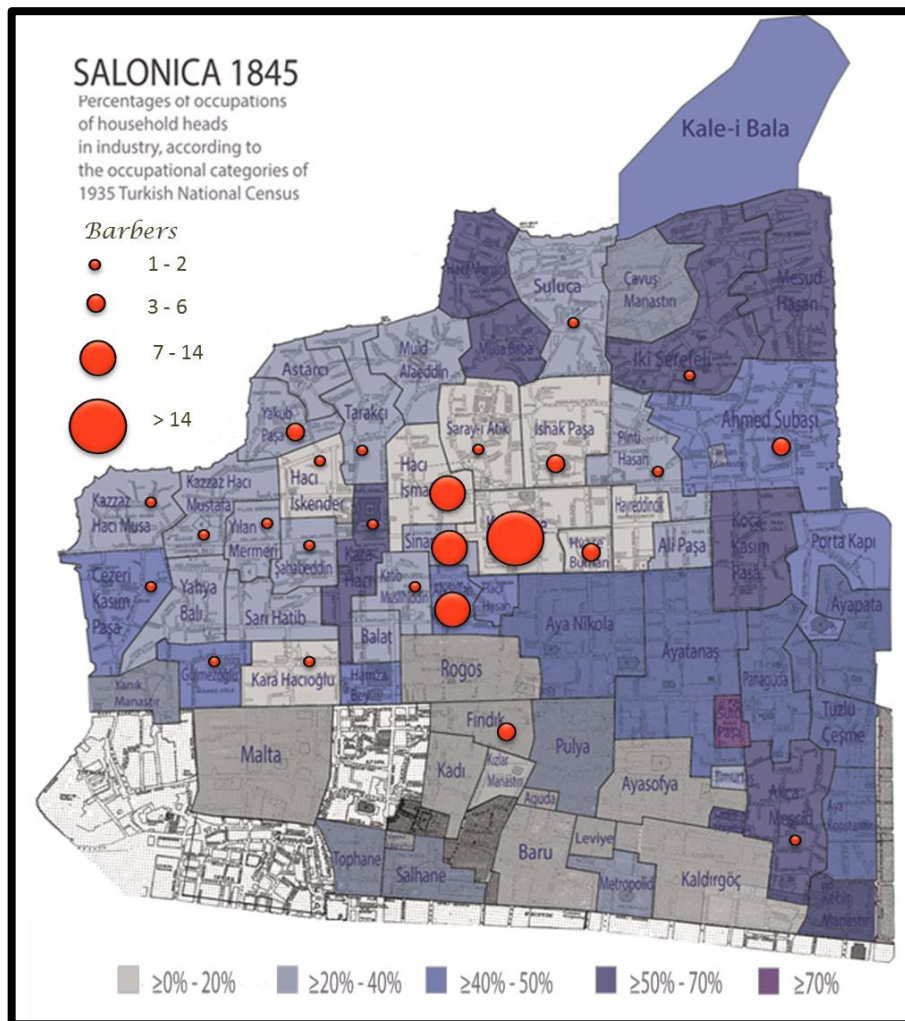


However, in four neighbourhoods the barbers' residency was much more than expected. Nearly one third of barbers (28) were recorded to live in Kasımiye. Some 14 barbers lived in Hacı İsmail, 11 in Sinancık and 8 in Abdullah Kadı (see the full list of Salonica barbers per neighbourhood in Appendix 3). These four neighbourhoods were

located in the centre where the distance to the most populous neighbourhoods like Pulya, Rogos, and Aya Tanaş was at minimum as shown in Map 4.11.

Unlike Bursa city, barbers residency do not follow industrial occupation holders in Salonica as shown in Map 4.12 due to higher frequency in tertiary business mainly in the southern part of the city.

Map 4.12: Mapping Barbers of Salonica on Occupations in Secondary Sector



As a summary although barbers were predominantly Muslim, two third of them lived much closer to the areas occupied by Jews and Orthodox Christians where major trade and transport activities realized and *hans* and bazaars were established accordingly. Presumably some of them should have had barbershops within these areas. It should be

also considered the possibility of unrecorded street barbers whom to be seen mostly near port and crowded places as it was already mentioned for Istanbul.

As to the status of barbers recorded *temettuat* those of 67 out of 98 were recorded without a status, presumably they were masters (*usta*) and barbershop keepers. Remaining five were recorded as *kalfa* and 26 were recorded as *khalifa* (*halife*) the Arabic origin word of *kalfa*.³⁰⁰ Therefore, those 31 records will be evaluated as *kalfas*. It should be noted that the lack of record for barber *çıraks* in Salonica that could indicate the small size of the barbershops.

All barbers in Salonica declared to receive an income from the profession which was not less than 100 *kuruş* per barber, but it was not more than 500 *kuruş* either. The layered distribution of Salonica barbers declared income per status is shown in table 4.14

Table 4.14: Income Distribution of Salonica Barbers per Status

Income layer (in <i>kuruş</i>)	<i>Usta</i>	<i>Kalfa</i>	Total
> 1001			
501 - 1000			
301 – 500	8		8
151 – 300	46	2	48
1 – 150	13	29	42
Total	67	31	98

There were only 8 *ustas* declared to earn more than 300 *kuruş* and richest barber as to *temettuat* was Hüseyin oğlu Ali living in Kasımiye neighbourhood declaring annual revenue of 500 *kuruş*. The *ustas* declared income was cumulated between 151-300 *kuruş* interval and for the *kalfas* it was between 100-150 *kuruş*. The average annual declared income of Salonica barbers were quite low (198 *kuruş*) compared to barber of Bursa and many other cities.

³⁰⁰ Yi (2003), p 48.

In the mid-19th century, Salonica poverty was evident by the huge unemployment rates, relatively low income declarations (city average was 269 *kuruş*) and huge gap between declared income levels of the Salonican's. Orthodox Christians were the wealthiest ethno-religious group based on income declarations (average 355 *kuruş*), although vastly occupied in the least income generating occupations Jews average income in *temettuat* (240 *kuruş*) was slightly higher than the Muslims (231 *kuruş*) due to the relatively higher wealth of Jewish merchants. Barbers were layered in the lower income strata and only slightly above than the servants (*hizmetkar*) (178 *kuruş*) and the porters (144 *kuruş*)

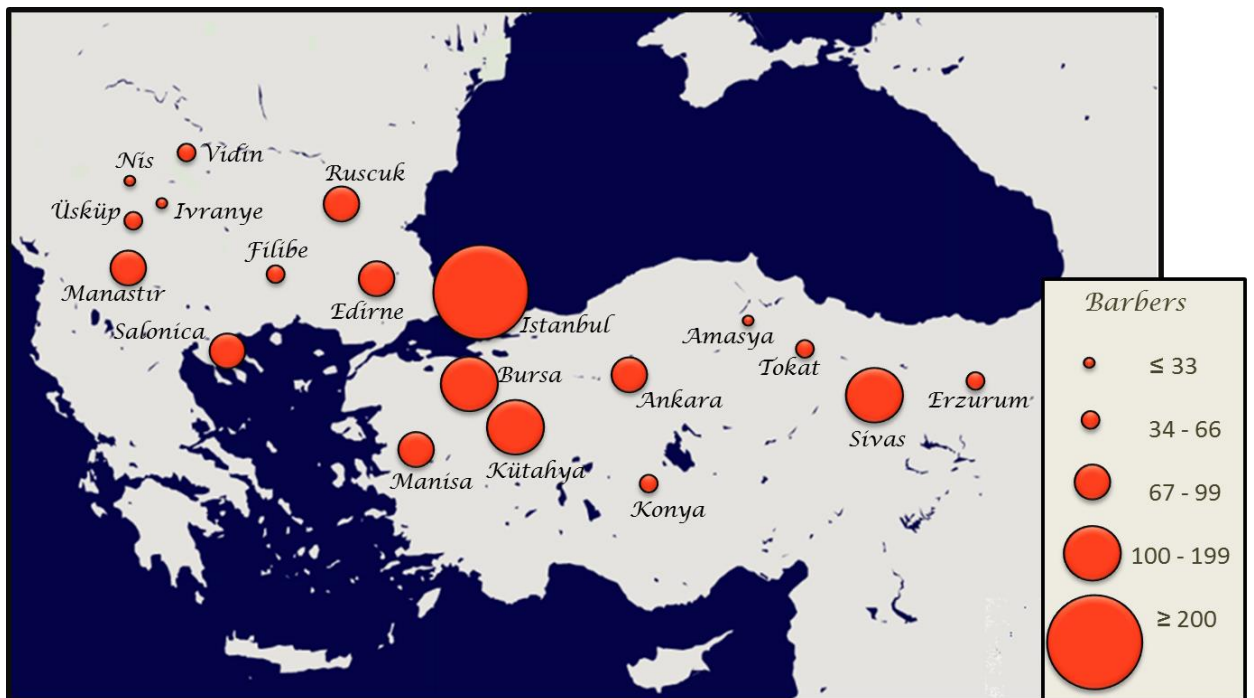
Furthermore there was neither any barber declaring additional occupation nor any households head declaring additional occupation mentioned as barber in Salonica based on *temettuat* data results.

CHAPTER 5:

THE MIRROR – COMBINED SETS OF FIGURES

In this Chapter, the figures related to barbers of Istanbul, Bursa and Salonica that were separately analysed in the previous chapters, will be combined with the available *temettuat* data of remaining 16 major Ottoman cities namely Amasya, Amasya, Ankara, Edirne, Erzurum, Filibe, İvranya, Konya, Kütahya Manastır, Manisa Niş, Rusçuk, Sivas and Tokat. All the cities subject to combined analysis are demonstrated in Map 5.1 together with the barber density per city.

Map 5.1: Mapping Barbers of Istanbul and 18 Major Cities



Admitting the fact that *Kefalet* registers of Istanbul and *temettuat* for major 18 cities represent different time element and different approaches both surveys were applied for the similar purposes. *Kefalet*, conducted some fifty years earlier than *temettuat*, was aimed to capture the central authority in Istanbul that was overshadowed by the janissaries and immigrants.

By 1845, the central power was restored after the abolishment of janissaries in 1826 and the empire was in the edge of social, economic and administrative transition triggered by *tanzimat*. Thus, *temettuat* surveys were one of the first initiations targeted to have full control on the tax collection that was shared with local notables, tax farmers and their creditors for decades. In that respect, both surveys were conducted to maintain central authority and control.

The data gathered from both surveys also had some similarities and differences; *kefalet* was conducted on the basis of shops and workforce, but *temettuat* was on households and income. Hence, while *kefalet* provides lengthy of information on distribution of shops and workforce in Istanbul on the workplace basis but provides no information on occupational income or other revenues and residency except the ones stayed in *hans*, *temettuat* contains the incomes and additional revenues of the tax generating subjects on the household basis but does not inform about the workplace. However both surveys were capable of providing occupational patterns in terms of occupation type, ethno-religious distribution and status of the workforce.

This thesis also aimed to measure the actual demand for barbers by correlating the number of barbers with the population data per city. Although the first census conducted in Ottoman territory in 1831³⁰¹ seemed to be appropriate and timely to reach the population data, it was incomplete and biased. Its main purpose was to measure the military potential of the empire after the abolishment of janissaries and yet women and Istanbul citizens who were exempt from military service were not subject of the census. The first comprehensive and reliable census, using contemporary statistical methods of its era was conducted in 1885.³⁰²

³⁰¹ For the detailed results of 1831 census see; Karpat, Kemal H. (1985). *Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), pp 108-115.

Also for the critical book review of Karpat's work see Behar, Cem (1986). "Book review", *Population Studies*, vol. 40, No. 2 (July), pp. 322-323.

³⁰² Behar, Cem (2000). "Osmanlı Nüfus İstatistikleri ve 1831 Sonrası Modernleşmesi", in *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bilgi ve İstatistik: Data And Statistics in the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Halil İnalcık, Şevket Pamuk (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü), pp 68-70.

The huge time gap between the first reliable census and the registers especially *kefalet* does not allow us to use population data to relate barbers. Instead, barbers' share within total labourforce was measured for Istanbul and 18 cities as shown in Table 5.1 in order to identify the preference of barber craft among the total labourforce registered in *temettuat* and *Kefalet*. That comparison could also help us understand the demand for barbers on city basis.

Table 5.1: Barbers in Total Workforce based on *Kefalet* and *Temettuat*

	Occupation Total	Barber Total	Barber/ Occupation %
Istanbul	43.639	1.999	4,6
Amasya	1.811	25	1,4
Ankara	4.241	99	2,3
Bursa	6.420	185	2,9
Edirne	5.617	92	1,6
Erzurum	2.490	36	1,4
Filibe	4.499	60	1,3
İvranya	1.199	20	1,7
Konya	4.239	53	1,3
Kütahya	3.590	106	3,0
Manastır	3.642	74	2,0
Manisa	4.750	69	1,5
Niş	569	7	1,2
Rusçuk	4.138	81	2,0
Salonica	5.340	98	1,8
Sivas	3.467	101	2,9
Tokat	1.961	37	1,9
Üsküp	1.315	39	3,0
Vidin	2.617	38	1,5
<i>Temettuat</i>			
TOTAL	61.905	1.220	2,0
Overall			
TOTAL	105.544	3.219	3,0

The total number of barbers of Istanbul constituted 4,6% of the entire workforce in the city as per to *kefalet* and it was 2 % for the remaining 18 cities based on *temettuat*. Within those 18; Üsküp, Kütahya, Sivas and Bursa were the cities having highest barber penetration within total workforce whereas Niş, Konya, Filibe, Amasya and Erzurum had the lowest. The extremely lower number of *temettuat* observation in Niş and barbers accordingly was due to the social unrest in the city for the tax reforms and resulting undercount: only around 600 households.³⁰³

In addition, no significant accumulation in terms of by-employment of barbers for 19 cities mentioned in the table except Rusçuk where 23 out of 81 barbers were also recorded as artillerymen (*topçu*).

It could be argued that the major difference in barber penetration between Istanbul and the other cities could be result of a time element and janissary factor as Istanbul was surveyed before the abolishment of Janissaries and others after. But as already indicated in Chapter 3, the abolishment of janissaries and coffeehouses associated with them, increased the number of barbers and barbershops in the city as the coffeehouses were changed into barbershops. Evidently in 1894 survey that was conducted a century later than *kefalet*, the total number of barbers in the city was recorded as 49.000.³⁰⁴

The ethno-religious characteristics of the barbers were also stated in Table 5.2. Although Muslim penetration in the craft was identical and the weight in total was similar in both Istanbul (72%) and in 18 cities (average was 69%), it highly varies per city. In Konya, Üsküp, Niş and İvranya all barbers in the city were Muslims and in Salonica, Rusçuk, Erzurum and Tokat Muslim barbers penetration was above 90%. On the other hand this ratio was 25% in Sivas and less than 50% in Amasya and Manastır as per to *temettuat*.

³⁰³ Uzun (2002), pp 44-59.

³⁰⁴ Karpal (1985), p 218.

Table 5.2: Ethno-Religious Characteristics of the Barbers Recorded in *Temettuat* and *Kefalet*

	M	A	OC	J	C	NM	U	Total
Istanbul	1.439	244	179	25			112	1.999
Amasya	11	5	1			8		25
Ankara	56	18	1		24			99
Bursa	123	54	5		3			185
Edirne		30	22			14	26	92
Erzurum	33	3					11	36
Filibe	49	7	4					60
İvranya	20							20
Konya	53							53
Kütahya	95	2	1		8			106
Manastır	36		38					74
Manisa	58	9	2					69
Niş	7							7
Rusçuk	77					4		81
Salonica	95			3				98
Sivas	25	14				62		101
Tokat	34		2		1			37
Üsküp	39							39
Vidin	29		9					38
Temettuat TOTAL	840	142	85	3	36	88	26	1.220
Overall TOTAL	2.279	386	264	28	36	88	138	3.219

Edirne *temettuat* data records indicate neither Muslim households nor Muslim barbers, but non-Muslims.³⁰⁵ Therefore this city will not be evaluated in terms of ethno-religious distribution of the barbers.

³⁰⁵ Although Muslims were the majority, there was no record for Muslim households and Muslim barbers in *temettuat* data of Edirne. Also see full list of Edirne *temettuat* registers on neighbourhood basis in; Sert, Serap (2011). “Temettuat Defterleri’ne göre Edirne Şehri”, MA Thesis, Niğde University, pp 124-347.

Armenian barbers constituted the second largest ethno-religious group for barber's craft both in Istanbul (12%) and other cities (average was also 12%). Although they were not existed in all Balkan cities except Edirne and Filibe and in some Anatolian cities like Tokat and Konya, the majority of Armenian barbers lived in Bursa, Ankara and Amasya. Due to the fact that most of people recorded as non-Muslims in Amasya³⁰⁶ and Sivas together with the people recorded as Catholic in Ankara³⁰⁷ were actually Armenians Therefore, the Armenian barbers should have much more penetration in these cities.

Orthodox Christian barbers were 9% of total barbers of Istanbul and 7% of the 18 cities in average. For those cities, they had the highest penetration in Manastır as 51% and in Vidin as 24%, but for the rest of the cities they were less than 5% of total or never appeared.

As mentioned previously barber craft was not popular among Jews possibly due to their religious practice and yet they only had some negligible participation in barber labourforce in Istanbul and Salonica. The extremely low barber occupation among Jews are also verified by another source, marriage books of Istanbul. Among 3.034 marriage entries between 1903 and 1922, only thirteen people were recorded as barber.³⁰⁸

Table 5.3 indicates the status of the total barber labourforce in Istanbul and 18 cities based on *kefalet* and *temettuat* registers. As already mentioned in Bursa and Salonica barbers sections vast majority of barbers were recorded without status. Additionally only 16 barbers were recorded as *usta* in entire *temettuat* data. Thus, it could be assumed that the ones recorded without status should have been the *usta* barbers who were entitled for open their own shops³⁰⁹ and total number of *ustas* could correspond to total number of barbershops in the city.

³⁰⁶ Although those people of Amasya and Sivas recorded as non-Muslim in 1831 census and in *temettuat*, they were carefully grouped in 1885 survey where in both cities Armenians were recorded as the most populated non-Muslim groups by far. See Karpas (1985), p 136.

Additionally the head tax (*cizye*) records in Amasya identify the non-Muslim elements in the city were mostly Armenians see Çatal, Ahmet Caner (2009). "19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Amasya Şehrinin Demografik Yapısı ve İskan Siyaseti", MA Thesis, Niğde University, pp 57-67.

³⁰⁷ For Ankara Catholics having Armenian ethnicity, see Çelik, Semih (2010), p 37.

³⁰⁸ I would like to sincerely thank to Minna Rozen for providing me the barber data within the marriage records.

³⁰⁹ Koyuncu, Miyase (2008). "18. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Osmanlı Esnafı (İstanbul Ve Bursa Örnekleri)", PhD Thesis, Gazi University, pp 76-82.

Table 5.3: Status of the Barbers Recorded in *Temettuat* and *Kefalet*

	<i>Usta</i>	<i>Kalfa</i>	<i>Çırak</i>	Total
Istanbul	1.065	204	730	1.999
Amasya	24	1		25
Ankara	70	21	8	99
Bursa	123	35	27	185
Edirne	58	20	14	92
Erzurum	28	7	1	36
Filibe	60			60
İvranya	20			20
Konya	50	2	1	53
Kütahya	106			106
Manastır	55	18	1	74
Manisa	54	11	4	69
Niş	6	1		7
Rusçuk	80	1		81
Salonica	67	31		98
Sivas	63	14	24	101
Tokat	29	2	6	37
Üsküp	26	10	3	39
Vidin	32	6		38
<i>Temettuat</i>	951	180	91	1.220
Overall	2.016	374	819	3.219
TOTAL				

As to an overall comparison of Istanbul, Bursa and Salonica based on the figures mentioned above, the different characteristics of each city seemed to shape the demographic and ethno-religious characteristics of the craft. In the capital, social aspect of the craft should have much prioritised as can be observed by the very high barbers penetration. In Bursa and Salonica, occupational patterns were more deterministic. Bursa barbers seemed to follow the secondary occupation holders and Salonica barbers tertiary service.

For the ethno-religious characteristics, the observation for three cities reveal that barber craft was mainly preferred by two communities; Muslims and Armenians. The ethno-religious characteristics of the barbers were mostly based on the density of those communities in the cities. Hence, in Salonica although the Muslims were not the most populous community, Muslim barbers had the overall penetration, most probably due to the lack of Armenian community in the city.

Temettuat registers of 18 cities and 1220 barbers also contain income declarations as shown with layers in Table 5.4. However, in the records of 359 barbers no income declaration was made. Hence in Edirne, Erzurum, Filibe, Rusçuk and Üsküp the barbers without income data were much higher than barbers who declared their income. For instance in Filibe only one barber out of 60 was declared his income. Apart from potential loss or lack in data, that might evidence that barbership was in lower strata in these cities.

For remaining 861 barbers who made income declaration, only 20% of them declared to earn more than 500 *kuruş* annually. However that ratio was 92% and in Konya and 77% in Manisa possibly as a result of rarity of barber labourforce in these cities as already shown in Table 5.1 who did not prefer to hire employee and hence solely retain the income.

Wealth and income of the barbers were directly related with the wealth of their clients and the city. In that respect the poverty of barbers mostly cumulated in the Balkan cities should have close connection with the long lasting wars, political instabilities, oppressive *ayans*, and territorial losses where Balkan cities suffered more than the ones in Anatolia.

Table 5.4: Income Distribution of Barbers in 18 Cities Based on *Temettuat* (in *kuruş*)

City	No income	1-150	151-300	301-500	501-1000	>1001	Barbers total
Amasya			12	10	3		25
Ankara	49	22	18	7	3		99
Bursa	17	22	44	75	24	3	185
Edirne	81	1	2	5	2	1	92
Erzurum	33	2	1				36
Filibe	59				1		60
İvranya		7	5	6	2		20
Konya	2		1	3	32	15	53
Kütahya	17	13	47	17	11	1	106
Manastır		30	34	7	2	1	74
Manisa	2	1	5	11	44	6	69
Niş		5	1	1			7
Rusçuk	60	3	10	8			81
Salonica		42	48	8			98
Sivas		30	33	16	22		101
Tokat	3	17	16	1			37
Üsküp	36			3			39
Vidin		27	9	2			38
<i>Temettuat</i> TOTAL	359	242	286	180	146	27	1.220

CONCLUSION:

This study investigates Ottoman barbers of late 18th century in Istanbul and mid 19th century in Bursa, Salonica and 16 major cities in terms of various parameters extracted from two main sources, *kefalet* and *temettuat* surveys. Additionally, it briefly tracks the changes in hair and barber's craft as a response to political, social, economic and religious transition in general and specifically in the Ottoman Empire from the late 18th to the mid-19th centuries.

The main source for Istanbul was the *kefalet* registers conducted in 1792 that recorded most of the workforce and workplaces of the entire city. The data indicated location of each barbershop and number of barbers working within. The ethno-religious characteristics of each barber and their status as shopkeeper or employee were also available in the data. The register data contains 1.065 barbershops and 1.999 barbers which are mapped on to 90 predetermined districts and 10 geographical areas within the city to explore barbers and barbershops locations, shop sizes and ethno-religious characteristics.

Based on the results, barbershops constituted the second largest shop group in the city after coffeehouses, where both represented the two most important spaces for sociability of males. This also indicates a very high level of social interaction in the capital at the end of 18th century, possibly triggered by the economic and political turmoils of the era.

Kefalet registers on barbers also provided some significant outcomes on the level of ethno-religious division of labour and collaboration among barbers. The results depict that the vast majority of barbershops were run by Muslim barbershop keepers (80%) followed by Armenians (12%) and Orthodox Christians (6%). Jews were insignificant not only for Istanbul but for the other cities as well presumably due to the religious order of not using razors.

As for barber employees, Muslims proportion in the barber employment was significantly lower (60%) than their share in shop keeping. Armenian barber employee's

ratio was in line with their representation in barbershop keeping but there were more Orthodox Christians employees (12%) than shopkeepers. Additionally barber employees with unknown identities represented a significant source (12%) in total barber labour force.

In order to better explore and demonstrate the ethno-religious intersection among barbershop keepers and employees, correspondence analysis was conducted on the barber data. The results identify that Muslim barber *çıraks* and *kalfas* only worked for Muslim barbershop keepers, and vast majority of non-Muslim barbers worked for barbershops run by barbershop keepers that had the same ethno-religious background. However approximately one quarter of non-Muslim barbers were employed by Muslim barbershop keepers, that reveals a considerable level of ethno-religious collaboration in such a small scaled area.

Consequently, there was a high tendency for barbershop keepers to employ barbers with the same ethno-religious background in late 18th century Istanbul based on *kefalet* data. However, it seems that Muslims overrepresentation in barbershop keeping was not supported by the Muslim barber employees for various reasons and hence they replaced the labourforce gap with non-Muslim barber employees.

The source for barbers of Bursa, Salonica and rest of 16 major cities was *temettuat* data of 1845; a massive survey that covered most of the Ottoman territories to determine the individual income per household for tax collection purposes. The available data covered the barbers' residency on neighbourhood basis, their ethno-religious characteristics, status and income, but not the barbershop locations.

The residential patterns of Bursa and Salonica barbers were superposed with the city maps showing neighbourhoods on ethno-religious characteristics, total *temettuat* observations and labourforce in the secondary sectors as per to PST coding system to identify whether they follow the demographic, ethno-religious and secondary occupation which would also shape the industrial root.

There were 185 barbers recorded in Bursa city living in 70 neighbourhoods out of 137 recorded in *temettuat*, which made the barbers fourth most frequent occupation within

the city. Although Muslim barbers were the majority (66%), Armenian barbers had a higher representation in the craft as per to their shares in total observation. Orthodox Christian barbers were very few and Jewish barbers were non-existent.

The barbers recorded in the registers were mostly living in the areas based on their ethno-religious identity. As for the neighbourhoods where Muslims and non-Muslims lived together, barbers also seemed to follow a similar ethno-religious proportion of the total observation, but there were exceptions. Additionally the residential patterns of barbers also followed overall demographic patterns based on *temettuat* observations and secondary occupations.

As for Bursa barbers' wealth, it seems being a barber in Bursa was not a high-income generation business compared to other occupations based on *temettuat* results. However, there were some *ustas* that had the opportunity to earn much more than expected.

In Salonica where the Jewish community was the majority, 95 out of 98 barbers in the city recorded in *temettuat* were Muslims. The rest were Jewish, and no Orthodox Christian barbers were recorded. Barber craft was the 13th most frequent occupation based on survey data, but it was fourth among Muslims. Those barbers lived in 25 out of 70 neighbourhoods recorded in *temettuat* and in accordance with the rigid ethno-religious characteristics of the Salonica neighbourhoods.

The residential pattern of barbers does not support overall demographic patterns based on *temettuat* observations at the first glance, however the main accumulation in terms of residency (59 barbers in total) lay mostly in four neighbourhoods located in the centre where the distance to the most populous Jewish and Orthodox Christian neighbourhoods were at a minimum. Additionally unlike Bursa, barbers' residency did not follow the density in secondary occupation per neighbourhood in Salonica as the result of much higher frequency in tertiary business mainly in the southern part of the city.

Salonica barbers also declared lower income levels compared to most of the other occupations in *temettuat*. Unlike some *ustas* in Bursa, there was not any barber in Salonica who declared income above the city average.

As a result, Wrigley's assumption claiming that the barbers do mirror the geographical distribution of the cities was tested and mapped for Bursa and Salonica barbers recorded in *temettuat* on residential reference. Although Wrigley studied England during the industrialisation period and made his assumptions based on the findings of that era, the occupational structure of barbers had some generic similarities regardless of the country. Hence, Bursa barbers seemed to support the theory and there was no major contradiction in Salonica due to the accumulation in the adjacent neighbourhoods to the most populous areas. The results were also parallel with the secondary occupation as long as they mirror the demographic distribution. It should also be noted that data restrictions and limitations in *temettuat* data due the lack of workplace locations and entire population, prevent making more solid conclusions.

For the overall comparison including other major cities, four parameters including barbers rate within total occupation, ethno-religious characteristics, status, and wealth were listed in comparative fashion. Although *kefalet* and *temettuat* surveys represent different content and time elements, the results showed similarities in terms of ethno-religious characteristics of the barbers in both Istanbul and rest of the cities indicating higher Muslim barber penetration.

Additionally, the low frequency of *kalfa* and *çırak* employment in both Istanbul (47% of total labourforce) and rest of the cities (29% average) indicates the small scale and self-sufficient nature of barbershops in late 18th and mid-19th century. On the other hand, the unique nature of the capital was visible with its relatively higher number of barbers in overall occupations (4,6%) compared to overall *temettuat* average (2%).

Finally, the income declarations of the cities observed in *temettuat* were compared on a layered basis. Admitting the potential problems in reliability of the self-claimed income, results were worth considering. The high frequency of barbers with no income declaration in Edirne, Erzurum, Filibe, Rusçuk and Üsküp might provide evidence of the lower strata of barbership in these cities. On the other hand much higher income declaration in Konya and Manisa could be related with the rarity of barber labourforce, low frequency of *kalfa* or *çırak* employment and the relatively higher wealth in those cities.

This thesis is attempted to explore late 18th and mid-19th century Ottoman barbers by comparing barbers of Istanbul, two provincial centres and other major cities in terms of several parameters. The outcomes of the study highlights some evidences on the structure, change and transformation of the barbers craft that also mirrored the political, social and economic transformation of the Ottoman Empire to some extent.

APPENDICES:

Appendix 1: Istanbul Districts and Number of Barbershops and Barbers

District	Barbershops Total	Barbers Total
1 Aksaray	15	17
2 Anadolu Hisarı	3	6
3 Anadolu Kavağı	4	7
4 Ayasofya	21	44
5 Ayvansaray	8	19
6 Balat	23	48
7 Bebek	10	16
8 Beşiktaş	23	39
9 Beyazıt	40	96
10 Beykoz	10	17
11 Beylerbeyi	4	8
12 Beyoğlu	2	2
13 Büyükdere, Sarıyer	5	7
14 Cağaloğlu	4	10
15 Cankurtaran	17	30
16 Cerrahpaşa	1	2
17 Cibali	8	13
18 Çapa	3	3
19 Çarşamba	2	2
20 Çemberlitaş	1	2
21 Çengelköy	3	7
22 Çukurbostan	3	4
23 Demirkapı, Bayrampaşa	1	2
24 Dolmabahçe	1	2
25 Edirnekapı	7	9
26 Eminönü	15	40
27 Emirgan	2	2
28 Eyüp	28	53
29 Fatih	25	34
30 Fatih cami	3	6
31 Fener	5	12
32 Fındıklı	15	21
33 Firuzaga	5	7
34 Galata	73	155

35	Galatasaray	5	6
36	Gedikpaşa	2	2
37	Halıcıoğlu	1	3
38	Hasköy	13	22
39	İstinye	3	5
40	Kadıköy	11	16
41	Kandilli	3	5
42	Kanlıca	3	3
43	Kapalıçarşı	16	36
44	Karacaahmet	7	12
45	Karagümrük	2	2
46	Karaköy	12	27
47	Kasımpaşa	71	162
48	Kemeraltı, Tophane	6	15
49	Kızıldaş	5	8
50	Kızıtaşı, Fatih	3	5
51	Koca mustafapaşa	6	9
52	Kumkapı	8	18
53	Kuruçeşme	3	8
54	Kuzguncuk	4	7
55	Küçükayasofya	6	8
56	Laleli	10	13
57	Mahmutpaşa	12	25
58	Mecidiyeköy	2	2
59	Mesihpaşa, Laleli	11	14
60	Molla Gürani, Fatih	9	10
61	Nişanca Mahallesi, Yenikapı	2	3
62	Nuru Osmaniye	2	7
63	Odunkapısı	26	58
64	Ortaköy	18	31
65	Rumeli Kavağı	2	2
66	Rumelihisarı	9	11
67	Samatya	5	12
68	Sarayburnu	7	13
69	Sarıyer	11	20
70	Selimiye, Üsküdar	2	2
71	Silivrikapı	2	5
72	Sirkeci	8	17
73	Sultanahmet	24	33
74	Süleymaniye	53	100
75	Şehremini	5	6

76	Şişli	3	5
77	Tahtakale	3	3
78	Tarabya	2	4
79	Tophane	39	69
80	Topkapı	2	3
81	Unkaparı	24	60
82	Üsküdar	88	151
83	Vefa	3	5
84	Vezneciler	1	2
85	Yedikule	19	28
86	Yeni Cami	46	93
87	Yenikapı	10	27
88	Yeniköy	7	10
89	Yerebatan	13	26
90	Zeyrek	5	8
TOTAL		1065	1999

Appendix 2: Bursa Barbers, Their Residency and Ethno-Religious Characteristics.

Neighbourhood	Barbers Total	M	A	OC	C
1 Abbas Bey Fenari	2	2			
2 Abdal Mehmed	3	3			
3 Ahmed Bey	3	1		2	
4 Ahmed Dai	4	4			
5 Ahmed Paşa	2	2			
6 Alaaddin	3	3			
7 Ali Paşa	3	3			
8 Anarlı	2	2			
9 Attar Hüssam	1	1			
10 Azabbey	3	3			
11 Bab-ı Zemin	1	1			
12 Bahadır Ağa	2	2			
13 Başçı İbrahim	1	1			
14 Bayezid Paşa	1	1			
15 Bedreddin	1	1			
16 Bulgarlar	2			2	
17 Cami-i Kala	1	1			
18 Çardak	2	2			
19 Çelebisultan	1		1		
20 Daye Hatun	2	2			
21 Debbaghane	3	3			
22 Elmalık	3	3			
23 Elvanbey	4	4			
24 Eşrafi	7		7		
25 Hacı Baba	12		12		
26 Hacı İskender	3		3		
27 Hacı Sevindik	1	1			
28 Hamzabey	3	3			
29 Hayreddin Paşa	1	1			
30 Hoca Alizade	2	1	1		
31 Hoca Taşkın	1	1			
32 Hoca Tayyib	1		1		
33 Hoşkadem Makromoy	3	3			
34 Hüdavendigâr Gazi Hazretleri	1	1			
35 İstabl-ı Bayezid Paşa	3	3			
36 İmaret-i İsabey	1	1			
37 İncirlice	3	3			

38	İshakşah	2		2	
39	Kademerî	1	1		
40	Kale-i Umurbey	3	3		
41	Karaağaç	9		9	
42	Karakavi	1	1		
43	Kayganzade	8	2	6	
44	Kızıyakup	3	3		
45	Kirişçi	1	1		
46	Kocanaib	1	1		
47	Kösreciler	3	3		
48	Mantıcı	2	2		
49	Merkebcî	6	6		
50	Mesud Makramavî	1		1	
51	Meydancık	1	1		
52	Molla Arab	1		1	
53	Murad-ı Sani	9	8		1
54	Nakkaş Ali	1	1		
55	Reyhan Paşa	3	3		
56	Said Fakih	2	2		
57	Sariabdullah	2	2		
58	Selçuk Sultan	3	3		
59	Semerci	1	1		
60	Şehabeddin Paşa	1	1		
61	Şeyh Konevî	2	2		
62	Şeyh Şibli	2	2		
63	Şeyhpan	1	1		
64	Tekke-i Mescid	1	1		
65	Timurtaş	1	1		
66	Umurbey	8		8	
67	Üçkozlar	1	1		
68	Veled-i Harrat	1		1	
69	Veled-i Mizan	2	2		
70	Yenipazar	1	1		
71	Zağferanlık	4	4		
	Not Mentioned	4		1	3
<hr/>					
	TOTAL	185	123	54	5 3

Appendix 3: Salonica Barbers, Their Residency and Ethno-Religious Characteristics.

Neighbourhood	Barbers Total	M	J
1 Abdullah Kadı	8	8	
2 Ahmed Subaşı	3	3	
3 Akçe Mescid	2	2	
4 Cezeri Kasım Paşa	1	1	
5 Fındık	3		3
6 Gülmezoğlu	1	1	
7 Hacı Burhan	3	3	
8 Hacı İskender	2	2	
9 Hacı İsmail	14	14	
10 İki Şerefeli	1	1	
11 İshak Paşa	3	3	
12 Kara Hacı	1	1	
13 Kara Hacıoğlu	2	2	
14 Kasımiye	28	28	
15 Katip Muslihiddin	1	1	
16 Kazzaz Hacı Musa	2	2	
17 Kazzaz Hacı Mustafa	2	2	
18 Pinti Hasan	1	1	
19 Saray-ı Atik	1	1	
20 Sinancık	11	11	
21 Suluca	1	1	
22 Şahabeddin	1	1	
23 Tarakçı	2	2	
24 Yakub Paşa	3	3	
25 Yılan Mermeri	1	1	
TOTAL	98	95	3

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RESEARCH PROJECTS

An Introduction to the Occupational History of Turkey via New Methods and New Approaches (1840 - 1940) Project Nr. 112K271, Ongoing TUBITAK Project, coordinated by M. Erdem Kabadayı.

The occupational structure of Britain c.1379-1911, directed by Leigh Shaw-Taylor.