

**THE OTTOMAN COURT RECORDS AND THE MAKING OF 'URBAN HISTORY',  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MUDANYA *SİCİLS* (1645-1800)**

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with Special Reference to *Mudanya Sicils* (1645-1800)

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## ABSTRACT

The Ottoman Court Records and the Making of 'Urban History',  
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The *sicils* (Ottoman court records) have been utilized as a 'historical source' in studying different areas of Ottoman history since 1930s. Many historians have seen them very fruitful source to construct history of the Ottoman State and Society from 'below' considering the lively language of the records that take place in the *sicils*. At this point, it can be claimed that the process of making and utilizing the *sicils* as a 'historical source' go hand in hand with the tendencies developed in historiography thorough the making social and micro history.

Historians who approach to the *sicils* from this perspective with no doubt contributed great deal to historical studies that focused on the Ottoman state and society. They at least presented to other historians daily experiences, though in a limited scope, of very different geographies located in the Ottoman territory. But many historical studies that are based on the *sicils* have neglected to a certain extent the questioning of historiographical side of their issues and of the *sicils*' ability to reflect the 'fact or truth' of the information they gave and to represent the 'local' in which they are placed.

In this context, the present study questions, first, the relationship between historiography and a historical source and, second, the above-mentioned representation/reflection problem in the case of four *sicil defters* of Mudanya (Bursa).

In short, this study asks questions rather than giving answers to them. In general it suggests that the *sicils*, being just one source for certain problematique, should be read as a "text" and evaluated within a "context" in which they took place in order for their shortages to be minimized in reflecting the "truth" of information they gave and in representing the whole people and the period in which they existed.

## ÖZET

Osmanlı Mahkeme Kayıtları ve ‘Şehir Tarihi’ Yazımı,  
Mudanya Sicilleri Örneğinde (1645-1800)

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Siciller (Osmanlı mahkeme kayıtları) 1930’lardan beri Osmanlı Tarihinin çok çeşitli alanlarını aydınlatmak için tarihi kaynak olarak kullanılmaktadır. Bir çok tarihçi, içerisinde yer alan kayıtların canlı diline bakarak sicilleri Osmanlı devlet ve toplum tarihini ‘aşağıdan’ inşa etmek için çok verimli bir kaynak olarak göregelmıştır. Bu noktada, sicilleri ‘tarihi kaynak’ olarak görme ve kullanmanın tarih yazıcılığında sosyal ve mikro tarih yapmaya doğru olan temayülle eş zamanlı olarak geliştiği iddia edilebilir.

Şüphe yok ki sicillere bu açıdan yaklaşan tarihçiler Osmanlı devlet ve toplum tarihine yoğunlaşan tarihi çalışmalara çok büyük katkılar sağlamışlardır. En azından diğer tarihçilere, Osmanlı sınırları içerisinde yer alan farklı coğrafyaların sınırlı da olsa günlük tecrübelerini aktarmışlardır. Fakat sicillere dayanılarak hazırlanmış bir çok tarihi çalışma, temalarının tarih yazıcılığı boyutunu ve sicillerin verdiği bilgilerin ‘gerçeği veya doğruyu’ ve yine buldukları ‘yereli’ ne kadar yansıttığı ve temsil ettiği gibi soruları belili ölçüde ihmal etmişlerdir.

Bu bağlamda elinizdeki çalışma, ilk olarak tarih yazıcılığı ile tarihi kaynak arasındaki ilişkiyi, ikinci olarak da yukarıda sözü edilen temsiliyet problemini Mudanya (Bursa) örneğinde, orada bulunan dört sicili analiz ederek sorgulamaktadır.

Kısaca, bu çalışma cevaplar vermektten öte sorular sormaktadır ve fakat genel olarak önerdiği bakış açısı ise şudur: Siciller, belirli bir sorunsalın sadece bir kaynağı olarak, ‘metin’ olarak okunmalı ve içinde yer aldığı ‘bağlam’ ile değerlendirilmelidir. Bu, verdiği bilgilerin ‘doğruluğunu’ yansıtmakta ve içinde bulunduğu dönemi ve insanları temsil etmede sicillerin barındırdığı eksiklikleri en aza indirmeye yarayabilecektir.

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## INTRODUCTION

This study questions mainly the relation between historiography and a historical source within the context of the Ottoman urban studies. The primary source, i.e. Ottoman Shari'a court records- *sicils* of Mudanya between the middle of the seventeenth and the late eighteenth century and, as well as, the similar secondary sources on the Ottoman urban history are analyzed here within the framework of above-mentioned problematique.

At this point the main argument in the thesis is to point out the determining role of historiography not only in making a source a "historical source" but also in its analysis.<sup>1</sup> This study criticizes the overemphasis on the *sicils* as a vital source of especially Ottoman urban history, which neglects the historiographical and theoretical side of the urban issues. The *sicils*, in my view, should be seen as only one of the many sources for a certain problematique. Besides, they should be read as a "text" and evaluated within a "context" in which they took place for their shortages to be minimized in reflecting the "truth" of information they gave and in representing the whole people and the period in which they existed. From this point of view, this study suggests using their contents as clues leading historians to ask some questions and getting answers about their problematique rather than as "full of information"<sup>2</sup> about cities they belonged.

Mudanya is selected as a case in this study because of its some features. Particularly, taking the first four *sicils* dated between 1645 and 1800 of Mudanya as

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<sup>1</sup> This study aims to disagree with general assumption of Ze'evi (1995: 157) on the relations between historiography and a source. He claims, "in writing the history of the Middle East there is one aspect that deserves special attention: the influence of the choice of source material on the writer's point of view."

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Işık Tamdoğan-Abel for drawing my attention to this term.

its main source, this study enjoys the opportunity to see more extensive area from its history and, hence, to analyze changes taking place in both the socio-economic life in Mudanya, as well as the texts representing it.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, this study is the first in that it studies such a small district of the Ottoman State as Mudanya thorough its *sicils*. This would minimize the shortages in their ability to represent “facts” as well as particular people and period compared to studying those of big cities as we see in most of the *sicil* studies. Last but not least this district has a significant geopolitical location by being a port of Bursa<sup>4</sup> and by its proximity to the center, İstanbul.<sup>5</sup> Mudanya’s role as a supplier of great amount and variety of agricultural products increased the rate of economic activities in that city. It seems that its geographically small size<sup>6</sup> is substituted by its intensive social and economic activities. Accordingly, the *sicils* under survey contain records reflecting different dimensions of its administrative, economic and social life.

<sup>3</sup> The 155 years from 1645 to 1800 are quite long time and correspond the pre-modern period.

<sup>4</sup> Mudanya as a port city took place also in the *Kanunnames* of Mehmed II and Bayezid II. The *kanuns* numbered 35, 36, and 55 contained orders about tax rates for goods of Muslims or non-Muslims in the port. For instance, a person who brought any kind of fabrics would give 4 *akçes* per 100 *akçes*. In the articles number 43 and 53 of this *kanunname*, the *mukāta’a* of Mudanya port was given to the same people. Eldem (1999: 95) also points out the place of Mudanya together with Erdek as a port in the eighteenth century French wool trade.

<sup>5</sup> The grain need of İstanbul, which amounted to 100,000 *kile*, for instance was bought (*mübāya’a*) from Anatolia Eyalet and interestingly Mudanya was, together with Karamürsel, the port for transmission of this huge amount of grain from cities in Anatolia to İstanbul. In one case dated 3 R. 1205/1791, the people of Antalya complained that the distance between Mudanya and Antalya took 200 hours, hence it was difficult for them to transport the required amount of grains to Mudanya. They wanted İstanbul to send to them a ship for this transportation. See *Cevdet- Belediye*, No: 4545. The same function of Mudanya was also seen in transportation of animals sent to İstanbul. See *Cevdet- Belediye*, No: 2902 (Es.Ş.1227). In addition, Evliya Çelebi (1999: 21) says that the Mudanya port was used in transmission of the great amount of snow and ice that are brought from *Uludağ*, Bursa for the need of the Palace in İstanbul.

<sup>6</sup> According to *Bursa Vilayeti Coğrafyası* (1927: 1), the size of Mudanya was 232 square kilometers in 1927. In 1967 its area was 346 square kilometer. *Bursa İl Yılığ*, 1967: 49.

Today, Mudanya is a port in the Marmara Sea and the district of Bursa.<sup>7</sup> At its Eastern side is Gemlik, at its 34 kilometers Southern side is Bursa,<sup>8</sup> Minhaliç (Karacabey) is at its West side and the Marmara Sea is at the Northern side of Mudanya.<sup>9</sup> It has highly productive lands for agriculture. Especially there are olive, grapes, mulberry, onion, and different kinds of grains and fruits. It seems that people of Mudanya can satisfy their food needs with their own products.<sup>10</sup> Besides, the sea provides the opportunity of fishing and shipping business to the people of Mudanya.<sup>11</sup>

The history of Mudanya, on the other hand, goes back to the very old ages. The first name given to this city was Mirilya or Mirlea. Then it was conquered and destroyed by Philip V, the king of Macedonia. After this destruction it was resettled and named as Apamea. In the period of Crusades, it was conquered by the crusaders and called Montanya or Montagna from which the word 'Mudanya' comes. Mudanya was conquered by Orhan Gazi in 721 (1321).<sup>12</sup>

It seems that Mudanya within the Ottoman context increased its significance from its conquest through the last day of the empire. For instance, while it was called Budanya in a mid-sixteenth century record as a village of Kite *Kaza*<sup>13</sup> it became a *kaza* of Hüdavendigar *Liva* later in the mid-seventeenth century. Even, in the late

<sup>7</sup> Its administrative status and the settlement areas are discussed below.

<sup>8</sup> According to Evliya Çelebi (1999: 9, 36) the distance between Bursa and Mudanya was six hours by horse.

<sup>9</sup> For cities around Mudanya, see. D-4: 60/1.

<sup>10</sup> *Bursa Vilayeti Coğrafyası* (1927 : 247-252) gives the details of imports and exports of the port. According to these data in 1927 the imported products were those manufactured ones and some new goods, and the exported products were generally agricultural goods.

<sup>11</sup> Sami, 1316: VI: 4237-8; *Bursa Vilayeti Coğrafyası*, 1927: 244ff.

<sup>12</sup> Evliya Çelebi, 1999: 9; Sami, 1316: VI: 4238 ; *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, 1982: III, 1776 ; İzbirak, 1976: XXIV, 369. Evliya Çelebi (*ibid*) also gives another name of Mudanya as Dārīhal that comes from its famous vinegar.

<sup>13</sup> See *166 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Anadolu Defteri*, 1995: 136; See also Map 2 in the Appendix.

eighteenth century, Mudanya possibly had an administrative link with Galata. A crucial factor in this trend with no doubt was its being a port city as mentioned above.

This study aims at finding some clues about the administrative, economic and social life of Mudanya from the mid-seventeenth century to the late eighteenth century. Its exact situation within the general Ottoman context necessitates analyzing the situation of Ottoman State and society in that period, and then comparing micro and macro results of these analyses. It is not an aim of this thesis to make such analyses directly nor is it its main problematique. But at that point, it would be beneficial to touch upon some general features of the period at the macro level for a better understanding and interpretation of the findings of this study that are related to Mudanya.

The period between 1645 and 1800 is seen in the writings of many historians either as a premodern period that preceded the great changes in the 'long' nineteenth century or as a period of transformation in the dissolution of the structures and institutions of the Empire, or still as a stagnant and declining period before its falling down. It is not aimed to discuss here the truthfulness or fallacies of these arguments,<sup>14</sup> however, it should be noted that this kind of periodization is made with no doubt according to previous and, especially, subsequent centuries of this period under survey. Hence, it would be more useful to understand better the nineteenth century rather than a particular period that is being discussed.

The seventeenth century in the lands of the Ottoman State began with two great events. The first of these events was the *Celali* rebellions, and the second one

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<sup>14</sup> For review, critiques and new ways of periodization of the Ottoman history see, among others, Karpat, 1974; Faroqhi, April/July 1991; Salzman, December 1993; Darling, 1996; İnalçık, 1998; Özvar, 1999.

was the long lasting war with Iran. Therefore, the first quarter, even the half, of the century passed with the efforts to suppress the rebels and the struggles against Iran.<sup>15</sup> The periods of Ahmed I (1603-17), Osman II (1618-22), Mustafa I (1617-18; 1622-23) and Murad IV (1623-40) were passed under the shadow of the above-mentioned events.

In the second half of the century the state turned its direction to the West and a number of struggles took place against Venice, Crete, the Habsburgs and so on. All these military-political events occurred synchronically with the administrative problems within the state. That is to say that in the second half of the century, the grand viziers, the family of Köprülü, undertook the administration of the state instead of the Sultans. Another interesting point is related to the number of the Sultans who were at the head of the State in this period: there were twelve Sultans during three centuries before the 17<sup>th</sup> century whereas this number was ten only during the seventeenth century. This also leads us to rethink the situations of the Sultans within the state apparatus in this period.

The eighteenth century is also known with long wars particularly against Russia and Austria that resulted in significant treaties like Jassy signed in 1792. This century as we see also in many records of the *sicils* ended with the French revolution and Napoleon invasion of Egypt.<sup>16</sup>

Considering the context of this study namely for Mudanya, the significant consequences of these military and administrative situations of the State were basically economic. New fiscal arrangements of the State directly affected the people

<sup>15</sup> See Mantran, 1990, I: 11-12, II: 232-234; Danişman ed. 1985: 71. Also see İnalcık and Quataert, 1994.

<sup>16</sup> Veinstein (1999:2) criticizes overemphasis of historians on the wars in order to explain the transformations in the eighteenth century Ottoman financial and administrative policies and he points out the effects of, among others, American silver on these transformations.

of Mudanya in terms of taxes they paid because of the long wars and other possible reasons. As we discussed below, the taxes like *imdād-ı seferiyye* and *hazariyye* and *sürsat bedeli* appeared as a result of these extraordinary conditions. The debasement in the currencies was also another important consequence of the events that should be taken into account while evaluating the price increases in different years of the period.<sup>17</sup>

Having done some general historical-contextual remarks that can be useful in interpreting the findings of the present study in Mudanya, we can now refer to some points related to the sources used in this study.

In constructing the text about Mudanya, we mainly used 4 *sicils* of Mudanya dated between 1045 and 1215 (1645 and 1800). As we mentioned at the beginning, our approach to these sources tends to see them as clues in constructing particular aspects of the history of the city. In addition to the *sicils*, we scanned some *tasnifs* (classifications) from the State Archives to find records about Mudanya and used them in the related parts of the study. Especially *avarız*, *cizye* (poll-tax), *temettuat* registers, *Ahkam-Şikayet defters*, and *Cevdet-Belediye* classification give us significant information on Mudanya. The population of Mudanya for instance could not be clarified drawing only on information derived from the *sicils*. The *Mühimme* registers would probably include vast amount of records about Mudanya, but due to the lack of indexes for the period under study we could only look at the fifteenth and sixteenth century registers. However, we scanned especially published *Mühimme* registers to see the administrative and economic situation of the city in these centuries. Since Mudanya was less significant administratively in these periods

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<sup>17</sup> See, among others, especially İnalçık 1977 and 1980; Genç, 2000; Cezar, 1986 and 1999; Veinstein, 1999; Pamuk, 2000.

compared to the subsequent centuries, it was a village, it was mentioned mostly for its Customs.

This justifies our insistence on using *sicils* and the documents of the State Archives as complementary to each other. Other secondary sources on Mudanya and the subjects this study surveyed are also used both to supplement the findings and to give the opportunity of comparison with similar studies made for other regions. We should note here that the secondary sources on Mudanya are very rare probably because of the size of the city and of the general tendency in Ottoman urban studies to focus on big cities.

In short, this study may contribute to some extent to debates on the place of primary sources in constructing historical knowledge particularly in Ottoman urban studies. How these sources can be used in a more coherent and effective way in urban histories will be determined, I think, both solving the tension between 'text' and 'context' and defining interdisciplinary sense of 'urban history' in the Ottoman context. Another contribution of this study in the micro level may be its findings and suspicions on a provincial city of the Ottoman state, Mudanya. These micro outcomes include at the same time some questions about the macro issues as in the economic activities of the city.

Finally, we should note here that taking primary sources as a basic unit of analysis in making a history usually leads historians to think of issues more in pieces overlooking the general tendencies. This can prevent historians to see and reflect the whole picture of the issues on which they focus. This study also tries implicitly to show this negative side of historical studies based on only one kind of sources and taking no well-defined problematique.

“The court records acted first as a repository for any document, contractual or decretal, whose legality or authenticity might at some future time be questioned.”<sup>18</sup>

## **I- STUDIES BASED ON THE *SICILS***

### **A- Historiography and a Source: Review on the *Sicil* Studies**

This section is related to the methodology of the study and the examination of the sources. I will review the literature on the *sicil* studies from the historiographical point of view. In other words, the fast spreading or intensive use of the *sicils* as a historical source among the scholars of different disciplines who are interested in the Ottoman period in general and historians in particular will be examined synchronically, with the other sources, and diachronically comparing them with the changing paths in historiography. In this section, at the same time, the concentrations of the subjects in these *sicil* studies will be presented to indicate changes and trends of historians in utilizing these sources.

A special attention is given to the studies focusing on the ‘urban’ issues in which court records are used as their main source. Since the case of my study is basically associated with an urban history, I try to analyze the reflections of the aforementioned trends in using the *sicils* on the ‘urban studies’. Historical knowledge they found significant in the court records and the ways in which they use this

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<sup>18</sup> Mandaville, 1975: 519.

information in debating 'urban' issues will be examined. I will, at the same time, compare the outcomes of these studies with the results of my own study in the records. In other words, in this section I attempt to put my study into a methodological context.

## 1- History of the *Sicil* Studies: Perspectives, Contributions and Critiques

History of the *sicil* studies can be dated to the articles published in the *Halkevi* periodicals of 1930s.<sup>19</sup> Two significant articles written by İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı<sup>20</sup> and T. Mümtaz Yaman<sup>21</sup> appeared within *Ülkü* in 1935 and in 1938, respectively. Uzunçarşılı tried to draw attention of the researchers to studying on the *sicils* as a historical source of four hundred years Turkish History<sup>22</sup>. Similar ideas took place in the article of Yaman, but, besides, he described the *sicils* as *membra* (spring or source) and as in the level of *hazine-i evrak* (central archives) to understand the Ottoman history and its institutions.<sup>23</sup>

For Uzunçarşılı, these sources included much valuable information about the Turkish social, economic and political history, hence, they were the most powerful and the most reliable historical sources of information about the places where they are found. Even he compared them with the church records and claimed that the

<sup>19</sup> Jon E. Mandaville says "systematic exploitation of the *şer'i* court records as an historical source was begun by Hungarian and Bulgarian historians". But he does not give exact date of these studies. See Mandaville, 1966: 312. İnalçık says that the article of C. Trunelka published at *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Bisni i Hercegovini* (v.30) about Jaica (in Bosnia) *Sicils* especially raised a great interest in these sources as a historical source. Seng (1991) also talks about history of *sicil* studies giving special attention to availability of the *sicils* of İstanbul to historians and to topics that have been studied on the basis of the *sicils* so far.

<sup>20</sup> Uzunçarşılı, Temmuz 1935.

<sup>21</sup> Yalman, 1938.

<sup>22</sup> Uzunçarşılı, 1935: 366.

<sup>23</sup> Yalman, 1938: 153, 155.

*sicils* were more significant and more reliable sources than the church records. Moreover he accepted them as basic sources for the daily economic activities of the people as well and asserted that by comparing existing information that we have as truth with these sources we would get more reliable information about the economic life. Another significant contribution of them according to him lies in their difference from the central documents: “they reflected the life of the city people and gave information to us about the life and acts of the country.” Cohen in his work says nothing about the sources, *sicils*, which he used, but argues for the similar thing: “... the factual and descriptive material offered here as pertaining not only to “society” and “economy” but rather to “real people and how they lived.”<sup>24</sup>

It seems that these historians neither attempted to question the formation and coherency of information that we acquired from those *sicils* nor their ability to represent the whole people and the city life. Only Uzunçarşılı considered their representation of villages and said “though we do not see completely the village people from the *sicils*, we are not far away from them.”<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, six decades later, Amy Singer studied in the villages and peasants of Palestine drawing basically on the *sicils*.<sup>26</sup> Yalman, in addition to these kinds of possible contributions of the *sicils*, introduced detailed information about how *sicils*’ recording process work encouraging researchers to publish them as original documents. He believed that this makes possible the ‘synthesis’ of these very valuable sources by historians in constructing the history.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Cohen, 1989: 10.

<sup>25</sup> Uzunçarşılı, 1935: 367-8.

<sup>26</sup> Singer (1994). She at the same time used *tapu tahrir* registers, and *mühimme* registers. Before this historian, Faroqhi (1987b) took attention to this point and, later, İnalçık (1998) studied in the peasants of Eyüp, too.

<sup>27</sup> Yalman, 1938: 155.

At this point it should be noted that Uzunçarşılı and Yalman had in mind that of the special authority of *kadıs*, and departing from this perception they valued the position of *sicils* as very significant historical source.<sup>28</sup> Baltacı has the similar perception as well in evaluating the significance of *sicils* as a historical source. In his article, he even does not talk about the content of the *sicils* but authority and responsibilities of the *kadıs*.<sup>29</sup> The *sicils*, for him, only present us the results of the acts of *kadıs*. In short, he considers them only as depending on the *kadıs*' position rather than, at least to some extent, an independent source.<sup>30</sup>

After this presentation of the *sicils* to the historians by those mentioned above, we see that some selected *kadı* registers were published in the local periodicals. For instance, certain amount of selected records on Bursa was published in *Uludağ* as a separate part.<sup>31</sup> The publishers did not make any analysis or interpretation of these

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<sup>28</sup> This relation can also be seen in Uzunçarşılı's book titled *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilatı* (1988; first published in 1965; see especially 109). Even Zarinebaf-Shahr (1997: 256) claims, "the Muslim *kadıs* and their deputies (*naib*) functioned as intermediaries between the patrimonial state and the tax-paying reaya." Doumani (1985: 156) talks about their positions together with the position of province seeing them as a "primary instrument of social control".

<sup>29</sup> Baltacı, 1985.

<sup>30</sup> Jennings also frequently talks in her studies about the positions of the *kadıs* and the courts to put the *sicils* in a context. See Jennings, 1993: Chapter 3 and 1999; Gerber should also be mentioned at this point who (1988: 190) tries to show the significance of the court in the life of people and the role of customs in the decision making process of the *kadıs* (p. 199) by analyzing the whole system of Islamic-Ottoman law and "*kadı* justice". His later studies focus on this issue insisting particularly on the question of the relationship between the culture and the law; Emecan (1998: 76-77) also expresses the role of the *kadıs* and the courts in the eyes of people and locates the *sicils* as a historical source from this point of view. From this point of view, we can think that the reason for the insufficiency of the historical studies based on the *fatwas* of *muftis* may be due to the insignificance of the *muftis* in the administrative system. These are in fact related to the very crucial debate on the relationship between 'text' and its 'author'.

<sup>31</sup> Up to the issue 29, about fifty selected records from the Bursa *Sicils* with small titles as their short summaries were transliterated at the end of each issue. Who transliterated them was not given in these issues.

records; they were only transliterated into the Latin alphabet. The work of Ongan<sup>32</sup> could also be evaluated at this point. He published first two *defters* of Ankara by summarizing and indexing their records. Referring to the significance of these documents he asserts that they can give us practices of the ordinary men that have not been stated in another kind of documents. Thus, to him, these sources are hoped to fill the gaps of the central archives containing the copies of *firman*s, and can also provide us the information about the life of the notables and local administrators of the cities and so on.<sup>33</sup>

Another significant contribution to the *sicil* studies came from Halil İnalçık. He continues to introduce the *sicils* as the valuable source for the Ottoman history. In addition, he has published some documents from Bosnia and Bursa *sicils* grouping them under certain categories. His article, titled “Osmanlı Tarihi Hakkında Mühim Bir Kaynak”<sup>34</sup> was published at the beginning of the 1940s, and “15. Asır Türkiye İktisadi İctimâi Tarihi Kaynaklar” in 1953 and 1954<sup>35</sup> express the significance of these sources by giving some examples from the *sicils*. He claims that the *sicils* are the best sources to describe the city life in a multidimensional way in the case of one city if this place had them chronologically. Furthermore, he criticizes those urban historians who did/could not consider *sicils* as one of their basic historical sources to make a complete history of cities considering many different aspects of them. For him, the *sicils* give historians the opportunity of history making in overall dimensions.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Ongan, 1958 and 1974.

<sup>33</sup> Ongan, 1958: XI-XV. He mentions ten different contributions of the *sicils* here.

<sup>34</sup> (“A Significant Source for the Ottoman History”). See İnalçık, 1943.

<sup>35</sup> (“Economic and Social Historical Sources of Turkey in the 15th Century”). See İnalçık, 1953-4.

<sup>36</sup> İnalçık, 1943: 89.

It seems that in order to show the areas in which the *sicils* could be used, İnalçık published documents from the Bosnia<sup>37</sup> and Bursa *sicils* related to the *firman*s of Mehmed II<sup>38</sup> and to the economic, social and administrative life of city and the Ottoman State.<sup>39</sup> The use of the *sicils* together with other kinds of sources and the existing historical information is widely observed in the articles of İnalçık.<sup>40</sup> He in these articles also gives a certain way of analyzing the *sicils*: He first presents the general description of a *defter* giving information about its size and scripture etc., then makes categorical division of its records according to its content, and finally, he points out his main findings related to the Ottoman history providing the original texts. He has also introduced to historians a special type of the *sicil* records: *tereke*s.<sup>41</sup> In his article, after describing the main features of them, he analyzes some *tereke*s according to the distribution and content of wealth, social origins of the deceased people, and types and amount of goods. Then he suggests employing them in price, money and credits history, and in the study of the types of occupations and tools used by people in their daily lives and in agricultural and industrial life.<sup>42</sup>

In the 1960s, İnalçık was not contented with publishing *sicil* records about certain topics. He at the same time contextualizes the published records historically. For instance in one of his articles at that time,<sup>43</sup> he constructed an economic history of the second half of the fifteenth-century Bursa and then published the records related to this particular subject. We can decide immediately on that the way he combined the information of the *sicil* records with that of other sources in this

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<sup>37</sup> İnalçık, 1943

<sup>38</sup> See İnalçık, 1947.

<sup>39</sup> See İnalçık, 1960; 1980-81.

<sup>40</sup> See İnalçık, 1943 and 1947.

<sup>41</sup> İnalçık, 1953-4.

<sup>42</sup> İnalçık, 1953-4: 65.

<sup>43</sup> İnalçık, 1960.

construction does not reflect the reality completely. İnalçık in this article next to never uses the *sicils* in writing the economic history of the city. He draws his attention mostly upon the central archives and other sources and uses only a few *sicil* records to indicate the economic practices of individuals.<sup>44</sup> It seems that to İnalçık, these practical usages and supplementary information to what is already known are a major contribution of the *sicils* to the study of Ottoman history.

Another point about İnalçık is that he did not evaluate the documents -both *tereke*s and other kinds of records- in the *sicils* according to their ability to represent. Nor the intentional and unintentional messages that can be derived out of the information they contain while he was publishing and analyzing them were not questioned.

On the other hand, Mandaville asserts that Turkish historians used *sicils* especially for the regional studies as in the case of Saruhan by M. Çağatay Uluçay, to a certain extent, to fill the gap that is created by the State Central Archives in the regional history.<sup>45</sup> Uluçay tries to prove the significance of the *sicils* in the regional historical studies by making comparisons with the other sources.<sup>46</sup> He criticizes various methods including oral historical methods, and sources like graves, *kitabes* (instructions about building process and builders), *waqfiyes* (waqf deeds) and historical monuments, and *vakaanivis* (official history of events).<sup>47</sup> Strikingly enough he does not follow the similar critical position in introducing the *sicils*. Yet in my view, biases in oral histories, limits in the amount of information and number of remained sources such as the graves, the monuments and other sources can also be claimed for the case of *sicils*. Uluçay like İnalçık, overemphasizes the importance of

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<sup>44</sup> See İnalçık 1960: 62, 63.

<sup>45</sup> Mandaville, 1966: 312.

<sup>46</sup> Uluçay, 1953.

<sup>47</sup> Uluçay, 1953: 288-90.

the *sicils* in making regional history by saying that they even reflect and take us to daily life of the ordinary people not only of bureaucrats and learned men or élite.<sup>48</sup>

It seems that the question of in which areas of history these *sicils* can contribute most continued during the 1970s. Layish for instance tried to explore their contributions providing various examples from the *sicils*.<sup>49</sup> To him, the *sicils* would give us information about the political events of the periods like French Expeditions in the 1790s; family structure or personal issues in the city such as marriage, dowry, guardians, divorce, inheritance, and property rights of women; judicial issues; the waqfs; the *zimmis*; the diplomatic representatives; the demographic figures and other social aspects of the city.

In that period, Jennings could be accepted as the first historian who utilized the *sicils* in the microanalyses of the Ottoman history. For instance, by the words of Faroqhi, he firstly used the *sicils* in the 1970s to understand the social life of the ‘common people -craftsmen, women, slaves, and freedmen’. With his article published in 1975<sup>50</sup>, Anatolian women were put to the agenda of the Ottoman historiography.<sup>51</sup> Related to this issue, Marsot asserts, “the static image of gender relations in which women were subordinated, exploited and shoved into the background is belied in some historical periods such as the last half of the eighteenth century in Egypt. The women in that period were active part of the social and economic life that was generally neglected by the male historians.”<sup>52</sup> The emphasis in this work especially was on that of legal records, which give us the possibility of exploring the issue of gender. Tucker too states their contribution more concretely by

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<sup>48</sup> Uluçay, 1953: 288, 289.

<sup>49</sup> Layish, 1975.

<sup>50</sup> See Jennings, 1975 (within 1999); Jennings, 1980 (within 1999).

<sup>51</sup> Faroqhi, 1999: 7. For the history of women in the Cyprus context see Jennings, 1993: Chapter I.

<sup>52</sup> Marsot, 1995: 6-7.

saying that the *sicils* as “the voices of litigants from varied social backgrounds reveal, in considerable detail, the perceptions of men and women alike.”<sup>53</sup> She also emphasizes their employment in “the study of lower class women and their activities”<sup>54</sup>

Jennings also discussed that the lending money out at interest in the Muslim context basing on the *sicils*.<sup>55</sup> The great challenge to the hypotheses about the minorities and so-called *millet* system also came from Jennings in his studies in the Kayseri *sicils*.<sup>56</sup> Another important contribution of him was about the history of Ottoman Cyprus.<sup>57</sup> His claim against the overpopulation theses at the end of the sixteenth-century involves a special significance.<sup>58</sup> His last -but not least- contribution was to the general historical notion about the Ottomans. In some of his works according to Faroqhi, he showed that “Ottoman society was much more fluid and flexible than our received notions had allowed for...”<sup>59</sup>

Jennings accepts the high ability of the *sicils* in reflecting the ‘truth’ by definition of the court justice and its process.<sup>60</sup> He claims, “because the courts regularly needed refer back to evidence and decisions, keeping accurate records of cases heard was essential.”<sup>61</sup> He even asserts that the scribes had ‘some knowledge of the law’, but he does not give his source of how he got this idea. Besides, departing from the detailed information given in the records, he also claims “the scribes made entries in the registers either at the time of the hearings or at least soon

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<sup>53</sup> Tucker, 1985: 9.

<sup>54</sup> Tucker, 1985: 10.

<sup>55</sup> See Jennings, 1973 (within 1999).

<sup>56</sup> Faroqhi, 1999: 8. See Jennings, 1978 (within 1999).

<sup>57</sup> See Jennings, 1993.

<sup>58</sup> Faroqhi, 1999: 9.

<sup>59</sup> Faroqhi, 1999: 10.

<sup>60</sup> For the process in one case, see el-Nahal, 1979: 25-43; Jennings, 1993: 69-106 (Ch. 3).

<sup>61</sup> Jennings, 1999: 116. The similar ideas were repeated in Jennings, 1993: 104.

thereafter on the basis of careful notes.”<sup>62</sup> Therefore, it is not his problem to what extent the information within the records reflected the praxis of whole people in the area. On the other hand, it seems that their ability to represent what really happened was not questioned in his writings.<sup>63</sup>

The following ideas expressing the *sicils*' reflection of practices of the people and locality also supports our argument at this point. While comparing the *sicils* with the law text Jennings says that 'the picture [of the latter] remains one-dimensional and stagnant' on the contrary, the *sicils* "give vivid pictures of how loans, credit, and interest *really worked*. They provide *authentic examples* which help open the human dimensions of legal and business *practices*.”<sup>64</sup> El-Nahal supports this claim, adding further, "all cases brought before the qadi, regardless of their nature, were recorded in a single register.”<sup>65</sup> However, it is not possible to know how he could prove this claim.

Hanna too in her study<sup>66</sup> stresses the contributions of the *sicils* to the historical studies. She sees them basically as a kind of data that enlighten the dark points about the social structures, personal and family life; the social groups; and the urban history of its period. She claims that the *sicils* do not give us information about the image of a society on one person and about the spiritual and religious life of this

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<sup>62</sup> Jennings, 1999: 116.

<sup>63</sup> Although he (1999: 205) accepts that the number of cases about the loans and credits in the Kayseri *sicils* does not give all cases related to them, and tries to explain its causes, he questions at that point only the quantitative representation of the existing records.

<sup>64</sup> Jennings, 1999: 203 (my italics). Concerning the *sicils* as a 'practice of the Ottoman Islamic legal system' see Jennings, 1999: 295. Similar ideas are repeated in Jennings, 1993: 8. Here he accepts also the imperial orders together with law codes as sources giving more 'static vantages points, concealing the dynamism which marks human life':

<sup>65</sup> El-Nahal, 1979: 9.

<sup>66</sup> Hanna, 1998.

person.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, as she herself maintains, she is the first historian to make a biographical study from the *sicils*. In this context, she emphasizes that the *sicils* provide historians the opportunity of making history from inside or from below. She criticizes other sources like chronicles and traveler accounts and asserts that these sources cannot avoid certain biases and the histories based on them were written according to certain models. However, the *sicils*, according to her, are the data for many aspects of everyday life and give the possibility of making microhistory. This for her, provides the opportunity for questioning the models and old assumptions about the region, namely the Middle East in general, and Cairo in particular.

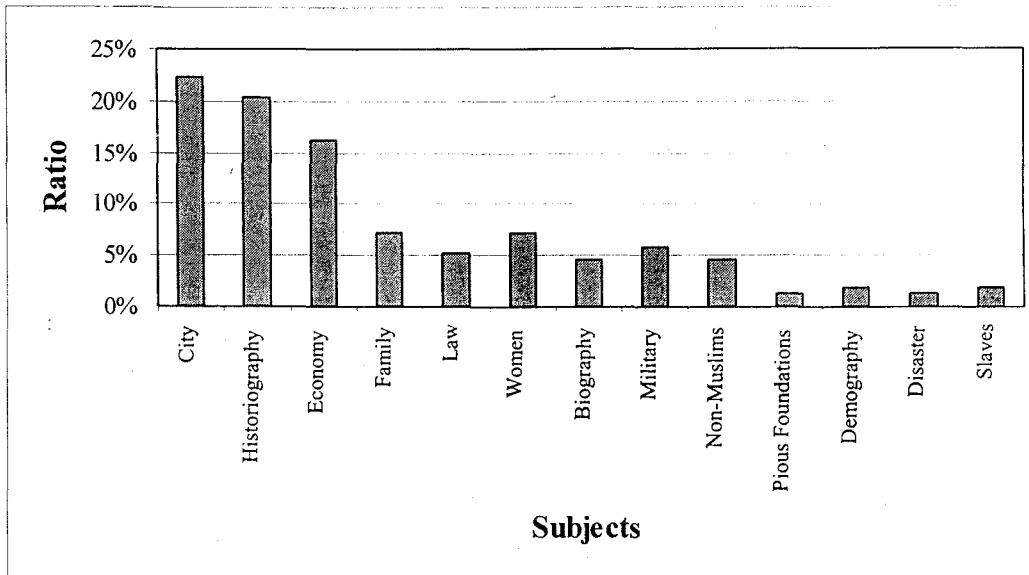
After the 1980s in many areas of the study in the history of Ottoman and Middle East, the *sicils* were widely used as a valuable first-hand historical source. As we mentioned above, many new subjects like women studies,<sup>68</sup> Muslim - non-Muslim relations, material culture of society and so on were explored in historiography of these areas depending on the *sicils*. When we analyze the subject distributions of the studies originated from the *sicils* (see the graph below),<sup>69</sup> we can follow a path through focusing more specific topics.

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<sup>67</sup> See Hanna, 1998: XXV.

<sup>68</sup> The articles within Zilfi (1997) especially employed *sicils* as their main sources in exploring the issues about women in the Ottoman context.

<sup>69</sup> For the list of these studies, see Table 34 in the Appendix.

Graph 1: Subject Distributions of *Sicil* Based Studies

In short, the question of how these historians perceived and approached to the *sicils* as a historical source is, in fact, what we are looking for here. Some of them took these “provincial archives” as significant sources together with the Central archives for “tracing and charting the labyrinth of Ottoman bureaucratic channels”.<sup>70</sup> Others saw them as a noticeable element of the comparison for the information handled from other sources as in the example of Uzunçarşılı. Still others like İnalçık, Uluçay, Layish focused on their contributions to the social, economic and administrative life of the regions. İnalçık for instance claimed that the central archives contribute to our information about the institutions of the Ottoman State but they cannot give historians the elements of everyday life (“*yürüyen hayat*”) and practices of the Ottoman citizens and the state. This kind of information can only be obtained from the *sicils*.<sup>71</sup> Historians like Jennings insisted on their usage in the life of common people<sup>72</sup>, whereas Gerber stressed on their roles in the understanding of

<sup>70</sup> Mandaville, 1966: 311.

<sup>71</sup> İnalçık, 1947: 693. Seng (1991: 308) argues a similar thing.

<sup>72</sup> See Jennings, 1975; 1978; 1980a; and 1980b.

the Ottoman law culture.<sup>73</sup> Finally, Akgündüz referred to many fields to which the *sicils* greatly contributed as a historical source.<sup>74</sup>

The value of these sources in constructing the historical knowledge is not questioned in the writings of many of the above-mentioned historians including Uzunçarşılı, Mandaville, Gerber, Layish as well as Akgündüz. According to them, the *sicils* were full of information<sup>75</sup> about the history of places where they are located. Although Mandaville suggests very significant points while looking for the ways of interrelations among the historical sources, i.e., *mühimme*, *defâtir-i khâqâni* and *sicils*, about the Arab provinces,<sup>76</sup> he does not take the *sicils*' ability to represent 'facts' and 'subjects' into consideration as his problematique. He leaves this type of questions to the future asserting that the *sicils* would help us in the areas about which the central archives do not include information, such as exploring the ways of practicing of the tax and other administrative orders; local contexts of the *qanunnâmes*; some absent or incomplete demographic figures; and gaps in the appointments of the administrators. When we critically read his text, we see that he takes the *sicils* as a historical source, which is at least, at the same level with the

<sup>73</sup> See Gerber, 1994 and 1999.

<sup>74</sup> Akgündüz et. al. (1988: I, 12-17).

<sup>75</sup> Mandaville (1975: 519) describes the *sicils* "...as a repository for any document..." It seems that he accepts this usage but at the same time he only notices that in the future this will be questioned. Gerber (1988: 2) utilizes the expression "inexhaustible mine of information" for the *sicils*. On the other hand, Layish (1975: 527) prefers using the term "...first-class source..." for the "decisions and orders handed down by the *qadis*". Emecan (1998: 79) also uses "...mass of information ("bilgi yığını")..." claiming that these sources are not responsible for the results reached by the researchers depending on them. The significant thing here is the insufficiency of methodologies employed by the researchers while analyzing them.

<sup>76</sup> Singer (1990) makes also a comparative study between the *tapu tahrirs* and the *sicils* using them together in historical studies. A similar kind of comparative study between two sources, namely traveler accounts and *sicils* was made on women issue by Ze'evi (1995).

Central archives by explaining, as we mentioned above, how the former plays a supplementary role for the latter.<sup>77</sup>

To analyze the views on the value of the central archives as historical sources, we can look at the arguments of Sertoğlu about the scientific and judicial value of the sources in the Central archives. He accepts the aforementioned classifications of the central archives as containing documents that provide us with the absolute historical truth.<sup>78</sup> Mandaville's description of them as "the historiographically established central archives"<sup>79</sup>, I think, is also in line with that of Sertoğlu. Though the aim here is not to clarify which of these sources were more valuable, how and to what extent the *sicils*' reflection of absolute historical truth be claimed. Although Singer, for instance, considers the *sicils*' problem of representation of the whole peasants,<sup>80</sup> she also does not attempt to question whether the existing *sicil* texts reflect the *kadis*' or peasants' ideas on the 'events'. She has a tendency to accept the *sicils* as reflecting the views of the peasants about both their own issues and state-related issues. We can justify this claim referring to her aim in the book, which is to look at the relations between the state and the peasant from the peasants' perspective via using, basically, the *sicils*.

When we analyze the recent literature on the *sicils*, we also see that historians repeat what others said before about *sicils*' value and ability to represent.<sup>81</sup> They

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<sup>77</sup> Mandaville, 1975.

<sup>78</sup> Sertoğlu, 1988: 68.

<sup>79</sup> Mandaville, 1975: 520.

<sup>80</sup> Singer, 1994: 21.

<sup>81</sup> For instance the papers presented in the *1. Milli Arşiv Şurası* (1998) about the *sicils* exemplify the methodological naivety of the approaches to them. We cannot see in any of these papers questions about the value of them as a 'text' in reflecting the 'historical facts' about the social and economic life of the cities and the people. Only some new areas like ethnographic and local linguistic studies are suggested to the researchers to be benefited from the *sicils* (See Yılmazçelik, 1998: 164-5). The only exception is Aslan (1998: 192) who in his paper suggests

usually try to open new areas that could be studied by means of the *sicils*, including what will be called quantitative contributions to *sicil* studies.<sup>82</sup> However, the necessary thing at this point, I think, is rather the qualitative contributions to them. This means that the detailed analysis of the *sicils* as a 'text' and a 'constructed material' proves to be indispensable for historians before exploring new subject matters.<sup>83</sup> Moreover, relations of these sources to other kinds of materials constitute another dimension of this necessity.

When we analyze the issue from the historiographical point of view, we see some parallelisms between the development in historical writing and historical sources they required. Many things have changed in the methods of historical writing since the Rankean understanding of history and historical writing was introduced in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Social history, cultural history, history from below, oral history, microhistory, postmodern approaches to historiography have all brought new perspective in the history writing, all of which emphasizing on new topics and new ways of looking at history by excluding and criticizing the modern or political history and, generally, history that has neglected society as a subject, an active part of history.<sup>84</sup> Also related to our subject, these new approaches give the opportunity of making social history and some microanalysis on certain issues such as social

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that historians who study on the *sicils* should learn the terminology of and debates on the *Fıqh* to understand their data more accurately.

<sup>82</sup> For instance Göçek and Baer (1997: 51) try to analyze the place of women in the Ottoman society looking at their 'experience' via the help of *sicils*. Their approaches to the sources' ability to represent is mentioned with a very problematic conclusion: "These records [*sicils*] establish social and economic patterns in Ottoman society that are more representative of women of all classes and religio-ethnic affiliation than other official Ottoman texts. The existing analysis of these records have indicated that women played an active role..."

<sup>83</sup> The study of Avcı (1999), as an exception, analyzes in detail the order of the records within the *defters*, but he makes this to show the true ways of dating while cataloging them. However, he does not go further and consider the meaning of this ordering in their ability to represent.

<sup>84</sup> For details and discussions see, White, 1973; Burke ed., 1994; Iggers, 1997.

making social history and some microanalysis on certain issues such as social groups in the cities, space politics, public and private spheres and relations among different sectors of the city life instead of administrative history of cities.

These new approaches to the historiography bring, on the one hand, new methods in studying history and in reading the documents, and on the other hand, open for historians a scope entailing new kinds of sources alternative to the old ones, i.e. the state archives. For instance, stories or narratives of people, images and dresses remained from the past and every kind of written material constitute some of these new subject matters and also new methods in studying new history. In the Ottoman context, we can, in my view, only talk about the *sicils*' representation to a certain extent of the local societies and everyday life.

At this point, the meta-narratives of historiography has also been questioned and even refuted by historians. Objectivity and scientificity of history were two of these grand-narratives that shaped the modern history writing till the last decades. New approaches in historiography have strictly criticized the claim of objectivity of historian, for there is, according to them, no possibility of finding the objective 'facts' in history. Reality is deemed as socially and culturally constructed. Therefore, a historian constructs a reality of his/her own point of view. This, for some scholars, does not mean the impossibility of making history but it is only possible by using every kind of documents and constructing the history by making all people actors or subjects of the history. In short, participation of ordinary people, ordinary language and ordinary life in 'making' the process of history is very crucial in writing such history.

The appearance of the *sicils* as a historical source for the Ottoman historiography coincides with the aforementioned turn, in general terms, from macro

to micro history. The emphasis of the pioneer historians, especially those who have written after 1960s<sup>85</sup>, on making studies based on the *sicils* reflects the interaction between the historiographical turn and new kinds of sources that can make possible to construct history in accordance with the new ways of historical writing.

The *sicils* should, therefore, be reinterpreted in the light of new approaches to the historiography, and their value as a historical source should be reevaluated in studying the Ottoman history. This is because they contain, as many historians agree, many particulars about the daily life of that society. In other words, the *sicils* differentiate themselves from other contemporary sources by reflecting the details of everyday life.

Furthermore, it can be said that the *sicils* do not involve the objectivity in the narration of events. The *kadis* or scribes could have changed 'facts' because of their administrative positions or for other reasons. The evidence of these claims exists or does not exist but it seems crucial to me to think of them in the light of new approaches to the historiography. At this point, the questioning of objectivity, the claim of history as a social construction, and the popularity of the history of everyday life can get new perspectives to historians in studying on, and evaluating the value of, the *sicils*.

The recent trends, especially the linguistic analysis of the texts and historical sources in historiography together with the discussions on the relationship between

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<sup>85</sup> The approaches of historians who have written firstly on this topic were not narrower to make a micro history, since they positioned the *sicils* as a historical source according to *kadis*' administrative positions within the city and, besides, they accepted these sources as complementary to the state archives in filling the gaps these archives included.

the narrative and the reality,<sup>86</sup> make it clear that the *sicils* can be read as a good source for these approaches to the history of Ottoman society.

Within this framework, Hayden White claims, "... value attached to the narrativity in the representation of real events arises out of a desire to have real events display the coherence, integrity, fullness and closure of an image of life that is and can only be imaginary."<sup>87</sup> If one takes this statement as his/her departing point in studying history, s/he can find the *sicils* as a good source in his/her historical studies.

## 2- Some Notes on the 'Urban Studies' Based on the *Sicils*

The *sicils* have been, as we mentioned before, accepted as very significant and the most valuable sources for the regional studies.<sup>88</sup> Many cities within the Anatolian, European and Asian lands of the Ottoman State have been studied since the 1950s by historians on the basis of the court records of these areas. It is essential to state that the number of monographs within these studies is higher than those that take only one subject matter among these women, non-Muslims and so on within the territories of a city. Monograph, in this contexts, would mean making the histories of cities classifying the records within the *sicils* as reflecting their physical, social, economic and administrative lives for, usually, very short periods of time because of the limitations of the *sicils*.

A main drawback of these monographic type studies is related to their authors' approaches to the *sicils* as a historical source. As we already mentioned in the previous section, their ability to represent the 'truth' as well as the place and people

<sup>86</sup> For details see White, 1987; Bentley, 1999.

<sup>87</sup> White, 1987: 25.

<sup>88</sup> Cezar (1998: 15) also implies this point but warns researchers against their employment for more macro historical aims covering whole Ottoman territories. This should be made, for him, with more trans-regional sources and other historical sources.

they belonged to were not questioned in these studies. They try to classify the visible information within the records under very general titles. I think, however, that the lack of a problematique related to the urban studies in their approaches leads them to make such descriptive studies.<sup>89</sup> Since they could never be accepted as studies publishing archival documents<sup>90</sup> nor as urban studies<sup>91</sup> because of the lack of minimum urban debates, they could not contribute a great deal to the Ottoman urban studies. In other words, when we analyze their contents, we can not see anything like urban issues such as the meaning of space; politics of settlement; spatial distribution of population, wealth and its social meaning; the existence and social standing of local elites or notables and appointed administrators among local people and within overall system; types of communities and relations between families and different communities;<sup>92</sup> urban geography; relationships with other cities<sup>93</sup> and so on.

This approach, with no doubt, does not give the possibility of reading 'between lines' of the records leading urban historians to literally narrate what they see in the records. In short, we talk here about the historiographical problems of the Ottoman

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<sup>89</sup> Gerber's 'monograph' (1988) on the seventeenth-century Bursa arranges the headings with some problematique issues but the insufficient linkages between the parts of his work makes it difficult to call this study a monograph we meant here.

<sup>90</sup> For such studies see İnalçık 1960, 1980-81 and Barkan, 1996.

<sup>91</sup> These 'studies' can only be the brainstorming exercises of the researchers on their archives and, indirectly, on some urban issues. For instance compared to the *sicils*, the more detailed lists and records about the population of Mudanya taking place in the central archives justify our claim about calling them 'brainstorming' rather than making an urban history.

<sup>92</sup> This term is generally identified with the religious groups (*millet system*) in the Ottoman context and, hence, historians who can see this point as their main problematique only look at the inter/actions among them. However, there could be other communities or social groupings actively placed within the city life. For instance Öcalan (2000) analyzes a community, dervish orders, but unfortunately not their relations within and outside communities, in the seventeenth century Bursa.

<sup>93</sup> Or 'urban networks' in Faroqhi and Erder's (1980) words.

urban studies and the impacts of the *sicils* on the appearance and disappearance of these problems.

Also closely linked to my discussion here is the insufficient employment of the other archival documents and secondary literature, both in the history of different areas and in other disciplines. For instance Özdemir<sup>94</sup> discusses in detail the population of Ankara and trying to answer how many real households were included within an *avariz* household in different periods of this city, but he does not use *avariz* records that are found within the central archives but only those that are within the *sicils*.<sup>95</sup>

From that perspective, studies focusing only on specific or micro urban issues with a particular problematique, as in the aforementioned examples, could have more tendency to scan a lot of *sicil defters*; to benefit from other sources; to read ‘between lines’; to think of the different kinds of records as complementary to each other; and to use historiographical debates and approaches developed in other disciplines.<sup>96</sup> Although this does not provide us with more things to claim the sources’ higher ability to represent, qualitatively, the ‘reality’ and people of a period, it would provide with higher representation of the existing sources by arising the number of their samples.

The present study also takes a city as a case but this time it is not a big city like Bursa, Kayseri, and Ankara. On the contrary, it is a small district, Mudanya. Besides, this study is not, considering aforementioned critics, the urban history. In other words, though it includes some information and questions about urban issues, its

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<sup>94</sup> Özdemir, 1998: 99ff.

<sup>95</sup> There cannot be such records for Ankara but he even does not mention whether they exist or not.

<sup>96</sup> Faroqhi’s works are among the best examples for these kinds of studies. Especially see Faroqhi 1984, 1987, 1999c.

problematique is not directly related to the urban history of Mudanya. All in all, the present study, within its time and space limits, considers asking, drawing also on some of the other kinds of archives and sources, some questions about the information given in the *sicils* and reading unintentional messages of the texts. It should also be noted here that in general this study does not see the *sicils* as ‘full of information’ about the place to which they belonged but, on the contrary, takes them as clues leading historians to ask questions about the activities of the people who lived in this place. In asking these questions we are, with no doubt, aware of problems about the sources’ ability to represent the ‘reality’ and the people of this city.<sup>97</sup> Therefore, this study expects to be read by its readers by taking into consideration of all these possibilities.

Göçek and Baer claims, “rather than interpreting Islamic court records solely as *texts*, we need to reconstruct their location within the Ottoman social structure at large [*context*].”<sup>98</sup> We agree with them, but one point should be clarified here: the differentiation between the process of reading and that of the understanding or interpretation of the *sicils*. Ze’evi’s statement<sup>99</sup> focuses on the former whereas that of Göçek and Baer focuses on the latter. Considering these statements as complementary to each other, we argue that historians should not only read the *sicils* as a ‘text’ to decide on their ability to represent ‘reality’ and people or location where they are placed but, besides, we should understand and interpret the *sicils* within their historical ‘contexts’ comparing them with other kinds of sources.

<sup>97</sup> At this point this study completely agrees what Çiçek (1992: 63) says about the *sicils*’ representation of every groups of society and every sections of the life. He, while reviewing the book of Markelbach on the *sicils* of Nicosia (Lefkoşe), claims, at the same time, that historians should both interpret the data in the *sicils* with more general perspectives based on other kinds of sources and compare with those of other regions.

<sup>98</sup> Göçek and Baer, 1997: 55. (My italics).

<sup>99</sup> Ze’evi, 1998.

## B- Textual Analysis of the *Sicils* Under Study

In this section, we give some information about the sources under examination and summarize the subject distributions of the records within the four *sicils* of Mudanya dating from 1055 to 1215 (1645-1800). Mainly, the structures of these *sicils*, namely time order of the records and kinds of scripts are to a certain extent analyzed in what follows.

The *sicils* of Mudanya cover a vast period, approximately 260 years from 1050s to 1310s. However, the number of *sicils* that represent this huge period is only 21 *sicils*. Besides, covering the period between 1050s and late 1210s, there are only 4 *defters*. This means that the four *sicils* cover 170 years of Mudanya court and the remaining seventeen represent about 80 years of the court from 1238 (1823) to 1320 (1902). Although the rate of representation is very low due to the insufficient number of the *defters*, Mudanya has the oldest dated and highest number of *sicils* among the districts of Hüdavendigar around Bursa.<sup>100</sup>

We, in this study, take the first four *defters*, covering the period between 1055/1645 and 1215/1800. We should note here that we consider the fourth defter (D-5) as a continuation of the third defter (D-4). In other words, the third defter covers the period between 1210/1796 and 1215/1800, but when we look at the fourth defter, we see that within this defter there are many records that belong to the period between 1204/1790 and 1215/1800. Hence, it is more useful to analyze them together

<sup>100</sup> The district of İnegöl follows Mudanya with 16 *sicils*. The others like Gemlik has 9; Söğüt has also 9; and Orhaneli (Atranos) has 2 *sicils*. Only Mustafa Kemal Paşa (Kirmasti) has more *sicils* than Mudanya with 33 *defters*. However, the earliest date among the records of these cities is 1196. There are no records before this date. See Akgündüz et. al., 1988, I: 192, 194, 205, 206, 209.

with the third defter to fill the gap before 1210/1796 and to supplement after 1210/1796.

The first (D-2) and the second (D-3) *defters* belong to two different periods. The former include the records dated from 1055/1645 to 1095/1684; but it focuses especially on the period between 1055/1645 and 1060/1650. There are a few documents that belong to the year of 1095/1684. On the other hand, the latter (D-3) specifically consists of the records of 1127/1715-1130/1718. There are also some records dated 1078-1079 but their numbers are quite few.

Many of the *sicils* of Mudanya have not been studied as historical source so far. Haim Gerber is the first person to use one of them as a supplementary source for his specific study in Bursa<sup>101</sup>. However, he uses this *sicil*, as far as we see from his book, for estimating the population of the cities around Bursa. Therefore, the present study will be the first one within the literature that analyzes these *sicils* to make a history of Mudanya.

## 1- The Organization and the Structure of the *Sicils*

It should immediately be emphasized that clarifying the organization of the *sicils* or processes of their formation will directly affect our approaches to construe and analyze the *sicils*. More coherent interpretations of them, I think, can be possible only after the elucidation of this point. The position of *kadı* and other officials within the court, the procedures of trials, the methods or traditions of recording these trials, the origins of rhetoric that is used within the registers,<sup>102</sup> changes that occurred in

<sup>101</sup> See Gerber, 1988: 17.

<sup>102</sup> Concerning the standard way of recording the cases; though Seng (1991: 322) disagrees us at this point, especially in the eighteenth century, Zilfi (1997: 281-2) claimed this depending on the books on *sakk* (manuals of *kadı*s). Besides, she gives some expressions like 'we're not having a good life together' or 'we don't

different periods and so on, should be explained as much as possible by scholars who study in and use the *sicils* as their historical sources.<sup>103</sup>

We, at this point, want to analyze, firstly, time orders of the records to understand whether the registrars (*kātibs*) sought the chronological order or not. This can provide us with the opportunity to differentiate some documents that might possibly be added at later periods; to understand the relations between the records on which *kadis* made their decisions, and that were sent by the State; and, last but not least, to see the periods of the trials written in them.<sup>104</sup> In other words, if the same kinds of trials are ordered in an unchronological way, then we can claim that the trials have been written by the registrar weekly or in longer periods. Uluçay supports this claim when he talks about the drafts (*müsvedde defter*) of the *sicils* saying that the trials were first written to the drafts and then copied to the *sicils*.<sup>105</sup> This claim with no doubt strengthens the suspicions about their representation of ‘reality’.

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get along’ in describing the divorce issues in the records. However, how these terms could be read is a serious problem.

<sup>103</sup> For instance the description of how the *sicils* were protected and reformatted in the hands of researchers made by Uluçay (1953: 286-7) shows the significance and the rightfulness of the questions and suspicions about the formation of the *defters*. Rosen (1989) and Messick (1993) make anthropological studies to understand this process by means of field works in some courts of Islamic world, in Morocco and Yemen respectively. I think some of their findings can give us some clues about the processes within this institution, but any attempt to explore these processes in different contexts and in different periods in the past via the *texts* they left requires more meticulous analysis with a certain perspective that can include many aspects of society (*contexts*) at the same time.

<sup>104</sup> Rosen (1989: 14-15) talks about different notions of time in ‘the ancient Greeks people in the West’ and Moroccans while analyzing the court in Morocco arguing, “in Moroccan chronicles or accounts of ordinary occurrences, events are often related not in strict chronological order but as separate instances... [as] a description of the ties that existed between the individuals involved at that moment...” But we assume the importance in Ottoman context of chronology in recording the trials within the *sicils*.

<sup>105</sup> For details also see Uluçay, 1953: 298.

It seems that the analysis of the handwritings used in the records<sup>106</sup> and of the papers on which the records were written can be taken as supplementary elements in comprehending the form of the *sicils*. Above all, these analyses on the whole, aim to construct a relation between the form and the content of the records in the *sicils*.

The analysis in this study of the time order of the records in the second defter (D-3) shows us that the first thirteen pages of the defter have a chronological order with a few exceptions.<sup>107</sup> There are about fifty records on these pages, whose contents are usually related to the personal trials, namely criminal, sales, inheritance, and marriage records. On the other hand the remaining sixty pages do not have a chronological order.<sup>108</sup> Although some types of documents such as appointment records of *Nāibs* entail this order, it seems that it is impossible to follow a certain sequential arrangement for the records. From this perspective, we can say that the personal trials were registered chronologically but the records related to the administrative and tax issues were arbitrarily located to the defter. Uluçay tried to combine this difference between the trials (called *sicil-i mahfuz*<sup>109</sup>) and state orders (called *sicil-i mahfuz defterlü*<sup>110</sup>). He asserts that there was a strict connection between these two parts, if one wants to see how an order was practiced by the administrators, one should look at the trials part a few days later than the date of an order.<sup>111</sup> But in Mudanya case, we cannot find such a relation.

<sup>106</sup> For instance Seng (1991: 321) talks about handwriting of different scribes on the same page of Üsküdar *sicils*.

<sup>107</sup> For details see Table 36 in the Appendix.

<sup>108</sup> Although Ongan (1958: X) claims that the scribes recorded the trials daily, later he (1974: XIII) expresses the unchronological ordering of the records within the *defters*. Avcı (1999: 70) disagreed with later Ongan on that point.

<sup>109</sup> Yılmazçelik, 1998: 161; Avcı, (1999: 49, 50) calls it "The First Part Documents"

<sup>110</sup> Yılmazçelik, 1998: 161; Avcı (1999: 49, 50) calls it "The Second Part Documents"

<sup>111</sup> Uluçay, 1953: 292.

There was another striking point for this defter. It includes records dated 1110/1698,<sup>112</sup> 1124/1712,<sup>113</sup> 1136/1724,<sup>114</sup> 1137/1725,<sup>115</sup> and even 1178/1764-1179/1765<sup>116</sup> that are outside of the 1127/1715-1130/1718 period, on which this defter focuses.<sup>117</sup> Concerning this point Avcı asserts that if the chronology was disturbed by the early-dated records, it was due to the late arrival of the state orders to the *kadı*.<sup>118</sup> This explanation could be seen rational to a certain extent if there were small differentiations between the date of records, but the existing cases falsified this. In addition, there are some records that contain arrival dates to the court, which never exceed a month.<sup>119</sup>

Furthermore, there is a record within the defter saying “this defter contains 72 pages (*varak*)”, and that is what we have as pages in this defter. Therefore, it becomes difficult to claim that new pages were added later, but it was probably the case that these records of highly exceptional dates were written in the later periods to the blank spaces between the records. All in all, these points render one’s task very complex in terms of making consistent interpretations on them and, at the same time, arise new suspicions and questions about the formation of the *sicils*.

The analysis of the third defter (D-4) involves similar tendencies. However, its records were ordered more chronologically compared to the second defter (D-3).<sup>120</sup>

<sup>112</sup> See D-3: 66/2 (11.S.1110/1698).

<sup>113</sup> See D-3: 61/2 (20.C.1124/1712).

<sup>114</sup> See D-3: 70/2 (Ev.Ş.1136/1724); D-3: 14/1 (12.C.1136/1724).

<sup>115</sup> See D-3: 33.

<sup>116</sup> See D-3: 21-25.

<sup>117</sup> Gradeva (1999: 188) talks about the same problem in the *sicils* of Hacıoğlu Pazarcık/Dobric, Bulgaria.

<sup>118</sup> Avcı, 1999: 51.

<sup>119</sup> As examples see D-3, 37: 2 (Es.C.1130/1718, arrival on 20.C.1130/1718); D-3, 63: 2 (Es.CA.1128/1716, arrival on 26.CA.1128/1716); D-4, 17:4 (Es.M.1211/1797; arrival on 2.RA.1211/1797); D-4, 40: 1 (25.R.1212, arrival on 5.S.1212).

<sup>120</sup> For details see Table 37 in the Appendix.

Some extraordinary dates like 1216 and 1218 is seen at the beginning of the defter,<sup>121</sup> but generally a sequential order is dominant especially when we take the years as variables. The orders of months within the same years and the days within the same months do not always follow the chronology. If one thinks that the *sicils* were written daily or chronologically, one would find the following points striking. From the cases under study, we see that the records of inheritances, taxes and appointments usually cut the chronological ordering. Their recorded dates go back to older dates than those of previous records. The most probable reason for this, I think, is that they would be dated according to the date of the death of a person in inheritance cases or of a document sent from the center in the administrative records. This point leads us to think that these old-dated records were written on the existing places cutting the chronology of the previous records either because of necessity –the scribes could not have found appropriate place in the defter to write them down chronologically- or though they were dated with old dates, but their real places or dates were in the places where they existed now. The second option sounds more reasonable because of the aforementioned presupposition.<sup>122</sup>

Another interesting point related to the form of the defter is that we see these kinds of records, to a certain extent, in the beginnings of the pages. This can also be a coincidence but if one considers how a page was organized by the *kātibs*, then this may get a significant meaning.

<sup>121</sup> Avci (1999: 53) refers to a similar case in his sources and explains this saying that the first pages of *defters* were left empty and if the documents that had the similar dates were found after binding, they were recorded on these empty places of the *defters*. He does not explain how he reached this conclusion, but if it is true, a question immediately appears concerning how some documents could be found later.

<sup>122</sup> Seng (1991: 323) argues, "...random method of recording has its own logic" explaining that there are specific blocks in the *defters* that "are reserved for both *tereke*, and fugitive slaves and livestock" and for "records originating from a single source." But Seng accepts the lack of chronological order in these records.

We can say here, departing from the above analyses, that there are sufficient numbers of evidence in the *defters* for both assuming their arbitrary and chronological formations.<sup>123</sup> This means moreover that a person who prefers to take up one of these hypotheses should clarify more the issue in describing the limits of this presupposition and, besides, responding the claims or questions of the other hypothesis.<sup>124</sup> This preference and the responses are very crucial in deciding the limit of a defter's ability to represent many other *defters* or of the period. For the form, i.e. the arbitrary or chronological orders, of the records might have more probably affected contents of the *defters*.

Another point that we want to touch here is the question of why these *sicils* did not include titles, as we used to see in the entire literature of Islamic Law. Coherent answers to this question may help us in making preferences about the formation of the *sicils*.

We should also note here that there is an interesting record dated in 27.Ş.1056/1646 containing the information that twenty-six volumes (*mecelle*) of *sicils* within a box (*sandık*)<sup>125</sup> were entrusted to the person.<sup>126</sup> The last word of the

<sup>123</sup> El-Nahal (1979: 10) approaches the issue from a different angle, but reaches a similar point saying "according to directive from the gadi askar to the various courts, the cases were supposed to be recorded daily by *udul* (notaries). Occasionally, however, the *udul* apparently accumulated the documents of several trials over a week or more, and as a result confusion occurred in the recording."

<sup>124</sup> Avcı (1999: 48, 50, 53) claims that they, especially the first part or trials, were recorded chronologically, but he does not question the results of his claim in historiographical sense.

<sup>125</sup> In the *Sicilât-ı Şer'îye Ta'limatı* of 1290 (articles 5-18), there was an order about keeping the *sicils* within a special box. Every evening according to this order, the *sicils* should be put in that box and sealed by the *mukayyid* (registrar). See also *Düstur* I, Translation 4: 83-85, cited in Akgündüz et. al. (1988: 20). Concerning the case of the Manisa *sicils*, Uluçay (1953: 286) says that they were protected within three boxes in Muradiye mosque. Then he elsewhere in the same article (1953: 294) says that there were 431 *defters* in Manisa. This number gives us significant clue about how many *defters* could be included within a box.

record, “not be forgotten” seemed also very striking. Departing from this record, we can say that the defter at hand represent at least the 1/26 of whole *defTERS* of the period.

Last but not least, I want to focus on the recording process of the *firman*s that are sent from İstanbul to the *sicils*. I find some documents from *Şikayet Defteris* that take place at the same time in the *sicils*. When we compare the records in the latter with their originals in the former, we see some striking changes between them that may indicate the reliability of the contents of the records that take place in the *sicils*.

The following passage, though belonged to late periods, shows to a certain extent the process of recording *firman*s to the *sicils*: “...ferman-ı celili’ş-şān Mudanya mahkemesine lede-l-vürud ve lâzımu-l-huzur muvācehelerinde feth ve kırāat ve mazmūn-ı münifî tefhim ve işā’at olındıkta sem’an ve ilcā’an(?) merāsimini ba’de-l-edāsı mantūk-ı emr-i āli ’amel ve hareket idecekleri bi-l-iltimās pāye-i serir imlāya arz ve i’lām olındı. Bāki emr hazret-i men lehül emr”<sup>126</sup> This record indicates that the content of the *firman* were, first, read before certain people and then its requirements were understood and finally it was given in the written form to whom it concerned.

The analysis of two copies of the same case that take place in *Şikayet Defteri* and *sicil* shows that there are some differences in the records. First of all, at the beginning of the record in the *sicil* there is a following passage, “Akzā kuzātü-l-müslimin evlā vülāti’l-muvahhidin ma’denü-l-fazli ve-l-yakin huccetü-l-hakk ale’l-halkı ecma’in vāris-i ulumi-l-enbiyāi ve-l-mürselin el-muhtassu bimezīd-i

<sup>126</sup> “Külliyatlı tahta sandık ile yirmi altı mecelle sicil el-Hac Halil Bey İbn Mehmede emanet vaz’ olundu, Unutulmaya... Şühüdü-l-hāl: Serdar Mehmed Ağa Sinan, Uzun Odabaşı Mustafa Çelebi, Kadri Çelebi İbn Sefer, İbrahim Çelebi İbn Mahmud, Mustafa Beşe İbn Abdullah el-Baytar, ve gayruhum” (see D-2: 91/4).

<sup>127</sup> Cevdet Belediye, 2902 (Es.Ş.1227).

*ināyetillehi-l-mu'in ber vech-i arpalık Mudanya kazāsına mutasarrıf olan mevlānā [ ] zidet fazāiluhu tevki-'i rafi'-u hümayun vāsıl olucak ma'lum ola ki...*<sup>128</sup> Instead of this passage there is only “*Mudanya kadısına (ve Yeniçeriler Serdarına) hüküm ki...*”<sup>129</sup> at the beginning of the record in the *Şikayet Defteri*. After this introduction, the text of the record in the *Şikayet Defteri* takes place in both copies with some differences in their words. For instance in the copy of the *sicil* there is an expression of “...*nam kimesne arzuhal idüp...*” instead of “...*nam kimesne gelüp*” in the *Şikayet*. Another instance is very striking due to the great mistake occurred in the amount of money: in the copy of *sicil* the amount of money that was stolen is 1,510 guruş whereas in the copy of the *Şikayet* it is 510 guruş.<sup>130</sup>

After the expression of “...*buyurdum ki...*”, the copy of the *sicil* continued with “...*hükmi-i şerifimle vusul buldukta mezburları...*” whereas that of the *Şikayet* finishes with the expression of “...*şurūtuyla emr-i şerif yazılmıştır (evāsıt-ı S 60)*”.<sup>131</sup> The more detailed comparative analysis of the records of the *sicils* with the copies that take place in the *Şikayet Defters* may give us more satisfactory results about the reliability and organization of information given in the *sicils*.

## 2- Subject Distributions in the *Sicils*

The topics that take place in the *sicils* under study are indicated concisely in the table (2) below.<sup>132</sup> We can classify the whole content as the records of local trials and of

<sup>128</sup> See D-2: 42/1, 43/1, and 46/4. The original documents are in the Appendix.

<sup>129</sup> See *Şikayet Defteri*, 1: 134/588 and 187/767

<sup>130</sup> cf. D-2: 42/1 (Es.CA.1060) and 43/1 (Es.S.1060) with *Şikayet Defteri*, 1: 134/588 [n.d.]. See Appendix.

<sup>131</sup> cf. D-2: 46/3 (Es.Ş.1060) with *Şikayet Defteri*, 1: 187/767 (Es.S.[10]60). See Appendix.

<sup>132</sup> For more detailed lists of the topics see Appendix. I should note here that the historians have so far used different classification methods for the subjects in the *sicils*, but I, in this study, did not take certain, mostly according to law and

State orders. The latter consists only of the appointments, tax records, and other administrative issues. However, their share within the whole records is about sixty percent. Especially the ratio of these kinds of records within the second defter (D-3) reached its highest values, with about seventy-five percents. Remaining subjects can be included within the former group.

In fact this classification derives from the question that of the records' ability to represent the local, i.e. Mudanya. The first group gives us clues about social and economic life of the city more than the second one. This never make the latter worthless to analyze; on the contrary both of them constitute the two parts of a great whole and should be considered complementary to each other. This complementarity between two groups can be understood more easily when we see that records in the first group can be deemed within the second group being *'arzs* or *ma'ruzs* to the State.

Although we have already discussed the subject concentrations of each defter in the related sections below, it may be useful to point out here some significant distinctions seen in the *defters*. As Mandaville points out, some changes occur in the types and contents of the entries within the *sicils* of different periods.<sup>133</sup>

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diplomatie, classifications but only tried to collect the similar subjects under certain titles, as seen in the table. For some examples of the types of content classifications see Uluçay, 1953: 290-92; Mandaville, 1966: 314; Doumani, 1985; Bayındır, 1986: 1-26 and 1994; Akgunduz *et. al.*, 1988-9; Jennings, 1993: 89-94; Kütükoğlu, 1994: 345-359; Faroqhi, 1999b: 55-57.

<sup>133</sup> Mandaville, 1966: 313.

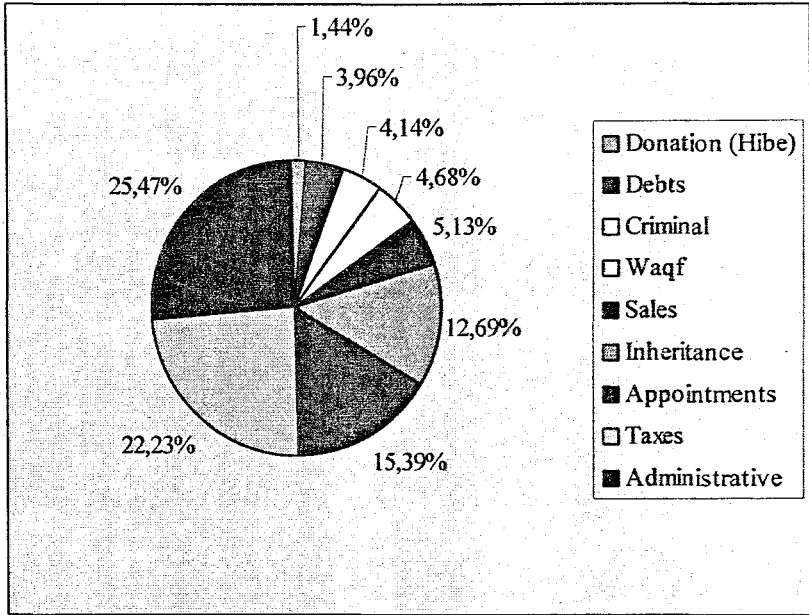
Table 2: Distribution of Subjects within the *Sicils* Under Study (Summary)

Subjects	D-2		D-3		D-4		TOTAL	
	Quantity	Proportion	Qua.	Proportion	Qua.	Proportion	Qua.	Proportion
Marriage	1	0,2%	-	-	-	-	1	0,1%
Divorce	3	0,6%	-	-	-	-	3	0,3%
<i>Muhala'a</i>	3	0,6%	1	0,4%	-	-	4	0,4%
Inheritance	50	10,5%	18	7,5%	73	18,6%	141	12,7%
Criminal	21	4,4%	13	5,4%	12	3%	46	4,1%
Punishment ( <i>Ta'zir</i> )	1	0,2%	-	-	-	-	1	0,1%
Donation ( <i>Hibe</i> )	11	2,3%	1	0,4%	4	1%	16	1,4%
Sales	39	8,2%	8	3,3%	10	2,5%	57	5,1%
Debts	28	5,9%	6	2,5%	10	2,5%	44	4%
<i>Narh</i>	1	0,2%	1	0,4%	8	2%	10	0,9%
Partnership	1	0,2%	-	-	-	-	1	0,1%
<i>Waqf</i>	17	3,6%	11	4,6%	24	6,1%	52	4,7%
Conversion	5	1,1%	-	-	1	0,3%	6	0,5%
Slave	3	0,6%	1	0,4%	-	-	4	0,4%
Architecture	1	0,2%	-	-	-	-	1	0,1%
New Village	3	0,6%	-	-	-	-	3	0,3%
Taxes	105	22,0%	62	25,7%	80	20,4%	247	22,2%
Appointments	96	20,1%	36	14,9%	39	9,9%	171	15,4%
Administrative	74	15,5%	81	33,6%	128	32,6%	283	25,5%
Fatwa	6	1,3%	-	-	-	-	6	0,5%
About <i>Sicils</i>	1	0,2%	1	0,4%	1	0,3%	3	0,3%
Unidentified	7	1,5%	1	0,4%	3	0,8%	11	1%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>477</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>241</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>393</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>1111</b>	<b>100%</b>

When we skim over the table (2) above, we realize that the proportion of the subjects do not change so much between the *defters*. The first defter (D-2) includes a higher number of records about debts and appointments, whereas the third defter (D-4) has more records related to the *narhs*, *waqfs*, and inheritances and it has lesser number of appointment records. The employment of fatwas in decision-making processes of the trials was, interestingly, seen only in the mid-seventeenth century.

This reminds one immediately of the effects of *kadızade* movement in that period on the courts.

Graph 2: Top Nine Subjects within the Whole Records of the *Sicils*



We try to depict at the graph above the topics that were used most in the records. Departing from the graph, we can say that people came to the court most of the time for their economic relations.<sup>134</sup> Records of inheritances, sales, debts, and donations (*hibe*) are directly connected to the economic side of the daily lives of the people. Even we can add the waqfs to this category since they also included great economic values and the meaning of the donation. When we look at the reasons for people's committing of criminal acts, we also see that the economic factors played a very significant role in them.

<sup>134</sup> İnalçık (1947: 694) reaches similar conclusion while analyzing the contents of the *firmans* of Mehmed II in the *sicils*.

## II- OVERVIEW OF MUDANYA

In this section, I will describe demographical and the settlement characteristics of Mudanya. Demographical information will include population figures in the district and their proportions according to sex and religious affiliation as well as family structures. The urban and rural settlements of Mudanya will be another topic to be discussed in this section. I will try to present the names, structures and sizes of the *mahalles* and villages. The main sources I will draw upon will be the tax records, probate inventories within the court records and other state archives, as well as a number of second-hand sources on Mudanya.

### A- Demographic Figures

#### 1- Population

The population of the district can be estimated from the tax records in the *sicils*, in *mevkufat kalemi* and in *cizye defters* on the basis of the number of the *avariz*<sup>135</sup> and *cizye* households.<sup>136</sup> The total amount of city population can be estimated only after

<sup>135</sup> We should note here that the people living in villages who had no land, and people living in cities who had no permanent job were not registered as *avariz* payers. (Tabakoğlu, 1985: 155). It is worth mentioning that Veinstein (1999: 6) differentiates the *avariz* household from the household claiming that although there was a relation between them, the former was “a fiscal rather than a demographic concept.”

<sup>136</sup> Gerber (1988: 6, 8) talks about the gap between the family and household in the seventeenth century and claiming that this separation began only after the sixteenth century and then grew year by year in the seventeenth century. *Avariz* households includes, in Barkan’s words (1970: 165), “those who, lacking any inherited or acquired privilege in virtue of which they could claim exemption from the tax, constituted the mass of the Ottoman population.” Moreover, Özel (1999) presents us the *mufassal* (detailed) *avariz* registers as a very significant source for demographical studies on the seventeenth century-Ottoman history to compare with the data given by *Tahrir* registers. As we know there were no

all these data were calculated by taking the consideration of some speculations about those who did not take place in these records because of their exemptions from the taxes. Later we will turn back this issue.

There are two significant questions especially for the *avarız* households at this point. The first one concerns to what extent these figures about the households reflect the true numbers and whether they are renewed in each period. The second is a methodological one about how many people are assumed within a household in different periods. The estimations on the latter issue have been continuing to be discussed for years starting from the claims of Ömer Lütfi Barkan.<sup>137</sup>

The information about the population of Mudanya is generally obtained from the records on different kinds of taxes<sup>138</sup> as well as from the administrative orders about collecting of soldiers. As we mentioned above, the unit of this information is a household. In the periods under study the related figures changed considerably supporting the general arguments on the 'population pressure and shifts' in these centuries. For instance, in the mid-seventeenth century the number of households changed in different years. In 1056/1646 there were 539 households in Mudanya and its villages.<sup>139</sup> This number decreases to 519 households in 1058/1648<sup>140</sup> and to 474 households when one of its villages, Kurşunlu, became a village of Gemlik in

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*tahrirs* in the periods under study. It should also be noted that the term household is not used here as a 'unit of social organization' as in the Hathaway's (1997: 24) employment, but rather as a unit of taxpayer. We did not encounter any household in Mudanya in its former sense. Göçek (1996: 32) uses 'urban and rural nuclear household of the Ottoman subject' for the household that we referred in this study. She also uses 'office households' for the households of the rulers and merely a 'household' for that of the Sultan's.

<sup>137</sup> See Barkan, 1951; Göyünc, 1979. Haim Gerber in his book (1988: 5-9) and Veinstein in his article (1999) reviewed this debate.

<sup>138</sup> We analyzed various kinds of taxes according to the different periods in the next section of this study.

<sup>139</sup> D-2: 88/3.

<sup>140</sup> D-2: 63/2.

1062.<sup>141</sup> The distribution of the population in the mid-seventeenth century Mudanya is shown in the table (3) below.<sup>142</sup>

According to the state archives, the number of *menzils* in Mudanya and its villages was 1,238 and the number of *avarız* households was 351,5 households in 1085.<sup>143</sup> The next year, the number of households was reduced to 41,75 households for Muslim population of Mudanya<sup>144</sup> and the total number of households declined to 333,25 households. In the same defter we can find the figures of 1106. In this date, the number of *avarız* households also declined to 296,5 household (about 11 percent).

Table 3: Population of Mudanya and its Villages in 1050s

Location	Households	Total Houses (x 5)	Population (x 4)
Nefs-i Mudanya	175	875	3.500
Karye-i Müslüman Nefsi Mudanya	5	25	100
Karye-i Terekli	135	675	2.700
Karye-i Seke	65	325	1.300
Karye-i Kurşunlu	45	225	900
Karye-i Misiboli	17	85	340
Karye-i Burgus <sup>145</sup>	7	35	140
Karye-i Göynüklü	7	35	140
Karye-i Altuntaş	3	15	60
Karye-i Küçük Kafir	4	20	80
Karye-i Dede	2	10	40
Karye-i Mürsel	4	20	80

<sup>141</sup> In D-2: 65/2 this transfer is explicitly recorded, but in one record that belongs to the date of 1060/1650 the number of households within an order of tax collection was also 474. See D-2: 58/5 (4.ZA?.1060/1650).

<sup>142</sup> Gerber (1988: 17) gives 2,565 for the year 1673 and 2,440 for 1696 as a population of Mudanya, and Behar (1996: 9) uses these figures for Mudanya.

<sup>143</sup> Mudanya at that time had 68,5 Muslim households (148 *menzils* for *askeri*, 75 *menzils* for *re'âyâ* and 23,75 *avarızhane* for çiftliks) and 145 (365 *menzils*) non-Muslim households, Kepeci 2661. When we multiply these numbers even with four people per real household (148+ 75+ 118,75+ 365 x 4), this is equal to 2,827 people in 1085. We should also add non-Muslim population who paid only *cizye* to this total. In short, Gerber's findings (see footnote 142) do not represent the true number of the population of Mudanya in 1085s.

<sup>144</sup> Çiftlik Owners, Askeri and 'Askeri Geçinir' and others. See Kepeci, 2661.

<sup>145</sup> Güzelyalı today.

Location	Households	Total Houses (x 5)	Population (x 4)
Karye-i Müslüman Subaşı	3	15	60
Karye-i Frenkli	8	40	160
Karye-i Yenice	4	20	80
Karye-i Balabancık	9	45	180
Karye-i Çekrice	8	40	160
Karye-i Kızıl	2	10	40
Karye-i Has	2	10	40
Karye-i Yörtüklü	3	15	60
Karye-i Çepni	2	10	40
Karye-i Ak	3	15	60
Karye-i Mirza <sup>146</sup>	3	15	60
Karye-i Kafır Yenicesi Haric Ez Defter <sup>147</sup>	3	15	60
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>519</b>	<b>2.595</b>	<b>10.380</b>

We multiply the number of households with five for, in two instances related to the new settlements it is accepted that the existent 15 houses could pay the costs of 3 households.<sup>148</sup> It means that every five house should be accepted as just one household. We have calculated the total number of populations of the settlements taking the average family size as four.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>146</sup> This village was founded by being separating from the village Ak in 7.RA.1059/1649. (D-2: 50/4). Though in 1085 the villages of Mirzaobası, Kâtib, Deveciler and Bacla as *yürük* villages were recorded to *avarız defters*, they were again exempted from this tax after their objection, see Kepeci, 2661. Gerber (1988: 17) talks about the recording of these villages to the *avarız*, but it seems that he is unaware of this exemption that occurred later with their objections.

<sup>147</sup> This village was also founded by being separating from the village Mürsel in 6.S.1057/1647. (D-2: 89/5-6).

<sup>148</sup> D-2: 89/6 (6.S.1057/1647); 49/4 (7.RA.1059/1649). However, the data given above from Kepeci, 2661 indicate that the average number of real houses contained within a household was about 3,5. The figure 5 would be taken to represent the unrecorded population in these lists. See the footnote 149.

<sup>149</sup> Barkan (1970: 168) accepts five people within a family considering exempt people but our findings depending on the *terekes* of the period indicate that the average family size was 3 in the mid-seventeenth century, and 3,5-4 in the eighteenth century. If we add the deceased person to this average, we get 4 and 5 as multipliers for an average family size in Mudanya. See "Family Structure" below.

In the early eighteenth century,<sup>150</sup> the figures strictly declined. This would be either from the definition of the size of the households or the great decline in the population of the district because of out migration and epidemic diseases<sup>151</sup> or, finally, from the administrative shifts that occurred in the borders of villages of the district. The documents do not allow for the exploration of this issue. The distribution of households and the calculations in order to find a total population in that period, assuming five<sup>152</sup> as multipliers for average family size different than the previous period are presented at the table (4) below.

Table 4: Population of Mudanya and its Villages in 1130/1718s

Location	Households	Total Houses (x 5)	Population (x 5)
<i>Mahalle-i Cami-i Atik</i>	2	10	50
<i>Mahalle-i Manastr</i>	1,5	8	38
<i>Mahalle-i Hasan Bey</i>	2,5	13	63
<i>Mahalle-i Tekke</i>	1	5	25
<i>Mahalle-i Ömer Bey</i>	1	5	25
<i>Mahalle-i Musa Bey</i>	2	10	50
Müslüman Karye-i Seki	3,5	18	88
Zimmiyan Karye-i Seki	11,5	58	288
Karye-i Frenkli	3,75	19	94
Karye-i Çepni	3	15	75
Karye-i Ak	2,5	13	63

<sup>150</sup> Yediyıldız (1994: 184) talks about 50-60 percent decline, from 5.000 to 2.351, in the number of *avarız* households in Bursa in the seventeenth century. For him the *celali* uprisings caused this decline via forcing the people to migrate to other cities leading ultimately to the increase of the number of real households within the *avarız* households. Another example can be given from Ankara. Özdemir (1998: 102) argues that in 1607 there were 863 *avarız* households whereas this figure declined to 267 at the end of the eighteenth century, namely 1785. He proposes three possible reasons for this great decline. The first one is the *celali* rebellions in the sixteenth century, the second one is the natural disasters like *kuraklık* and locusts' contagious and epidemic diseases like plague, and finally decreases in the number of *avarız* households per real household because of poverty lived due to the wars and other economic depressions.

<sup>151</sup> Gerber (1988: 19) talks about the decline in the population around Bursa because of the migrations occurred as a result of plague in 1670s.

<sup>152</sup> See footnote 149.

Location	Households	Total Houses (x 5)	Population (x 5)
Karye-i Mirza (Obası)	2	10	50
Karye-i Kaymak (Obası)	2	10	50
Karye-i Kızıl	3	15	75
Karye-i Dere <sup>153</sup>	4,25	21	106
Karye-i Bacla	1	5	25
Karye-i Çekrice	2	10	50
Karye-i Balabancık	4	20	100
Karye-i Yenice Müslim	2	10	50
Karye-i Yörüklü	0,75	4	19
Karye-i Dede	2	10	50
Karye-i Mürsel	2	10	50
Karye-i Kafır Subaşı <sup>154</sup>	1,5	8	38
Karye-i Misiboli	6,5	33	163
Karye-i Altuntaş	4,25	21	106
Müslüman Karye-i Burgus	2,75	14	69
Zimmiyan Karye-i Burgus	7,25	36	181
Zimmiyan Karye-i Tirilye	24	120	600
Müslüman Karye-i Tirilye	9,5	48	238
Zimmiyan Nefs-i Kasaba	61,5	308	1.538
<b>TOTAL</b>	176,5	883	4.413

The figures for the number of households in the late eighteenth century do not show great shifts unlike previous periods; on the contrary, we have observed very close numbers.<sup>155</sup> The main difference seen in this period is the differentiation in the

<sup>153</sup> In 1102 the non-Muslims of this village were called “*perâkende-i Canik*”. This may indicate that they came from Canik to Dere Village. See D. CMH, 26632.

<sup>154</sup> In some cases this village is neglected. See D-3: 33/3 (G.M.1130/1718) and D-3: 59/4 (10.RA.[1128/1716]).

<sup>155</sup> It seems that the number of households within Mudanya did not change. But when we analyze the number of houses given in the *temettuat* registers of 1260/1844, we recognize that every *mahalle* of the city included about 30-40 houses. Hence, there were totally 205 Muslim houses within the city (1,025 people, see *Temettuat* Registers, 9097), and 85 houses of *perâkende* population (425 people, see *Temettuat* Registers, 9078). This was the great shift occurred within the 40-50 years; a shift from 10 households to 205 or 290 houses. For the exact distributions of these *temettuat* figures according to each *mahalle*, see appendix. It is also striking that the (male) population of Mudanya according to the 1247 census was 1,496 people (539 children-*mürâhikin* and *siğar*, 129 selected-*müntahap* and 828 farmers etc.) (See Karal, 1943: 97 and 201). The population searches (*nüfus yoklamaları*) of 1248/1832-1254/1838 indicates that there were 550 people aging between 10-40 in Mudanya in 1248/1832 and this

household numbers according to the types of taxes. In *avarız* and *nüzul* taxes, the figures proved very close to the numbers of the previous period, whereas in *tekālifiye* taxes, there was a tendency to decrease in the figures. Interestingly, the proportion of this change decrease, 50 percent, was constant for Muslim settlements within Mudanya. The following table demonstrates these figures.

Table 5: Population of Mudanya and its Villages in 1210s

Location	Households ( <i>Avarızs...</i> )	Households ( <i>Tekalifiye...</i> )
<i>Mahalle-i Cami-i Atik</i>	2	1
<i>Mahalle-i Manastr</i>	1,5	0,75
<i>Mahalle-i Hasan Bey</i>	2,5	1,25
<i>Mahalle-i Tekke</i>	1	0,5
<i>Mahalle-i Ömer Bey</i>		0,5
<i>Mahalle-i Musa Bey</i>	2	1
Nefs-i Reaya-yı Mudanya	61,5	60
<i>Müslüman Karye-i Siyi [Seki]</i>	3,5	3
<i>Zimmiyan Karye-i Siyi [Seki]</i>	11,5	11
Karye-i Frenkl <sup>156</sup>	-	3
Karye-i Çepni	3	3
Karye-i Ak	2,5	2,5
Karye-i Mirza (Obası)	2	2
Karye-i Kaymak (Obası)	2	2
Karye-i Kızıl	3	3
Karye-i Dere	4,25	4,25
Karye-i Bacla	1	0,5
Karye-i Çekrice	2	1
Karye-i Balabancık	4	3,5
Karye-i Yenice Müslim	2	1,5
Karye-i Yörüklü	0,75	0,75
Karye-i Dede	2	2
Karye-i Mürsel	2	1,5

550 people aging between 10-40 in Mudanya in 1248/1832 and this figure declined to 529 in 1253/1837 (See *Maliye Nezareti Cerid ML.CRD*, 308: 11). Since we cannot find the non-Muslim *temettuat* registers, we cannot compare above data with them.

<sup>156</sup> This village paid lump-sum cash (*maktu*), 45 guruş, in *avarız* taxes. Therefore, the number of households in it was not given in the records. The amount of tax paid by this village was equal to four households. See D-4: 73/2 (G.M.1214).

Location	Households ( <i>Avarızs...</i> )	Households ( <i>Tekalifiye...</i> )
Karye-i Kafir Subaşı (Viran) <sup>157</sup>	1,5	-
Karye-i Misiboli	6,5	4
Karye-i Altuntaş	4,25	4,25
Müslüman Karye-i Burgus	0,75	0,75
Zimmiyan Karye-i Burgus	9,25	9,25
Zimmiyan Karye-i Tirilye	28	28
Müslüman Karye-i Tirilye	5,5	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	172,75	157,75

At this point we can analyze the changes in the population of the district and that of its villages, which took place between 1050s and 1210s. First, we see that the population of the city, fitting the general tendency, declined from 175 households to 60-70 households between the mid-seventeenth century and eighteenth century. The name of Terekli village in the mid-seventeenth-century records probably became Tirilye in the later periods,<sup>158</sup> and its households declined from 135 to 33,5 in the eighteenth century. It is striking that although the number of the households was the same in the early and late eighteenth century, the number of Muslim households declined from 9,5 to 5,5 and to 2 households in the records of *tekālifiye* taxes whereas the non-Muslim<sup>159</sup> households increased from 24 to 28 households both in the records of *avarız* and *tekālifiye* taxes between the early and late eighteenth

<sup>157</sup> It was not included at the *tekālifiye* taxes. See D-4: 73/3 (19.S.1214).

<sup>158</sup> However, we see the name of Terekli together with Tirilye in one record. See D-3: 2/2 (G. RA. 1127/1715).

<sup>159</sup> In the context of Mudanya, the non-Muslim meant basically the Greek Christians. Only 14 Jews paid *cizye* in 1102 out of 1,234 *cizye* payers (See D-CMH, 26632). In addition, twelve of these fourteen Jews paid *cizye* as lower (*ednā*) status and remaining two as middle (*evsat*) status. They might have attended to *avarız* tax probably to pay less as *cizye* tax. Considering these findings, it seems to me that the Jews were neither economically nor demographically influential in the city. At this point we can think that no religious building that belonged to the Jews had been seen in the city. Gerber (1986: 154) discusses the declining of Jewish community of the Ottoman State compared to the increasing place of the *askeri* class in all sectors of the social and economic life after the mid-seventeenth century. This tendency may be an explanation of the minimum number of Jews in Mudanya in the period under study.

century. This differentiation in the paradoxical pair of decline and increase between the Muslim and non-Muslim households can be seen, in fact, in all villages of Mudanya in the late eighteenth century. On the other hand, it is very striking that the number of *avarız* households of non-Muslims in Mudanya declined from 145 in 1085 to 61,5 in 1130/1718s and 1210/1796s. It is possible that they might have shifted to pay full tax of *cizye* in later periods escaping from paying *avarız* tax.

The number of households in the village of Seki (Siğı or Siyi in subsequent periods) also decreased from 65 to 15 between these periods. As a result, we can see similar decreases in the number of the households in the villages. As we have already mentioned above, we cannot say a lot of thing about the causes of these declines.

We can find less information from the *sicil* records related to the non-Muslim population of the district and its villages. Villages, as seen in the above tables, were divided into two parts as Muslim and non-Muslim, especially in the eighteenth century. But we should note here that not all non-Muslims paid the *avarız* taxes. We derive this information from the differentiation in the amount of money paid by the non-Muslim population as *cizye* (poll-tax). Those who paid *avarız* tax paid less money as *cizye* than those who did not.<sup>160</sup> Therefore, the number of households of non-Muslims in the tables does not indicate their total numbers.

We have also other, more concrete records to estimate the number of the non-Muslim households: *cizye* records.<sup>161</sup> However, there was also a deficiency in these records: they do not demonstrate the number of the households in the villages. It is probable that the *ziyade cizyes*<sup>162</sup> include all non-Muslim households, for while the

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<sup>160</sup> See D-2: 73/2 (13.C.1056/1646).

<sup>161</sup> For more information, see İnalçık, 1993, 8: 45-48.

<sup>162</sup> See p. 74.

number of normal *cizye* households was 124<sup>163</sup> only for those lived in Mudanya, the figure for the households of *ziyade cizyes* was 377.<sup>164</sup> The number of 377 for non-Muslim households within the total of 519 households in Mudanya and its villages can be considered reasonable to reflect their numbers in the district. The way we estimate the population of them from this information about the households is a very difficult task. The meaning of a household in *cizye* registers was completely out of consideration. When we take the assumptions made by Gerber,<sup>165</sup> we reach by multiplying the *cizye* households with three to 1,131 as the total number of non-Muslims in Mudanya.

However, the state archives of *cizye* registers contain more detailed information about the number of non-Muslim people. For instance, the number of non-Muslims' real households who paid *avarız* tax was 365 for Mudanya and as an *avarız* household they were counted 145 in 1085.<sup>166</sup> When we analyze the *cizye* registers, we see that in 1102<sup>167</sup> there were 440 non-Muslims (*zimmiyan*), 14 Jews and 243 *yāve*<sup>168</sup> non-Muslims in Mudanya and 537 people in its villages. The total number of non-Muslims in that date was 1,234.<sup>169</sup> This figure declined to 1,150 in 1105.<sup>170</sup> The table (6) below contains distributions of *cizye* according to different levels in different locations.

<sup>163</sup> D-2: 81/4 (3.Ş.1041!); D-2: 73/2 (13.C.1056/1646).

<sup>164</sup> D-2: 89/1 (1056/1646).

<sup>165</sup> Gerber (1988: 9) accepts those who paid *cizye* as one third of all non-Muslims because only those non-Muslims who were male and aged 14 and above paid it.

<sup>166</sup> Kepeci, 2661.

<sup>167</sup> This date was at the same time the year of reform made by Köprülüzāde Mustafa Pasha in *cizye*, which entailed the division of the amount of *cizye* to be paid into three categories as '*ālā*, *evsat* and *ednā*. See Tabakoğlu, 1985: 137-8.

<sup>168</sup> Non-Muslims who had neither definite residence nor a job. See Tabakoğlu, 1985: 136.

<sup>169</sup> D.CMH, No: 26632.

<sup>170</sup> Kepeci, *Cizye Muhasebesi Kalemî*, 3818.

Table 6: Distributions of *Cizyes* in Mudanya and its Villages in 1102

Location	<i>A'lā</i>	<i>Evsat</i>	<i>Ednā</i>	Total
Karye-i Terekli	21	119	94	234
Kebir M (Terekli)	5	24	11	40
Lemani M (Terekli)	3	21	10	34
Kasım M (Terekli)	4	9	16	29
Mebdlere M (Terekli)	4	20	16	40
Kalderem M (Terekli)	1	18	17	36
Selvi M (Terekli)	4	27	24	55
Siğı	9	42	35	86
Kafir Subaşı	3	6	16	25
Mudanya	53	341	46	440
Jews	----	2	12	14
Karye-i Dere	7	37	28	72
Burgus	12	40	20	72
Misiboli	4	34	10	48
Yave <sup>171</sup> non-Muslims, Kefere	15	92	29	136
Yaves in the Port	7	44	9	60
Geçen Perakende-i Rum	----	11	36	47
<b>TOTAL</b>	131	768	335	1234

It is also impossible to estimate the proportions of men, women and children within this population <sup>172</sup> In order to estimate the total population of the city we also add the people who did not pay *avarız* taxes to the above figures . Barkan divides the latter group into two groups firstly as military and ruling classes and, secondly, as the people who had *beraats* because of their specific services to the State.<sup>173</sup> But we can only make estimation about their percentages within the entire population of the city.

<sup>171</sup> See footnote 168.

<sup>172</sup> In 1899, the population of Mudanya was 5,900, of which 2,000 were Muslims and the rest was Greeks and other non-Muslims. See Sami, 1316: VI: 4237; Behar, 1996: 44.

<sup>173</sup> Barkan, 1970: 165-166.

## 2- Family Structures in the District

In this section, we will try to discuss the structure of families in Mudanya. In this context, the average number of the children as being a daughter and a son, and other members of a family will be explored.<sup>174</sup> The *tereke* records in the *sicils* contain significant data related to this issue. However, since these records include only family members who were alive when their parents or any other relatives died, we do not have sufficient information about other members who died young or before their parents. Besides, it is possible that some members of a family might have been outside of the recorded inheritors of an event of inheritance because they might have already taken their shares with the consensus of others before applying to the *kadi*. Having done these remarks, we can analyze the information about families contained in these records.

The table (7) below indicates the frequency distribution of family members in different periods. According to the table, there is no person who has more than one wife and the number of children in families that have at least one child, together with not-yet-birth babies, was three in one family in the mid-seventeenth century, and seven in five families, with the average of 1.6, in the early eighteenth century, and 111 in 51 families, with the average of 2.2, in the late eighteenth century. There were one, two families, and fifteen families in three respective periods that had no children but brothers, sisters or other relatives as inheritors. The remaining eleven, five, and fourteen families in respective periods had no inheritors, and thus they cannot be accepted as families even they would have families before.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Other aspects of the family structure like the nature of the family, namely whether it is patriarchal or not, and relations among family members and the relatives are not discussed here. Hanna (1998) tries to make this kind of analysis in the case of one person, Abu Taqiyye, who lived in the 1600s in Cairo.

<sup>175</sup> We showed this distribution for each period on the table 29.

Table 7: Distribution of Family Members

Members	D-2 (2)	D-3 (7)	D-4-5 (66)	TOTAL (75)
Wife	2	4	37	43
Husband		3	20	23
Young Daughter	1	4	32	37
Old Daughter		1	34	35
Young Son	2	1	25	28
Old Son		1	17	18
Fetus			3	3
Grandchildren			1	1
Young GC			2	2
Old Daughter GC			1	1
Young DGC			3	3
Father	1	3	9	13
Mother		5	21	26
Grandmother			2	2
Brother		1	17	18
Sister		1	13	14
Nephew			7	7
Niece			2	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>276</b>

When we consider whole members of a family, family consisted of 3 members on the average in the mid-seventeenth century, and of 3.4 and 3.7<sup>176</sup> members in the early and late eighteenth century, respectively.<sup>177</sup> These figures considerably change when we calculate them according to social status of the people. For instance, the

<sup>176</sup> In two cases the deceased persons had only their brothers and sisters as inheritors. Therefore, we can leave them out of the average calculation denying them as family. Thus the average family size becomes 3.8 members. See D-4: 22/3; D-4: 38/4.

<sup>177</sup> Tabakoğlu (1993, cited in 2001: 85) argues for the insufficiency of *tereke* records in estimating the total number of family members because of possible dead members. We agree with him in this, but when we consider the ages of the deceased people, we can see that they died generally in the early ages. In this case, we can think of the given information as a reflection of the total number of the family members.

average family size is 3.4 members for people who carried the *Beşe* status; 4.2 for *Ağas*; 4 for *Efendis*; and 4.5 for *Hajjs*.<sup>178</sup> At the same time, the number of children in their families is also greater than the general average as 1.2 children, 2.6 children, 2 children, and 3 children, respectively.<sup>179</sup>

The non-Muslim family was also over the general average of a Muslim family, with 4.2 members for a family size and 2.3 children within a family.<sup>180</sup>

Another question concerning the structure of families is whether all members of a family lived together in one house or not. We cannot determine from the records how the situation changed when a person got married. The status of grandparents is also not clear. Even the belongings of the deceased people do not give us any clues on this matter. Only we can speculate on that since 69.5 percent of the deceased people, whose *tereke*s included certain amount of belongings, were married people, it would be claimed that people became economically independent of their parents after they got married. The assumption underlying this consequence here is that if they lived together with their parents, they would not have had belongings in their *tereke*s. Besides, if they have not been independent economically of their parents, their parents would not have been the inheritors of their own children. In the records, there are many parents as the inheritors of their children.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> We analyze this positive correlation between the wealth and the family size in another section of this study.

<sup>179</sup> Demirel et. al. (1992: 98, cited in Ortaylı, 2001: 98) give 2.3 as an average number of children in a central Anatolian family. For the distribution of whole *tereke*s according to the number of children, see “Analysis of the Belongings by Means of Family Sizes-Structures” below.

<sup>180</sup> The views of Artan (1998: 55) and Demirel et. al. (1992: 98, cited in Ortaylı, 2001: 98) converge the argument I made here.

<sup>181</sup> See for some examples, D-4: 17/1; D-3: 23/1; D-2: 2/2.

### 3- Marriage and Divorce Patterns

In the *defters* we analyze here, there are only few records about marriage and divorce. Interestingly all of the four cases are recorded in the first *defter* (D-2), and there are no related records in the other two *defters*.

More particularly, the existing records are about marriage, divorce (of which the demands come especially from wives), dower (*mehr*),<sup>182</sup> and alimony (*nafaka*).<sup>183</sup> We analyze suits about alimony and dower under the title of “Property Relations...” (see below).

Marriage in this *defter* takes place only in one record and, interestingly, the parties of this marriage were both *zimmi*s. They got married before the *kadı* and other *zimmi* witnesses with certain amount of 3,000 *akçes* give to the deferred dower like that of the Muslims.<sup>184</sup> Related to marriages of non-Muslims in the court, Gradeva argues, “the easiness and the speed of getting a decision on a marital problem according to Muslim religious law, the distance they had to travel and the fact that the decision of the *kadı* court was always easier to enforce than that of the church authorities must have been very strong arguments in the minds of 18<sup>th</sup> century Christians.”<sup>185</sup>

<sup>182</sup> We should note here the claims of Ze’evi (1995: 164-5) about the use of *mehr* in seventeenth-century Jerusalem. He argues that *mehr* was used “to purchase furniture, and household goods needed by the young couple in their new home” and also “part of the *mehr* may have been set aside for the bride’s prewedding beauty preparations, such as the bath, hairdressing, and henna.”

<sup>183</sup> Imber (1997) analyzes these terms and especially ‘dowry’ in the light of early eighteenth-century fetwa collections. See also Ortaylı, 2001: especially pp. 66-69.

<sup>184</sup> D-2: 12/1 (20.Ş.1056/1646). Göçek and Baer (1997: 53) see the dowry as a guarantee for only Muslim women and ‘additional material layer of comfort’. This record to certain extent falsifies this notion. As a value of the dowry, Imber (1997: 99) gives the minimum amount order by the Shari’a, ten Dirhems (silver coins). But he emphasizes the negotiation principle between parties in determining its value.

<sup>185</sup> Gradeva (1999: 189).

On other hand, there are three records about divorce.<sup>186</sup> In these cases, we see that women took a promise (*şart*) from their husband before the *kadı* and other readies. In addition to that promise, if the husbands broke this promise, their wives automatically, would be got divorced. In two records, this condition was about giving up drinking alcohol<sup>187</sup> and providing enough money as alimony for the wife and child.<sup>188</sup> The former promise was given because the husband, Muslim, beat his wife, *zimmiye*, when he got drunk. This event was clearly written in the record whereas there was no clear reason for the latter promise. The third promise in the records was related to paying debt to certain people within certain time period. Since this husband did not pay his debt, it was announced in the court that his wife automatically got divorced from him.<sup>189</sup>

Generally the amount of money paid for alimony to wife and children was, per capita, 15 *akçes* per day.<sup>190</sup> This amount for the deferred dower differs in each case: could be 3,000 *akçes* as in the previous record and 10,000 *akçes* in another record.<sup>191</sup> If we had more records that gave us amount of dowers, we could, as Layish mentioned,<sup>192</sup> interpret the changes occurred in the level of living standards in different periods. However, we should note here that to be able to make even this kind of analysis, we should say something about the meaning and content of the dower in a particular local context.

<sup>186</sup> Zilfi (1997) gives details of the institution of divorce in Ottoman society comparing it with contemporary situations.

<sup>187</sup> D-2: 17/2 (20.M.1057/1647).

<sup>188</sup> D-2: 18/2 (14.RA.1057/1647).

<sup>189</sup> D-2: 44/5 (22.Ş.1060/1650).

<sup>190</sup> D-2: 15/6. Cezar (1998: 28) in his analysis of Eyüp *sicils* of the 1750s argues that the alimony was generally about 5-10 *akçes* and rarely 15-20 *akçes* per day and included the needs such as dressing and food of children.

<sup>191</sup> D-2: 19/1 (29.C.1057/1647).

<sup>192</sup> Layish, 1975: 528.

#### 4- Death

Annual death rates of the city, their reasons and especially strict shifts between different years can give us an idea about its population, health issues and average life expectancy of a person. The latter have many implications about the economic and social life of a person and ultimately that of the city.

The probate inventories do not give us sufficient information about the death reasons of the deceased people. Besides, existing *tereke*s in the *sicils* with no doubt do not represent the real figures of death in the city. Therefore, we learn probably very small proportion of whole deceased people from these records.<sup>193</sup> The table below contains the number of deaths of the late eighteenth century. We can add to them a few murdered people in that period but certainly these numbers prove very little when we think of the population of the city as about 1,500, and about 5,000 with its villages at this period.

Table 8: Distribution of Number of Deaths According to Probate Inventories.

Year	Death Numbers	Year	Death Numbers	Year	Death Numbers
1204/1790	1	1210/1796	8	1213/1799	9
1208/1794	4	1211/1797	18	1214/1800	8
1209/1795	6	1212/1798	21	1215/1800	4

Though our knowledge is limited about death rates, we can discuss, to a certain extent, the ages of deceased people and reasons for death.

Drawing on some assumptions, we can claim that people, at least those whom we have *tereke*s, died at lower ages in this district.<sup>194</sup> The deceased people seen in the probate inventories had as inheritors, in most cases, a wife or alternately a husband,

<sup>193</sup> Pamuk in one of his presentations gave 10 percent for its proportion within the total. For the summary of this presentation see Köker, Mayıs 2001.

<sup>194</sup> Life expectancy in this period was about 25 in the Ottoman society. I am indebted to Professor Şevket Pamuk for this information.

young or even not-yet-born children and sometimes even one or two of their parents.<sup>195</sup> The higher number of mothers than fathers may lead one to think that they lived longer than men<sup>196</sup> or they married earlier ages compared to men.<sup>197</sup> It seems that if the deceased people got married before the age of twenty and if the adjective of “young” used for children under ten, then we can assert that these people died before their thirties. Furthermore, there were only a few deceased people who had grandchildren<sup>198</sup> and only one who had grandparent.<sup>199</sup> This data also supports my former claim about deaths at early ages.<sup>200</sup>

The striking point here is that though people died early, they had highly valuable *tereke*s. This brings us to another interesting point: if the state levied the rates of taxes and collected them according to the number of people rather than their wealth, then its revenues from a person might be greatly affected in a negative way by this short life expectancy.

In the previous section, we analyzed the size and structure of a family in the district, and maintained a family usually consisted of four people. This means, there were on the average two children per family. This indicates, furthermore, that the rate of population growth in the district was zero because two children only substituted their parents. This point is very significant in the analysis of possible reasons for deaths. For instance, in times of turmoil, of bandits and of epidemic

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<sup>195</sup> As instances see D-2: 92/11; D-3: 21/6; D-4: 17/1.

<sup>196</sup> From the above table (29), we can find out easily the distributions of mothers and fathers as inheritors of their children.

<sup>197</sup> I am indebted to Edhem Eldem for the second alternative in the case.

<sup>198</sup> See D-4: 16/1.

<sup>199</sup> See D-4: 68/1. In this case the deceased person was a girl who has not married.

<sup>200</sup> Artan (1998: 55) makes a similar argument in the *sicils* of Eyup dated 1750s agreeing with us on that the deceased people were generally young or middle-aged and the number of deceased men was more than women.

diseases like plague, the population of the city probably declined. External factors in deaths might also have a direct impact on the population equilibrium of the city.

When we look for these external factors in the sources, we can only find reasons like drowning at sea<sup>201</sup> and being murdered by someone. We cannot come across with the names of diseases that resulted in the deaths. In fact, the important thing here is the existence of epidemic diseases because of the above-mentioned points. Analysis of the documents with this perspective indicates that the narrow dates, settlement and kinship linkages among the deceased people may be an important sign of epidemic disease. This disease within the Ottoman context was most probably plague.

We try to show at the table (9) below the distribution of deaths in the late eighteenth century, grouping the deceased people whose *terekes* were shared at narrow dates and who had similarities of settlement and kinship relations. According to the table, we can talk about the suspicion of plague. The graph below that illustrates the family tree of one family indicates more clearly the kinship relation of the deceased people who died in very close dates.

In the previous table (8) that contains the number of deaths per years, we see that in 1211/1797 and 1212/1798 there is an increase in the number of deaths. The reason for this increase might be plague since at the table (9) we can point out deaths occurred after one another within the same settlements and even from the same families. Some historians also talk about the plague in that period, like Faroqhi who asserts that the plague was seen 31 times between 1751 and 1800 in İstanbul.<sup>202</sup> Most probably Mudanya was affected from them, due to the fact that it was both a port city and very near İstanbul. In addition, the months of the deaths in the table especially

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<sup>201</sup> See D-5: 6/2-3; D-4: 34/1.

<sup>202</sup> Faroqhi, 1998, 34.

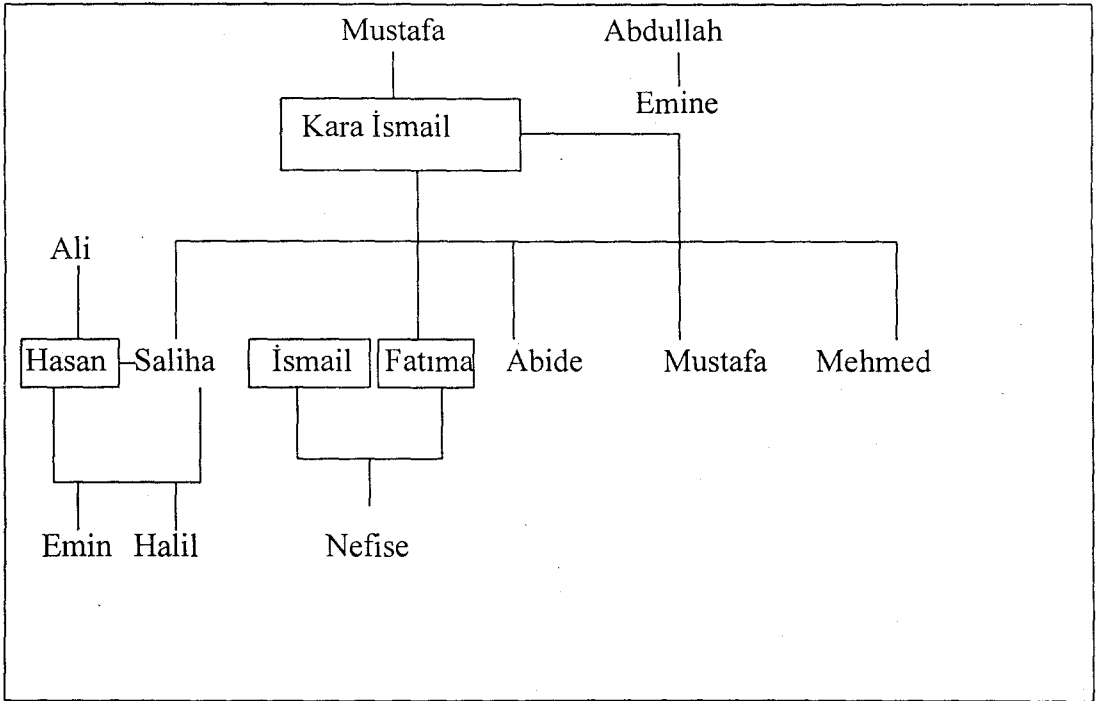
those occurred in 1211/1797 refer to the period of July - September in which, according to Panzac, the effect of plague reaches at its peak in İstanbul.<sup>203</sup>

Table 9: Distribution of Deaths in the Narrow Dates and within the Same Settlements

Source			Location	Deceased People and Inheritors	Date
D-4	76	2	Aya M.	Oynaki bint [ ] (halike); Boyacıoğlu Dimitraki (kocası); Kosti; Yanaki; Nikola (büyük oğulları); Tari; Ehmaren (büyük kızları).	25.CA.1214/1800
D-4	76	3	Aya M.	Boyacıoğlu Dimitraki v. Kostanti (halik); Kosti; Yanaki; Nikola (büyük oğulları); Tari; Ehmaren (büyük kızları).	G.C.1214/1800
D-4	76	4	Aya Nikola M.	Boyacıoğlu Yanaki v. [ ] (halik); Yande bint [ ] (karısı); Kosti; Yanaki; Nikola (erkek kardeşinin oğulları); Tari; Ehmaren (erkek kardeşinin kızları).	5.C.1214/1800
D-4	83	4	Mudanya (Misafir)	Kara İbrahim b. Ahmed vefat edip mirasçısı olmadığından terekesi Sultan çarşısında satılıp beytümala devredildi.	7.ZA.1214/1800
D-4	82	5	Mudanya (Misafir)	Osman b. Abdullah vefat edip mirasçısı olmadığından Sultan çarşısında terekesi satılıp beytümala devrediliyor.	15.ZA.1214/1800
D-4	52	1	Ömer Bey M.	Hediye bint Ahmed Ağa (vefat); Şerif Hasan b. Seyyid Mehmed (kocası); Ahmed Ağa (babası); Şerif Mehmed (küçük oğlu).	11.S.1213/1799
D-4	52	3	Ömer Bey M.	Fatıma bint Mustafa Ağa (vefat); [ ] bint Mehmed (annesi); Hasan (Anne bir kardeş); Ahmed Ağa; Mehmed Ağa (amca oğulları).	22.M.1213/1799
D-4	42	3	Mudanya	Bekar Ali Beşe b. Abdullah'ın vefat etmesi ve varisinin olmamasıyla mirası Beytümala naklediliyor.	27.C.1212/1798
D-4	39	3	Çavuş Hanı-Mudanya	Osman Beşe b. Abdullah'ın (vefat) varisi olmadığından mirası beytümala devrediliyor.	8.R.1212/1798
D-5	16	4	Çavuş Hanı-Mudanya	? Feyz b. Abdullah (misafir-askeri zümreden-vefat)	25.CA.1212/1798
D-4	41	3	Çavuş Hanı-Mudanya	Misafir iken vefat eden Bekar Osman Beşe b. Abdullah'ın varisi olmadığından mirası Beytümala naklediliyor.	25.CA.1212/1798
D-4	42	1	Çavuş Hanı-Mudanya	Misafir iken vefat eden Bekar Ebu Bekir Beşe b. Abdullah'ın varisi olmadığından mirası Beytümala naklediliyor.	11.C.1212/1798
D-4	17	1	Cami-i Atik M.	Mehmed Ağa b. Ahmed Ef. (vefat); Raşide bint Osman Ef. (karısı); Ahmed Ef. (babası); Tayyibe bint Hac Osman (annesi); Hasan (küçük oğlu); Akile (küçük kızı); Doğacak çocuk	15.S.1211/1797
D-4	13	3	Cami-i Atik M.	Ayşe bint İbrahim (vefat); Mustafa b. İlyas (kocası); İlyas (küçük oğlu)	6.M.1211/1797
D-4	18	2	Tekke-i Atik M.	Hasan Beşe v. Ali (vefat); Saliha bint Kara İsmail (karısı); Ali (babası); Emin; Halil (küçük oğulları)	4.R.1211/1797
D-4	15	1	Tekke-i Atik M.	Hanife bint Mustafa (vefat); Abdurrahman Ef. b. Mehmed (kocası); Nefise bint Hac Ahmed Ef. (annesi); Raşide (büyük kızı); Mustafa (Oğlunun oğlu)	25.M.1211/1797
D-4	16	1	Tekke-i Atik M.	Nefise bint Hac Ahmed Ef. b. Abdullah (vefat); Ayşe bint Mustafa (büyük kızı); Naile (oğlunun büyük kızı); Hasibe; Zakiye; Hatice (Oğlunun küçük kızları).	8.S.1211/1797

<sup>203</sup> Panzac, 1997: 113-14.

Source			Location	Deceased People and Inheritors	Date
0-4	20	1	Tekke-i Atik M.	İsmail b. Halil (vefat); Fatıma bint Kara İsmail (karısı); Fatıma (annesi); Nefise (küçük kızı); Mehmed; Osman (Amca oğulları).	15.R.1211/179
0-4	20	2	Tekke-i Atik M.	Altıntaşlı Fatıma bint Kara İsmail (vefat); Nefise (küçük kız); Mustafa; Mehmed (erkek kardeşleri); Saliha; Abide (kız kardeşleri)	18.R.1211/179
0-4	21	1	Altuntaş K.	Kara İsmail b. Mustafa (vefat); Emine bint Abdullah (karısı-vefat); Mustafa; Mehmed (büyük oğulları); Fatıma; Saliha; Abide (büyük kızları)	17.R.1211/179

Graph 3: Family Tree of Kara İsmail Family<sup>204</sup>

<sup>204</sup> Rectangulars in the graph indicates the deceased people.

## B- Urban and Rural Settlements: *Mahalles* and Villages

Mudanya was a district, *kaza*, of Hüdavendigâr Sancak in the records of 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Whereas in the records of the late eighteenth century, we see that Mudanya was addressed in the beginnings of the *Nâib* appointments as *Galata Muzâfâtından* (under the governance of Galata).<sup>205</sup> We do not know the meaning of and reason for this kind of addressing. We should note here that in the previous periods these appointments were signed by the old *kadı* of Mekke and addressed the city as ‘under my possession’ (*mutasarrıflık*).<sup>206</sup> In later periods, these appointments were signed by the *kadı* of Galata.<sup>207</sup>

This city with its small physical size included a small population. The details of information about its population are already discussed above. The district contained, administratively, 20 villages before the date of 1057/1647, when a new village, Mirza, was established this number became 21 villages. When Kurşunlu village was transferred to another city at the end of 1050s, there remained again 20 villages in Mudanya. The number of villages in the mid-seventeenth remained the same but the names of four villages disappeared and were replaced by new different four villages. The villages of Has, Göynüklü, Terekli and Küçük Kafır in the previous period<sup>208</sup> were replaced by Kaymak Oba, Bacla, Dere, and Tirilye villages

<sup>205</sup> A similar addressing is also seen in the *Şikâyet Registers* of the period. See *Anadolu Defteri* 114: 288/850 (Eh. S. 1212/1797).

<sup>206</sup> See D-2: 22.

<sup>207</sup> Uzunçarşılı (1988: 134) says that Mudanya Kapıdağı with its *naib* was dependent administratively on the *kadı* of Galata but he does not give exact dates about this issue. (Evliya Çelebi, I: 432, 440 and V: 295).

<sup>208</sup> Göynüklü village took place in the records of Turkish Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1928. See *Son Teşkilât-ı Mülkiyede Köylerimizin Adları*, 1928. In this source, there were 26 villages under the governance of Mudanya and 9 *mahalles* within the city until 1968. *Ibid*, p. 452.

in the later period. Though two villages of the previous period, namely Has and Terekli, take place in the records of early eighteenth century,<sup>209</sup> we do not find their names in the tax registers and therefore, they would not be the villages of Mudanya in that period. On the other hand, we do not know how new four, *yürük* villages<sup>210</sup> were founded in that period. Probably they already existed before but they appeared in the registers of this period as villages paying the *avarız* tax.

As to the *mahalles* of the city, we do not find in the *sicils* any information about them in the mid-seventeenth century, but we can find some in the State archives of *avarız* registers. Hence, in 1085 there were 7 Muslim *mahalles*, including Behram Ağa apart from the aforementioned six *mahalles*, and eight non-Muslim *mahalles* that were the same with the *mahalles*, which will be mentioned below.<sup>211</sup> From this data it is clearly seen that there were significant differences among the sizes of the *mahalles*. Besides, it can also be claimed that the houses were generally built far away from the port and at the western side of the city according to the current topography of the city. Ömer Bey *mahallesi* as being demographically a less intensive *mahalle* containing only 9 houses was both the nearest place to the port and at the eastern side of the city. The *temettuat* data dated 1260/1844 clearly shows this situation. The total amount of wealth recorded in the records was the highest in the farthest *mahalle*, Hasan Bey, and the lowest in the nearest one, Ömer Bey, of the city if we take the port as the departing point.<sup>212</sup>

<sup>209</sup> See D-3: 5/6; D-3: 16/2.

<sup>210</sup> See footnote 146.

<sup>211</sup> Kepeci, 2661. The number of houses in those *mahalles* was 57 in Cami-i Atik, 9 in Behram Ağa, 43 in Manastır, 45 in Hasan Bey, 25 in Tekke, 9 in Ömer Bey, 35 in Musa Bey (Total 223 Muslim houses); 62 in Meryem Ana, 43 in Aya, 40 in Aya Todoros, 39 in Aya Nikola, 35 in Aya Kostantinos, 51 in Aya Postol, 43 in Penaye, and 52 houses in Hidirilyas *Mahalle* (Total 365 non-Muslim Houses).

<sup>212</sup> See *Temettuat* (ML.VRD.TMT) Registers, 9097. Also see "Spatial Distributions of Belongings" of this study.

In the later periods, there were six Muslim *mahalles* that are already mentioned in the tables, whereas the non-Muslim *mahalles*<sup>213</sup> like Aya, Aya Todoros, Aya Nikola, Aya Kostantinos (or Aya Kasendeyenos), Aya Postol, Penaye, Hidrellez (or Hızır İlyas), and Meryem Ana are found only in trial records. However, this picture about the religious separation of *mahalles* by no means proves that the two groups were socially and physically distanced from each other.<sup>214</sup> As we already mentioned below, even in many records about the sales contracts the parties of sale could be persons who were different religious origins. A Muslim could live within so-called “non-Muslim *mahalles*” and vice versa. Therefore, I think, these were the pseudo-separations and refer only to administrative classifications and may be originated from the obligations of laws of the religion or of ‘old times’ (*kadim*).<sup>215</sup>

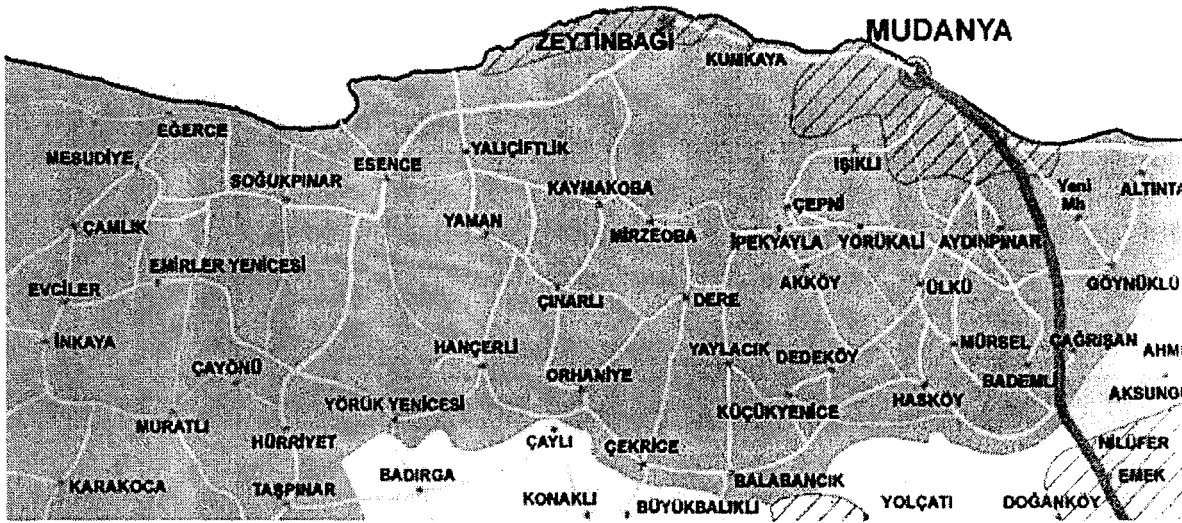
In the map below, the twelve villages of Mudanya seen in the periods taken here were illustrated with similar names. Çepni was geographically the nearest village to Mudanya at the South of the city and Balabancık and Çekrice were the furthest villages to the city. The graph at the next page shows today’s settlements within Mudanya. The squares in the graph depict the mosques and a church in the city.

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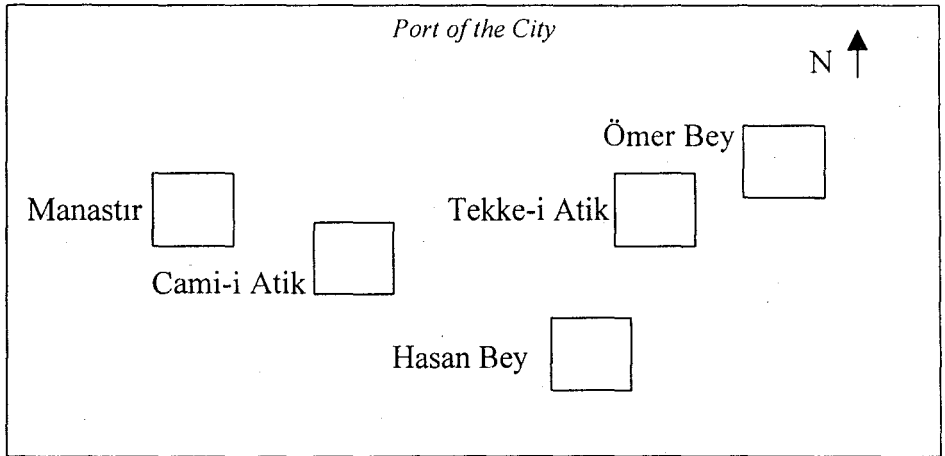
<sup>213</sup> They were given in the tax registers as *Zimmiyān-ı Nefs-i Mudanya*.

<sup>214</sup> Yazbak (1994: 121) supporting our findings says, “Jews in Haifa lived in Muslim quarters.”

<sup>215</sup> Emecan (1998: 75) supports this claim saying that the definition of social and religious groups like Muslim, non-Muslim and *konar-göçer* is related to the taxes levied on them, namely derives from the administrative needs. It does not necessarily mean the social stratification among the people. Rozen (1998: 337) also argues a similar thing saying, “the Ottomans regarded the mahalle as an administrative unit of citizens who belonged to a specific religion; it was defined by their religion, rather than by the physical proximity in which they lived... people of different religions who lived next door to each other belonged to the different mahalles, while people of the same religion who did not live in relative proximity could belong to the same mahalle.”

Map 1: Mudanya and its villages in 1990s<sup>216</sup>

Graph 4: Location of the Settlements within Mudanya



Let us discuss here the details of social and trade buildings of the city.<sup>217</sup> We already mentioned the religious places.<sup>218</sup> We can add to them Behram Ağa<sup>219</sup>

<sup>216</sup> For detailed illustration of its villages together with the cities around Mudanya, see Map 2 in the Appendix.

<sup>217</sup> Evliya Çelebi (1999: 9) mentions three mosques, seven *mescids*, three hans, a bath, two *mekteb-i sibyan*s (schools for children), and 200 *esvak-ı muhtasar*s (small bazaars) in Mudanya. On the other hand Sami (1396: 4237) gives the following list of the buildings within Mudanya at the end of the nineteenth

Mosque in Mudanya and other mosques and churches<sup>220</sup> in the villages.<sup>221</sup> There were no schools in the city but probably children were taught Koran in the mosques.<sup>222</sup> We speculate from the name of *Tekke* (dervish lodge), though we do not exactly know, that there were also dervish orders in Mudanya.

Other buildings were related to the requirements of the economic life of the people. At first glance two hans can be seen available for the survival of travelers and guests.<sup>223</sup> They also provided them with service for protecting their goods functioning as safe stores. Two of these hans were those of Çavuş Han and the Big

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century: 8 mosques, 1 dervish lodge, 3 churches, 1 medrese, 1 *rüşdiye*, 29 *sıbyan mektebi*, 8 Greek schools, 7 hans, 2 guest houses, 2 public baths, 16 oil factories (*yağhane*), 2 *ipekhane*, 3 mills, 91 *mağaza*, and 143 shops. Besides, he (1396: 4238) counts within the boundaries of the city 26 mosques, 29 churches, 45 oil factories, and 50 *ipekhane*. If the figures are true, these are very striking compared to our findings related to the situation at the end of the eighteenth century. We also have the figures of the year 1927. According to *Bursa Vilayeti Coğrafyası* (1927: 245) there were 1,120 houses, 9 hans and hotels, 2 baths, 2 schools, 7 mosques and dervish lodges, 2 churches, 120 shops, 81 *mağaza*, 15 *imalathānes* and *kārthānes*, 4 factories and two banks. The data given by these two sources are quite different from each other. The time span between them was short but the wars and upheavals in that period make it difficult to compare their findings.

<sup>218</sup> Mosques of Cami-i Atik (built in 1053 according to its inscription), Behram Ağa, Ömer Bey, Hasan Bey (built in 1063 according to its inscription), Musa Bey, Manastır, and Tekke-i Cedid (built in 1088 according to its inscription). For details see Ötügen et. al.. 1985, IV: 457ff.

<sup>219</sup> In *mühimme* registers (93: 251, dated Es. RA. 1070) *Etmekçi başı* was used as an adjective of Behram Ağa. We find a *mahalle* and a *waqf* with this name only in the records of mid-seventeenth century. See *Kepeci, Mevkufat Kalemi*: 2661 dated 1085.

<sup>220</sup> Today in Zeytinbağı (renewed name of Tirilye village), there still exists a church, built in the thirteenth century, the Byzantium period and converted to Mosque later. See *Yurt Ansiklopedisi* (1982, III: 1776). An inscription of a church, near the Cami-i Atik mosque, within Mudanya dated 1834. There is also another church in Dere village. See Ötügen et. al.. (1985, IV: 463, 471, 484).

<sup>221</sup> In the *avarız* registers (See *Kepeci* 2661) we see that some villages like Seki, Göynüklü, Altuntaş, Tirilye, Mürsel, Yenice, Balabancık, Yörüklü, Mirza, and Deveciler had *imams* for their mosques or mescids. Even in Altuntaş's list we see a *müderris* and there is a *Bektashi Dedesi* probably instead of *imams* in Kaymak Obası, which was a *yürük* village.

<sup>222</sup> For instance see D-4: 54/4 (15.S.1213).

<sup>223</sup> In one instance dated 1129, there was one more han named Sirkeci Han. See D-3: 68/3.

Han. The third one was built in 1210s by Küçük Mustafa near the Big Han. We cannot say a lot of thing about this han although there was a trial about it but we do not know the result of the trial. Beside these, neither we know the location and inside of the Çavuş Han nor compare them with the buildings of three periods because of the insufficiency of information in the records.<sup>224</sup>

The Kebir Han, which belonged to the waqf of Kara Mustafa Pasha in İstanbul, was near the port, and its two sides were surrounded by Muslim graves. This han consisted of 39 rooms on the second floor (*fevkāni*) and 37 rooms at the bottom (*tahtāni*). Interestingly within the han, whose size was 225 (9x25) square *zira*, there were two groceries, a bakery, a pastry-shop (*börekçi*), two barbers, a coffeehouse, a *bozahane*, a butcher, and an *attar* shop.<sup>225</sup> In many cases we see some boatmen, too, but there were no related places seen in the records.<sup>226</sup>

The persons and social groups who influenced the building process in the city are already discussed in some detail in another section, which focuses on the waqfs. Nevertheless, we cannot say that certain groups were the main factors influencing the settlement process of the city. But we know some arguments on this issue as that of Hanna who asserts that merchants of the city had great effect on the development of urban landscape of the city, Cairo in the 1600s.<sup>227</sup>

Departing from one record from the *mühimme* registers (96: 775 dated [25. ZA.] 1059/1649), we can say that there were *meyhanes* (wine shops) in the city, but later they were demolished with a *firman*. In the record, it was stated that some

<sup>224</sup> In *mühimme* registers (95: 251 dated Eh.CA. 1075) there was another han called *Yeni Han*. From this record we also learn that the merchants who had shops within the han did not sleep at the han but turned back to their homes at nights.

<sup>225</sup> D-4: 74/3 (16.S.1214).

<sup>226</sup> In 1173-4, the boatmen of Mudanya had a special place in the port of Eminönü of İstanbul (See *Ahkam Defterleri* no: 5/136/424 and 5/294/887, cited in *İstanbul Esnaf Tarihi*, 1997: v. I).

<sup>227</sup> Hanna, 1998: Chapter 6.

people did the same acts in their homes near mosques and the complainants wanted the Sultan to prohibit also these acts.

### III- ADMINISTRATIVE LIFE IN MUDANYA: RELATIONS BETWEEN THE STATE AND THE DISTRICT

#### A- Taxes Levied on the District: Revenues of the State

In this section, we analyze the revenues of the state taken from the district in form of taxes levied on the people. We focus, firstly, on the types of the taxes and then on the amount of these taxes. The over-time changes in the amounts of the taxes and differentiations in their kinds are analyzed separately drawing upon the sources under study. We should note here that some of the taxes recorded in the *defters* were not collected only from Mudanya, but many of the tax orders were sent to *kadıs* of *Hüdavendigâr Sancağı* or to *kadıs* of the Right Wing of Anatolia (*Anadolu'nun Sağ Kolu*) of which Mudanya was administratively a part.

#### 1- Types of Taxes

The taxes that were generally called '*avārız-ı divāniye*',<sup>228</sup> including those of *Avarız Bedeli*, *Cizye*, and *İmdadiye* had the highest frequency among others. Likewise, revenues coming from *iltizam* (tax-farm) and Customs<sup>229</sup> also had a significant place

<sup>228</sup> Barkan, 1975: 14.

<sup>229</sup> The table given by Gerber (1988: 122-123) drawing on the state archives indicates that the value of leasing of Mudanya port as a tax-farmer sharply declined from 216,666 *akçes* in 1601/2 to 30,000 *akçes* in 1656/7. This is quite striking and crucial to account for the economic value of the Mudanya port in the period under study. On the other hand, its trend in the eighteenth century is

in the tax records. Expenses of the officials, duties of *sürsat*<sup>230</sup> and *belderan*, as well as taxes on directly collected goods like grains, fodders and other common taxes (*tekālîf-i örfiyye*), such as collection of oarsmen<sup>231</sup> were other types of taxes levied on the people. Furthermore, as it is seen in the table (10) below, the proportion of each tax shows significant variations in different periods. For instance, *cizye* took place thirty-five times in the middle of the seventeenth century and four times in the early eighteenth century, while there is no such information in the late eighteenth century records. This may be the result of a decline in the non-Muslim population of the district. Moreover, the ways in which these taxes were collected and recorded may change in later periods.

*Avarız* taxes are found either alone, as it was often the case, or together with other types of taxes. These types of taxes are in most cases directly related to Mudanya and the orders are sent to *kadı* of Mudanya. Similar characteristics existed in the taxes such as those levied for *imdādiye*, various administrative expenses, and necessary goods.

The *avarız* taxes could be collected in different ways, including collecting in cash, and collecting soldiers and animals like hens as *avarız* of the certain years. People who lived in one place but not registered in its *avarız* defter (*haric ez defter*) such as retired persons (*mütেকāidin*), *derbentciyan*, *köprüciyan*, freed slaves (*mu'tak*), and *eli beraatlı* were obliged to pay certain amount of money as *gühercile bedeli*. On the other hand, we see in a record, a person who was born in Mudanya,

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under study. On the other hand, its trend in the eighteenth century is waiting for new surveys.

<sup>230</sup> The term *sürsat* refers to selling the ordered amount and quality of grains by bringing them to *menzil* institutions located in the roads of military groups (Barkan, 1975: 14). Tabakoğlu (1985: 21) argues that *sürsat bedeli* was levied again in 1683.

<sup>231</sup> One oarsman for each seven *avarız* households was collected from Mudanya in 1050. After 1101, the seven became ten households. (Bostan, 1992: 192).

and his father came from another city did not want to pay the *gühercile bedeli* instead of *avarız*.<sup>232</sup>

Table 10: Types of Taxes and Their Distributions in Different Periods

Types of Taxes	D-2 (Mid-Seventeenth Century)		D-3 (Early-Eighteenth Century)		D-4 (Late-Eighteenth Century)		Total	
	Quantity	Rate	Quantity	Rate	Quantity	Rate	Quantity	Rate
<i>Avarız</i>	25	26,3%	1	1,7%	2	2,6%	29	12,6%
<i>Avarız ve Mütekaidin</i>	0	0,0%	2	3,4%	0	0,0%	2	0,9%
<i>Avarız ve Nüzul</i>	2	2,1%	3	5,2%	0	0,0%	4	1,7%
<i>Avarız ve Nüzul ve Mütekaidin</i>	0	0,0%	3	5,2%	4	5,1%	7	3,0%
<i>Avarız; Mütekaidin; Maktuat</i>	3	3,2%	0	0,0%	1	1,3%	4	1,7%
<i>Nüzul</i>	2	2,1%	4	5,2%	3	3,8%	8	3,5%
<i>Cizye</i>	35	36,8%	4	6,9%	0	0,0%	39	16,9%
<i>İmdad</i>	0	0,0%	9	15,5%	29	37,2%	38	16,5%
<i>Masraf</i>	1	1,1%	0	0,0%	13	16,7%	14	6,1%
<i>Sürsat</i>	0	0,0%	2	3,4%	0	0,0%	2	0,9%
<i>Sürsat ve Belderan</i>	0	0,0%	2	3,4%	0	0,0%	2	0,9%
<i>Gümrük</i>	4	4,2%	3	5,2%	1	1,3%	8	3,5%
<i>Esnaf</i>	3	3,2%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	3	1,3%
<i>Zahire</i>	2	2,1%	16	27,6%	5	6,4%	23	10,0%
<i>Saman</i>	0	0,0%	2	3,4%	0	0,0%	2	0,9%
<i>Koyun</i>	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	1,3%	1	0,4%
<i>Sekban</i>	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	2	2,6%	2	0,9%
<i>Tekalif</i>	1	1,1%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,4%
<i>Kıptıyan</i>	0	0,0%	1	1,7%	0	0,0%	1	0,4%
<i>Menzil</i>	0	0,0%	1	1,7%	0	0,0%	1	0,4%
<i>İltizam</i>	8	8,4%	5	8,6%	16	20,5%	29	12,6%
<i>İltizam ve Kethüdalık</i>	0	0,0%	1	1,7%	0	0,0%	1	0,4%
<i>Mukataa</i>	4	4,2%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	4	1,7%
<i>Zeamet</i>	1	1,1%	0	0,0%	1	1,3%	2	0,9%
<i>Muafiyet</i>	4	4,2%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	4	1,7%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>100,0%</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>100,0%</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>100,0%</b>	<b>231</b>	<b>100,0%</b>

<sup>232</sup> D-2: 87/2 (24.B.1053).

Taxes levied on the merchants in time of wars take place only in the mid-seventeenth century records. Especially the barrel sellers (*fuçıcıyan taifesi*)<sup>233</sup> and bazaar merchants<sup>234</sup> are seen as the examples of this kind of taxpayers.

The tax of *imdādiyye* is classified as *imdād-ı hazariyye* and *imdād-ı seferiyye* (war contribution).<sup>235</sup> Cezar claims that this tax appeared for meeting the great expenses of long wars in the second half of the seventeenth century filling also the gap arisen with the emergency of *malikane* system against the provincial governors.<sup>236</sup> In the case of Mudanya, the former is collected for a governor and a sergeant (*çavuş*) of Anatolia twice in a year and for a *mutasarrıf* of the *sancak* with three installments in a year by the official decision of the Kütahya court.<sup>237</sup> On the other hand, the *imdād-ı seferiyye* is collected in time of wars. Most of the records in early eighteenth century contained the latter whereas those of the late eighteenth century included mostly the former type of the *imdādiyye*. On the other hand, the

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<sup>233</sup> D-2: 57/1.

<sup>234</sup> D-2: 40/1-3.

<sup>235</sup> Uzunçarşılı (1982: IV (1): 437) states that the former was for the salaries of governors at the time of peace whereas the latter at the time of wars. The amounts of these taxes were decided by the Shari'a courts and paid into two installments. The amount of the latter was higher than the former. But he adds that this system continued until 1768. According to İnalçık (1977: 29, 363), the *imdad-ı seferiyye* was "levied on wealthy urban citizens- *ayān*", and became a general tax later between 1700-1717.

<sup>236</sup> The wars against Crete between 1645-1669 and later against Austria and Russia at the end of the seventeenth century, for Cezar (1986: 32-33) and for Tabakoğlu (1985: 20), created great deficits in the State budget and this completely changed the old financial policy of the Ottoman State. For details about *imdadıye* taxes, see Cezar, 1984. For the general financial situation of the State in the eighteenth century, see Cezar, 1999. For the appearance and the characteristics of *mālīkāne* system (the life-term revenue tax farm), see Genç, 2000: 99ff; Tabakoğlu, 1985: 129ff; and Salzman, 1993: 400ff. For financial situation of the provincial city administration, see Ergenç, 1986.

<sup>237</sup> The differentiation in the number of installments according to the status of administrators is supported with the State archives. See *Cevdet Maliye*, No: 15019 and *Dahiliye* No: 5326, cited in Cezar, 1986: 57.

mid-seventeenth century records did not contain such cases. Therefore they should have appeared, as Cezar argues, at the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>238</sup>

The expenses (*masārif*) that take place in the records included any kinds of expenditures of the soldiers, the officials who carried the orders, the installments of the *imdādiyyes*, and so on.<sup>239</sup> These expenses records, also called *salyane*, can be seen as the total cost of the whole duties of the district to the state. It is striking that we can find such records only in the late eighteenth century: previous periods did not include such systematic records.

The high number of records that contain the orders about immediately sending the taxes in general and the grains in particular indicates that the taxes could not be collected easily. The institution of *iltizam*, at this point, can be more accurately interpreted in the Mudanya context. For, the number of orders related to *avarızs* was quite high in the early eighteenth century and relatively lower at the end of this century. But, on the other hand, the number of *iltizam* records was quite high in the latter period. So, there arises another question that involves whether there was a relationship between the decline in the number of *avarız* taxes and the increase in the number of *iltizam* at the end of the eighteenth century.

<sup>238</sup> Cezar (1986: 53) has also the tendency to link the appearance of *imdadiye* to that of *malikane* system. It is because with *malikane* system some *hass* lands that are at the same time a source of subsistence for the *sancak begs* and other upper-class administrators are converted to *mukāta'a* to be included in *malikane* system. For the source of this idea, see Mustafa Nuri pasha *Netāyicü'l vuku'āt*, II: 91, cited in Cezar, 1986: 53. Also for a summary of this discussion, see Cezar, 1999.

<sup>239</sup> For instance, “G.S.1214'ten Ni.Z.121'e memurların hizmetleri, konak masrafları, Cebeli hazineleri ücreti, Bursa, Kütahya valisi taksiti; kapıdanbaşı tarafından gönderilen gedikli, çavuş, mübaşir hizmeti, beygir ve konak masrafları; kalenin hinta ve buğday ücretleri; Sadrazamın çukadarları ücreti; 75 kalyoncunun gönderilmesine memur hasekinin masrafları; tatarın masrafları; özel tutulan beygir ücretleri; saman masrafları; tüfenkçiyar tahriri yapan mübaşirlerin ücretleri; imdadiyeler...” D-4: 91/5 (23.S.1215/1800).

## 2- Tax Revenues

The amount of the taxes paid by the people varies according to the different types of the taxes and to the different periods. In mid-seventeenth century, the taxes paid over the *avarız* households usually consisted of one soldier for each seven households in one record,<sup>240</sup> for ten households in another,<sup>241</sup> for nine households,<sup>242</sup> and twenty households in another record.<sup>243</sup> This amount in cash was probably 300-400 *akçes* for each household. As we mentioned above, *gühercile bedeli* was paid by the group of people who were outside of *avarız* payers. This tax might be about 100 *akçes* for each person.

Another tax related to the *avarız* households was *nüzul*. This was mostly levied in time of wars and its amount was 300-400 *akçes* per person. In some of these taxes, each household paid additionally 20-25 *akçes* as a salary of the tax collector, the *mübaşir*. Mudanya, together with its villages, consisted of 539 *avarız* households in this period, indicating therefore that the annual total revenue of the state taken from this district over the *avarız* households was about 200,000 *akçes*.<sup>244</sup>

In the early eighteenth century, the number of households in Mudanya as in the Hüdavendigâr sancak sharply declined from 539 to 176,5 (a decline of approximately 70 percent) and from 4,149 to 2206,5<sup>245</sup> *avarız* households (a decline of approximately 45 percent), respectively. Because of this decline the revenues of

<sup>240</sup> D-2: 56/1 (15.ZA.1058/1648/1648).

<sup>241</sup> D-2: 53/3 (26.M.1059/1649).

<sup>242</sup> D-2: 81/1 (Es.M.1057/1647).

<sup>243</sup> D-2: 18/3 (Ev.RA.1057/1647). In 1146/1733, 176 households of Mudanya, it was an *ocaklık* of *tavukçubası* in that year, gave 10, 30, and 50 hens each as their *avārız* taxes. See *Kepeci Mevkufat Kalemi*, 2889.

<sup>244</sup> The total amount of *avarız* revenues of the State in 1103/1691 was 186,089,213 *akçes*, in 1128/1716/1715 it was 134,239,980 *akçes*. This decline in the amounts was related to the appearance of *imdadîyes* and ending of the wars before 1699. Tabakoğlu, 1985: 153, 154.

<sup>245</sup> In *nüzul* records, this number was given as 2,344 households, see D-3: 15/2 (18.M.1127/1715).

the state from the district too decreased though the taxes were increased from 300 *akçes* to 500 *akçes* or 550 *akçes* including the payment for the *mütekāidin*. One should note here that this decrease in the household numbers and the increase in the tax rates were nominal changes. It is not possible to indicate the real changes in the figures by relying on the sources at hand.<sup>246</sup> In some records,<sup>247</sup> the *avarız*, *nüzul*, *mütekāidin* and stipends (*ma'īset*) of the tax collectors were calculated in one place. Each household paid about 13 guruş (approximately 1,400 *akçes*) for all taxes listed in the records. Hence, the total annual tax amount was approximately 250,000 *akçes* in Mudanya in that period.

The late eighteenth century showed similar values with the previous one. The number of households in Mudanya was 172,5<sup>248</sup> each of which paid 500 *akçes* as *avarız*, 600 *akçes* for *nüzul* and 12 guruş (1,320 *akçes*) for all above-mentioned taxes.<sup>249</sup> The total annual revenue of the state taken from Mudanya as such was therefore approximately 2,000 guruş (220,000 *akçes*).

The tax collected from the non-Muslims, *cizye* (poll-tax), takes significant place in the mid-seventeenth century records. There were two types of households paying the *cizye* categorized as *cizye* households and additional (*ziyade*) *cizye* households. The latter is probably collected from non-Muslims who lived in lands of

<sup>246</sup> The price indexes given in the appendix of this study can be used here. For instance, if we can assume the price index as 1 in 1645, it became 1,8 in 1715. Therefore, it seems that the increase from 300 to 500-550 *akçes* in the taxes was only nominal increase not real increase. However the claim of Tabakoğlu (1985: 18) about inflation in Ottoman economy makes this nominal-real difference more complex. He asserts on the basis of the value of *akçe* that there was no significant inflation rate in the Ottoman economy at least till the 1750s.

<sup>247</sup> See D-3: 68/1 (3.S.1129); D-3: 41/1 (8.S.1130/1718).

<sup>248</sup> As mentioned in the previous section of this study, the number of households is 157,75 in collecting the taxes outside of the *avarız* and *nüzuls*.

<sup>249</sup> See D-4: 36/2 (G.M.1212); D-4: 87/4 (24.M.1215/1800). The price index (see appendix) was about 1,8 in the middle of 1710s whereas about 6,5 at the end of 1790s. This strict increase in the prices seems not to have affected the tax amounts in Mudanya.

the foundations. In this period, the number of the first type of *cizye* households is 124 and of the second one was 377 households in Mudanya. The amount of their taxes is 260 *akçes* in 1041,<sup>250</sup> 322 *akçes* in 1057/1647,<sup>251</sup> and 327 *akçes* in 1061<sup>252</sup> per *cizye* households. This amount changed between 217 and 222 *akçes* in the *ziyade cizye* households. The annual total income of these two types of *cizye* was about 40,000 *akçes* and 82,000 *akçes*, respectively.

In the early eighteenth century, the rhetoric and probably the structure of the *cizye* orders and payments show significant changes. The *cizye* that was collected from *zimmis*, jews and '*acemi* was classified as '*ālā* (rich), *evsat* (middle) and *ednā* (poor).<sup>253</sup> They paid 3-4 gold<sup>254</sup> and 12 para<sup>255</sup>, 2 gold and 9 para, 1 gold and 6 para, respectively.<sup>256</sup>

Taxes that were taken from merchants and grains collected from people were the other kinds of tax revenues for the State in Mudanya of the mid-seventeenth century. The amount of the taxes levied on the merchants of Mudanya bazaar was 64 *akçes* for those who worked for the Navy and 128 *akçes* for those who not, due to the war, and on the sellers of barrels (*fuçıcıyan taifesi*) was 25,000 *akçes*.<sup>257</sup> The latter, in addition, paid about 24 *akçes* for each manufactured barrel.<sup>258</sup> The records do not give us the details about the amount and kind of grains, but only contains the

<sup>250</sup> D-2: 81/4 (3.Ş.1041?).

<sup>251</sup> D-2: 73/2 (13.C.1056/1646).

<sup>252</sup> D-2: 36/2 (10.R.1061).

<sup>253</sup> This classification in *Cizye* tax began after 1102. See footnote 167.

<sup>254</sup> The value of one gold was equal 275 *akçes* in that period, see D-3: 67/3 (25.R.1128/1716). For the currencies in those periods see Appendix.

<sup>255</sup> This was the right of *cizyedār*. In fact, the real salary of *cizyedars* was 30, 24 and 12 *akçes*, respectively (See Tabakoğlu, 1985: 139).

<sup>256</sup> D-3: 26/1; 52/3 (10.C.1127/1715). In Abdurrahman Tevfik (cited in Karal 1943: 19) the amounts were 48 (4 gold), 24 (2 gold) and 12 (1 gold) *guruş*, respectively.

<sup>257</sup> D-2: 40/3 (Es.N.1060/1650).

<sup>258</sup> D-2: 57/1 (3.B.1058/1648/1648).

expression “as in the old times”. In this period, we also witnessed some cases of *mukata'ā* that were given to the *mültezims*.<sup>259</sup> For instance, candle houses (*şem'hane*) of two villages were given as *iltizam* with 80 riyal guruş (6,400 *akçes*).<sup>260</sup> In other instances, the tax for *göherceli* with 22 yük 78,320 *akçes*,<sup>261</sup> the *mukata'a* of some villages with 77,000 *akçes*,<sup>262</sup> and tax for animals and sellers of barrels<sup>263</sup> were assigned to the *mültezims*. Related to the Customs duties, there were only official orders about its regulations and illegal acts of the merchants in them.

The early eighteenth-century tax records include cases related to the Customs and *imdādiye* but do not give detailed information. From the *sürsat* and *belderan* taxes, the state took 955.5 (105,105 *akçes*) and 882.5 guruş (97,075 *akçes*) revenue from 176.5 households of Mudanya. Related to the grain taxes, the state collected 1,340 *kile*<sup>264</sup> barley and 760 *kile* wheat in that period. The prices of one *kile* barley and wheat were 20 *akçes* and 50 *akçes*, respectively.

There we see significant amounts of the taxes of *imdādiyye* in the late eighteenth century, which were collected twice in a year (in the months of Muharram and Receb) for the salaries of the governors of the Anatolia, as well as viziers and the *mutasarrıf* of Mudanya. The amount of these taxes was 101 guruş including the other expenses per installment. In addition, the annual amount paid for *çavuş kethüda* was 10 guruş. The so-called *mal-ı hazariyye* tax was received three times in a year as 72

<sup>259</sup> Gerber (1986: 151-2) talks about two kinds of tax farming in the Ottoman system: agricultural and commercial. In our case, we witnessed the existence of both kinds.

<sup>260</sup> D-2: 79/3 (20.CA.1057/1647).

<sup>261</sup> D-2: 86/6 (4.CA.1055/1645).

<sup>262</sup> D-2: 70/3 (G.B.1058/1648/1648).

<sup>263</sup> D-2: 39/3 (3.RA.1060/1650).

<sup>264</sup> In taxation, the Istanbul *kile* was used as a standard size of the *kile* in Mudanya. The relationship between the standardization of the local measures and the taxation as its cause in the Ottoman context is discussed by İnalçık, 1983: 329ff. In 1927 a *kile* was equal to 24 *okka* (of barley) in Mudanya. (*Bursa Vilayeti Coğrafyası*, 1927: 253).

guruş for Mudanya. Besides these, in times of wars, some extraordinary taxes called also *imdādiyye* could be levied on the people under the different amounts. In one case its amount was 350 kise and 474 guruş for all cities of Anatolia and 666 guruş for Mudanya.<sup>265</sup>

Records of the expenses (*masārif*) contain the amounts of annual total expenses of the city. For instance these amounts were 3,101 guruş in 1209/1795, 6,226 guruş in 1211/1797, 9,928 guruş in 1212/1798 and 8,769.5 guruş in 1214/1800. It is striking that the amounts collected from the people for the expenses exceeded the sums stated above. In the year 1214/1800, each household in Mudanya paid 72 guruş. When we multiply this amount with the household numbers, 157, it becomes 11,304 guruş though the stated total amount was 8,769.5 guruş.<sup>266</sup> Another instance belonged to date of 1212/1798, in which the official, Öküzoğlu Mehmed Pasha, collected 89 guruş from each household. This means that the total amount of money collected in this year was about 14,000 guruş.<sup>267</sup>

Related to the *iltizam* records in this period, only two cases include both the places in Mudanya and values of the *iltizams*. One of them was about the *iltizam* of port *kethüdalık*<sup>268</sup> and the other was irrigation *mukataa* of the city.<sup>269</sup> The value of the former was 700 guruş and that of the latter was 1.325 guruş. Other *iltizam* records were generally related to the whole regions of Anatolia.

Another interesting payment made by Mudanya people in the late eighteenth century was the one, which was paid for the persons (*sekban*) who worked as the

<sup>265</sup> D-4: 94/1 (Ev.Z.1213). One kise *akçes* was equal to 500 guruş, see D-5: 8/2-3 (7.ZA.1209/1795). The figures about Anatolia in this case do not coincide with those given in Cezar (1986: 59). For the amount of *imdadiye* taxes in different times and places, also see Cezar, 1986: 57-64.

<sup>266</sup> Contrast D-4: 84/4 (G.M.1215/1800) with D-4: 91/5 (23.S.1215/1800).

<sup>267</sup> D-4: 58/2 (20.RA.1213).

<sup>268</sup> D-4: 46-5 (Mart.1212).

<sup>269</sup> D-4: 51/1 (nd).

protectors of the city against the bandits. Their numbers were fifteen, and each *mahalle* was required to pay 50 guruş every month for their salaries.<sup>270</sup> In addition, the non-Muslim people of Mudanya paid 2 para and 4 para per *kile* of wine and ark, respectively.<sup>271</sup> They also gave due to the military reasons, 290 *kile* wheat, 795 *kile* barley and 2,365 guruş for the cost of 39 ships and expenses.<sup>272</sup>

## **B- Administrators and Notables of the District**

In this section, I focus on the administrators of the district and their duties as well as the periods by decoding the state appointments in the records. These people were directly appointed administrators of the district, local administrators like *Kātibs*, *Dellāls*, *Çukadars*, *re'āya kocabaşıs* (non-Muslim notables or representatives), and the notables of the district like *Ağa*, *Hajj*, *Efendi* and so on. Especially probate inventories, names that take place in the *şühudü-l-hals*, and records about the pious foundations may give us significant clues about functions of these people and *de facto* roles in the cities.

### **1- State-Appointed Administrators, Their Duties and Livelihood**

We see some officials appointed or charged by the state in all periods under study. These were *subaşıs*, *serdars*, *yasakçıs*, *Nāibs*, and people who worked in mosques. The second group of officials such as *kassāms* for deceased people who belong to military group, guards (*bekçıs*), architects and *Muhzirs* are found in the records of only two periods. Finally, such people as *Ağas*, *bostancıbaşıs*, *emins*, and priests (*rahib*) take place only in the appointments of the mid-seventeenth century, *menzilcis*

<sup>270</sup> D-4: 2/4-5 (19.RA.1213).

<sup>271</sup> D-4: 36/3 (nd). These taxes of alcoholic beverages, according to Salzman (1993: 399) appeared during the second half of the seventeenth century.

<sup>272</sup> D-4: 62/3 (3.Ş.1213).

in those of the early eighteenth century, and *kaimmakams* and *mütesellims* in those of the late eighteenth century. Therein we try to look at their administrative positions rather than their social positions among the people of the city, which is too difficult to explore within these kinds of sources.

### **a- Serdars**

The first group we analyze here is that of the *serdars* who were elected by the janissary *Ağa* from different groups (*cemaat* or *bölük*) of janissaries “as in the old times” according to the records. Hence, they were in fact soldiers in spite of the fact that in later periods some of them carried the titles like Hajj.<sup>273</sup> The additional titles adjacent to names may indicate that some changes occurred in eighteenth-century soldiers in the definition of responsibilities of the military people compared to that of the seventeenth century. Honorable words and sentences of prayers that were used after the names of *serdar* in the eighteenth-century appointments can be seen as the signs of changing status of *serdar* candidates in the military.

*Serdars* or janissary *serdars* were commanders of the janissary soldiers in their regions. They were also responsible to sell in the Sultan bazaar<sup>274</sup> the inheritances of people who died with no inheritors, and to send them in cash to the State Treasury in İstanbul. The soldiers under their commands included janissaries, *acemi oğlans*, artillerymen (*topcis*), *cebecis* in the mid-seventeenth century, *top arabacısı*, *kul oğulları*, *sekban*, cavalries, and *gilmans* were added to this group in the early eighteenth century. They must have attended to the wars with their soldiers when the

<sup>273</sup> D-3: 65/2 (Es.L.1128/1716). In this case, it is striking that the local administrators and notables submitted a petition to the State to assign a new *Serdar* since the old *serdar* had been martyred.

<sup>274</sup> We do not know the local denotations of this term. But *pazar* as a significant unit of the ‘Islamic cities’ was analyzed by German urban geographers especially by Eugen Wirth.

relevant order came.<sup>275</sup> Some new elements were attached to their duties in the eighteenth century. One of them was to protect the city from bandits and to provide the security and comfort for the people.<sup>276</sup> Another one was to protect the port of Mudanya. For this reason, they were called *zābits* as well as *serdars* in the eighteenth century.<sup>277</sup>

There were three *serdars* within the five-year period from 1056/1646 to 1061 in all appointments, but not all of them belonged only to Mudanya: they also included Tirilye and Siğı. But there was only one *serdar* specifically for Mudanya, a certain Mehmed from 42th group (*cemaat*) as seen in the records. In every six month at most a new order of appointment was sent to the district, but these orders were only for keeping the status of the existing *serdar* as it is. The periods of duty did not change much in the early eighteenth century but the number of *serdars* rose to six for three-year period between 1127/1715 and 1130/1718. Orders of the appointments came twice a year, mostly in Zilkade or Zilhicce and Rabiyyülevvel or Rabiyyüssāni, and the duty of a *serdar* generally continued one year. Since one of the *serdars* was martyred in war, three *serdars* were, maybe exceptionally, appointed for a nine-month period between RA.1128/1716 and Z.1128/1716.

In the late eighteenth century, there were five *serdars* for the period between 1209/1795 and 1213/1799. Only first two of them did this duty for a very short time, the third and the fourth *serdars* took this position each for one year and the last *serdar*, Serturna-i Mehmed Ağa, continued his duty for about two years. Özdemir sees a correlation between the periods of their duty and amount of money they paid as *serdarlık cāizesi*. According to a *firman* dated 1815, the amount of money was

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<sup>275</sup> D-3: 30/2 (Ev.R.1129).

<sup>276</sup> D-3: 23/2 (Ev.B.1179).

<sup>277</sup> See D-4: 46/2 (G.ZA.1212).

400 guruş for three months and 800 guruş for six months.<sup>278</sup> But it is not known what kind of revenues and advantages they had by being appointed to this duty.

### **b- Subaşıs**

The second ruler in the city was the *subaşı*.<sup>279</sup> They were recruited by the pious foundations to protect the rights and taxes of these foundations in the city. In the mid-seventeenth century, only one such appointment was recorded and this was not related to Mudanya but its village Seke.<sup>280</sup> The appointer was the *mütevelli* (chief) of Musa Waqf. Though we used here the word ‘appointment’, in reality the foundation gave him the position by means of *iltizam* whose value was 3,500 *akçes*. We see the similar processes in the later periods. Singer claims that this method of giving to *iltizam* became widespread after the sixteenth century.<sup>281</sup>

In the early eighteenth century, Hüdavendigâr Waqf appointed Mehmed Beşe as a *subaşı* of Mudanya in 1127/1715 and 1128/1716. This person was obliged to pay 9 guruş per month, and he took in turn the right of collecting such revenues as taxes of fault (*cürm*),<sup>282</sup> crime (*cināyet*), bride (*‘arusāne*), menzil?, and gift of woman slave (*cāriye müjdegānesi*).<sup>283</sup> The annual appointment is also valid for the late eighteenth century records. In this period, unlike in others, we do not see the *iltizam* process for these appointments in these records. Even they did not include any value

<sup>278</sup> Özdemir, 1998: 151. His findings about the duties of the *serdars* in Ankara coincided with the findings of this study.

<sup>279</sup> İlgürel (1983) analyzes the duties, appointment process, incomes of *subaşıs*, and even the resolution of this institution in the Ottoman context but he does not say anything about the *subaşıs* who are appointed by the *waqfs*.

<sup>280</sup> D-2: 85/6 (15.M.1056/1646).

<sup>281</sup> Singer, 1994.

<sup>282</sup> In fact, the collection of these taxes were the right of ‘free’ [privileged] timaroits, (Barkan, 1975: 15).

<sup>283</sup> See D-3: 6/4 (G.L.1127/1715) and D-3: 60/3 (14.RA.1128/1716). Interestingly, İlgürel (1983: 253) argues citing from *Kanunnāme* that it is forbidden for the *subaşıs* to collect any kind of taxes from the *re‘āyā*.

taken from or given to the appointees. Besides, the duties of *subaşı*s were rearranged restating the private and public State Treasury, *yeve* and deserters on behalf of Hüdavendigâr Waqf. However we do not encounter duties such as making investigations in the villages with the order of *kadis* or accompanying the parties of the crime in disputable or criminal issues as Singer talks in the case of Palestine around the sixteenth century.<sup>284</sup>

### **c- Yasakçıs**

*Yasakçıs* first appeared in the Ottoman administration system in the era of Suleyman the Lawgiver. The turmoil due to the rebellion of *şehzāde* Bayezit against Suleyman the Lawgiver and the misbehaviour of the *subaşı*s to the *re'āyā* can be seen significant causes for the establishment of this new administrative position in the *sancaks*.<sup>285</sup> In the records under study, *yasakçıs* were appointed by the janissary *kethüdas* six times in 1057/1647, one in 1058/1648, one in 1059/1649 and twice in 1060/1650. Hence, we cannot talk about particular periods of appointments. Departing from the appointments of early eighteenth century, we can say that the general tendency for the duty-periods was two months. This uncertainty ended in the late eighteenth century because the periods of the duty were given as three months in two records of this period.

Another point related to *Yasakçıs* is that they changed in each period and they were generally selected from the janissaries “as in the old times”. In 1058/1648 certain Mehmed and İbrahim were appointed for the same period whereas in 1060/1650 Mehmed and İbrahim Beşe were appointed for two different periods. But we cannot say anything about whether the former two were the same people as the

<sup>284</sup> Singer, 1994: 27. Also see İlgürel, 1983: 253.

<sup>285</sup> İlgürel, 1983: 259.

latter ones, since the *bölük* (squadron) numbers within the army of two İbrahims were different. Related to the reasons for the dismissal of *yasakçıs*, only one record gives information referring, in a very condensed way, to the mischief or disturbance (*fesād*) of the *yasakçıs*.<sup>286</sup> The problem of the scarcity of information is valid for the duties of these officials. We cannot find any relevant information in those records. The appointment letter only ordered the help (*mu'āvenet*) of the *kadı* to the *yasakçıs* in their duties.

In the early eighteenth century, unlike in the previous period, *yasakçıs* were appointed with 'four *değneks*'. The meaning of this word was not explained in the records but the same words were used in the appointments of *yasakçıs* in the late eighteenth century.<sup>287</sup> Another differentiation concerns the word of *zābit* that was mentioned together with *yasakçı* in the late eighteenth century. This may refer either to the explanation of the meaning of *yasakçı* or to the expansion of their authorities.

#### **d- Naibs**

The fourth group of officials in Mudanya was *Nāibs* who were appointed in the mid-seventeenth century by the old *kadı* of Mecca, Mehmed. The period of their duties was two months in the year 1056/1646, but it remained uncertain in the following years. Though two *kadis* were appointed in 1057/1647 and 1059/1649, the months of their assignments were very close to each other. It seems that many appointment records have been disappeared from the *defter*. In every record of the period the *Nāib* was changed except in the years of 1059/1649 and 1060/1650. The 'learned man' Mehmed was appointed twice according to those records.

<sup>286</sup> D-2: 89/3 (6.C.1057/1647).

<sup>287</sup> Pakalın (1971, I: 420) says that this word could be used instead of *yasakçı*.

In the early eighteenth century there were four appointments for two *Nāibs*. But we cannot say a lot of thing about the periods of their duties. A similar thing can be said for the late eighteenth century. In a year three or four related appointments were recorded in the *defters*. The striking point here is that every person was generally appointed two times one after the other. Besides, the appointer was, in this period, the *kadı* of Galata. These *kadıs* unlike the *Nāibs* changed regularly in every month of Receb, indicating that their periods of duty were always one year.

The duties of these *Nāibs* as mentioned in the records were to carry out the requirements of the Shari'a among people and to pay a special attention to the decision-making process.<sup>288</sup> How they earned their lives was another question to be answered. We do not find any related information within the suit and appointment records. However, the probate inventories give us some clues on this matter. Within the passives of the *tereke*s, some taxes like *resm-i kısmet*, *resm-i kısmet ber mu'tad*, *resm-i kısmet-i ādi*, *harac-ı hucet*, *harac-ı hucet-i vesāyet*, *harac-ı mahkeme*, and *harac-ı defter*, as discussed below, most probably belonged to the *kadı*.

Among the aforementioned taxes only *resm-i kısmet* and *resm-i kısmet-i ādi* take place within the three periods under study, and the rest are, however, only found after 1179. The rate of these taxes in the probate inventories was generally about 3 percent of the total actives. This figure sometimes reached to 10-15 percent and even 24 percent as in the *harac-ı defter*, which seems, however, extraordinary and mostly because of the very low value of the total actives. Interestingly, there are only two

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<sup>288</sup> We do not discuss here in detail the positions of *naibs* in the general system, their administrative and religious duties and so on. For, the case of this study gives us neither detailed nor different information and clues more than we already knew. This point has been discussed to a certain extent in different studies. For its general descriptions for the different parts of the Empire, see especially Uzunçarşılı, 1988; el-Nahal, 1979: 12-17; Bakhit, 1982: 119-132; Bayındır, 1986: 20, 89-92; Ortaylı, 1994; Gökçe, 1994.

*harac-ı huccets* in all records whereby the *kadı* received 160 and 200 para by using this title, namely 0,9 percent and 0,3 percent of the total value of the actives, respectively.<sup>289</sup> As *harac-ı huccet-i vesāyet* the *kadı* took 6 guruş (240 para), 0,5 percent, in one record<sup>290</sup> and 200 para, 1,4 percent, in another case.<sup>291</sup>

Uzunçarşılı<sup>292</sup> examines the salaries paid to the *kadis* classifying them into many groups, but we do not find any related information about this issue in the *sicils*.<sup>293</sup> Özdemir, in addition, discusses another type of fee paid to the *kadis* annually for the preparation of the fixed prices (*narhs*) as *narkhiyye*.<sup>294</sup> We do not find such information related to Mudanya *Nāibs*, either.

### e- *Muhzirs*

*Muhzirs* in the court was also appointed by the State. El-Nahal claims that they were the “retired members of the military court”,<sup>295</sup> but we do not find such information in the *defters* under study. There were two such appointments in the mid-seventeenth century and one in the early eighteenth century. One of the records taking place in the former period was very interesting, since it gives information about the qualifications that a *Muhzir* had to own, and about the relationship between the *kadı*

<sup>289</sup> See D-4: 36/4 (11.S.1212) and D-4: 17/1 (15.S.1211/1797).

<sup>290</sup> D-4: 63/1 (21.Ş.1213).

<sup>291</sup> D-4: 75/5 (15.CA.1214).

<sup>292</sup> See Uzunçarşılı, 1988; See also Gökçe, 1994. It is worth mentioning that Evliya Çelebi (1999: 9) says that Mudanya was 150 akçe district and its *kadı* earns 2,000 guruş annually.

<sup>293</sup> The analysis of *ruznamçes* of the *kadıaskers* may give us some information about their salaries. Bakhit (1982: 126) claims that in the sixteenth-century Damascus the *kadis* could earn “50-80 akçes on some days and nothing on others”. Hence it seems that there was no fixed amount of salary for them.

<sup>294</sup> Özdemir, 1998: 181, 183. The *naiibs* of Ankara were paid 1,100 guruş in 1825. This amount was collected from the tradesmen of the city.

<sup>295</sup> el-Nahal, 1979: 20.

and the *Muhzir*.<sup>296</sup> This person, a certain Ma'den, was appointed in the month of *Şevvāl* of 1056/1646, but the *kadı* of the court, Kadızāde Mehmed, did not want to work with him claiming that he misbehaved to the people. The appointed *Muhzir* sent a petition to the State and said, "I am a harmless person. I have neither used force nor misbehaved to anybody. I did nothing against the Islamic rules. In addition, everybody grants my good personality, acts and speeches. The problem of the *kadı* was not my qualifications, but his hostility to my personality."<sup>297</sup> However, the reason for this hostility was not given in the petition. The inspection of the center continued about nine months and the result was against the *kadı*: the petitioned man became a *Muhzir*.

The interesting thing here is that the decision of the inspection was given in the month of Receb, and only after two months a new *Muhzir* was appointed.<sup>298</sup> The position of the *kadı* was also very striking here. There is no information in the records about what happened to the *kadı* during and after the inspection period. But when we look at the *Nāib* appointments of the period, we see that a person named Mehmed was appointed in the month of Recep of 1056/1646 and dismissed in the date of the petition, *Şevvāl* 1056/1646.<sup>299</sup> There were two other *kadı*s after him. Then one month later from the date of the inspection decision, a *kadı* named again Mehmed became a *kadı*.<sup>300</sup> These Mehmeds may not be the same Mehmed in the above case, but if they were the same person then the *kadı* must have been out of duty during the inspection.

<sup>296</sup> D-2: 78/2 (Ev.L.1056/1646). For more information about *muhzirs* and other court officials, see Bayındır, 1986: 81 and el-Nahal, 1979: 19-20.

<sup>297</sup> "Kendi halimde, kimseye bir zararım ve teaddim yok, hılaf-ı şer' va'z ve hareketim yok ve herkes de ahval, ef'āl ve akvālimden rıza ve şükran üzere..."

<sup>298</sup> D-2: 78/6 (6.L.1057/1647).

<sup>299</sup> D-2: 10/5 (G.B.1055/1645 [it should be 1056/1646]).

<sup>300</sup> D-2: 22/4 (G.Ş.1057/1647).

There is no related appointment record in the late eighteenth century. Nevertheless, in the probate inventories of the period there were many *Muhzirs* who took certain amount of money as *Muhziriyye* from the inheritance of the deceased people. Their shares were about 0,9 percent of the total value of actives of the inheritances in the mid-seventeenth century; 0,5 percent and 0,4 percent in the early and late eighteenth century respectively. Generally, they got at least 30-40 para regardless of the total amount. For instance, their incomes from these shares were 960 para in 1211/1797, 502 para in 1212/1798, and 400 para in 1213/1799. We cannot talk about more exact figures related to their incomes in the other periods due to the insufficient information in the limited number of the records at hand.

#### **f- Emins**

*Emins* of the State Treasury and of Mudanya Customs were other officials in that period. The former was responsible to determine the amount and save the goods (*mevād*) and then to send them to the State,<sup>301</sup> whereas the latter was appointed to collect all products (*mahsulāt*) and to record them monthly to the *müfredāt* defter.<sup>302</sup> We cannot say anything about the periods of their duty because of the lack of information in the records. Of these two *emins* in the city, the former was significant especially in the inheritances of the deceased people that would be turned over the State Treasury. We can follow their duties and their incomes taken from this job in the probate inventories. These officials were selling the goods of *tereke*s in the Sultan Bazaar and taking their money on behalf of the State. They also took money for themselves as *resm-i emin-i beytülmal* and *harac-ı defter*. Probably the tax of inheritance that belonged to the State Treasury called *müjdegāne* before the late

<sup>301</sup> D-2: 52/3 (14.Ş.1060/1650). Also see D-2: 90/9 (G.CA.1057/1647).

<sup>302</sup> D-2: 42/5 (G.S.1060/1650).

eighteenth century was probably obtained by the mediation of these *emins*. Interestingly, there was another *emin* after the date of 1178 recorded in the probate inventories that took money even from inheritances that did not belong to the state. As the following table proves all taxes mentioned above could be taken from one single *tereke*. Therefore, it was difficult to understand whether the *emin* at the top was the same *emin* of the State Treasury or not.

Table 11: Taxes taken from one Probate Inventory

Category	Price	Unit	Proportion	Tereke	Religious Status	Gender Status	Social Status	Location	Family Size	Value of Tereke	Source	Date
Emin	60	Akçe	1,04%	State	M	E	Beşe; Abdullah	Village: Seke		5760-4560=1200 Akçe	D-3: 22/2	24.S.1179
Harc-ı Hüddam-ı Beytülmal	120	Akçe	2,08%									
Hüddamiye	240	Akçe	4,17%									
Katıbiyye	240	Akçe	4,17%									
Muhziriyeye	120	Akçe	2,08%									
Müjdegane	120	Akçe	2,08%									
Resm-i Emin-i Beytülmal	360	Akçe	6,25%									
Resm-i Kismet	480	Akçe	8,33%									
Techiz ve Tekfin	1200	Akçe	20,83%									

The *resm-i emin-i beytülmal* took the highest rate of the total actives with the average of 8,5 percent. In other words, the taxes that have similar names change between 60 para and 24 guruş (960 para). The tax of *harac-ı defter* is seen only in the records of 1210s and it was taken from the inheritances that belonged to the State Treasury. Its rate within the total actives shifted from 80 para and 4 percent to 480 para and 26 percent. There was one more similar tax as *hüddām-ı emin-i beytülmal* that also appeared after 1179, and included on the average 3 percent of the total actives. When we take the median of the data, this figure changes only slightly, 3,1 percent. In many of the probate inventories, the three types of taxes mentioned above are found together. If we compare their proportions with each other, we realize that

the tax of *hüddām-ı emin-i beytülmal* has the minimum rate, proving quite low relative to others. On the other hand, *harac-ı defter* has higher proportions than *resm-i emin-i beytülmal*, if other taxes, especially *çukadariyye* and *dellāliye*, take place in the same *tereke*.

Two taxes, namely *resm-i emin-i beytülmal* and *hüddām-ı emin-i beytülmal*, are found almost always together. In this case instead of *harac-ı defter*, another tax immediately appeared either as *resm-i ādi* or *harac-ı mahkeme* or *resm-i kısmet-i ādi* or as *resm-i kısmet*. Most probably these taxes were the right of the court or the *kadı*. Based on this information, we may claim that *harac-ı defter* also belonged to the *kadı*.

There are only two *müjdegāne* taxes in the records, one being in 1058/1648 and the other in 1179, but the rate of this tax was interestingly equal in these two very different periods that was 2,1 percent of the total actives of inheritance.

As we discussed above, we do not know the details about the *emins* seen in the records. Their shares were on the average 0,6 percent of the total actives. In some instances, they take place together with the *hüddāmiye* that is another tax whose owner is not known. Besides, even when these taxes are mentioned separately, they generally have obtained the same rate of the total actives. These lead us to think of a relationship between the owners of these taxes, but it is impossible to identify its nature with the sources at hand.

### **g- Other Appointed Administrators**

The appointments of persons to the mosques were also made by the State but the candidates of this duty were recommended by local *kadis-Nāibs* or *mütevelli* of waqfs. In the first period of our study, these appointments were made only when the person on duty had died. In addition to this, in the early eighteenth century, the old

age of a person, his neglecting of responsibilities and required services, as well as resignation constituted the other causes of new appointments. Although the responsibilities of these people are not given in the records, it is possible to learn about their daily wages, which showed changes in the payment rates such as from 1 *akçes* to 6 *akçes* according to mosque and the nature of duty.

The officials who were responsible to share out the inheritances of deceased military people, namely *kismet-i askeriyye*, and to take the share of the State Treasury might again be the *kadis* or *Nāibs* because of the titles like *mevlānā* and *müderriş* added to their names, but the lack of simultaneous records prevents us to construct such a linkage. In this construction, mentioning one additional point can be useful: they were appointed by the *kazasker* of Anatolia.

It is significant that these officials shared out the inheritances of people living not only in Mudanya but also in all cities of Bursa, namely *Hüdavendigâr Sancak*. In one of the two instances, the *kassām* appointed certain Ahmed Çelebi for the inheritances of Mudanya.<sup>303</sup> This may give us some clues about the process of functioning of this duty in the cities. Interestingly, we do not see appointments about the *kassāms* in the late eighteenth century. Other officials like *serdars* and *emins* of the State Treasury probably worked as *kassams* in that period. We can find evidences for this claim within the period's probate inventories of the deceased military people.

In the mid-seventeenth century, the number of guard appointments for the orchards of Mudanya and for some specific lands was quite high. The chaotic conditions of the seventeenth century can be cited as a significant reason for this situation. Nevertheless, we see guards for the orchards in the late eighteenth century, too. This makes it difficult to understand the reasons in this process. For instance,

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<sup>303</sup> D-2: 91/3 (9.R.1056/1646); D-2: 38/2 (22.CA.1061).

two people, mostly from non-Muslims, were appointed with certain wages like 150-250 *akçes* per month by the *kethüda*, *serdar* or *kocabaşı*<sup>304</sup> of the city. The number of records in the late eighteenth century was lower but the number of guards in one appointment was quite high: it changed from 7-10 people with the wage of 15 *guruş* per month for each. In some cases, owners of the specific lands appointed a person as a guard making a contract before the *kadı*. In fact, all of the appointment records of this kind can be called contracts (*mukāvele*) between the parties made before the *kadı*. The striking thing in the later period was that there was an emphasis upon the janissary character of the guards and even the non-Muslims were counted within the janissary group.<sup>305</sup>

An architect for the city was also appointed by the state in the early eighteenth century. In one of the records, the private chief architect (*hassa mimarbaşı*) petitioned that the old architect of Mudanya was not an expert in his job and, besides, he lived in a different city that made it difficult to answer the problems of Mudanya. Hence, the chief architect wanted, with the wishes of merchants and craftsmen and approve of the local *kadı*, to appoint a new architect to the city, who was an expert and had more suitable personality. He advised the architect Hac Ömer for this job. The state approved this architect and conditioned that he should not have employed a representative for this job unless he had religious (*sher'î*) handicap.<sup>306</sup> A year later a new architect was appointed not only for Mudanya but also for Bursa, Kite,

<sup>304</sup> D-4: 74/2 (G.RA.1214).

<sup>305</sup> See D-4:1/2 (G.M.1216).

<sup>306</sup> D-3: 10/1 (27.Ş.1128/1716). Also see D-3: 62/3 (İbtidā-i Mart 1128/1716 = Eh.RA.1128/1716). For details about the appointment of architects to the cities, see Orhonlu, 1981 especially p. 14ff.

Yanişehir and İnegöl.<sup>307</sup> However, we cannot learn anything about the duties of an architect in the city.

We see that in the mid-seventeenth century *Ağas* in İstanbul were appointed to collect the grains of Mudanya and its villages.<sup>308</sup> The assignment of *Ağas* in such a duty was very an extraordinary case. Again in that period *Bostancıbaşı* and *Başhaseki* were appointed to inspect and arrest the bandits (*eşkiya* and *harāmi*) in the areas around Mudanya.<sup>309</sup>

One interesting appointment in the mid-seventeenth century was about a metropolite of Bursa and its districts. Metropolite Anton wanted to renew the *beraat* of his duty. Since the patriarch Parşanos in İstanbul approved the appropriateness of his submission and metropolite Anton paid 3,000 *akçes* as usual *peşkeş*, the *beraat* was given to him.<sup>310</sup> We learn from the document that the authority of metropolite included to appoint and to dismiss priests and monks in his religious territory, to collect the inheritances of aforementioned deceased religious men on behalf of the patriarch and to perform marriage ceremonies. The document strictly warns the 'others' of not interfering to the metropolite's acts that fit the state rules and their religious norms. The metropolite even had a right to punish the religious men and false witnesses. At the same time the metropolite was responsible to take and use the endowed and founded belongings (lands, farms, orchards, meadows, mills, goods and other materials) of the church.

An appointment related to a *menzilci* occurred only in the early eighteenth century. In fact, according to the document, it was not a habitual thing for the state to assign a *menzilci* to Mudanya; however, the people of the district wished this

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<sup>307</sup> D-3: 19/3 (11.B.1129).

<sup>308</sup> D-2: 59/4 (Probably 1058/1648/1648).

<sup>309</sup> D-2: 76/6-7.

<sup>310</sup> D-2: 46/3 (19.B.1059/1649).

appointment from the state. The duty of this *menzilci* was to provide couriers (*ulak*) of the official letters with *menzil* horses and their expenses. For this reason, every household in Mudanya paid 3 guruş (330 *akçes*) and 34 *akçes* with three installments.<sup>311</sup>

Besides these, two different kinds of appointments occurred in the late eighteenth century. One of them being related to the *kaimakām* of the Anatolia,<sup>312</sup> and the other was for the *mütesellim* of Anatolia.<sup>313</sup> There is no detailed information about their duties and periods of them in the records.

We have tried so far to analyze the outcomes of the records related to the appointments in the *defters* under survey. Generally they contain quite insufficient information to understand the limits of the authority, as well as the meaning and expansion of the duties of the appointed people. In other words, there are very few clues in the records about their responsibilities to the people and the state.

## 2- Local Officials

By the term local administrators, I consider those officials who appeared in the court and took shares in inheritance suits. Since there are neither appointment records nor any other records about the assignments of these people, we do not exactly know how they obtained these positions. We can only see the amounts of their shares in the probate inventories. Local officials include *Çukadars*, *Dellāls*, and *kātibs*, and their shares what are called in the records *çukadariyye*, *dellāliye*, and *kātibiyye*, respectively.

<sup>311</sup> Between G.M and G.CA 184 *akçes*, G.CA and G.N. 120 *akçes*, and G.N. to the end of the year 90 *akçes*. D-3: 56/2 (G.M.1127/1715).

<sup>312</sup> D-4: 8/3 (13.L.1210/1796).

<sup>313</sup> D-4: 84/2 (Ev.ZA.1214).

It is completely unclear what they did for the public and why they received the money from them. Besides, it is susceptible how they were assigned, what their names were, and how long their duties continued.

We see *çukadariyye* taking place mainly in the late eighteenth century. Only two related records existed in the third defter, but their dates were quite late, 1179. In most of the probate inventories of the late eighteenth century, that is 67 out of 80, we see the *çukadāriyyes*. We cannot reach any conclusion about why thirteen of them do not include such a share. *Çukadars*, like *Muhzirs*, were getting at least 40 para from an inheritance and this amount increased proportionally with the increase in the total amount of the inheritance. In short, the average of their shares was about 0,5 percent of the total actives.

*Dellāls*, unlike the *Çukadars*, existed in all periods.<sup>314</sup> Interestingly, their numbers in the inheritances that belonged to the State Treasury were higher than those that belonged to inheritors of the deceased people. Another point is that their amounts of shares in the probate inventories were also higher in inheritances of Muslim men than women and non-Muslims according to the records under study. They probably announce the goods in the probate inventories and sell them in the Sultan Bazaar since the shares of *dellāliye* were in some records mentioned together with the price for the renting shops. Based on some very insufficient information in our records, we can only say that they received on the average about 2.2 percent of the total actives in the mid-seventeenth century and took totally 1,338 *akçes* from 1056/1646 to 1059/1649. These figures were 1,1 percent and 70 *akçes*; 1,3 percent and 294 *akçes*; 0,9 percent and 2,346 para between 1127/1715-28, 1178-79, and 1209/1795-13, respectively.

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<sup>314</sup> Özdeğer (1988: 12) argues that *dellāls* in the *terekes* knew the accurate market values of the goods.

*Katib* (clerk) of the court is another important official in the city. Speculatively we know their jobs in the court, namely to record the suits to the *sicil defters*. They, like *dellāls*, can be found also within the lists of *shud-ul-hāl* of the suits. The second duty of *Kātibs* is to list the belongings of the deceased people as probate inventories which is recorded in the *sicils* explicitly. The shares in the probate inventories as *Kātibiyye*, *kaydiyye* and *Kalemiyye*<sup>315</sup> most probably refer to these officials listing the goods. We should note here that we do not claim that the former and the latter *Kātibs* are the same people. The *kadı* himself or the *kassām* might have been doing this job, but since the *kassāms* in Mudanya dealt only with the inheritances that belonged to the State Treasury and both *kadı* and *kassām* received their own shares as *resm-i kismet*,<sup>316</sup> I think, the *Kātibs* in the inventories were most probably the same people with those in the court.<sup>317</sup>

Their incomes from the probate inventories also differed in each case but not proportionally. We see that they received neither standard fees nor certain rate of total actives of inheritances. We cannot determine the factor that affected these rates of sharing. In general, *kātibiyye* was, on the average, about 1,5 and 0,7 percent of the total actives in 1050s and 1120s, respectively. In 1210s, the averages of *kātibiyye* or *Kalemiyye* with *kaydiyye* was about 0,5 percent

<sup>315</sup> *Katibiyye* alone was used especially in the mid-seventeenth century and early eighteenth century whereas *kātibiyye maa kaydiyye* and *kalemiyye maa kaydiyye* were mostly used together in the late eighteenth century. *Kalemiyye* took 50 percent higher than *katibiyye* as share in 1128/1716 and 1129. See D-3: 9/2 (5.Z.1128/1716) and D-3: 10/3 (07.L.1129).

<sup>316</sup> The rate of this tax according to *Kanuns* in the second half of the fifteen-century was 15 or 20 *akçes* per 1,000 *akçes*. See İnalçık, 1953-4: 54, 55.

<sup>317</sup> Özdemir (1998: 189-192) talks about the duties and the process of their appointment. Especially he (1998: 192) separates *mukayyids* from the *katibs* and presents the former under the latter as rank. Our study cannot say anything about his findings.

Burial expenses (*techiz ve tekfin*) of the deceased people were also costing great amounts of money, but who were dealing with these issues is not explicit in the records. Besides, the details of these expenses were not given in the cases, either. The *imams* of the mosques, *gassāls* (washers of the dead body), and people who dealt with the graves were firstly considered about this issue.

### 3- Notables

I will first define what I understand from the terminology of notable in the texts, which seems to be a necessary task, and then to describe the notables of the district. However, this is also very difficult because we do not define etymology of a term as linguists. On the contrary, we should try to find the social meanings and limits of them within the periods and spaces under examination. In other words, what kinds of qualities this people had made it legitimate to call them notables? Economic, religious, social, traditional and other many infinite spheres of life may have a capacity to make one person a notable. It is also questionable whether or not being a notable create a certain kind of stratification in society. If yes, the nature and the limits of this stratification are issues of another problematique.

The relationship between the people whose names had some titles and the place in which they lived is also another significant subject of debate. If there were only *Ağas* in the villages, how can we interpret this? In addition, in all of these analyses we, probably, will have to revise our assumptions according to each of the three different periods. Here, we cannot say a lot of thing related to these discussions, due to limits of the problematique of the present study and the lack of sufficient information in the records.

In short, one can take the simpler way of discovering the notables in the district by analyzing the literal usages in the records, since our source with its written character give this limited possibility to us. The other way, difficult one, is to analyze the information recorded in these sources looking for the linkages among various aspects of information by paying attention, at the same time, to the reliability and truth of this information. Coherent constructions from this information may provide us with the possibility to diagnose more *de facto* notables of the district. We, at this point, prefer the first path with hope of its conjunction with the second.

From the linguistic point of view, we see some titles attached to the names of people like *Ağa*, *Efendi*, *Beşe*, *Hajj*, *mollā*, *çelebi*, *dervish*, *sheikh*, *hāfız*, and *Seyyid-Sherife*. There are also some people who recorded in the *sicils* with the names of their occupations like butcher, baker, *attar*, and grocer. We accept these people as the notables of the city. Their relationships with each other, with other people and with the state or state officials are the points on which we focus in this section. We should note here, as we mentioned under the title of “Belongings of Social Groups”, that we take them as social groups for only analytical purposes. We cannot talk about whether they could form a group that shared similar qualifications or not.

Related to social status of these people, we can say that some of them would be meritocratic and achievement-based like *Hajj* and other occupational groups, and others would be ascribed like *Seyyids*, *sherifs*. In some instances of the *tereke*s, we witness that a son of *Ağa* and *Efendi* can be called with the titles of *Ağa* and *Efendi*, respectively.<sup>318</sup> But it is also possible to see the opposite examples: a son of *Efendi* could be *Ağa*, too.<sup>319</sup> Therefore, it seems more reasonable to evaluate them within the

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<sup>318</sup> See D-3: 21/6 (18.S.1179); Even his brother was also *Ağa*, see D-4: 60/5 (5.B.1213); D-5: 42/3 (10.CA.1208/1794).

<sup>319</sup> See D-4: 17/1 (15.S.1211/1797).

category of achieved social status. The combination of the above social statuses can also be seen in one person. For instance, one person was both *Ağa* and *Hajj*,<sup>320</sup> and another was at the same time called *Seyyid*, *Hajj*, and *Ağa*.<sup>321</sup>

As we already mentioned in different sections of this study, these people usually got married the daughters of the people who had the same status. Besides, except for the military people, *Seyyids* and *Sherifes*, their actives in the *tereke*s were quite high. Thus, the positive correlation between the social status and the wealth people owned can be clearly seen in the records.

We can look at the lists of names taking place in the *shud-ul-hāl* of the suits to understand the social and particularly judicial positions of these people.<sup>322</sup> For, the people in the *shud-ul-hals* could be selected among the notables of the district. When we analyze the records in the table from this point of view, we see that all lists consisted of only the people who had titles before or after their names.<sup>323</sup> The ‘ordinary’ people would be ready and witnessed the suit like the notables, but they were most probably referred to within the lists as ‘others’ (*‘gayruhum’*). The standardized names within these lists seen especially in the late eighteenth century<sup>324</sup> included especially such titles as *Ağa*, *Hajj* and *Efendi* as well as ‘notables’ mentioned above.

We can inadequately follow from the records whether these social standings gave them a special position in negotiations between the state and the district. For instance, in certain periods households in Mudanya paid their taxes to the state

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<sup>320</sup> See D-5: 2/4 (24.CA.1209/1795); D-4: 18/3 (20.R.1211/1797).

<sup>321</sup> D-4: 52/4 (27.M.1213).

<sup>322</sup> For detailed lists of the names that take place in the *shudu-l-hāls*, see Table 38-39 in the Appendix.

<sup>323</sup> It is interesting that *Ağas* take place especially in the *shudu-l-hāls* of criminal issues and inheritance records whereas *Beşes* in those of the debt suits.

<sup>324</sup> The names within the *shud-ul-hāls* were the same in many cases in that period.

officials and took a receipt from them. Here, especially *Ağas* represented the people becoming the witnesses of these payments. A similar process occurred when the city sent the required number of soldiers or crafts to the state navy.<sup>325</sup>

It is also these notables who founded and administrated in most instances the *waqfs* which were among the most significant institutions of the social, political, economic and religious lives of the Ottoman society. The people in that position with no doubt would have a special place in the eyes of both people and the state and, besides, it would have enhanced the value of their attitudes and opinions in any kind of city issues.

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<sup>325</sup> İnalçık (1977: 37) supports this practice arguing that the distribution of certain taxes in the provinces was determined solely by the consensus of all the *ayan* and *eşraf*.

## IV- ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN MUDANYA

### A- Property Relations

In this section, we analyze acts of property sales and purchases in Mudanya departing from the three *kadı* registers at hand in which there are about sixty related records. However, the first *defter* contains three or four times more records than the other two. The types of properties which the records included were especially houses (*menzil*) and orchards (*bağ*), which are followed quantitatively by other subjects of the sales like arable fields (*tarla*), lands (*arazi*), cellars (*mahzen*), shops, *gediks*, and the right of irrigation. Debt relations and objects and ways of donations between people will also be analyzed here to cover all kinds of property relations that occurred in different legal ways.

#### 1- Sales of Houses

Houses in the records may be categorized by means of their sizes, contents and prices. Some terminologies were used in defining the size of the houses in these records. In other words, houses could be defined as having one or two *babs* (door) or rooms.<sup>326</sup> In addition, words like *fevkāni* (upper floor) and *tahtāni* (floor) were also used for the same house. Interestingly, only the records in the third *defter* contain some data about the supplementary parts of the houses like courtyards (*avlu*), stables (*ahır*) and street door.

The prices that the buyers paid are written in the records as *akçe* and *esedi gurus*.<sup>327</sup> The factors that affected the prices of houses were most probably their

<sup>326</sup> In one record in the third *defter* the number of *babs*-rooms was six. (D-4: 29/4).

<sup>327</sup> For the currencies in the periods under examination see Table 40 in the Appendix.

sizes, parts and locations.<sup>328</sup> It is worth mentioning that the negotiation between the parties of the sales and some undetermined social factors would affect the prices at the same time. We can understand the influence of these factors by comparing the prices of the similar houses. Unfortunately, the records do not contain information about the physical conditions of the houses like old or new, good wooden house and so on. However, it may be seen as anachronistic to seek this kind of information in the places where the standard way of building and using houses were dominant.

Information about the houses that were *one-bab* and that consisted of *tahtāni* and *fevkāni* takes place especially in the first *defter*. There are two cases in the third *defter* having these characteristics; and one of them included, additionally, a courtyard and a shop.<sup>329</sup> The second house included six *bab*-rooms, in addition to the *tahtāni* and *fevkāni*.<sup>330</sup> The range of prices for this kind of houses changed from 1,000 *akçes* to 7,000 *akçes* in the records of the first two *defters*. The house in *Penaye mahalle* that charged at 1,000 *akçes*<sup>331</sup> was probably sold under its real price although this price was half of a person's share that he inherited from his mother. For, similar houses at other *mahalles* were sold at the average price of 6,250 *akçes*.

The houses located in *Cami-i Atik mahalle* were more expensive than those of other *mahalles*.<sup>332</sup> For instance, the price of one house in *Cami-i Atik* was 7,000

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<sup>328</sup> The *mahalles* they were located also affected the prices of houses as we mentioned at the next paragraphs. The reader should note that the population and geographical locations of the *mahalles* within the city were discussed above. See "Urban and Rural Settlements..."

<sup>329</sup> D-4: 3/5 (25.C.1210/1796)

<sup>330</sup> D-4: 29/4 (15.ZA.1211/1797).

<sup>331</sup> D-2: 27/7 (13.Z.1058/1648).

<sup>332</sup> This *mahalle* was the largest in the city when we consider the number of houses in it. See footnote 211. On the other hand, we see from the *Temettuat* Registers (ML.VRD.TMT, 9097) that *Hasan Bey mahalle* had more population and wealth in the nineteenth century.

*akçes*<sup>333</sup> whereas that of a house in Hızır İlyas was 5,400 *akçes* in one record<sup>334</sup> and 6,000 *akçes* in another.<sup>335</sup> There was another case about which was only recorded “estate (*mülk*) in Hızır İlyas *mahalle* was sold at 6,000 *akçes*.”<sup>336</sup> I think that this estate could have similar features with the aforementioned houses. These differences in the prices justify thinking of differentiation of the value of estates according to their locations. This point seems to be very crucial in the debate on whether the estate property was a means of making money in the Ottoman society.

The houses having similar features as well as consisting of two *babs*-rooms were sold at 14,000 *akçes* in one case.<sup>337</sup> This means that having two *babs* rooms twice increased the value of a house. Moreover, we come a cross one interesting record again in the first *defter* in which a house in Hızır İlyas *mahalle* that contained two *babs* rooms with *tahtāni* and *fevkāni* was sold at 3,000 *akçes*.<sup>338</sup> It seems that this price was certainly under the real value of such a house. When we look at the details of the record, we see that a certain Engeloğ v. Yani was the seller, and a son of Yani v. Fosta, the buyer. This information was not given in the record directly; it is a speculation and gives us, at least, one way of interpretation above very low price.

Let us now compare the prices in three *defters*.<sup>339</sup> But we should note here that all prices in these records, as we noted while discussing the prices of goods in *terekes* and *narhs* may not represent real values of houses: they might not be objective prices, but most probably, they were the ‘legal’ values.

<sup>333</sup> D-2: 14/1 (18.L.1056/1646).

<sup>334</sup> D-2: 9/4 (13?.C.1056/1646).

<sup>335</sup> D-2: 16/6 (15.ZA.1056/1646)

<sup>336</sup> D-2: 14/2 (17.L.1056/1646).

<sup>337</sup> D-2: 24/4 (Es.RA.1058/1648).

<sup>338</sup> D-2: 6/1 (14.RA.1056/1646).

<sup>339</sup> The prices in the second and third *defters* are given in *guruş*.

In the second *defter* (D-3), houses were either *fevkāni* or *tahtāni*. The value of a *tahtāni* house with a courtyard in front of it in Musa Bey *mahalle* was sold at 90 *esedi guruş* (about 9,900 *akçes*).<sup>340</sup> On the other hand, a *fevkāni* house with its *sundurma* (an open shed) and a stable in Aya Kostantinos *mahalle* was sold 160 *esedi guruş* (about 17,600 *akçes*).<sup>341</sup> Another *fevkāni* house that consisted of two *babs*-rooms, *sundurma*, *tahtāni* rooms, a stable and courtyard in Cami-i Atik *mahalle* was sold at 100 *esedi guruş* (about 11,000 *akçes*).<sup>342</sup> Furthermore, it is important that this price was a half share of the seller.

The third *defter* (D-4) contains only two records about the house selling. In one record, a house that was *fevkāni* and *tahtāni* having a courtyard and a shop in Aya Nikola *mahalle* was sold at 400 *esedi guruş* (about 44,000 *akçes*).<sup>343</sup> Another house containing six *babs fevkāni* rooms and *tahtāni* stable and street door within Mudanya near the Big Han was sold at 300 *esedi guruş* (about 33,000 *akçes*).<sup>344</sup>

Above values taken from three different periods (1650s, 1710s and 1790s, respectively) indicate that the prices of houses definitely increased. We cannot say the exact percentages of the increase because of the differences in the configurations of the houses. Besides, we can only talk about a nominal increase in prices rather than their real increase, which requires a more general and comparative analysis.<sup>345</sup>

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<sup>340</sup> D-3: 3/2 (12. R.1127/1715).

<sup>341</sup> D-3: 6/6 (07.ZA.1127/1715).

<sup>342</sup> D-3: 7/1 (16.Z.1127/1715).

<sup>343</sup> D-4: 3/5 (25.C.1210/1796).

<sup>344</sup> D-4: 29/4 (15.ZA.1211/1797).

<sup>345</sup> For real-nominal separation, see footnote 246.

## 2- Sales of Vineyards

Records about the sales of vineyards basically give us information about the fixed sum-taxes (*mukataa*) that were collected annually<sup>346</sup> from owners of these vineyards, about number of laborers (*ırgat*), and about the values of these vineyards.<sup>347</sup> The fixed taxes were paid to different *waqfs*, especially to Hüdavendigâr *waqf*,<sup>348</sup> whose amount changed from 4 to 50 *akçes*. The criteria that determined the amount of the fixed taxes were not clearly given in the records, but the capacity of the laborer, it seems to be the most important factor in defining this amount. For, there is a positive correlation between the amount of the fixed taxes and the number of laborers of these vineyards. For instance, in a record the number of laborers was two and the amount of the fixed tax was 4 *akçes*,<sup>349</sup> while in another record these figures were six and 14 *akçes*, respectively.<sup>350</sup> It is important here to point out that there was no proportional relation but only a positive correlation between them that the positive correlation does not imply a respective proportional relationship between them.

We can diagnose a similar positive correlation in the values of the vineyards. This is very clear especially between the potential number of laborers and the price of the vineyards. The positive correlation involves the situation that the lesser the potential number of the laborers was, the cheaper the values of the vineyards. Departing from this assumption, we can easily calculate the average value of one

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<sup>346</sup> Gerber (1986: 150) claims that the period in the contract for tax-farm was not certain. Its period could finish when another person offered more prices for it. On the other hand, Tabakoğlu (1985: 124) talks about the negative sides of these acts.

<sup>347</sup> For further information, the *avarız* and *temettuat* records in the state archives given in the references can be used at this point because they included similar information for each person recorded.

<sup>348</sup> For the most proportion of lands within Mudanya belonged to this *waqf*. See the "Pious Foundations..." below.

<sup>349</sup> D-2: 29/5 (24.RA.1059/1649).

<sup>350</sup> D-2: 24/6 (Ev.M.1058/1648).

potential laborer for the price of a vineyard. The average of potential laborers in vineyards was about 8 people, and the average value of vineyards was about 3,600 *akçes*. Hence, value-range of one potential laborer becomes between 170 and 470 *akçes*, and the average of this range 340,5 *akçes* per one laborer.<sup>351</sup> Since there were no other kinds of measurement for the size of vineyards, these given number of laborers for each vineyard and calculated value of one laborer can make it easier to understand the structure of property issues in Mudanya.

Determining the size of vineyards by means of their number of laborers rather than by another unit of measurement can be seen, in fact, as a very useful detail for discussing the cultural elements of the city, especially in the land ownership and spatial issues. However, it is worth noting that a few records gave '*kit'a*' instead of number of laborers to specify the size of the vineyards.<sup>352</sup>

Having analyzed the data of the first *defter*, we now pass to the second one, which contains only one record about vineyard in which the number of laborers was four; whose fixed tax was 16 *akçes*; and whose value was 31 *esedi guruş* (about 3,400 *akçes*).<sup>353</sup> A similar vineyard in the first *defter*, involving 4 laborers and 4 *akçes* respectively, was sold at 1,600 *akçes*.<sup>354</sup> Thus, there was great increase in their prices at least in nominal terms. The fourth *defter* also contains two related records, which do not give the fixed taxes but only the number of potential laborers. One of them had a capacity of 6 laborers and, having the same-size arable field, a cost of 46

<sup>351</sup> These calculations are made by means of the records in the first *defter* (1050s).

<sup>352</sup> D-2: 28/1 (13.Z.1058/1648). This and another record [D-2: 9/3 (24.CA.1056/1646)] used the *riyal guruş* for their prices.

<sup>353</sup> D-3: 6/5 (4.ZA.1127/1715).

<sup>354</sup> D-2: 28/6 (13.Z.1058/1648).

*esedi gurus* (about 5,060 *akçes*).<sup>355</sup> The other one had a capacity of 5 laborers, and its given value with the olive grove was 155 *esedi gurus* (about 17,050 *akçes*).<sup>356</sup>

Consequently, we see from this comparison that though olive groves were more expensive than vineyards, there is a certain amount of nominal increase between the prices of similar vineyards. For instance, in the fourth *defter* a vineyard that had six laborers was sold at 46 *esedi gurus* (about 5,060 *akçes*)<sup>357</sup> whereas in the first *defter* again a vineyard that had six laborers was sold at 1,000 *akçes*<sup>358</sup> or another one that had 5 laborers was sold at 2,000 *akçes*.<sup>359</sup>

### 3- Sales of Arable Fields and Lands

In selling of arable fields, the fixed taxes and their capacity in terms of seeding were given in the records. There are four records about this kind of selling all of them being in the first *defter*. The details of these records are shown in the following table.

Table 12: Sales of Arable Fields in Mudanya

<i>Defter</i> No:	Date	Location	Annual Fixed Tax	Amount of Seeds	Value
D-2: 10/2	22.C.1056/1646	Aya Mahalle	10 <i>Akçes</i>	2 <i>Kile</i>	1,208 <i>Akçes</i>
D-2: 8/6	R.1056/1646	Aksungur V.	-	5 <i>Müd</i> <sup>360</sup>	7,000 <i>Akçes</i>
D-2: 28/7	Ev.M.1059/1649	Yörüklü V.	-	-	1,500 <i>Akçes</i>
D-2: 7/1	20.RA.1056/1646	Derekli V.	4 <i>Akçes</i>	5 <i>Kile</i>	320 <i>Akçes</i>

This table leads us to think of a stronger relationship between the location of an estate and its value. The arable field in Aya *Mahalle* was more expensive than that

<sup>355</sup> D-4: 28/6 (15.L.1211/1797).

<sup>356</sup> D-4: 83/1 (25.ZA.1214).

<sup>357</sup> D-4: 28/6 (15.L.1211/1797).

<sup>358</sup> D-2: 24/6 (Ev.M.1058/1648).

<sup>359</sup> D-2: 6/7 (22.RA.1056/1646).

<sup>360</sup> 1 *Müd* = 20 *kile*. See İnalçık, 1983: 324, 325.

of Derekli village of Mudanya even if the former's capacity of seeds was less than the latter's.

The third *defter* contains one record about the sale of an arable field that had six laborers.<sup>361</sup> Since this record includes both an arable field and a vineyard specifying one price for both, we cannot estimate the price of the arable field alone.

There are five records related to sales contracts of lands in the first *defter*. The others do not contain such records. The data handled from there include the fixed taxes and their prices. The table below includes the details of these records.

Table 13: Sales of Lands in Mudanya

<i>Defter</i> No:	Date	Location	Annual Fixed Tax	Value
D-2: 15/3	26.L.1056/1646	Aya Postol M.	15 <i>Akçes</i>	1,000 Dirhems
D-2: 15/1	23.L.1056/1646	Cami-i Atik M.	22 <i>Akçes</i>	1,000 Dirhems
D-2: 15/2	23.L.1056/1646	Hızır İlyas M.	22 <i>Akçes</i>	1,000 Dirhems
D-2: 13/4	18.L.1056/1646	Yörüklü V.	4 Dirhems	1,300 Dirhems
D-2: 11/4	Eh.B.1056/1646	Cami-i Atik	6 <i>Akçes</i>	3,500 Dirhems

In the first three records, the buyer was the same, a certain Hızır Beşe b. Abdullah, but the sellers were different non-Muslim people. Besides, these three records and the fourth one were written in Arabic. This can be due to the attitude of a *kadı* of the period though many records in the same pages were written in Turkish.

There were strict differences between the prices of the lands whose annual fixed taxes were similar to each other. Excluding the fourth and fifth records, the other records may include sale of a certain share of the estate. Even with this

<sup>361</sup> D-4: 28/6 (15.L.1211/1797).

assumption, the price differentiation between the fourth and fifth records is unexplainable, and location of the lands remains the only source of explanation to understand this price differentiation.

#### 4- Sales of Cellars, the Right of Irrigation and the *Gedik*

Three records about the sale of cellars also take place in the *defters*. One of them, which is in the first *defter*, was one *bab*-cellar and sold at 9,000 *akçes*.<sup>362</sup> Another one in the second *defter* was sold at 12,000 *akçes*.<sup>363</sup> The one which is in the third *defter* was also one *bab*-cellar and together with an adjacent coffeehouse was sold at 600 guruş (about 66,000 *akçes*).<sup>364</sup> The first cellar was at Aya Postol *Mahalle*, the second at Penaye *Mahalle* and the last one was nearby the Big Han, Cami-i Atik *Mahalle*. The nominal increase in prices from 9,000 *akçes* in 1058/1648 to 12,000 *akçes* in 1127/1715 is very clear in these records.

Right of irrigation is another thing that was the subject of sales contracts in the records. In one instance, people sold one-third of water of Esyab River to a Non-Muslim person, the son of Toma Yorgaki v. Penayot. The value of this right was 200 guruş (about 22,000 *akçes*). Then, this money was delivered to four *mahalles* of Mudanya with different proportions.<sup>365</sup> Later, this Yorgaki sold this water by irrigating three cellars in two *mahalles* at, interestingly, 200 guruş to each one.<sup>366</sup> It seems moreover, that there were two cellars in Aya Kostantinos *Mahalle*.

<sup>362</sup> D-2: 24/3 (Ev.RA.1058/1648).

<sup>363</sup> D-3: 5/6 (7.N.1127/1715)

<sup>364</sup> D-4: 49/2 (4.S.1211/1797).

<sup>365</sup> D-4: 19/1 (8.R.1211/1797).

<sup>366</sup> D-4: 25/1-2-3 (11-13-12.C.1211/1797).

Sales contract of *gedik* in the record of the third *defter* give us detailed information about the contents of the *gedik*.<sup>367</sup> The record gives the names of all goods that classified within the description of the *gedik* whose value was 150 guruş (about 16,000 *akçes*).

## 5- Parties of the Sale Contracts According to Religion and Gender

Religious status of people who took part in the sale contracts was exactly the mixture of all groups.<sup>368</sup> In the sales of houses, the number of records in which *zimmis* constituted the two parties is more than the other combinations. On the other hand, Muslims as the parties of the contracts were more than other combinations in the sales contracts of vineyards.

The most interesting thing about the relationship between the religious status and the type of a property ownership is that all cellars recorded in the *defters* belonged to *zimmis*. Furthermore, there is one case about the sale contract of a *gedik* whose seller was a Jew.<sup>369</sup> This Jewish person sold the *gedik* because the shop in which *the gedik* was kept did not belong to him. He was a renter and therefore, when the shop was sold to another person, he had to sell his *gedik*.

The frequency with which the women take place in the records is also relatively high. One-third of all records about the sales contracts included a woman at least in its one side. Ze'evi gives one significant detail about this issue

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<sup>367</sup> D-4: 49/3 (2.Z.1212).

<sup>368</sup> A similar claim can be seen in different studies based on the *sicils*. Yazbak (1994: 120), for instance, presents us the partnerships and lawsuits among the different religious group especially between those of Muslims and Jews.

<sup>369</sup> For information about the Jews in Mudanya, see footnote 159.

emphasizing that the deals of women in these activities were “for business purposes, not necessarily an attempt to enlarge the family’s estate.”<sup>370</sup>

## 6- Entities in the Debt Suits

When we look at the records related to the debt issues in the three *defters*, we see three critical points. First, the debts rose from selling, renting or giving as surety (*rehn*) of the land or other kinds of agricultural elements. Debt suits coming from the marriage as dowry (*mehr*) or divorce process as alimony (*nafaka*) constitute another great part of these records. There are only 5 records out of 44 in which the subjects of the debt-claims are donation (*hibe*), service, bailing (*kefil-* twice) and safekeeping (*emanet*). Another important thing in these records is total amount of money. For instance, in the first *sicil* (D-2) the average amount of money was around 7,000 *akçes*, whereas in the second *sicil* (D-3) around 300 guruş (about 33,000 *akçes*) and around 1,600 guruş (about 176,000 *akçes*) in the third *sicil* (D-4).

The third point that I want to emphasize is the religious and gender status of parties of these debt suits. When we look at the records about the debt suits, we see that the ratio of the *zimmis* is quite high. Especially in the third *sicil*, this ratio reaches up to the top: *zimmis* took a part, as either claimant or defendant, 7 of 9 records. Moreover, both sides of the suit were *zimmis* in two records. As for women, although they especially take part in these records in dowry and alimony suits, there are also some suits that women participate as a claimant. For instance in one record, a woman litigates her son claiming that he bought her house, garden and vineyard without her permission.<sup>371</sup> In another case a woman claimed that her husband took

<sup>370</sup> Ze’evi, 1995: 167.

<sup>371</sup> D-3: 27/3 (Eh.C.1129). This record also takes place in *Şikayet Defteri*, 71: 67/3 (Ev.CA.1129).

the revenue of her land on his own (*zimmat*), they negotiated a compromise at the end.<sup>372</sup>

## 7- Objects of the Transfer in the Donations

Donation may not be seen as an economic relationship because of the lack of exchange between two parties. Nevertheless, since exchangeable commodities such as houses, lands or money are transferred from one side to another, we can classify it within the realm of economic relations. In this sense, the first *defter* (D-2) includes 11 records whereas the third *defter* (D-4) contains 4 records and there is only one record in the second *defter* (D-3). The subject of the donations was mostly vineyards and especially olive groves, which are followed by arable fields. However, these lands are quite small having also low values. Although, the records do not give us the sizes of lands in meters, but as we mentioned before, they are measured with their number of laborers. Range of capacity of the lands in terms of their laborers changed from 1<sup>373</sup> to 17 *irgats*<sup>374</sup> and its average was about 5-6 laborers.

Since some of the lands belonged to the *waqfs* like those of Hüdavendigâr and Sultan Musa, the records give us their annually paid taxes to these *wakfs*. From the records, we see that the range of these values is between 3 and 23 *akçes*, and the average is about 6 *akçes*. In addition, one more figure is taking place in the records: the capacity of the arable fields in terms of seeds. The average capacity of seeds that could be breaded to the arable fields in the records is about 1,5 *kile*.

Other two things that were frequently transferred as a gift in the records are houses and goods (*eşya*) whereas *bostan* (garden) and money took place only once.

<sup>372</sup> D-4: 26/2 (15.[].1211/1797).

<sup>373</sup> D-2: 5/3 (8.RA.1056/1646).

<sup>374</sup> D-4: 4/2 (25.C.1210/1796).

Moreover, in some records detailed information about the location and insides of houses was presented. For instance, in one record there is a house including one room at the upper floor (“*fevkāni bir oda*”), a hall (“*sofa*”), a stable, a small garden (“*bir miktar bahçe*”) and a courtyard. Besides, its location is recorded something like the following: there was a house of *Cami-i Atik* at one side, a garden of *Hac Hüseyin Oğlu* at another side, his own property at another side, and a public way (*tarik-i âmm*) at the fourth side.<sup>375</sup> On the other hand, we see varieties of things within goods, ranging from quilt to pillow; from gold ring to ornaments that were exchanged as gifts. In many cases, these goods can also be interpreted as a dowry; for these goods are given to girls by a woman, most probably by their mothers and, besides, they look like the necessities of a newly establishing home.<sup>376</sup>

As we said above, there was only one record in which money was transferred as a donation. In this case a woman donated all of her money, worth of 21,000 *akçes*, which would be taken from her deceased husband, to a man and a woman with whom we cannot see any kinship relationship from the record.<sup>377</sup>

One point is particularly interesting in these gift records. In many parts of this study we have argued for the existence of close relationships among the different religious groups. As shown above, members of the separate religious groups could have been the two parties of the suits. However, we cannot see any such case in the donation records: in all cases both parties belonged to the same religious affiliation. Hence, donation records can be taken as a representation of completely private sphere of the people who belong to the same religion.

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<sup>375</sup> D-4: 26/3 (11.B.1211/1797).

<sup>376</sup> D-2: 5/3 (8.RA.1056/1646).

<sup>377</sup> D-2: 32/5 (9.RA.1060/1650).

We see from the donation records that there are very strict ties between two parties of the donation contracts. This closeness is mostly based on blood tie, but sometimes it could also be an affinity arising from work or other relationships between the parties. For instance, in one case a woman donated a vineyard, a house, and goods to another woman who had been her maidservant for 7 years.<sup>378</sup> It seems that the means of these gifts are more than paying her debts to the maidservant. The kinship relations in the records at hand include those that are between father and son, mother and daughter, mother and son, uncle-aunt and niece, grandfather and grandchild, husband and wife.

As a location, the *mahalle* of Cami-i Atik takes place eighth times out of 11 records related to donation events in Mudanya. Thus, this *mahalle* has the highest ratio in the three *defters*. This situation may lead us to think of this *mahalle* as the central location within the city supporting the conclusion of the discussion made above.

## B- Commodities and Their Values

In this section, we analyze mainly the data about commodities and prices of them that take place in the *narhs*. When fixing the market prices (*narhs*) of goods in Mudanya, two factors are very significant in the legitimization of these local prices: Shari'a and all people of the district. This is asserted in the rhetoric of the records with the phrase: "*ma'rifet-i şer' ve bi-l-cümle ahali-i vilayet ittifaklarıyla...*" In one record, instead of *ahali*, "*bi-l-cümle iş erleri ve a'yân-ı vilâyet ma'rifetiyle...*" was preferred by a scribe, *kâtib*.<sup>379</sup> There is no detailed information about who and how

<sup>378</sup> D-4: 26/1, 26/3 (15, 11.B.1211/1797).

<sup>379</sup> D-5: 41/2 (10.L.1208/1794).

to fix these prices. However, some names (of notables) and the phrase of “*fukarāsi ma’rifetiyle*” were used at the beginning of one *narh* record.<sup>380</sup>

These fixed market prices were ‘given’ to bakers (*etmekçis*), butchers (*kasabs*), grocers (*bakkals*) and tradesmen, *esnaf*s. Although goods, which are only foods in the lists are not ordered according to their sellers, it seems that the order of the goods within the list reflects certain classification. Generally, goods that are probably sold by the bakers are recorded at the beginning, followed by the goods of the butchers and, finally the goods of grocers and tradesmen were given the price lists.

The bakers most probably sold *simit* and flour in addition to bread. Mutton, meats of animals like goats, lambs, and kids, and meat products like a sausage (*sucuk*), and *pastırma* were the goods, which were probably sold by the butchers. Other kinds of goods such as candle, salt, various kinds of oils, cheese and grapes, *pekmez*, *tahin*, halva, honey, soap, rice, lentil, chickpea, pea, cabbage, onion, artichoke, leek, caviar, peanut, hazelnut, *leblebi*, and different kinds of fishes were probably sold by grocers and other tradesmen. Some of these trade goods were produced locally, and probably they were used for exchange with each other.

A very remarkable question arising here is about the aim/s of fixing prices. Were these prices of goods prepared, dominantly, for the uses of people and the tradesmen in this district, or for tax and other exchange relations between the state and the district? In other words, various goods in the lists like olive, cheese, oils, products of gardens and so on were already produced by the local people, and these people probably consumed their own products for their needs. We can support this claim by the richness of the valuable lands in the district as we analyzed above. Speculatively, the state could use these lists not only for the purpose of taxation both

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<sup>380</sup> D-2: 3/1.

in kind and in cash but also for its purchases in order to supply with provisions of İstanbul. Especially one *narh* record in the second defter supports this speculation stating that this list were given to a collector of the *avarız* and *nüzul* tax.<sup>381</sup>

Let us now turn back to the price lists. They were given to the tradesmen twice a year: in *Kasım* (late October) and *Hazar* (late April), namely at the beginnings of winter and summer. Mostly these two terms, rather than the Hegira months, were used in them. Moreover, some goods existed in only one of these periods. For instance, meats of lamb and kid, artichoke, and grapes took place in the *Hazar* lists whereas *pastırma*, sausage, *tahin*, leek, cabbage and lentil were found in the *Kasım* lists. Interestingly, one type of cheeses, fresh, and one type of olives, *salamura* in particular were recorded in the former lists and another type, *kaşkaval* of cheese, and old (*atik*) of olives were took place in the latter lists. These kinds of divisions remind us of seasonal trade goods.

Since twelve out of fourteen *narh* records belonged to the years between 1208/1794 and 1214/1800, we cannot compare the changes occurred in prices from 1050s to 1210s.<sup>382</sup> For instance, we can know only the weight of bread in 1050s.<sup>383</sup> On the other hand, the prices of the goods were not given in the lists of 1127/1715. Therefore, we can only analyze prices that took place in the lists dated between 1208/1794 and 1214/1800.<sup>384</sup> In fact, in this six-year period, we do not see any slight

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<sup>381</sup> D-3: 72/1 (1127/1715). The İnalçık's ideas (1983: 333) about the relationship between the *narhs* and tax rates while talking about the standardization of very different figures for the same metrics, eg. *Kile*, in different provinces seem to me justify the validity of our questions here.

<sup>382</sup> The high number of *narh* lists in the eighteenth century on the contrary to the mid-seventeenth century leads us, depending on this data, to think of the relation between the flows in the market and number of the *narhs* in the Ottoman economic history. I am indebted to Professor Şevket Pamuk for this information.

<sup>383</sup> D-2: 3/1.

<sup>384</sup> The prices in the table (14) below can be compared with the data given by Pamuk (2000: 102ff) for, especially, İstanbul and Bursa. Interestingly the result of this

changes in the prices. Although there is no a straight line or stable prices for any goods, these floats in the prices are occurring within the very narrow ranges, only between 2-3 *para*. The most significant changes are seen in the prices of grapes that are found only in the *Hazar* lists: there was about eighty-percent increase in their prices.

Another considerable change occurred in the caviar prices. While it was 40 *para* in 1209/1795,<sup>385</sup> in 1213/1799 it became 56 *para*,<sup>386</sup> showing a forty-percent increase in its price. A similar observation can be made for *tahin* in whose prices the amount of increase was thirty-percent.

Some goods like cow, egg, chicken, tomato, pepper do not take place in the price lists. The possible reasons for this are important as those of goods that exist in the lists. These can supplement us in interpreting what these goods in the lists may represent. This representation question becomes more important especially in case of the lack of other kinds of goods like dresses, pots and pans within the lists. These questions are, at the same time, very significant for whether or not the foods that listed in the *narh* records can be interpreted as social artifacts of this society.

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comparison shows that the prices were quite different in each of them. Even in one table (Pamuk, 2000: 175) the prices in Bursa were doubled in 1799 but in Mudanya we do not see such a shift in 1799. Maybe later-dated records of Mudanya support the findings of Pamuk. Different indexes prepared by Pamuk (2000) about the consumer prices and purchasing power of workers can be used to understand better the variations in prices. We put indexes of the dates under study to the appendix of this study.

<sup>385</sup> D-5: 6/4 (H.1209/1795).

<sup>386</sup> D-4: 83/3 (H.1214).

Table 14: Market Prices in the Records

Types of Goods	Category	1060 D-2: 3/1	1127 D-3: 72/1	Ş.1208 D-5: 42/4	L.1208 D-5: 41/2	H.1209 D-5: 6/4	K.1210 D-5: 16/3	H.1210 D-4: 9/3	K.1211 D-4: 24/2	H.1211 D-4: 30/1	R.1212 D-4: 39/6	H.1212 D-4: 49/1	H.1213 D-4: 69/5	K.1213 D-4: 81/1	H.1214 D-4: 83/3	
Paralı, k ve Has-piçkin Olmak şartıyla nan- aziz- dirhem	Ekmek									100/1		120/1	120/1; 110/1	125/1		
Nan-1 Aziz Dirhem- Para		150/[ ]	80 akçe			130/2	150/2	150/2								
Simit Has Olmak Uzere Dirhem	Simit									50/1		55/1	60/1			
Dakik-i Has	Un									7			6		8	
Et	Et ve Et Ürünleri		10													
Koyun-Ganem Eti					14	14	14	14	14	14		15	16	14		
Kuzu Eti					16	16		16		14		18	18		18	
Oğlak Eti										16				16		
Keçi Eti						[ ]	12							14	12	
Pastırma												18			16	
Et Sucuğu							24					18			20	
Rugan-1 Sade	Yağ		12 (1,5)	56		56		45		[ ]				50		
Rugan-1 Sade Ala					60-56		46		48		58	60	48		56- 7dirh. 1	
Rugan-1 Çerviş				46	45				32							
Bezir Yağı				25	26	[ ]	24	26	24		[ ]		32	32	28	
Rugan-1 / Yağ Kuyruk					28	[ ]	28	28	30						28	
Zeyt Yağı- Rugan Dirhem- ?			100	28	26	28	28	30	30	28	36	34	40	36	34- 11,5 dirh. 1	
Zeytin	Zeytin		1					8	8							
Salamura Zeytin										7		9	11			
Atık- eski Zeytin				8	8	8					10			10		
Peynir	Peynir		1													
Taze Peynir					[ ]	20		[ ]					16			
Kaşkaval Peyniri- Penair						[ ]	22		22	[ ]	24				20	
Taze-Salamura Peynir- Penair					24	[ ]	26	20	24	22	26	Ok-22; Par-24		20	24	22
Tulum Peynir				28	25	25	24	24	24	24	26	26			24 (kuraklı, k üzere- yerli)	22
Rumeli Tulum Peyniri															16	
Tulum Peyniri maa													20			
Kaşkaval Tuz 2 /akçe	Tuz		1		2	2-1	2-1	3	3	1-4	1-1	2/3 para	4?	2/3 para	2/3 para	
Mum	Mum		1	36	35			30	36	[ ]		36	32	36	34	
Şem? Rugan						34	32									
? Sabun	Sabun			36	28	[ ]	38	36	36	36	44	Ok- 46; Par-48	42	44	44	
Pirinç	Pirinç		6	22	20-18	[ ]	18	18		16	17	18	30	[ ]	24	
Pirinç Ala										19						
Kalb Pirinç										16						
Nohut	Baklagiller		1		6	8	7	7	7	7	6	8	5	6	6	
Mercimek							7	7	8					6		
Fasülye					5	8	9		9		7	8	10	8		



## C- Consumption Patterns

Revealing the patterns of consumption in a particular district may make important contribution to the understanding of the social life of people in that place. In this context, objects that are listed in the *tereke* records may give us the opportunity of making speculation about the ways in which people in that region lived,<sup>387</sup> and what kinds of objects they used in their daily lives. Besides, titles put before the names of the goods may help us understand what these products were made of; where they were imported if they were not locally produced; for what they were used in the daily life; etc. In what follows I will present the examples that are taken from the records to make clear what we want to say here. Furthermore, this section will focus on quantitative analysis like price differentiations among the goods occurred over time and in different inventories.<sup>388</sup> In addition social or qualitative aspect of the issue is also very significant. For instance, objects that are used by certain social groups will be analyzed in that section.

However, while making these analyses, one should be aware of similar representation problems with the other types of records in the *sicils*. The very low rate of all deceased people will be represented in these cases<sup>389</sup> and the quality of this representation is very crucial but also an unanswerable question at this point. The

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<sup>387</sup> Fekete (1965) for instance tries to construct daily life of a person departing from the goods in his *tereke*. See also Cezar, 1977.

<sup>388</sup> This section could be understood better by considering the different kinds of indexes prepared by Pamuk (2000). We put indexes of dates under study to the appendix of this study.

<sup>389</sup> In the words of Göçek and Baer (1997: 54), “the sample is selective.” They also points out some other problems of the *tereke*s like probable goods hidden from the *kadis*.

truthfulness of the information and possible unintentional<sup>390</sup> messages given in those records also constitute other dimensions of the same question.

In what circumstances people can/should come to the court according to Islamic law may justify the aforementioned questions. For instance according to Islamic law, *kadı* can carry out the inheritance laws only when the inheritors or indebted or creditor people wished this, except for some obligatory circumstances as in the situation of orphans.<sup>391</sup> It seems that the practice of the courts fitted these principles. Besides, according to the *Kanuns*, the *terekes* of the military people were not included within the *sicils*. Different rules were carried out for them by other officials on behalf of the *kadıaskers*.<sup>392</sup> These confirm the suspicions about the extent of *terekes*' representation of the 'universal' even if we accept that whole recorded *terekes* could reach today.

Related to the quality of the information drawn from the *terekes*, we can recourse to İnalçık's two significant claims. He argues that *kadı*s valued the goods within the *terekes* more than their real prices to get more amount of money as a tax (*resm-i kısmet*). He claims, on the other hand, interestingly, the inheritors might have hidden some goods in order to pay lower amount of money as a tax.<sup>393</sup> These claims can also be proved with the cases in Mudanya.

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<sup>390</sup> Cezar (1998: 19) calls this reading 'between lines' for the money and credit cases.

<sup>391</sup> Özdeğer, 1988: 10.

<sup>392</sup> For details see İnalçık 1953-4: 52-53. *Kadı* could share only those inheritances of military people whose value of *terekes* were less than 100 *akçes*. *Ibid*.

<sup>393</sup> İnalçık, 1953-4: 53-4. However, Özdeğer (1988: 12) argues that the goods were written to the *terekes* before the experts (*bilir kişi*) in order not only to prevent people escaping goods but also to control the prices of goods.

## 1- 'Object' of Probate Inventories

We can classify the goods in the probate inventories into five categories. The first category consists of goods that are related to the clothing habits of the people. From handkerchiefs (*çevre*) to underpants (*don*) of women, from knee-guards (*dizlik*) and pocket-handkerchiefs (*makreme*), to hat (*sarık*) and fez of men, various kinds of goods were included in this category. *Aba*, inner coat (*'antāri*), shirt (*gömlek*), shawl (*şal*), baggy trousers (*şalvar*), belt (*kuşak*), many kinds of furs, *peştamal*, aist-string (*uçgur*), a raincoat, a waistcoat (*yelek*), sets for the bath (*hamamiye-hamam takımları*) were some other elements of this group. There are about 950 records out of 3,500 that can be contained in this category, which is the largest category with 26,5% of all records.

As we mentioned above, there could be many kinds of one object. For instance, furs could be made of skins of a cat, a squirrel, a marten, a sable, a rabbit, a *kakum* (ermine), and a *karsık*. Furthermore, the records contain information about the origins of raw materials of some clothes; giving therefore the possibility to estimate import-export relations between these places and Mudanya. The record that involve information on the belt (*kuşak*) from Hama, belt from Baghdad, and belt from Aleppo<sup>394</sup> can be given as an example of this kind.

The second category includes things that were processed in houses. Rug, a prayer rug-*seccāde*, carpet, dustpan (*faraş*), stool (*iskemle*),<sup>395</sup> towel, quilt, pillow, sheet (*çarşeb*), mattress (*şilte*), a cushion (*minder*), and *boğça* were some of these household stuffs. The number of such records in the probate inventories is about 910,

<sup>394</sup> D-4: 17/1.

<sup>395</sup> Göçek and Baer (1997: 53) make distinction between *iskemle* and *sandalye* claiming, "chair used in the kitchen while cooking, which was similar to a stool and predated Western influence." In the existing records of Mudanya we do not find information about a chair functioning this way.

namely 26,30 percent of all records. From these records, we learn that towels can be divided as towel for bath (*hamam*), for *abdest*, and for barber, at the same, they could be embroidered (*münakkaş*) as an additional feature.

Some goods like pan (*sahan*), saucepan (*tencere*), lid (*kapak*), *sini*, brazier, vessel (*güğüm*), bowl (*tas*), basin (*leğen*) and a garlic cup are related to the house and especially with its kitchen. Therefore, we can also put them into the second category.

The third group of objects includes rifle (*tüfenk*), knife, *pişto*, oil plant (*yağlık*), and small bag and rod for smoke or tobacco (*duhan kisesi* and *çubuğu*). These may be classified as the personal belongings of people. Both rifles and knives had different types and their values changed accordingly. About four hundred records existed in the *tereke* records related to the personal materials, whis was about 11 percent of all goods.

The fourth category of the goods within the probate inventories is related exclusively to foods. There are a few examples for this kind: only 76 records, corresponding to 2.2 percent, are available in our sources. This category mainly involves flour, olive and olive oil etc.

The last category includes the records about the estate properties. There are about 250 records, constituting 7 percent of all, within this category. Especially houses, vineyards, and olive groves are found among the estate residuals of deceased people.<sup>396</sup>

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<sup>396</sup> Records related to the taxes taken from the *tereke* were already analyzed above under the title of administrative life of the district.

Table 15: Types of Records and their Proportions in the Probate Inventories

Types	Quantity	Proportion
<b>Administrative</b>	700	20,2%
<b>Cloth</b>	918	26,5%
<b>Food</b>	76	2,2%
<b>Goods</b>	910	26,3%
<b>Personal</b>	378	10,9%
<b>Property</b>	241	7%
<b>Unidentified</b>	237	6,9%
<b>Total</b>	3460	100%

There we find information about the prices and the quantities of all goods in the *tereke*s. Besides, the records either give information about their qualities or about whether they were new (*cedid*) or used (*müsta'mel*) or old (*köhne*). Hence, the prices of the things that were recorded as new can give us the possibility of comparing the prices of certain goods in different times and as well as other variables such as social status of a deceased person, total value of goods, its being a state and a civil *tereke*, its being a village or a district *tereke* and so on.

The prices of the used and old goods can make more difficult this kind of comparison since their prices had complete relativity of a person/s who estimated their oldness and their prices accordingly. Though there is no information in the records about how these prices were determined, this relativity might have been lesser in new goods. Considering these prices together with those in the *narh* records may make the aforementioned comparison more reliable. However, the following table indicates that even in the probate inventories of the near years, between 1210/1796-1215/1800, the goods could take very different prices, which can make a comparison hardly possible.

Table 16: Price Differentiation of a Inner Coat, 'Antari, in some Probate Inventories'

Type of Cloth	Price	Unit	Tereke	Religious Status	Gender Status	Value of All Goods	Remained Sum to Inheritors	Location	Date	Source
Antari	40	Para	Civil	M	E	103.740	90.320	Musa Bey	20.R.1211/1797	D-4: 18/3
Antari	56	Para	State	M	E	10.962	2.880	Mudanya	11.R.1211/1797	D-4: 19/3
Antari	300	Para	State	M	E	10.962	2.880	Mudanya	11.R.1211/1797	D-4: 19/3
Antari. Gezi	180	Para	Civil	M	K	72.160	64.146	T. Atik	8.S.1211/1797	D-4: 16/1
Antari: ? bab	480	Para	Civil	M	K	37.620	35.420	T. Atik	25.M.1211/1797	D-4: 15/1
Antari: Beyaz	100	Para	Civil	M	K	72.160	64.146	T. Atik	8.S.1211/1797	D-4: 16/1
Antari: Beyaz	600	Para	Civil	M	K	72.160	64.146	T. Atik	8.S.1211/1797	D-4: 16/1
Antari: Cedit	240	Para	Civil	M	E	103.740	90.320	Musa Bey	20.R.1211/1797	D-4: 18/3
Antari: Cedit	641	Para	Civil	M	E	81.552	28.762	C.Atik	15.S.1211/1797	D-4: 17/1
Antari: Cedit, utni	320	Para	Civil	M	E	21.240	12.177	Musa Bey	28.B.1210/1796	D-4: 5/3
Antari: Çamfes	250	Para	Civil	M	K	97.294	91.174	C.Atik	6.M.1211/1797	D-4: 13/3
Antari: Çiçekli	730	Para	Civil	M	K	97.294	91.174	C.Atik	6.M.1211/1797	D-4: 13/3
Antari: Çiçekli	1.205	Para	Civil	M	K	97.294	91.174	C.Atik	6.M.1211/1797	D-4: 13/3
Antari: Çiçekli	1.480	Para	Civil	M	K	97.294	91.174	C.Atik	6.M.1211/1797	D-4: 13/3
Antari: Çiçekli	1.830	Para	Civil	M	K	72.160	64.146	T. Atik	8.S.1211/1797	D-4: 16/1
Antari: Çuka	320	Para	Civil	M	K	37.620	35.420	T. Atik	25.M.1211/1797	D-4: 15/1
Antari: Köhne	15	Para	State	M	E	3.686	806	Guest	11.RA.1212/1798	D-4: 38/1
Antari: Köhne	27	Para	State	M	E	3.686	806	Guest	11.RA.1212/1798	D-4: 38/1
Antari: Köhne	40	Para	State	M	E	9.135	7.355	Guest	25.S.1215/1800	D-4: 92/3
Antari: Köhne	84	Para	Civil	M	E	3.466	2.323	T. Atik	4.R.1211/1797	D-4: 18/2
Antari: Köhne	150	Para	Civil	M	E	21.240	12.177	Musa Bey	28.B.1210/1796	D-4: 5/3
Antari: Köhne	160	Para	State	M	E	1.845	365	Guest	8.R.1212/1798	D-4: 39/3
Antari: Müstamel	70	Para	State	M	E	2.025	248	Guest	11.C.1212/1798	D-4: 42/1
Antari: Müstamel	150	Para	Civil	M	E	21.240	12.177	Musa Bey	28.B.1210/1796	D-4: 5/3

\* Calculation errors made in some records are disregarded in forming the table. M is abbreviation of Muslim; E abbr. of Man; K abbr. of Woman.

Type of Cloth	Price	Unit	Tereke	Religious Status	Gender Status	Value of All Goods	Remained Sum to Inheritors	Location	Date	Source
Antari: Müstamel	151	Para	State	M	E	996	196	Guest	25.CA.1212/1798	D-4: 41/3
Antari: Müstamel	160	Para	Civil	M	E	81.552	28.762	C.Atik	15.S.1211/1797	D-4: 17/1
Antari: Müstamel	615	Para	State	M	E	1.968	509	Guest	7.ZA.1214/1800	D-4: 83/4
Antari: Şal	200	Para	Civil	M	K	37.620	35.420	T. Atik	25.M.1211/1797	D-4: 15/1
Antari: Şal	285	Para	Civil	M	K	72.160	64.146	T. Atik	8.S.1211/1797	D-4: 16/1
Antari: Şal- tanbul	280	Para	Civil	M	K	72.160	64.146	T. Atik	8.S.1211/1797	D-4: 16/1
Antari maa ibade	560	Para	Civil	M	E	81.552	28.762	C.Atik	15.S.1211/1797	D-4: 17/1
Antari maa Yelek: öhne	50	Para	State	M	E	679	121	Guest	15.ZA.1214/1800	D-4: 82/5
Antari ve Aba: öhne	12	Para	State	M	E	1.323	256	Guest	27.C.1212/1798	D-4: 42/3
Antari ve Don	270	Para	Civil	M	K	72.160	64.146	T. Atik	8.S.1211/1797	D-4: 16/1

## 2- Belongings of the Social Groups

In this section, I will analyze the records in terms that allow for sketching out some common characteristics of certain people, which make them form a social group in the city. In other words, we categorize some people who have certain common features and social status as a social group. It is questionable whether these qualities are enough to call them a social group. This is an analytical categorization and it is necessary to be able to make a qualitative analysis on these records.<sup>397</sup>

Having done this remark, we can group the deceased people in the probate inventories through, first, their gender status; second by their religious statuses; third through their titles that were attached before and after their names; fourth by means of their occupations. We accept especially the third and the fourth points as the

<sup>397</sup> Doumani (1998: 17-18) argue for the difficulties and questions about determining the social positions of the people in the case of *waqfs*.

criteria for forming a social group. The former two features can be considered indicating social status of these people.<sup>398</sup>

We can see quantities of objects in terms of gender status of the deceased people in the table (17) below. There are 2,198 records, 63.53% for men and 1,262 records, 36.47%, for women. This quantitative superiority of men over women changes when we look at their proportions on the different types of objects in the records.

Women especially own house materials, whose proportions are 13.7 percent of all objects, namely 470 out of 3,460 objects, and 37.6 percent within the women's total of 1,260 objects, while for men these figures are 12.6 percent and 19.8 percent respectively within those of men. Therefore the house materials belonged to women, rather than men. A similar thing is true also for the aforementioned category of clothing. The proportions of men and women in that category are 15.3 and 11.2 percent respectively within all records, and 24.3 and 30.7 percent respectively within the total of their own groups.

Other belongings such as personal, estate property, and food have fewer proportions both in the whole total and in the respective totals of the two genders. The proportions of those of men are slightly higher than those of women in these categories. The average value of women's wealth in the *tereke*s of the late eighteenth century was about 6,100 para, which constituted only half of those women lived in Galata in 1789, namely 31,547 *akçes*.<sup>399</sup>

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<sup>398</sup> Göçek (1996: 31ff) describes officials, artisans, merchants, minorities, peasants, nomads, and slaves as social groups in the Ottoman context. It seems that this description is derived mainly from the standing of people in the eyes of Sultan or the State not from the social dynamics and networks within the society itself.

<sup>399</sup> Göçek and Baer, 1997: 54.

Table 17: Proportions of Men and Women with their Religious Status according to Different Types of Objects within the Probate Inventories

	Adm.	Prop. in		Prop. in		Prop. in		Prop. in		Prop. in		Prop. in		Prop. in	
		Total	Cloth	Total	Food	Total	Goods	Total	Personal	Total	Property	Total	Un Id.	Total	Total
<b>All</b>	700	20,2%	918	26,5%	76	2,2%	910	26,3%	378	10,9%	241	7%	237	6,9%	3460
Muslim	614	19,3%	882	27,8%	54	1,7%	859	27,1%	353	11,1%	196	6,2%	218	6,9%	3176
Non-Muslim	86	30,3%	36	12,7%	22	7,8%	51	18%	25	8,8%	45	15,9%	19	6,7%	284
<b>Men</b>	<b>516</b>	<b>23,5%</b>	<b>530</b>	<b>24,1%</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>3,4%</b>	<b>436</b>	<b>19,9%</b>	<b>276</b>	<b>12,6%</b>	<b>193</b>	<b>8,8%</b>	<b>172</b>	<b>7,8%</b>	<b>2198</b>
Muslim	434	22,6%	498	25,9%	53	2,8%	385	20%	251	13,1%	148	7,7%	153	8%	1922
Non-Muslim	82	29,7%	32	11,6%	22	8%	51	18,5%	25	9,1%	45	16,3%	19	6,9%	276
<b>Women</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>14,6%</b>	<b>388</b>	<b>30,7%</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0,1%</b>	<b>474</b>	<b>37,6%</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>8,1%</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>3,8%</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>5,2%</b>	<b>1262</b>
Muslim	180	14,4%	384	30,6%	1	0,1%	474	37,8%	102	8,1%	48	3,8%	65	5,2%	1254
Non-Muslim	4	50%	4	50%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8

Table 18: Proportions of Men and Women with their Religious Status according to Different Types of Objects within the Probate Inventories of Three Different Periods

D-2 (Mid-17th Century)	Tereke	Adm		Cloth		Food		Goods		Personal		Property		Un Id.		Total	
		Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Total Quantity	Total Value
All	13	68	35063	76	8096	17	37841	74	74402	53	62172	3	37500	63	44489	286	264500
Muslim	9	49	29188	48	4631	7	33013	49	71152	39	60401	3	37500	52	38694	198	245391
Non-Muslim	4	19	5875	28	3465	10	4828	25	3250	14	1771	0	0	11	5795	88	19109
<b>Men</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>34898</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>8096</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>37841</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>73961</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>62052</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>37500</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>44438</b>	<b>275</b>	<b>263888</b>
Muslim	8	45	29023	48	4631	7	33013	41	70711	38	60281	3	37500	49	38643	186	244779
Non-Muslim	4	19	5875	28	3465	10	4828	25	3250	14	1771			11	5795	88	19109
<b>Women (M)</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>165</b>					<b>8</b>	<b>441</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>120</b>			<b>3</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>612</b>

D-3 (Early 18th Century)	Tereke	Adm		Cloth		Food		Goods		Personal		Property		Un Id.		Total	
		Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Total Quantity	Total Value
All	12	74	194893	115	95763	1	720	89	65950	65	134526	15	117888	51	103420	336	518267
<b>Men (M)</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>75013</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>17943</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>720</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>9470</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>32016</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>113380</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>26008</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>199537</b>
<b>Women (M)</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>119880</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>77820</b>			<b>51</b>	<b>56480</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>102510</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4508</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>77412</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>318730</b>

D-4-5 (Late 18th Century)	Tereke	Adm		Cloth		Food		Goods		Personal		Property		Un Id.		Total	
		Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Total Quantity	Total Value
All	80	560	494151	734	306746	60	269219	750	250277	198	471235	231	1857852	87	39418	2060	3194747
Muslim	70	493	420081	728	249746	48	108392	724	214517	186	377855	181	1057372	83	32039	1950	2039921
Non-Muslim	10	67	74070	6	57000	12	160827	26	35760	12	93380	50	800480	4	7379	110	1154826
<b>Men</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>392</b>	<b>341749</b>	<b>414</b>	<b>173677</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>259219</b>	<b>335</b>	<b>124307</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>362063</b>	<b>182</b>	<b>1559610</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>21918</b>	<b>1251</b>	<b>2500794</b>
Muslim	46	329	267879	408	116677	47	98392	309	88547	186	268683	136	809930	59	14539	1145	1396768
Non-Muslim	9	63	73870	6	57000	12	160827	26	35760	12	93380	46	749680	4	7379	106	1104026
<b>Women</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>152402</b>	<b>320</b>	<b>133069</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>10000</b>	<b>415</b>	<b>125970</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>109172</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>298242</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>17500</b>	<b>809</b>	<b>693953</b>
Muslim	24	164	152202	320	133069	1	10000	415	125970		109172	45	247442	24	17500	805	643153
Non-Muslim	1	4	200									4	50800			4	50800

The table also includes the proportions of the object categories according to the religious status of the deceased people. The striking point here is that there is only one *tereke* record that belongs to a non-Muslim woman and she has only four objects mentioned in her *tereke* that are categorized under the clothing.<sup>400</sup> The general proportion of the non-Muslims within the whole total is only 8.2 percent.<sup>401</sup> They owned especially house materials, estate properties and cloths in their *tereke*s. The administrative expenses, the taxes for instance, took higher place in their records than those of Muslims.<sup>402</sup> This is probably due to the high number of *tereke*s that remained to the State Treasury thanks to the lack of inheritors. Finally, it should also be noted that no Jews were recorded within the non-Muslim group who had the *tereke*.<sup>403</sup>

We can learn the social positions of the deceased people from the titles that are used with their names in the *tereke*s. Yazbak's statement supports us at this point. He claims, "Jews were not appended titles as in the Muslims or Christians". Besides he says "within the Muslim group there is a connection between wealth and social standing: the names that are followed by the term *mallak* are preceded by honorary titles."<sup>404</sup> For him, as an example, *Efendi* was used for the Ottoman administrative officials.<sup>405</sup>

About seventy-two *tereke*s give us information about social status of their owners. Some of these positions were achieved statuses like military positions,

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<sup>400</sup> D-4: 76/2 (25.CA.1214).

<sup>401</sup> This figure was 18 percent in the eighteenth-century records of Galata. For the different genders, this figure was 28% for women that were quite lower than that of records under study: 31%. Göçek and Baer (1997: 51).

<sup>402</sup> It should be noted here that they share inheritances according to Islamic law. Women for instance took one-half share of what men took. Göçek and Baer (1997: 61) and Doumani (1998: 6) claim the same thing.

<sup>403</sup> See footnote 159.

<sup>404</sup> Yazbak, 1994: 114.

<sup>405</sup> Yazbak, 1994: 116.

occupational positions and religious titles such as *Hajj*, while some others such as being a *Seyyid* and a *Sherife* were ascribed titles. The meanings and limitations of these positions in the social life of the district, as discussed in another section of this study,<sup>406</sup> require a deeper analysis of the records. For instance, how we will interpret the terms *Ağa* and *Efendi* is a very problematic issue. We do not discuss these issues here; but we only accept these terms as they were used in the records and try to show what kind of goods they owned in their *tereke*s. We will do this through using our categories for the *tereke* goods.

It is significant that in the above-mentioned 72 *tereke*s, the owners of some *tereke*s, especially women and non-Muslims, did not have any titles referring to their positions.<sup>407</sup> Nevertheless, women's fathers or husbands that were mentioned with their names in the beginnings of the *tereke*s carried such titles. For this reason, we can separate them both from those whose relatives had no such positions, and from people who had their own positions. We took them as a third category between the former and the latter.

We can calculate the whole economic value of those objects owned by various social groups. This was, totally, about 3,035,555 para including the group of *bin Abdullah*s. Its average for each person was 37,075 para. The taxes and other expenses taken from the sum like burial expenses<sup>408</sup> and debts were about 767,428

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<sup>406</sup> See "Notables" above.

<sup>407</sup> Göçek and Baer (1997: 61) interpret this usage saying, "the texts did not use such terms [namely, recording women with their names and non-Muslims with their occupations; Muslims with *bin* and *vefat* whereas non-Muslims with *veled* and *halik* only] for pejorative or derogatory, but repeated and reproduced the social hierarchy and segmentation." This would be a distinction that is seen from the texts. In other words, what kinds of titles non-Muslims had besides their occupations and how they interpreted the usage of *veled* for themselves should first be analyzed to understand well the social segmentation claimed above.

<sup>408</sup> These expenses are consisted of fees of *gusül* (an ablution of whole body of deceased person), *kefen* (shroud), and a burial. The quantity of *kefen* and

para, and the average was 10,780 para. Hence the remaining sum to inheritors and to the State Treasury was 2,263,127 para with the average of 26,295 para. Here, we exchange guruş to para by multiplying the guruş with 40, and *akçes* to para by dividing it with 2.75. The significance of this sum for the Ottoman economy will require more analysis of the data given for this economy.<sup>409</sup> Since we analyze the records from different periods, namely those of 1050s, 1120s and 1210s, we should note here their shares within this total amount of money. We see that objects in the records of 1050s had a value of 260,830 *akçes* with 290 objects in the 13 *tereke*s. In the second period, the 1120s, their values were 661,593 *akçes* with 336 objects in the 12 probate inventories. Finally, 2134 objects within the 80 *tereke*s in the period of 1210s cost 2,877,446 para. The table below shows these figures with different configurations.

Table 19: Cost of the Objects within the Probate Inventories in Different Periods

Types	1050s (13 <i>Tereke</i> ) <i>Akçe</i>				1127s (12 <i>Tereke</i> ) <i>Akçe</i>				1210s (80 <i>Tereke</i> ) <i>Para</i>			
	Value	Rate	Qua.	Rate	Value	Rate	Qua.	Rate	Value	Rate	Qua.	Rate
Admin.	34.543		66		51.567		74		790.937		560	
Cloth	8.107	3,11%	69	23,79%	95.542	14,44%	115	34,23%	1.083.801	37,67%	734	34,40%
Food	29.841	11,44%	15	5,17%	2.000	0,30%	1	0,30%	53.860	1,87%	60	2,81%
Goods	72.652	27,85%	71	24,48%	286.141	43,25%	89	26,49%	1.000.187	34,76%	750	35,15%
Personal	42.972	16,48%	46	15,86%	88.690	13,41%	64	19,05%	470.668	16,36%	268	12,56%
Property	37.950	14,55%	4	1,38%	28.080	4,24%	15	4,46%	158.004	5,49%	222	10,40%
Un-Iden.	69.308	26,57%	85	29,31%	161.140	24,36%	52	15,48%	110.926	3,86%	100	4,69%
<b>Total</b>	<b>260.830</b>	<b>100,00%</b>	<b>290</b>	<b>100,00%</b>	<b>661.593</b>	<b>100,00%</b>	<b>336</b>	<b>100,00%</b>	<b>2.877.446</b>	<b>100,00%</b>	<b>2134</b>	<b>100,00%</b>

expenses of burial should be determined in *Fiqh* according to economic situation or wealth of deceased person. For instance the *kefen* should be quantitatively three parts for men and five parts for women at most and ordinary quality of his/her daily wearing. el-Halebi, 1989: II, 344 and Bilmen, 1985: V, 213-4.

<sup>409</sup> The figures of state budget in the period under study may give us an idea about the meaning of amounts that are presented here. For instance, the actives or revenues of 1060/1650's budget were about 533 millions whereas the passives or expenses were about 687 millions *akçes*. In 1122 these figures got increased to 1,295 millions and 1 billion *akçes*, respectively. It is also worth mentioning that the revenues of the state budget were about 25-30 percent of the total revenues in the seventeenth-century Ottoman lands. See Tabakoğlu, 1985: 15-16, 18.

**a- Military Group**

Military group consists of those people who have such titles as *Beşe*, *Askeri* and *Alemdâr*. In the table below, we try to collect the *tereke*s of these military people.

These twenty *tereke*s consists of 479 objects, but there is only one *tereke* for the date of 1050s and six for the period of 1120s. Hence, the majority of the data comes from the period of 1210s. The distributions of each *tereke* according to the abovementioned categories were shown in the table below. It is obvious from the table that the proportions of the estate property, food, and house materials in these

Table 20: Distribution of the Objects within the Probate Inventories for the Military Deceased People<sup>410</sup>

Social Status/Groups	Adm.	Value	Cloth	Value	Food	Value	Goods	Value	Pers.	Value	ErtetaP rep.	Value	Unnd.	Value	Total	Tereke	Rel. Sta.	Gen. Sta.	Location	Family Size	Value of All Goods and Remaining Sum to Inheritors	Source	Date		
Beşe	5	3750	6	320	1	4200	4	50455	2	140	0	0	0	0	55115	State	M	E	Mudanya		55115-4050=51060	D-2. 26/2	10 Ş 1059		
Beşe, Abdullah (Wife)	5	11670	9	4480	0		1	2400	0		5	27000	3	21200	55080	Civil	M	E	Mudanya Tekke	5. W, OQ, YG, M, B	54080-12670=41410	D-3. 10/3	07.L.1129		
Beşe	5	1500	0	0	0	0	0	1	240	0	0	0	0	240	State	M	E	Village Ak		5820-3260=2460	D-3. 11/2	17.L.1127			
Beşe, Abdullah	11	4260	0	0	0	0	1	360	0	0	0	0	0	360	State	M	E	Village Saka		5760-4560=1200	D-3. 22/2	24.S.1179			
Beşe, Beşe (Father), Hac (Father in Law)	8	30030	13	8060	0		7	2985	13	13470	4	61200	4	2280	87995	Civil	M	E	Mudanya Cami-i Ak	5. W, F, M, OS, YG	88005-39290=48715	D-3. 23/1	26.S.1179		
Beşe	6	17520	11	4603	1	720	2	70	5	5050	3	19000	3	1943	31386	Civil	M	E	Mudanya Cami-i Ak	3. W, YS, M	33447-17620=15827	D-3. 7/5	14.M.1128		
Beşe	6	360	5	151	0		6	310	3	410	0	2	255	1126	State	M	E	Mudanya (Istanbul)		1166-806=360	D-3. 9/3	6.L.1127			
Total Prop. to Total			38	17294	1	720	17	6125	22	19170	12	107200	12	25678	176187										
			37,3%	9,8%	1,0%	0,4%	16,7%	3,5%	21,6%	10,9%	11,8%	60,8%	11,8%	14,6%	93,6%	6,4%									
Beşe	7	903	3	584	0		2	112	3	650	1	3800	1	32	5178	Civil	M	E	Mudanya Tekke-i Ak	4. W, F, 2 YS	(5466-903-2400-2323)	D-4. 18/2	4.R.1211		
Beşe	9	4320	0	0	0		11	817	4	2000	2	18400	5	217	21434	Civil	M	E	Mudanya Mananz	3. W, 2 B	21434-9560=11820 para	D-4. 27/3	29.B.1211		
Askeri, Abdullah	14	2080	16	336	0		0		2	2260	0		1	100	2696	State	M	E	Mudanya		3686-2880=806 para	D-4. 38/1	11.RA.1212		
Askeri, Abdullah	4	690	8	492			1	73	2	1055					1620	State	M	E	Mudanya Cami Han		1525-1090=435+9=530	D-5. 16/4	25.CA.1212		
Beşe, Abdullah	8	1490	5	430	0		2	35	0		0	0	0	465	State	M	E	Mudanya Cami Han		1845-1490=365 para	D-4. 39/3	8.R.1212			
Beşe, Abdullah	8	850	6	371	0		0		7	625	0	0	0	996	State	M	E	Mudanya Cami Han		996-850=196 para	D-4. 41/3	25.CA.1212			
Beşe, Abdullah	7	857	9	574	0		1	200	4	1051	0	0	0	1825	State	M	E	Mudanya Cami Han		2025-1777=248 para	D-4. 42/1	11.C.1212			
Beşe, Abdullah	8	767	4	77	0		3	246	1	1000	0	1	300	1623	State	M	E	Mudanya Cami Han		1323-1067=256 para	D-4. 42/3	27.C.1212			
Beşe (Fazıl)	8	1780	12	1605	1	40	8	590	5	6740	0	1	10	8985	State	M	E	Mudanya		9135-1780=7355 para	D-4. 92/3	25.S.1215			
Beşe	7	6251	6	680	0		1	120	0		1	8800	1	200	9800	Civil	M	E	Mudanya	2. W, M	245-245=0 para	D-5. 10/1	23.M.1210		
Beşe	5	3355	8	925	0		0		2	2304	1	1400	0	4629	Civil	M	E	Mudanya Tekke-i Ak	2. W, YG	4629-3355=1274 para	D-5. 15/6	23.R.1210			
Beşe	5	7120	15	3295	0		11	2212	8	1568	1	2800	1	400	10275	Civil	M	E	Mudanya Tekke-i Ak	3. W, F, M	10245-10245=0 para	D-5. 20/2	27.ZA.1212		
Alemdâr	8	12720	0	0	0		11	3980	0		2	19200	0	0	23180	Civil	M	E	Mudanya Cami-i Ak	4. W, 2 YG, M	24700-13265=11435 para	D-5. 50/2	11.C.1204		
Beşe, Abdullah	6	1635	7	147	0		6	294	11	2277	0	0	0	2718	State	M	E	Mudanya Cami Han		5192-4460=655 para	D-5. 61/4	23.CA.1208			
Total Prop. to Total	106	44818	99	9516	1	40	57	8679	49	21530	8	54400	11	1359	95424	93,46%									
			46,3%	10,0%	0,5%	0,0%	16,6%	9,1%	22,9%	22,6%	3,7%	57,0%	5,1%	1,3%	667200,0%	664,0%									

<sup>410</sup> Abbreviations for family members: W (Wife); H (Husband); G (Daughter); S (Son); UB (Unbirth); F (Father); M (Mother); B (Brother); K (Sister); N

*tereke*s are quite low in number and, at the same time, they are below the average of all records and records of Muslim men, which are seen in the previous table. The data of this group were over the general average with 28.3 percent in clothing and with 15.2 percent in personal goods. Military materials like weapons and knives had a significant effect in high proportion of the personal goods. The value of whole goods owned by this group was 186,982 para. 91,584 para of this total were expensed for the taxes and debts and 95,398 para remained in most cases to the state, and in others to the inheritors. The averages of these totals for each deceased person were 9,349 and 4,579 and 4,770 para in the three values, respectively.

The proportions sharply change when we more closely look at the records in different periods. The *Beşe* person in the half of the seventeenth century had especially the commodities. The distribution of the objects according the categories is shown in the table. The interesting thing here is that this person had a great amount of rice and soap, which was probably for trade. The total value of his *tereke* was 55,115 *akçes*, and the share of the value of the soap was 50,340 *akçes*, and price of the rice was 4,200 *akçes*. The value of six clothes was 320 *akçes*, of 3 house materials, an old carpet, a small coffee ewer, and an old blue bundle were 115 *akçes*. His two personal belongings, a small *çakmaklı* rifle and an old saddlebag, were 140 *akçes*. This person was most probably a peddler who had neither estate nor family. Furthermore, his debt to two boatmen may indicate that he often traveled to out of Mudanya.

In the period of early eighteenth century, there we see six *tereke*s owned by the military people, consisting of 102 objects cost of 176,187. In addition to this total, they had the money owed to people about 12,091 *akçes*. The rate of this money, 6.4

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(Nephew); NC (Niece); GC (Grand Children-Male); GF (Grand Father); GM (Grand Mother); Y (Young); O (Old).

percent of whole total, was very close to that of the period of the late eighteenth century, 6.6 percent with 6,672 para. This may lead one to think of business relations of these military people.

The number of estates in these records is 12 and the value of them is 107,200 *akçes*. Personal belongings whose 22 objects cost 19,170 *akçes* have the highest value after that of the estates. Clothes constitute the highest in number, but their values are lesser, namely being just 17,294 *akçes*. Military people owned especially vineyards and only one house as estate <sup>411</sup>. This means that they either had no permanent house to stay or their houses belonged to their wives. As personal materials, they had rifles, *yatağan* knives, swords, pistols (*piştov*), a dagger, *divit*, a donkey and a ring. Moreover, we see differences in the prices of the same objects. For instance the prices of the rifles changed from 240 to 960 *akçes* though they had different features like being a small rifle and *boy* rifle. On the other hand, this group of people wore dresses such as *'antari*, shirt, *yelek*, *kuşak*, *biniş*, *futa*, fur, *cübbe* and *sarık*, *kavuk*, *poşu* on their heads and, finally, *şalvar*. The most expensive objects among the clothes were a fur worth of 2,400 and 2,000 *akçes*,<sup>412</sup> a şal of 1,920 *akçes*,<sup>413</sup> a *biniş* of 1,200 *akçes*.<sup>414</sup> As house materials, this group owned things, from carpet to candlestick and from pots and pans to ladder. The interesting objects were agricultural tools like hoes, spades, and pickaxes. The water pitchers (*ibrik*) worth of 1,200 *akçes* and cups worth of 600 *akçes* were the most valuable things among them.

At this point, we should differentiate the military people for whether or not they had inheritors. For, the values of the goods of those who had inheritors were higher even for the same objects than those of the people who had not. Besides, the

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<sup>411</sup> D-3: 10/3 (07.L.1129).

<sup>412</sup> D-3: 23/1 (26.S.1179); D-3: 10/3 (07.L.1129).

<sup>413</sup> D-3: 23/1 (26.S.1179)

<sup>414</sup> D-3: 23/1 (26.S.1179)

latter did not have any estates, and the objects of the latter group were mostly consisting of basic needs for subsistence and, relatively, were relatively less valuable things.

In the period of the late eighteenth century, the military people in the 14 *tereke*s show the similar tendencies with those in the previous period in the ranks and features of the objects they owned. They had eight estates with the value of 54,400 para and forty-seven personal goods worth of 20,475 para. The values of the clothes and the house materials were very close to each other. The total price of the former was 9,024 para including 91 pieces, and that of the latter was 8,606 para including 56 pieces. The total value of the all objects was 93,804 para and the total value of the *tereke* with the 6,672 para owed to the people was 100,476 para.

Compared to the value of the previous period, the share of house materials shifted from 3.5 percent to 9.2 percent of the total in the latter period. A similar great shift occurred in the personal goods from 10.9 percent to 21.8 percent. On the other hand, the share of clothes and estates remained at the same rates in these periods, 9.8-9.6 and 60.8-58 percent, respectively. Surprisingly, even the number of pieces of the personal goods in the two periods was, proportionally, very close to each other, 21.6 percent and 22 percent respectively, whereas in the ratio of values of these goods, as we figured out above as 10.9 and 22.6 percent, there was a very great shift between them. Similar consequences can be seen in the figures of the estates.

A question may arise here: does this outcome imply the scarcity, at least a fixed amount, of goods and an increase in the prices in the late eighteenth century? When we look at the price indexes of these two periods,<sup>415</sup> we see that the index shifts from about 1.8 to 6.5. Therefore, it may be argued that the great differences in

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<sup>415</sup> See Appendix of this study. (Pamuk, 2000).

the values of goods in those periods can be result of this shift in the prices, which we see in the index.

In this period, the military people owned the same kind of the estates. We can add the olive groves and boat (*kayık*) to their estates. The prices of houses changed between 5,600 para to 7,600 para and of vineyards and olive groves between 3,200 para to 16,000 para. The value of the boat was 1,400 para. This price is quite low compared to others in other records. Another thing that can be given here was copal cherry rod (*kehlibar kiraz çubuk*) (?) whose price was 600 para.<sup>416</sup>

As personal belongings there are, unlike in the previous period, Koran (*Mushaf-ı Şerif*),<sup>417</sup> *En'ām-ı Şerif*, catapults, lids of gunpowder (*barut kapağı*), *yağlık*, cartridge belts (*palaska*), and hookah (*nargile*) in the *tereke*s. Clothing habits are not so different from the previous periods, either. However, some variations and distinctions can be seen between them. For instance, there are no *futa*, *cübbe* and *biniş* in the cloth lists of the people of the latter period. On the other hand, clothes like *çevre*, *makrama*, *dizlik*, *don*, boots, *settar*, *ahmediyye*, *libade*, *fez*, *külâh*, *kalpak*, belt (*kemer*), socks, and *çora* were only listed in the *tereke*s of the late eighteenth-century military people. The most expensive clothes within this list are furs, having a value of 480 para,<sup>418</sup> black boots worth of 310 para,<sup>419</sup> and various kinds of the

<sup>416</sup> D-5: 20/2 (27.ZA.1212).

<sup>417</sup> For the books that are listed in the *tereke*s of the sixteenth-century Bursa, see Karataş, 1999. According to him the prices of Korans changed from 50 to 3,600 *akçes* but most of them were between 250-400 *akçes*. Although Karataş never considers how and by whom these prices were established, and nor he takes into account the correctness of the prices in the *tereke*s, his study as the first example of its kind presents us some results about the relationship between people and book.

<sup>418</sup> D-5: 15/6 (23.R.1210/1796).

<sup>419</sup> D-5: 20/2 (27.ZA.1212).

*kuşaks* worth of over 200 para. As house materials, they own, in addition to those of the previous period, *döşek*, sheets (*çarşeb*), pillows, and a mirror.<sup>420</sup>

When we look at the prices of house materials in the list, we see an old big rug with 400 para,<sup>421</sup> Egyptian matting (*hasır*) with 300 para<sup>422</sup> and a cauldron (*kazgan*) with 200 para<sup>423</sup> as the most valuable goods. Interestingly, some of the military people owned tools of some occupations. For instance, one of them had barber tools,<sup>424</sup> another had *kalafat* (caulking) tools,<sup>425</sup> and still another had goods of coffeehouse.<sup>426</sup> They probably worked as a barber, a caulker and a coffeehouse owner, respectively.

Prices of the personal belongings also varied to a great extent, even among the same kinds of the goods. The worthiest rifle for instance was 1,900 para<sup>427</sup> while the cheapest one was 211 para.<sup>428</sup> A similar gap between the prices occurred in the pistols (*piştov*): their prices changed from 60 para to 800 para. The of Koran and *En'âm-ı Şerif* exchanged as "gift" within this list were 1,000 para<sup>429</sup> and 340 para<sup>430</sup>, respectively.

The striking datum in one *tereke* is about the *gündelik*.<sup>431</sup> If it indicates the daily wage of this person, we may take money in his *tereke* as evidence for this, this would be an important indicator in determining and interpreting the prices of the

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<sup>420</sup> Artan (1998: 57) uses mirror in the mid-eighteenth century Eyüp as a determinant of its owners' wealth.

<sup>421</sup> D-5: 50/2 (11.C.1204/1790).

<sup>422</sup> D-5: 20/2 (27.ZA.1212).

<sup>423</sup> D-5: 50/2 (11.C.1204/1790).

<sup>424</sup> D-4: 18/2 (4.R.1211/1797).

<sup>425</sup> D-5: 10/1 (23.M.1210/1796). For details, see Bostan, 1992: 73.

<sup>426</sup> D-5: 15/6 (23.R.1210/1796).

<sup>427</sup> D-5: 61/4 (23.CA.1208/1794).

<sup>428</sup> D-4: 42/1 (11.C.1212).

<sup>429</sup> D-4: 92/3 (25.S.1215/1800).

<sup>430</sup> D-4: 42/1 (11.C.1212).

<sup>431</sup> D-5: 16/4 (25.CA.1212).

goods mentioned in the *tereke*s of this period. The following information about the daily life and belongings of this person may be seen as the daily life and belongings of a worker in that period. According to the record, the price of the *gündelik* is 95 para. This person who is from Anatolia, but his homeland is not given exactly is identified as “*askeri zümresinden*”. He stays in the Han as a guest and since he has no inheritor when he died, his goods are taken by the State Treasury. His *tereke* consists of pairs of used boots, a used sack, two old belts, two *dons*, two *kebes* (short overcoat), an *'antari* with shirt, a fez with shirt, a *kalpak*. He also owns 960 para in cash. Because he has no estates nor goods like quilt and pillow or pots and pans, he would satisfy these needs either from the han or from the city. If he works for the people by daily wages, he would, probably, take lunch and dinner from the person he works for. It is not clear what kinds of jobs he does. Only one thing that may make possible to estimate alternatives of his jobs exists in the record: a used *çuval* worth of 73 para.

In the table below we see three *tereke*s related to the deceased people who have military relatives. When we make a comparison between the figures in this and preceding two tables, we see that the proportions in the last table, unlike those of military *tereke*s, are very close to those of general averages. According to value of the goods in the *tereke*s, the deceased people who have military relatives own fewer amounts: 31,356 para for total value, 6,739 for expenses, and 24,616 para for the remaining sum. Nevertheless, the averages of this group can be seen as more positive in economic terms. They have the average of 10,452 para in total value and this was higher than that of the military group. Besides, the average expenses of the former, 2,246 para, are far less than that of the military group and therefore each member of this group could leave more to their inheritors, i.e. 8,205 para on the average.

But it is explicitly seen that the averages of both groups were under the averages of whole groups especially in the total value and the remaining sum to the inheritors. At this point we can see them together with the groups of *bin Abdullahs* as the poorest group of all groups under study.

Table 21: Distribution of the Objects within the Probate Inventories For Deceased People who had Military Relatives

Social Status/ Groups	Adm.	Value	Cloth	Value	Food	Value	Goods	Value	Pers.	Value	EstateProp.	Value	Unind.	Value	Total	Terkes	Rel. Sta.	Gen. Sta.	Location	Family Size	Value of All Goods and Remaining Sum to Inheritors	Source	Date	
Beşe (Father)	8	1480	1	100	0	0	9	1534	2	160	7	9080	1	460	12842	Civil	M	E	Mudanya Musa Bey	4: W, OG, YG, UB	5714- 1480=4234	D-4. 49/4	25 FA 117	
Beşe (Father), Ağa (Husband), Ağa (Father in Law)	7	20160	22	11220	0		15	8310	4	4470	0		2	2400	46610	Civil	M	K	Village: Sakc	4: H, F, M, YG	48240- 2160	D-3. 21/6	18 S 117	
Beşe (Husband), Sıyrd (Father)	8	4474	10	3020	0	0	9	1760	1	120	0		0		9402	Civil	M	K	Mudanya Musa Bey	3: H, F, M	4474= 3626 para	D-4. 43/3	23 S 117	
Total	23		33		0		33		7		7		3		68854									
Prop. to Total	21,7%		31,1%		0,0%		31,1%		6,6%		6,6%		2,8%		100,0%									

### b- Ağa Group

We see in the table below the distributions of belongings for the social group of *Ağas*. We should note here that we see the *Ağas* only in the period of the late eighteenth century, the records of previous periods do not include *Ağa* people. Excluding expenses of the taxes and the records about the estate property, in all other objects this social group was, proportionally, over the average of all probate inventories. Take, for example, cloth distributions: this group of objects had the highest proportion, 33.3 percent, within the *terekes* and exceeded the general proportion of those owned by Muslims, 27.8 percent. On the other hand, it is difficult to explain why this social group had the lowest tax proportions. This group's proportion of administrative objects is lower than that of both military group, 3.3 percent, and of all Muslims, 19.3 percent.

Table 22: Distribution of the Objects within the Probate Inventories for *Ağa*s

Social Status/ Groups	Adm.	Value	Cloth	Value	Food	Value	Goods	Value	Furr.	Value	Estate Prop.	Value	Unind.	Value	Total	Tereke	Rel. Sta.	Gen. Sta.	Location	Family Size	Value of All Goods and Remaining Sum to Inheritors	Source	Date	
<i>Ağa</i>	7	5.040	0	0	0	0	0	2	12.000	5	78.000	0		90.000	Civil	M	E	Mudanya Cara-Ask	1 OS	2250-126)	D-4 77/1	21.0	1314	
<i>Ağa</i> Trade	9	12.075	21	7.711	5	9.092	56	11.145	9	9.181	2	42.000	4	1.175	80.304	Civil	M	E	Mudanya Tekke-Ask	8 W, M, 2 OR, 3 YG, OG	2124 gury 77231-23495)	D-5 43/1	4 CA 1203	
<i>Ağa</i> Boatman; Bushman; <i>Ağa</i> (Father); <i>Ağa</i> (Brother)	3	8.800	12	7.800	1	5.200	0	5	4.040	0	0	2	280	17.320	Civil	M	E	Village Sig	2 W, B	2243-385-1858 gury)	D-4 66/5	5 B 1012		
<i>Ağa</i> Efendi (Father); Hac (Grand Father)	11	20.100	17	9.528	0	1	300	6	7.481	5	58.470	1	60	75.839	Civil	M	E	Mudanya Cara-Ask	6 W, F, M, YS, YG, UB	81552-52790-28762 para	D-4 17/1	15 S 1211		
<i>Ağa</i> Osmanlı, Abdülhal	4	7.560	19	0	0	0	9	400	6	13.678	0	0	4	0	14.078	Civil	M	E	Mudanya	1 B	341 gury 38 para- 63 gury= 278 para 38 para	D-4 38/4	26 RA 12 12	
<i>Ağa</i> Osmanlı, Abdülhal	4	2.048	21	0	1	0	18	0	12	8.560	0	0	2	0	8.560	----	M	E	Mudanya		134- 51,8- 84 gury)	D-5 13/3	25 FA 12 15	
<i>Ağa</i> Hac	7	6.520	22	7.760	2	1.800	11	6.620	6	15.560	3	72.000	1	800	104.540	Civil	M	E	Mudanya Musa Bey	3 W, M, YS	103740-13320-	D-4 18/3	20 F 1211 20320	
Total Prop. to Total	45	62.143	112	32.799	9	16.092	95	18.465	46	70.500	15	250.470	14	2.315	390.641									
	13,4%		33,3%	8,5%	2,7%	4,2%	28,3%	4,8%	13,7%	18,4%	4,5%	65,3%	4,2%	0,6%										

The total value of the belongings of this group is 455,921 para and the average of this value per *Ağa* is 75,987 para. The removed part of their *tereke*s is 112,565 para, with the average of 18,761, and, finally, their sum left to their inheritors is 343,356 para, with the average of 57,226 para. These values exceed those of military groups by three times. At the same time, this group is, after the occupational groups, the richest groups among all other social groups.

When we look at the economic values of each group of the objects comparing them their quantitative proportions, we see a parallelism with the military group in the differentiation of quantitative and economic proportions of the object categories. For instance, the quantitative proportion of the estate property for this group is 4.5 percent of the total, while its economic proportion is 65.3 percent, 250,470 para. Like the military group, the economic share of the personal materials within this group is the highest after that of the estates with 16.2 percent, 62,340 para, which is followed by the clothes with 8.8 percent, the house materials with 4.8 percent and the foods

with 4.2 percent. The rate of the foods is quite high comparing the other groups. In addition, this group's money owed to the people constituted 15.8 percent of the total. With this value, 72,160 para, they had the highest debt among the groups.

On the other hand, when we look more closely to their personal belongings, we see that this group own vineyards, olive groves and *hadikas* as estates. Only one house takes place in the records. *Hadika* for mulberry is special to this group: military group do not have such estates. Moreover, there are no great gaps among the different kinds of the estates. The differences we see within the same estate are applicable at the same time for the different estates. Thus, we see that the price range was, generally between 1,440 para to 40,000 para.

Personal belongings consist of interesting things: rifles, knives, pistols, swords, *yağlık*, *duhan çubuk*, and Koran and *En'ām-ı Sherif* take place in the lists like those of military's, but, on the other hand, watches, rosaries (*tesbih*), bread comb, pearl, and horse are added to the list of this group. The prices of the coral and silver rifles, pistols, knives and a sword, mostly between 1,000-4,000 para, are higher than the others, and one of the Korans is 30 guruş (1,200 para). There are three watches in the records, one of them being 80 guruş (3,200 para),<sup>432</sup> another 40 guruş (1,600 para),<sup>433</sup> and the last one having not price.<sup>434</sup> The most expensive object within this group is the horse worth of 150 guruş (6,000 para).<sup>435</sup>

Within the cloth category this group owns similar dresses with the military group. They put especially fez and *kavuk* to their heads. Such clothes as *cübbe*, *biniş*, furs, and *kuşak* have a higher frequency than they have in the military group. On the other hand, we do not see some clothes in this group like *puşe*, *settar*, and *çevre* that

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<sup>432</sup> D-5: 13/3 (25.RA.1210/1796).

<sup>433</sup> D-4: 60/5 (5.B.1213).

<sup>434</sup> D-4: 38/4 (26.RA.1212).

<sup>435</sup> D-4: 77/1 (21.C.1214).

are found in military people. The most expensive clothes are first different kinds of furs ranging from 1 guruş (40 para) to 2,920 para; and secondly *çora* ranging from 1 guruş to 1,440 para. The next most valuable item is *biniş* whose prices change from 1 guruş to 30 guruş. *Cübbe* was the fourth in the price order ranging from 1 guruş (40 para) to 1,000 para. Other clothes were under the 500 para except one new '*antari*, which is, interestingly, 641 para.<sup>436</sup>

This group does not so much differ from the other groups in the house materials they own. *Ağa* group, unlike the military group, has *şilte* and *seccade*. We also see that the number of the kitchen tools is more than those of the military people. There is no object in this category whose price is over 500 para except for a *bürüncek* sheet with the price of 660 para,<sup>437</sup> and a round copper (*sini*) worth of 800 para.<sup>438</sup> The most expensive material within the rest is a cauldron (*kazgan*) with the value of 440 para.<sup>439</sup>

As for the foods, this group own especially olives, and then wheat, *pekmez*, and onions. The values of each of these foods are about 500 para. Only in one record the value of the olives is given as 8,400 para.<sup>440</sup> There is no information about the weight of the olives in the record.

The changes in the proportions between *Ağa* social group and social groups of the deceased people who had *Ağa* relatives, which can be seen in the table below, are very explicit. High proportions shift from clothing to the house materials, and personal belongings in particular lose their values whereas the estate properties have a significant proportion within all compared to the *Ağa* social group. Since all *tereke*

<sup>436</sup> D-4: 17/1 (15.S.1211/1797).

<sup>437</sup> D-4: 43/1 (4.CA.1208/1794).

<sup>438</sup> D-4: 18/3 (20.R.1211/1797).

<sup>439</sup> D-4: 43/1 (4.CA.1208/1794).

<sup>440</sup> D-4: 43/1 (4.CA.1208/1794).

in this table belong to women, these proportional shifts can be explained to a certain extent with this factor.

There are also great differences between the values of the *tereke*s of the two groups. The latter, as the value of all their goods, owns 182,984 para whose 19,014 para are taken as tax and debts, and remaining 163,970 para remained for the inheritors. The averages of these values, 36,597, 3,803 and 32,794 para respectively, indicate that they lived in very different conditions than their relatives.<sup>441</sup>

Table 23: Distribution of the Objects within the Probate Inventories for Deceased People who had *Ağa* Relatives

Social Status/ Groups	Adm.	Value	Cloth	Value	Food	Value	Goods	Value	Pers.	Value	Estate Prop.	Value	Unind.	Value	Total	Tereke	Rel. Sta.	Gen. Sta.	Location	Family Size	Value of All Goods and Remaining Sum to Inheritors	Source	Date	
<i>Ağa</i> (Father), <i>Ağa</i> (Nephews)	8	7.040									3	44.000			44.000	Civil	M	K	Mudanya Omer Bey	4 M, B (Mother), 2 N	62320-7040= D-4 52/3 55280 para		22 M 1218	
<i>Ağa</i> (Father), <i>Serik</i> (Husband)	8	10.066	18	5.679		23	9.744	3	714	1	400	1	400	16.937	Civil	M	K	Mudanya Omer Bey	3: H, F, YS	25193-1734= D-4 52/1 23459 para		11.0.1218		
<i>Ağa</i> (Husband)	11	13.080	18	7.840		22	9.140	3	8.200	6	25.333			50.513	Civil	M	K	Mudanya Can-i Atik	2: H, B	14825 para 13 197 para= 12855 para		27.1.1218		
<i>Ağa</i> (Husband), <i>Alemdar</i> (Father in Law)	4	4.240	14	8.840		12	4.443	3	3.360	1	120	5	2.760	19.523	Civil	M	K	Mudanya Can-i Atik	6: H, M, 2 YS, 2 YG	22808-920= 21888 D-4 88/2 para		23 M 1218		
<i>Ağa</i> -Trade (Husband)	6	5.440	2	420		13	7.350	1	260	1	1.200			9.230	Civil	M	K	Mudanya Tekke-i Atik	5: H, OG, 3 YG	13230-1440= D-5 62/3 11790 para		15 CA1 1208		
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>39.866</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>22.779</b>		<b>70</b>	<b>30.677</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>12.534</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>71.053</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3.160</b>	<b>140.203</b>										
<b>Prop. to Total</b>	<b>19,8%</b>		<b>27,8%</b>	<b>16,2%</b>		<b>37,4%</b>	<b>21,9%</b>	<b>5,3%</b>	<b>8,9%</b>	<b>6,4%</b>	<b>50,7%</b>	<b>3,2%</b>	<b>2,3%</b>											

### c- Group of Efendis

The analysis of the deceased people who were *Efendi* and who had *Efendi* relatives will be made according to data given in the table below. At a first glance, this table indicates the concentrations of object groups according to the gender status disregarding the differences in periods in which they lived. For, there is not any relation between *Efendis* and the people who have *Efendi* relatives. The second group

<sup>441</sup> Whereas, Göçek and Baer (1997: 54) claims that the wives of men of prominent status, namely *Ağas* here, were the wealthiest women.

includes women who own, with a high proportion compared to that of men, clothes, 28.6 percent, and the house materials, 42.9 percent, while the first group consists of men who own foods, 6.9 percent, the estate properties, 5.5 percent, and personal goods, 12.3 percent. These figures are also very close to the general proportions of each gender in all *tereke*s.

The values of these groups' *tereke*s also carry significant elements to make the comparison better within the group. For instance, values of the goods of the deceased people who have *Efendi* relatives, 198,640 para with the average of 66,213 para, are higher about two times than those of the *Efendis* themselves, whose value is 92,515 para with the average of 46,258 para.

Finally, let's focus on the objects that only *Efendis* owned according to different periods. One of the two *tereke*s, which belongs to the period of the late seventeenth century, was the *tereke* of a man who was originally from İstanbul, but stayed in the village Çekrice. He had things related to farming, which shows that he was most probably a farmer. He owned a house whose value was 30,000 *akçes*, and many animals like cattle-cows, a mare-foal, and a horse that were necessary in his farming activities and whose economic values constituted totally 32,400 *akçes*. Interestingly, there was no land mentioned within his properties; therefore we conclude that he could be a renter or a sharecropper in this village. Other objects in the list included tools for farming like sickles, a file (*eğeri*), an axe (*bel*), a pickaxe, a hoe, a ladder (*nerdeban*), an iron for plough, two vehicles (one for fodder) and, finally, agricultural products like wheat, oats (*alaf*), chickpea, and barley. The total price of the farm tools were about the 9,000 *akçes* and of 1,431 *kile* agricultural products was about 28,000 *akçes*. There is no information about the habits of clothing in that record.

The other person who died in the late eighteenth century was probably olive producer and seller. He had two olive groves, olive trees, an olive *kadre*, a *döğen*, a pan for *pekmez* and a vineyard whose values were 26,610 para. Significant amount of *salamura* olives are also recorded in his tereke with the price of 5,600 para. He owned as clothes *kavuk*, *destar*, three 'antari, a shirt, baggy trousers, a *cübbe* and a fur whose economic values constituted totally 1,300 para.

Table 24: Distribution of the Objects within the Probate Inventories for *Efendis* and the Deceased People who had *Efendi* Relatives

Social Status/ Groups	Adm.	Value	Cloth	Value	Food	Value	Goods	Value	Pers.	Value	Estate Prop.	Value	Unim.	Value	Total	Tereke	Rel. Sta.	Gen. Sta.	Location	Family Size	Value of All Goods and Remaining Sum to Inheritors	Source
Efendi, Abdülrah	3	3.600			4	27.800	12	4.990	13	37.580	1	30.000	12	26.180	126.550	Civil	M	E	Village, Çekirce (Hacı Dıyas in Istanbul)	4 W, 2 YS, YG	120520-3960=116560	D-2 92/11
Efendi, Hacı (Father in Law)	11	25.360	6	1.300	2	6.200	3	1.200	2	600	3	24.810	1	60	34.170	Civil	M	E	Mudanya Musa Bey	4 W, OG, 2 YG	48690-29380=19310 para	D-4 47/2
Total	14	28.960	6	1.300	6	34.000	15	6.190	15	38.180	4	54.810	13	26.240	160.720							
Prop. to Total		19,2%		8,2%	0,8%	8,2%	21,2%	20,3%	3,9%	20,5%	23,8%	5,3%	34,1%	17,8%	16,3%							
Hacı, Efendi (Father), Ağa (Husband)			4	6.800			1	2.000	6	42.720	2	4.508	2	3.692	59.720	Civil	M	K	Mudanya Cami-i Atik	2 H, K	1000 Gurur	D-3 58/3
Efendi (Father), Seyyid-Efendi (Husband)	7	11.480	13	5.840	1	10.000	19	5.820	3	2.880	4	18.400	1	80	43.020	Civil	M	K	Mudanya Marasır	4 H, OS, OG, YG	51020-3600=47420 para	D-5 42/3
Efendi (Father in Law)																						
Efendi (Husband), Hacı (Mother)	8	7.200	21	6.780			37	11.680	3	4.260			2	10.900	33.620	Civil	M	K	Mudanya Tekke-i Atik	4 H, M, OG, GC	37620-3200=35420	D-4 15/1
Total	15	18680	38	19420	1	10000	57	19500	12	49860	6	22908	5	14672	136360							
Prop. to Total		11,3%		28,5%	14,2%	0,8%	7,3%	42,9%	14,3%	9,0%	36,6%	4,3%	15,8%	3,8%	10,8%							

### d- Group of Hajjs

Unlike the *Efendi* group, in the group of *Hajj*, as seen in the table below, belongings of women who had *Hajj* relatives are higher in personal goods and lower in house materials proportionally. Similar shifts occurred in men's proportions. For instance, their share in clothing and the estate properties is very high but at lower rates in the personal goods. The total sum of the values of their *tereke*s is quite high. Furthermore, the two subgroups (*Hajjs* and people who have *Hajj* relatives) within the *Hajj* social group owned very close amounts in the total values of their belongings. The value of the goods of the first subgroup is 309,415 para with the average of 77,354 para for each *Hajj* whereas that of the second is 294,061 para with the average of 73,515 para. Having these figures, this group is among the top three richest ones among all groups.

Table 25: Distribution of the Objects within the Probate Inventories For *Hajjs* and the Deceased People who had *Hajj* Relatives

Social Status Groups	Adm.	Value	Cloth	Value	Food	Value	Goods	Value	Pers.	Value	Estate Prop.	Value	Unind.	Value	Total	Tereke	Rel. Sta.	Gen. Sta.	Location	Family Size	Value of All Goods and Remaining Surplus to Inheritors	Source	Date
Hac	7	1.900	4	190		2	10.107	1	120			3	4.330	14.747	State	M	E	Mudanya		2200=14457-12357	D-2 26/3	5/2 11/12	
Hac, Aja	9	538	87	1203-17		4	560,5-30	41	590,5-31	10	1.751	14	3.272	11	101,5-5	7438-3	Civil	M	E	Mudanya 4-W, OG, YG, K Omer Bey	7551-583=6968 gury	D-5 2/4	24/11 09
Hac, Hac (Soc)	8	187			4	445	2	60	5	190	19	718			1.413	Civil	M	E	Vilaga 5-W, 2 Cepel OS, 2 OG	1403-187=1316 para	D-4 21/2	24/1 12/12	
Hac	8	1.011	2	70					5	1.895					1.965	State	M	E	Mudanya Bahrman Aja Casu	1965-1011=954	D-3 9/2	5/2 11/12	
Hac (Fisher)	7	11.372	6	510		1	1.000	1	200	11	54.000				55.710	Civil	M	E	Vilaga 5-W, YS Sip YG, 2 OG	1392 gury 30 para-1179 gury	D-4 4/11	14/1 11/12	
Hac (Fisher), Sirok (Fisher)			49	24.903		65	14.074	10	41.873	4	7.870	2	1.309		90.029	Civil	M	K	Mudanya 5 OG, Tekke-i Auk GCYO	72160-80144=6416	D-4 10/1	11/1 11/12	
Hac (Fisher), Hac (Husband)	5	99.720	42	59.800		35	46.170	17	55.320			31	71.320	232.610	Civil	M	K	Mudanya Mura Bey, Seker 4-H, YG, Hoca- F, M, Bursa (F-M)	316610-15720=300890 (7)	D-3 11/1	11/1 11/12		
Hac (Fisher), Seyid-Abdullah (Husband)	10	13.200	29	19.420		19	11.640	11	10.760			2	320	42.140	Civil	M	K	Mudanya Tekke-i Auk	12765-80=11965	D-4 6/11	21/2 11/12		

The striking point here is that since the values of *tereke*s of the two subgroups of *Hajj* are very close to each other, the wealth of their members probably went through all their relatives. In other words, they all shared certain level of richness and welfare, and besides, had strict relations with each other.

At this point we can make a detailed analysis of the *tereke*s according to the different periods under examination. Of the four records, one belongs to the date of 1058/1648, while another to 1128/1716, and the last two being the records of 1209/1795 and 1211/1797.

The first *tereke* was of a man who, we deduce from the record, was probably a seller of rope since he had great amount of rope with the price of 9,207 *akçes*. In addition to this, he had certain amount of soap worth of 900 *akçes*, and four pieces of clothes including *alaca*, *kürdiye*, an old *kuşak* and a shirt with the value of 190 *akçes*. Another object in this list is 120 *akçes* in cash.

The second *tereke* belonged to a *Hajj* who died in 1128/1716. This person had, like a military people, one *boy* rifle, two *çakmaklı* rifles and a cartridge belt with the value of 680 *akçes*. As clothing, the record has it that he owned only an old raincoat and *dizlik* with the price of 70 *akçes*. The most valuable thing in his *tereke* was his 1,120 *akçes* in cash with a moneybag (*kise*), worth of 15 *akçes*.

In the early eighteenth century, there were two *tereke*s owned by *Hajjs*. One of these *Hajjs* resided in the village and his sources of wealth were his estates, whose total value was 718 *guruş* (78,980 *akçes*), and which included ten orchards, four olive groves, a half share of a shop, a house and two small properties for fodder, *hırdavat* and a *şirahane*. Except for the house, worth of 200 *guruş* (22,000 *akçes*) and *şirahane*, worth of 6 *guruş* (660 *akçes*), the prices of the other estates ranged from 15 *guruş* (1650 *akçes*) to 50 *guruş* (5,500 *akçes*). In addition to these, this person owned

different kinds of agricultural products like wheat, barley, oats and vetch, whose total amount was 510 *kile* with the value of 443 guruş. Interestingly he had no olives though he had three olive *kadres*. Furthermore, he owned two cattles worth of 40 guruş, two mares, forty guruş, a donkey, 20 guruş, and twenty sheeps and goats, 80 guruş. He owned the silk *tefe*, worth of 30 guruş, probably to use in the wool of the sheeps. The last object was his vehicle with the value of 10 guruş. This *tereke* record did not include any clothes.

Other *Hajj*, who was at the same time an *Ağa*, resided in the city, and total value of his *tereke* was five times higher than that of the previous person. Estates and other properties with 3,272 guruş comprised half of his wealth. Though he owned less amount of estate (he had 5 orchards, a house, a shop and an olive grove) compared to the previous person, these estates except for the house, worth of 184 guruş, were more valuable than the other person's. In addition to these estates, he had two boats with the price of 1,400 guruş and some small boat parts. Among his personal belongings, there were one ordinary and one *yatağan* knives, a silver Aleppo rifle, a silver pistol, an alarm clock (*çalar saat*),<sup>442</sup> a coral rosary, and a mule. The total value of these objects was 210.5 guruş. As cash he owned 1,186 guruş that was quite high amount of money for his time.

This *Hajj* person had also many kinds of clothes. Even some objects, fabrics, were recorded as two or three rolls. This brings to one's mind the possibility that he did not wear all of them, but use them for commercial purposes. The fact that he also had a shop also supports this insight. Furthermore, the record involves the following expression: "objects within the shop- *dükkan derunda bulunan eşya*". Fabrics in the form of rolls that take place within the list were probably sold in that shop. The

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<sup>442</sup> Artan (1998: 57) uses clock in the mid-eighteenth-century Eyup as an indication of its owners' wealth.

striking thing is that there were many kinds of the same fabrics and *kuşaks*. Hama *kuşak*, Baghdad *kuşak*, Tehran *kuşak*, *basma kuşak* and Damascus *alaca* could be given as examples. Hama *kuşak* was the most expensive among them with the price of 35 guruş. The other objects that were used frequently were *hammamiye* and *üstlük*. This person wore more or less expensive clothes such as used *çuka* buggy trousers worth of 40 guruş, and used *Lahor* shawl worth of 45 guruş.

As food, the *tereke* includes significant amount of *salamura* olives: 3,000 *kıyye* of these olives were 525 guruş. Besides, the man had another kind of olive that was cost of 30 guruş. In addition, there was very little amount of candle (*şem'*) oil: 3 *kıyye* 2,5 guruş. These last two objects could be among his basic needs, but the first one, *salamura* oil, was probably for selling.

#### **e- Group of Seyyids and Sherifes**

The ascribed status of *Seyyid* for a man and *Sherife* for a woman, as seen in the table below can be taken as another group in our analysis. This group, only in the period of late eighteenth century, owned particularly the house materials, cloth and personal goods. Within the group women had especially cloth and the house materials whereas men owned more personal objects and the estate properties. Men also paid more for administrative taxes. This distribution fits the general tendencies of each gender group seen in all records.

Table 26: Distribution of the Objects within the Probate Inventories For *Seyyids* and *Sherifes*

Social Status Groups	Adm.	Value	Cloth	Value	Food	Value	Goods	Value	Pers.	Value	Estate Prop.	Value	Unad.	Value	Total	Turke	Rel. Sta.	Gen. Sta.	Location	Family Size	Value of All Goods and Remaining Sum to Inheritors	Source	Date
Seyyid: Aka Moka (Father)	7	7.474	11	5.903	2	9.843	19	10.247	19	51.164	4	50.590	7	2.483	130.230	Civil	M	E	Mudanya 4 W. M. Musa Bey YS. O	137910-111207= 26703 para	D-4 56/1	15.8.1213	
Seyyid: Hac-Ada (Blackhead)	8	7.380	33	15.709			24	4.046	9	10.189	1	12.000	3	1.165	43.109	Civil	M	K	Mudanya Cema-i Ask YS. 2 OG	42209-3920= 38289 Para	D-4 52/4	27.11.1213	
Seyyid: Alimdar: Kankoylu	7	6.440							2	7.200	5	18.000			25.200	Civil	M	E	Valage 3 W. YG. Sid UB	34874-15640= 19234 para	D-4 45/5	12.1.1213	
Seyyid: Feye (Blackhead)	6	3.733	3	1.800			6	2.320	1	200			1	120	4.440	Civil	M	K	Valage 3 H. YS. Cypri YG	7894-400= 7494 para	D-4 83/2	13.1.1213	
Seyyid: Total	34		26	10.333	2	9.843	45	15.287	25	59.102	10	72.990	8	2.603	170.158				Mudanya Hasan Bey M	13456-1385= 12069 para	D-5 3/5	13.1.1213	
Prop. to Total		22,7%		17,3%		6,1%	1,3%	5,8%	30,0%	9,9%	16,7%	34,7%	6,7%	42,9%	5,3%	1,5%							

The total cost of all their goods was 236,643 para whose average for each person was 47,329 para. They were with this average surpassed the general average (37,075 para) of all groups. According to our object categories, the most valuable ones they owned were the estates with the price of 72,990 para, constituting 42.9 percent of the total, which are followed by personal belongings with the value of 59,102 para, 34.7 percent, then come the house materials with 15,287 para, 9 percent, followed by clothes with 10,333 para, 6.1 percent, and finally foods with 9,843 para, 5.8 percent. This order reflects at the same time the men's general tendency to own goods. In fact, women in this group owned as their most valuable objects, clothes then foods, then estates, then house materials and finally personal belongings. However, it is interesting that the women's clothes were cheaper than men's. The men did not have any kitchen materials in their lists. In addition, there were less records for their clothes, which included '*antari*, shirt, *ahmediyye*, *cubbe*, furs, buggy trousers, and *şarık*. The women also had similar stuff, but unlike men, they wore, for instance flowered or ornamented '*antari* and, in addition, they owned *yemeni*, *bez*, *kuşak* and *ferace*.<sup>443</sup>

<sup>443</sup> Fekete (1965: 622) claims, interestingly, that *ferace* was the dress of educated men.

One of the *Seyyids*, who was at the same time an *Ağa*, was the owner of a shop. He especially sold salt and rice and his *tereke* included 3,635 para and 6,208 para respectively coming from the salt and rice. Besides, he had about 7,000 para owed to him by the people. He also owned four pairs of scales, one of them being for gold, another for *duhan* and one small and one big two *kantars* that were, speculatively, for measuring the rice and salt. The list also contained tools for fishing such as needle of fish, and ropes and strings. Among his personal goods, there were a *yatağan* knife, some gunpowder (*barut* and *saçma*), a hookah, a sheep for sacrifice (18,240 para), and a horse. Interestingly, he left a *veresiye defter* that included a debt of 16,309 para. His estates were a half share of a *hadika*, and a shop.

The second *Seyyid*, who was from the village, owned, since he was at the same time the *alemdār*, a silver rifle and a silver pistol with the value of 4,000 and 3,200 para respectively. Besides, he had three olive groves, a house and an orchard for pomegranate. The total value of these stuffs was 18,000 para. There is no information in the *tereke* about his clothes and olives of these properties. It should also be noted that he owed money about 9,000 para on the people.

On the other hand, one of two *Sherifes* resided in the village, who had a few clothes, some house materials and only one personal good. Her clothes included a used *kuşak*, a used *'antari* and an old *ferace* with the total cost of 1,800 para. Her house materials had a value of 2,320 para, which included basic needs of a house, namely an old *kilim*, a bed, a pillow, a quilt, a pot, a round copper, and a chest. A used silver earring was her only personal belonging with the value of 200 para. In addition, her *mehr* (Dower) *-i müeemel* was 3,333 para.

Another *Sherife* woman was from the city, who had the property of a house with the value of 4,400 para. It is striking that the husband of this woman belongs to

the military group who generally do not have a house in their *tereke*s, but we learn here that their wives can own a house. Besides the house, she had pairs of gold earrings with the price of 200 para. A chest, more than one quilt and pillow, a carpet, pads, and a *lenger* were the main house materials of this *Sherife* woman from the city. Unlike the previous woman, she had as clothes more than one flowered '*antari*, a fur, golden *kuşak*, an old *çelteyon*, and an ornamented *yemeni*. The most valuable pieces among them were a *kuşak* with 1,000 para and a *ferace* with 520 para. In addition, she has 2,000 para owed to her by her husband as *mehr-i müeccel* (deferred dower).

#### **f- Occupational Groups**

People who had different occupations are shown in the table below. Every group had different shares of object groups. While the grocer and the *leblebici* owned high rates of food, *Menzilcioğlu* left six estates to his inheritors. The general proportional distribution is that the estate properties and food took the highest place in this table. These objects, at the same time, had the highest economic values of the total value with 68.9 percent and 12.3 percent respectively. On the other hand some members of this group such as the grocer and the *leblebici* did not have any estate property. The *zimmi* baker, for instance, only had 4,000 para cash and two *kises* probably to protect his money.

The share of the house materials is equal to the general rate of all *tereke*s. On the other hand, personal belongings and clothes have lower proportion than the general tendencies.

Table 27: Distribution of the Objects within the Probate Inventories for Different Occupations

Social Status/ Groups	Adm.	Value	Cloth	Value	Food	Value	Goods	Value	Para.	Value	Estate Prop.	Value	Unad.	Value	Total	Terekes	Rel. Sta.	Gen. Sta.	Location	Family Size	Value of All Goods and Remaining Sum to Inheritors	Source	Date		
Grocery	6	3.700	25	3.295	9	4.628	24	3.220	7	6.310			7	940	18.393	State	Z	E	Mudanya		20950-42000-16750-4020-	L-2 30/5	Ed. 11/1459		
Baker	11	2.160							3	4.080			1		4.080	State	Z	E	Mudanya		24000-1680-	D-4 12/3	24 Z 1216		
Leblebiçi	8	4.680	5	680	10	9.200	12	4.680	4	4.020	5	16.700	2	460	35.740	Civil	M	E	Mudanya	3 W, OS, YG	34400-48800-22700-para	D-4 43/4	25 B 1212		
Mendirigözü	7	5.200					2	1.520			6	16.120			17.640	Civil	M	E	Mudanya	5 W, YG, Muta Bey M, 2.B	441-184-257-para-	D-5 6/3	G N 1209		
Rais, Derveoğlu	6	4.720	4	240			17	1.970	2	440	3	13.320	1	40	16.010	Civil	M	E	Mudanya	3 W, YS, Omar Bey YG	16050-47200-11330-para-	D-5 14/1	23 BA 1210		
Boysacıoğlu	8	15.960	6	57.000	3	23.840	14	17.960	3	21.600	9	112.200	2	7.000	239.600	Civil	Z	E	Mudanya	5 3 OS, 2 OGG	1327-5248-1700 (7)-3548-para-	D-4 7/3	G C 1214		
Boysacıoğlu	9	26.720			3	31.200	2	10.400	3	26.800	5	98.000			166.400	Civil	Z	E	Mudanya	6 W, 3 N, Aya Nikola 2 NC	4910-13120-3598-5-950- (7)-2648 5-para-	D-4 7/64	5 C 1214		
Boysacıoğlu (Husband)	4	2.000									4	50.800			50.800	Civil	Z	K	Mudanya	6 H, 3 OS, 2 OGG	1270-50-1220-para-	D-4 7/62	25 CA 1214		
Çakmaklıoğlu Şerife (Wife)	5	7.780	1	200			3	1.720	1	1.200	1	25.120			28.240	Civil	M	E	Mudanya	3 W, M, Manastir YS	25120-9160-para-	D-4 9/12	21 S 1215		
Debbacıoğlu	5	4.400	2	240			6	380			2	8.200			8.820	Civil	M	E	Mudanya	3 W, YG, Manastir K	8820-7820-para-	D-5 6/2	28 G 1209		
Toğu	2	10.289	0		2	43.587	0				6	288.000			331.587	Civil	Z	E	Mudanya	2 W, YS	8289-2570-8932-para-	D-4 8/41	21 Z 1214		
Total Prop. to Total	71	87.609	43	61.655	27	112.455	80	41.850	23	64.450	41	628.460	13	8.440	917.310										
		23,7%		14,4%		6,7%		9,0%		12,3%		26,8%		4,6%	7,7%										

As for the situation of the women and the non-Muslims, we see that the table contains only one woman as a wife. However, it includes many non-Muslims. Interestingly, both the grocer and the baker were non-Muslims and they lived in very different times, namely in 1059/1649 and 1210/1796 respectively. This can be a clue for us about the religious status of the people who worked in different occupations.

The sum that these occupational groups owned in their *terekes* is 955,488 para with the average of 86,863 para. These are the highest values among the whole groups. This group left to their inheritors 693,889 para, with the average of 63,081 para; and when the taxes and other expenses are removed, this amount declines to 261,599 para with the average of 23,782 para. This analysis gives us an idea about the place of occupational groups within the economy and, hence within the social life of the district.

Now we can make a detailed analysis of some occupational groups. The first one, the grocery was the only occupation within the group that represented the second half of the seventeenth century; the others all appeared in the period of the

late eighteenth century. We see that above-mentioned non-Muslim grocer sold foods like rice, olive oil, *sade* oil, *kaşkaval* cheese, halva, nut, lime and a little amount of grape and barley. The rice had the highest price, but the lime took the highest amount and almost the lowest price among them. Other clothing and house materials of this person were probably for his own using rather than for trade. In addition, we see great amount of horseshoes, 4,300 pieces (?) with the price of 430 *akçes*, that may be used as trade objects. As personal belongings the person had a horse worth of 500 *akçes*, two saddlebags worth of 30 *akçes*, and 81 *riyal guruş* (about 6,480 *akçes*) in cash. Furthermore, he had 2,500 *akçes* owed to him by two people on the one hand, and there was rental debt of him for shop, 500 *akçes* on the other.

We also see that besides his shop, he would have used his horse to sell various commodities he had. Tools for meal, thick fabrics, boots, shoes and even foot stoves (*ayak demesi*) can be taken as the evidence for this claim. Goods like quilt and pillow also imply that he might have stayed at nights in his shop. We can say that as a non-Muslim, he was not so different to a certain extent from the Muslims in clothing habits. He owned yellow and white *kebe* and white, yellow and red *velence*. His *kuşak*, *yelek*, *aba*, and *kürdiye* were all blue in color, and he even wore a *sarık*.

The record of the *leblebici zimmi* person, who died in 1212/1798, like that of grocer, focused on the food commodities. He owned great amount of olive with the price of 6,000 para, olive oil, chickpea, halva, black and *razaki* grape, nut, *pekmez*, *tahin*, and, surprisingly a small amount of *leblebi*, 5 *kıyye* with the price of 80 para. The amount of other products changed from 10 to 70 *kıyye* and their total values were 9,200 para. This person probably produced many of the above objects in his three olive groves and one orchard and then he processed them with his three *kazgans*, *küp*, a sieve of the *leblebi*, two olive *kadres* and great amount of woods

(1,200 para) then he stored these products in his barn and then sold them with his three pairs of scales and a *kantar*. There is no information about his trade routes and spaces. He left, together with all objects, 1,200 para in cash to the State Treasury.

### 3- Analysis of the Belongings According to Family Sizes-Structures<sup>444</sup>

This section involves the analysis of the relationship between the family structures of the deceased people and the belongings in their probate inventories. This analysis may contribute to the understanding of to what extent these records include clues about the family and society beyond a deceased individual. We, therefore, seek here the differentiations of the objects in the *tereke*s according to the family structures throughout 150 years.

While we determine the sizes of the families, we use the number of the inheritors of the deceased people. Although some people among the inheritors like brothers, sisters, uncles and even parents and grandparents could not have lived with the deceased people, we disregard this and consider all of them within a family of a deceased person, for since we cannot prove nor falsify it.

The table below illustrates the totals of the distributions of the belongings for the deceased people according to the family sizes. Zero for the family size means that these people had no inheritors and their belongings were transferred to the State Treasury. The proportions of this group within all other family sizes were 84.6 percent in the second half of the seventeenth century, 41.7 percent in the early eighteenth century, and 35 percent in the late eighteenth century. It is difficult to explain this trend of great decline that occurred in 150 years. The striking thing here is that the values of the *tereke*s reached their peak at the family size of 3-5; and even

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<sup>444</sup> This section and the one entitled, "Family Structures" should be read as complementary to each other.

the number of *tereke*s was higher in the former than the latter and of objects was the same. The graphs at the below explicitly indicate this tendency in each period. One possible outcome of this tendency is that people who had more children was at the same time the ones who had a higher level of wealth. The other possibility is that the inheritors, whose numbers were four and five, of the great amount of money mostly appealed to the court. There exists a strict relation between the wealth and the family size.

In the second half of the seventeenth century seen in the table below, two out of thirteen of the deceased people had a family. The first one was a man died in the city, whose two inheritors was his wife and his father,<sup>445</sup> while the other person lived in the village as *Efendi* and had a four-member family, composed of his wife, two young sons and a young daughter.<sup>446</sup>

Since the father of the former was alive and there was no child of him, his age may not have been so old. The same thing can be said for the second man because of his young children. Both persons probably lived as farmers. They had cattle like *camus*, and a cow as well as tools of agriculture like plough, sickle, and agricultural products such as wheat, barley, and *bafra*. However, the village man had greater amount of agricultural products and animals and, in addition, his house with 30,000 *akçes* was four or five times valuable than that of the other man, whose house being worth of 6,500 *akçes*. The cloth of *kepenek* of the city man indicates that he herded his own animals. This man also paid 8,000 *akçes* to his wife as *mehr* (Dower).

Another interesting thing in this period was that the deceased people who had no inheritors had also no estate properties and owned personal goods of lower values. On the other hand, the *tereke*s of these people contained cloth and the house

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<sup>445</sup> D-2: 2/2 (RA.1056/1646).

<sup>446</sup> D-2: 92/11 (5.Ş.1095/1684).

materials more than those of the people who had families. These people never had these kinds of materials or they directly remained to their families.

Table 28: Distributions of Objects in the Probate Inventories According to Family Sizes (Summary)

Family Size	Total (Objects)	Prop.	Total (Tereke)	Muslim			D-2 Non-Muslim			D-3			Muslim			D-4-5 Non-Muslim		
				Tereke	Qua.	Value (Akçe)	Tereke	Q	Value (Akçe)	Tereke	Value (Akçe)	Value	Tereke	Q	Value (Para)	Tereke	Q	Value (Para)
0	681	19,8%	30	7	180	107.193	4	107	24.131	5	66	10.706	13	313	35.677	1	15	4.067
1	124	3,6%	4							1	46	14.370	3	78	111.658			
2	366	10,6%	11	1	24	14.063				1	15	59.720	7	308	239.675	2	19	350.000
3	707	20,5%	23							1	31	31.386	21	667	417.058	1	9	42.400
4	712	20,7%	13	1	45	126.550				2	180	259.010	9	469	324.732	1	18	19.500
5	589	17,1%	17							2	72	143.075	12	431	365.333	3	86	463.400
6	175	5,1%	6										4	153	167.752	2	22	217.000
8	93	2,7%	1										1	93	80.304			
<b>Total</b>	<b>3.447</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>249</b>	<b>247.806</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>24.131</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>410</b>	<b>518.267</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>2.512</b>	<b>1.742.189</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>169</b>	<b>1.096.700</b>

Graph 5: Relations between the Values of the Terekes and Sizes of the Family

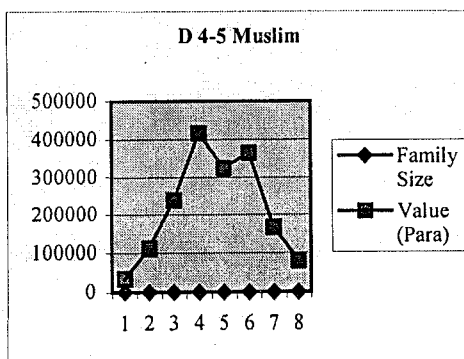
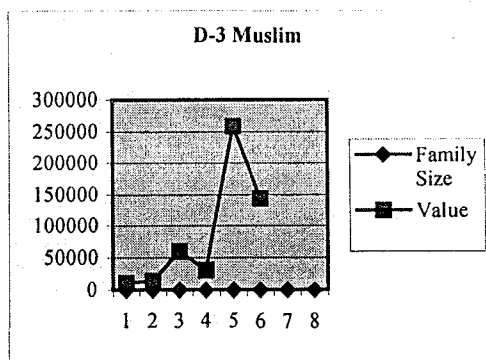
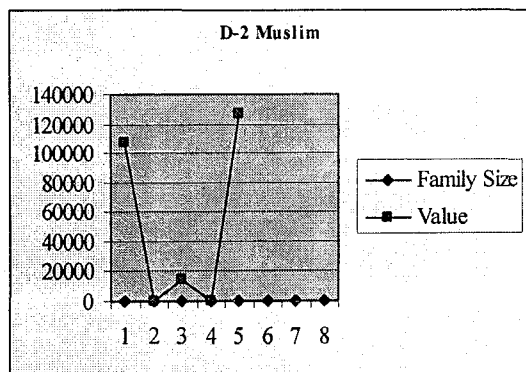






Table 29: Distributions of Objects in the Probate Inventories According to Family Sizes (Detailed) (Continued)

Family Size	D-4-5 (Late Eighteenth Century) (1)																								
	Adm.	Cloth	Food	Goods	Personal Mat.	Estate Prop.	Unident.	Total Value	Tereke	Religious Status	Gender Status	Social Status	Location	Values in Tereke	Source	Date									
	Qns.	Value	Qns.	Value	Qns.	Value	Qns.	Value	Qns.	Value	Qns.	Value	Qns.	Value	Qns.	Value	Qns.	Value							
1: B	4	7560	19		9	400	6	13678		4		14078	Civil	M	E	Ağa, Ouzmürşü; Abdullah	Mudanya	341 gunuş 38 para- 63 gunuş= 278 gunuş 38 para	D-4: 38/4	26.RA.1212					
1: OO	7	1120	1	40			10	2020	4	5520		7580	Civil	M	K		Mudanya: Manastır	7580-1120= 6460	D-4: 28/5	17.N.1211					
1: OS	7	5040					2	12000	5	78000		90000	Civil	M	E	Ağa	Mudanya: Cami-i Atik	2250- (120)= 2124 gunuş	D-4: 77/1	21.C.1214					
2: H; B	11	13080	18	7840			22	9140	3	8200	6	25333		30513	Civil	M	K	Ağa (Husband)	Mudanya: Cami-i Atik	1482.5 gunuş 13 para- 197 gunuş= 1285.5 gunuş	D-5: 8/1	27.L.1209			
2: H; K	7	3400	15	2192			39	8268			3	18440	3	900	29800	Civil	M	K	Abdullah	Mudanya: Hasan Bey	30640- 1400= 29240 para	D-4: 67/5	19.N.1213		
2: H; YS	9	15520	23	12177			31	16395	7	4735	4	53600	2	746	87653	Civil	M	K		Mudanya: Cami-i Atik	97294-6120= 91174 para	D-4: 13/3	6.M.1211		
2: H; YS	8	7160	12	5620			20	7020	5	5720	4	21200	1	400	39960	Civil	M	K		Mudanya: Cami-i Atik	43560- 3160= 40000 para	D-4: 48/2	2.L.1212		
2: W; B	3	8800	12	7800	1	5200			5	4040				2	280	17320	Civil	M	E	Ağa, Bostancı-Buzhene, Ağa (Father), Ağa (Brother)	Village: Siğ	2243- 385= 1858 gunuş	D-4: 60/5	5.B.1212	
2: W; K	5	1680					2	900	2	17600		18500	Civil	Z	E							462.5-42= 420.5	D-4: 25/5	25.C.1211	
2: W; M	7	6251	6	680			1	120			1	8800	1	200	9800	Civil	M	E	Beşe	Mudanya	245- 245= 0 gunuş	D-5: 10/1	23.M.1210		
2: W; YG	5	3355	8	925			2	2304			1	1400			4629	Civil	M	E	Beşe	Mudanya: Tekke-i Atik	4629-3355= 1274 para	D-5: 15/6	23.R.1210		
2: W; YS	2	10289			2	43587			6	288000		331587	Civil	Z	E	7oğu	Mudanya				8289- 257= 8032 gunuş	D-4: 84/1	21.Z.1214		
3: B; B (M); K	6	2560			1	2400			2	40000		42400	Civil	Z	E		Mudanya: Aya Postol				64000-2560= 61440 para	D-4: 22/3	20.CA.1211		
3: E; YS; K	5	3360					3	260	1	1360	2	11640			13260	Civil	M	E	Hançerdiöğü	Mudanya: Manastır	13260-5640= 7620 para	D-4: 50/3	15.ZA.1212		
3: H; F; M	8	4474	10	3020			9	1760	1	120		4900	Civil	M	K	Beşe (Husband); Sayyid (Father)	Mudanya: Musa Bey				8100-4474= 3626 para	D-4: 43/5	23.C.1212		
3: H; F; YG	10	5875	17	6209			14	3609	5	3108		12926	Civil	M	K		Mudanya: Tekke-i Atik				17056-1875= 15181 para	D-4: 36/4	11.S.1212		
3: H; F; YS	8	10066	18	5679			23	9744	3	714	1	400	1	400	16937	Civil	M	K	Ağa (Father); Şerif (Husband)	Mudanya: Ömer Bey	25193-1734= 23459 para	D-4: 52/1	11.S.1213		
3: H; M; YS	3	520	6	1120			3	360	3	1620		3100	Civil	M	K		Village: Altıntaş				8000- 320= 7680 para	D-4: 88/3	5.S.1215		
3: H; M; YS	10	13200	29	19420			19	11640	11	10760		2	320	42140	Civil	M	K	Hac (Father); Sayyid-Abdullah (Husband)	Mudanya: Tekke-i Atik			1276.5- 80= 1196.5 gunuş	D-4: 63/1	21.Ş.1213	
3: H; YS; M	6	3385	12	2630			20	2720	3	538	1	4400			10288	Civil	M	K	Şerife; Beşe (Husband)	Mudanya: Hasan Bey	13456- 1385= 12069 para	D-5: 3/5	8.C.1209		
3: H; YS; YG	6	3733	3	1800			6	2320	1	200		1	120	4440	Civil	M	K	Şerife	Village: Çepni			7894- 400= 7494 para	D-4: 83/2	13.Z.1214	
3: H; YS; YG	5	4280	7	2520			3	640				3160	Civil	M	K	Abdi; Molla (Husband)	Mudanya: Tekke-i Atik				7160- 280= 6880 para	D-4: 55/4	15.S.1213		
3: M; OM; B	3	6200							2	8000		8000	Civil	M	K	Bikri-Balıç	Mudanya: Tekke-i Atik				200- 155= 45 gunuş	D-4: 68/1	12.ZA.1213		
3: W; 2 B	9	4320					11	817	4	2000	2	18400	5	217	21434	Civil	M	E	Beşe	Mudanya: Manastır			21434-9560= 11820 para	D-4: 27/3	29.B.1211
3: W; 2 YS	8	4320	4	740	3	2000	15	1820	3	2680	3	12000	3	800	20040	Civil	M	E	Abdullah	Mudanya: Hasan Bey			19760-4600= 15160 para	D-4: 47/3	4.ZA.1212
3: W; 2K	7	8263	25	5374	2	2500	4	590	10	2369	2	10400	1	17	21250	Civil	M	E		Mudanya: Musa Bey			21240-9063= 12177 para	D-4: 5/3	28.B.1210
3: W; F; M	5	7120	15	3295			11	2212	8	1568	1	2800	1	400	10275	Civil	M	E	Beşe	Mudanya: Tekke-i Atik			10245-10245=0 para	D-5: 20/2	27.ZA.1212
3: W; F; M	6	3220	15	3066			2	800	5	1727		1	765	6358	Civil	M	E		Mudanya: Hasan Bey			6368- 3500= 2868 para	D-4: 50/1	27.ZA.1212	
3: W; M; YS	5	7780	1	200			3	1720	1	1200	1	25120			28240	Civil	M	E	Çalmşoğu; Şerife (Wife)	Mudanya: Manastır			25120- 9160= 17340 para	D-4: 91/2	21.S.1215
3: W; M; YS	7	6520	22	7760	2	1800	11	6620	6	15560	3	72000	1	800	104540	Civil	M	E	Ağa, Hac	Mudanya: Musa Bey			103740-13320= 90320 para	D-4: 18/3	20.R.1211
3: W; OS; YG	8	4680	5	680	10	9200	12	4680	4	4020	5	16700	2	460	35740	Civil	M	E	Leblebici	Mudanya: Manastır			34400-4680= 29760 para	D-4: 43/4	25.B.1212
3: W; YG; K	5	4400	2	240			6	380			2	8200			8820	Civil	M	E	Debbagoğu	Mudanya: Manastır			8820- 7892= 928 para	D-5: 6/2	28.Ş.1209
3: W; YG; UB	7	6440					2	7200	5	18000		25200	Civil	M	E	Sayyid; Alemdar; Kamlıoğlu	Village: Siğ				34874- 15640= 19234 para	D-4: 45/3	12.L.1212		
3: W; YS; YG	6	4720	4	240			17	1970	2	440	3	13320	1	40	16010	Civil	M	E	Reis; Devgeroğlu	Mudanya: Ömer Bey			16050-4720= 11330 para	D-5: 14/1	23.RA.1210



In the period of early eighteenth century, seven of the twelve deceased people had families. The four of these people are men and the rest was women. The first man had only his wife as an inheritor, and the second had three inheritors, his wife, a young son and his mother. Other two men had five-member families: one had a wife, a young son, a young daughter, and parents; the other a wife, an old daughter, a young daughter, a mother and a brother. One of the deceased women had her husband and her sister, who most probably lived separately, as inheritors. The other two women had four inheritors each, a husband, a young girl and parents. It seems that a similar claim about a dying young was possible to make for some of these people because of the same reasons mentioned in the previous paragraph. It also worth mentioning that only a woman was from the village, Seke, the others were from the different *mahalles* of the city.

An Arab Muslim person whose inheritor was only his wife paid 2,800 *akçes* to her as *mehr* (Dower), and owned different kinds of objects from quilts and pillows to tools for meal and a rifle and from various clothes to an orchard. This is quite interesting because we are not accustomed to see such diversified range of objects gathered in a man's portfolio.

The woman who had only her husband and sister as the inheritors owned very expensive clothes and personal belongings. Her clothes carried the silver materials and she wore *sofferace* and, besides, she had also gold with the value of 8,400 *akçes*, golden bracelets, emerald earrings, pearls, and a golden belt. As estates she owned an orchard, whose price was 4,008 *akçes*, and a house with the price of 500 gurus (55,000 *akçes*). Since her husband was an *Ağa* and her father an *Efendi*, this wealth can be considered as not so surprising. This woman might probably be a newly married person and her belongings would be her *mehr-i mu'accel* (advance dowry).

Moreover, the lack of such adjectives as old and used in the record supports this claim.

The man who had three inheritors was a member of the military group. He earned his life probably from the farming since he had orchards and olive groves and tools for agriculture. He owned different kinds of clothes and paid 15,000 *akçes* to his wife as dower.

One of the women who had four inheritors was both a wife and a daughter of *Hajjs*, whereas the other woman was a wife of *Ağa*. The former was a resident of the city, and her parents were from Bursa, while the latter was of the village. There is no information about their children in the records. Interestingly, neither of the women had any estates, but their personal belongings included valuable items. Yet, the first woman seems to be six or seven times wealthier than the latter. She was paid of 84,000 *akçes* as dower, and, in addition, her personal belongings like earrings, bracelets, cash and valuable luxury clothes and house materials increased her wealth up to 316,610 *akçes*. However, the other woman has 18,000 *akçes* owed to her by her husband as dower. Other small number of objects of her was less valuable; as a result her wealth was about 48,240 *akçes*.

One of the men who had five inheritors was a *Beşe* and his father-in-law was a *Hajj*.<sup>447</sup> This person wore valuable clothes and golden rings and probably continued his military duty since he had every kind of the weapons like rifles, a pistol, *yatağan* knife and a dagger. Besides, some tools used in the carpentry existed in his list, which may indicate that he would be a carpenter. Interestingly he also owned orchards, but in the list there was neither a tool nor a product related to the farming.

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<sup>447</sup> D-3: 23/1 (26.S.1179).

He would have given these orchards to the sharecroppers. Furthermore, he paid 24,000 *akçes* to his wife as dower.

On the other hand, the other person owned only clothes, which were conventional military clothes, and estates, one orchard and three different shares of orchards.<sup>448</sup> The dower paid by this person was 10,000 *akçes*.

As in the previous period, there is no record related to the estate properties among the people who had no inheritors in this period.

In the late eighteenth century, there were three deceased people who had only one inheritor. Two of them were men: one had a brother, and the other an old son. The third person was a woman who had an old daughter. These three people most probably died at their old ages and lived alone. Tools of meal and set of bedding owned by the man support this claim. One out of these two men was a Customs officer and there was not any tool of meal in his list hence he would eat outside.

At this point we will selectively analyze the differentiations seen in the belongings of the families because the number of records is very high and the exact distributions were already presented categorically for each *tereke* in the tables above. We take *terekes* of Muslim women and Muslim men who had their own children. Therefore, our samples seen in the table below consisted of five *terekes* of women and six *terekes* of men which represent the family size of 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 members.

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<sup>448</sup> D-3: 10/3 (7.L.1129).

Table 30: Samples from Probate Inventories for Each Family Size (Late 18<sup>th</sup> Century)

Family Size	D-4-5 (Late Eighteenth Century)																						
	Adm.		Cloth		Food		Goods		Personal Mat.		Estate Prop.		Unident.		Total Value	Tereke	Religious Status	Gender	Social Status	Location	Values in Tereke	Source	Date
	Qna.	Value	Qna.	Value	Qna.	Value	Qna.	Value	Qna.	Value	Qna.	Value	Qna.	Value									
2: K; YS	9	15520	23	12177			31	16395	7	4735	4	53600	2	746	97653	Civil	M	K		Mudanya: Cami-i Atik	97294-6120=91174 para	D-4: 13/2	6 M 1211
3: H; YS; YG	5	4280	17	2520			3	640							3160	Civil	M	K	Abdi, Molla (Husband); Efendi (Father); Seyyid-Efendi (Husband); Efendi (Father-in-Law)	Mudanya: Tekke-i Atik	7160-280=6880 para	D-4: 5/4	13 S 1213
4: H; OS; OG; YG	7	11480	13	3840	1	10000	19	5820	3	2880	4	18400	1	80	43020	Civil	M	K		Mudanya: Menarlar	51020-3600=47420 para	D-5: 42/3	10 CA 1208
5: H; OS; YS; 1 OG	8	7380	33	15709			24	4046	9	10189	1	12000	3	1165	43109	Civil	M	K	Abdullah; Seyyid-Hac-Aga (Husband); Aga (Husband); Alendaz (Father-in-Law)	Mudanya: Cami-i Atik	4209-3980=383281 Para	D-4: 5/24	7 M 1213
6: H; M; 2 YS; 2 YG	4	4240	14	8840			12	4440	3	3360	1	120	5	2760	19523	Civil	M	K		Mudanya: Cami-i Atik	2288-920=2188 para	D-4: 85/2	23 M 1215
2: W; YG	5	2335	8	925					2	2304	1	1400			4629	Civil	M	E	Beyo	Mudanya: Tekke-i Atik	4629-3355=1274 para	D-5: 15/6	23 R 1210
3: W; YS; YG	6	4720	4	240			17	1970	2	440	3	13320	1	40	16010	Civil	M	E	Reis, Davgeroğlu	Mudanya: Ömer Bey	16030-4720=11330 para	D-5: 14/1	23 RA 1210
4: W; OG; YG; UB	8	1480	1	100			9	1534	2	160	7	9080	1	460	11334	Civil	M	E	Beyo (Father)	Mudanya: Musa Bey	5714-1480=4234 para	D-4: 8/4	23 RA 1212
5: W; 2 OS; 2 OG	8	7480			4	17800	2	2400	5	7600	19	28720			56520	Civil	M	E	Hac, Hac (Son)	Village: Çepni	1403-197=1316 guncu	D-4: 21/2	24 R 1211
6: W; 2 OS; 3 OG	7	6800			4	7320	2	6600	6	9000	11	27800			50720	Civil	M	E		Village: Albasay	1238-170=1088 guncu	D-4: 21/1	17 R 1211
8: W; M; 2 OK; 1 YG; OG	9	12075	21	7711	5	9092	56	11145	9	9181	2	42000	4	1175	80304	Civil	M	E	Ağa; 7zade	Mudanya: Tekke-i Atik	77231-23495=17736 Para	D-5: 42/1	4 CA 1208

As a result of the analysis of their belongings, we can say that within the *tereke*s of women generally we cannot see any link between the sizes of their families and number of their belongings. We can determine from these records only four points. First, the number of quilts, sheets and pillows that they owned change according to family sizes in some samples. Second, there is a positive correlation between the ownership of valuables such as gold and family size, again in some samples. Third, the negative correlation between the amount of the *mehr* (dower) and family size is another interesting point that emerges as a result of this analysis. Besides these points, they all had the clothes and house materials, with different quantities and values, more than personal and estate properties. These mentioned differentiations stem from the respective personal situations of the women and social statuses of their relatives rather than their family sizes.

These samples show a similar trend with our aforementioned general hypothesis about the increasing trend in the total values of the *tereke*s according to the size of the families. In the *tereke*s of the men, the objects generally focused on the personal and estate properties. The striking thing here is that the less the personal

and estate properties took place in the *tereke*s, the more the other items replaced them. The same negative correlation can be claimed when the inheritors consisted of only old children.

#### 4- Spatial Distributions of Belongings

We can also learn residences of the deceased people from the *tereke*s. Departing from this information we can point out spatial distributions of goods that took place in these *tereke*s. The following table illustrates the summaries of data that belong to different locations within and outside of Mudanya.

Table 31: Spatial Distributions of Belongings

Location	The Number of Houses in 1085	Totals			D-2 Mid-17th Century			D-3 Early-18 <sup>th</sup> Century			D-4-5 Late-18 <sup>th</sup> Century		
		Tereke Pieces	Value (Para)		T	Q	V (Akçes)	T	Q	V (Akçes)	T	Q	V (Para)
Cami-i Atik	57	11	474	501.417				3	95	179.101	8	379	429.777
Musa Bey	35	9	415	428.718				1	130	232.610	8	285	335.674
Mudanya		19	470	428.108	9	200	109.957	1	22	1.126	9	248	383.675
Tekke (-i Atik)	25	17	719	394.872				3	80	76.465	14	639	364.286
Manastır	43	9	223	325.814							9	223	325.814
Aya	43	2	53	290.400							2	53	290.400
Aya Nikola	39	1	22	166.400							1	22	166.400
Aya Todoros	40	2	37	89.137							2	37	89.137
Ömer Bey	9	4	275	76.947							4	275	76.947
Hasan Bey	45	4	178	66.486							4	178	66.486
Aya Postol	51	1	9	42.400							1	9	42.400
Çavuş Hanı		11	249	25.719	3	101	35.430				8	148	11.547
Meryem Ana	62	1	9	18.500							1	9	18.500
Behram Ağa	9	1	15	786				1	15	1.965			
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>458</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>3.148</b>	<b>2.855.705</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>301</b>	<b>145.387</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>342</b>	<b>491.267</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>2.505</b>	<b>2.601.043</b>
Villages	The Number of Households <sup>449</sup>	Tereke Pieces	Value (Para)		T	Q	V (Akçes)	T	Q	V (Akçes)	T	Q	V (Para)
Siğir- Seke	65-----15	5	125	108.934				2	62	26.760	3	63	98.230

<sup>449</sup> The numbers at the left side belonged to date of 1050/1640s and the right side to date of 1130/1718s.

Altuntaş	3-----4,25	4	71	78.660			4	71	78.660
Çepni	2-----3	2	55	60.960			2	55	60.960
Çekerçe	8-----2	1	45	50.620	1 45 126.550				
Ak	3-----2,5	1	6	96		1 6 240			
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>81-----26,75</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>302</b>	<b>299.270</b>	<b>1 45 126.550</b>	<b>3 68 27.000</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>237.850</b>

Non-Muslims who consisted of most of the population in the city took very limited space in this list. Therefore, we can analyze via this source the distributions of goods particularly owned by Muslims in the spaces in which they lived. It seems that the number of *tereke*s recorded in the *sicils* affected these distributions more than their populations. But at this point, I think, there is no obvious correlation among the population, the number of *tereke*s, and the distributions of goods. Goods in Cami-i Atik mahalle had the highest value though their quantities were less than, for instance, those in Tekke mahalle. This differentiation between the numbers and the values of goods was probably because of the types of goods in the lists. The deceased people resided in Cami-i Atik mahalle owned especially estates and personal goods that were cost high amount of money.<sup>450</sup>

The situation of the villages was very striking in this distribution. For instance both in Altuntaş village and Ömer Bey and Hasan Bey mahalles there were four *tereke*s, but the quantity of pieces of goods were higher in the mahalles, but their values were almost higher in those of the village than of mahalles. The similar explanation made above for the Cami-i Atik mahalle can be presented here for the higher total value of *tereke*s belonged to people resided in Altuntaş.

At this point, the situation of people died in Çavuş Han in Mudanya was interesting. It seems that they all used the han as a hotel or a lodging. In *tereke*s, one point was expressed: this person stayed there as a *misafir* (guest). They had no child

<sup>450</sup> For details of the distributions see Table 37 in the Appendix.

and inheritors. Hence, their *terekes* were obtained by the Treasury. Another interesting thing is that almost all of them carried the titles of *Beşe* (military person) and *bin Abdullah* with their names. In addition, they were all Muslims. When we looked at their belongings from the table below, the striking thing that we saw was that they owned minimum number of clothes and other goods, but they had no estates and foods. Instead, they had especially personal belongings such as tools of agriculture. Therefore, they could work as day laborers. The cash they had in their *terekes* supported us in this claim. In short, we can say that the retired or dismissed members of the military would probably stayed in the *han*, eat from outside and worked as day workers to survive without having family.

Table 32: Distribution of Belongings in *Terekes* Resided in Çavuş Han, Mudanya

Location	Adm.		Cloth		Food		Goods		Personal Mat.		Estate Prop.		Unident.		Total Value	Tereke	Rel. Status	Gend. Status	Social Status	Family Size	Values in <i>Tereke</i>	Source	Date
	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value	Qua.	Value									
Mudanya: Çavuş Hanı	6	795	5	132			7	2.285	2	88			4	130	2.635	State	M	E	No Name	None	2683-785=1808	D-2: 23/2	18.C.1056/1646
Mudanya: Çavuş Hanı	10	10.000	11	2.902			7	4.674	10	17.403			15	7.008	31.987	State	M	E		None	31393-10700=20693 Akçes	D-2: 8/2	R.1056/1646
Mudanya: Çavuş Hanı	7	508	12	558			1	20	3	140			1	90	808	State	M	E	No Name	None	735-508=227	D-2: 9/5	18.C.1056/1646
Mudanya: Çavuş Hanı	8	850	6	371					7	625					996	State	M	E	Beşe; Abdullah	None	996-850=196 Para	D-4: 41/3	25.CA.1212/1798
Mudanya: Çavuş Hanı	11	4.360							1	640			1	360	1.000	State	M	E	Abdullah	None	278-118=160 guruş borçlulara	D-4: 55/3	14.S.1213/1799
Mudanya: Çavuş Hanı	8	767	4	77			3	246	1	1.000			1	300	1.623	State	M	E	Beşe; Abdullah	None	1323-1067=256 para	D-4: 42/3	27.C.1212/1798



## V- SOCIAL LIFE IN MUDANYA

### A- Conversion and Apostasy

In the *kadı* registers at hand there are many people who were carrying a suffix of *bin Abdullah* in their names. In the literature, this suffix represents, to certain extent, people who later converted into Islam.<sup>451</sup> Since many non-Muslims lived within the Muslim city of Mudanya, the number of converted people was quite high. However, records related to the conversion are very limited in size: there are only six records in the three *defters*. Especially the first *defter* contains relatively more records than the other two *defters*. The second *defter* (D-3) includes absolutely no cases about this topic.

Three conversions out of the six records are presented with very simple terms, containing the dwelling, old and new names of the converted person, and repeating the sacred words Islam, “*Eşhedü en lâ ilāhe illallah ve Eşhedü enne Muhammeden Abdühü ve Rasülühü*” to become a Muslim.<sup>452</sup>

Another related record emphasizes that a person was converted into Islam by his free will not by compulsion.<sup>453</sup> Another record, which is related to the apostasy, maintains that a certain Hacı Hüseyin sent a petition to İstanbul and asked the Sultan an order (*emr-i şerif*) to execute the man who turned back to his early religion after

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<sup>451</sup> See Çetin, 1994.

<sup>452</sup> D-2: 15/4 (G.ZA.1056/1646), 91/13 (20.C.1095/1684); D-4: 1/1 (13.M.[1]214).

<sup>453</sup> D-2: 17/1 (27.M.1057/1647).

converting (*irtidāt*). The Sultan in turn ordered this person to be sent to İstanbul in order to be listened to him in the *divan*.<sup>454</sup>

The last and most interesting record among all includes a case in which a certain Osman Beg b. Abdullah, who was the *bevvab-ı Sultan*, came to court with his unmarried girl and claimed “I converted into Islam in 1037 and the age of my girl was six at that time. Now, because of her *zimmi* mother’s erroneous (*iğva*) and misleading (*izlal*) acts, my girl has a tendency to infidelity and she is escaping from being a Muslim”. Then he asked the *kadı* to question her girl about this issue and to make the requirements of the old (*kadim*) Shar’ia. His girl answered the question saying, “I had been fourteen and I had been reached my puberty when my father converted into Islam”. Then evidence was asked to Osman Beg to support his claim, and he brought witnesses and proved his claim. The verdict was that ‘the girl is a Muslim’.<sup>455</sup>

We understand from this case that the small children followed religion of their Muslim ancestors. It seems that the girl did not want to be a Muslim in the court, but the court decides that she was already a Muslim because of his father. At this point, she had no right to select her religion. If she wished to select a religion different than Islam, she would most probably be seen as an apostate and, hence, she would be executed.

<sup>454</sup> D-2: 46/3 (Es.Ş.1060/1650). For the original document of this issue as two copies, see Picture 1 in the Appendix.

<sup>455</sup> D-2: 18/6 (15.Z.1056/1646). In the *fatwas* of Ebussu’ūd Efendi there is a similar case. The verdict in our case coincides with his *fatwa*. Ebussu’ūd says that till the age of 12 and puberty, children are accepted as Muslim when their fathers converted to Islam. Düzdağ, 1998: 142, *fatwa* no: 364.

## B- Pious Foundations (*Waqfs*) as a Mixture of Many

### Functions

The *waqfs*, as religious endowments playing very crucial roles in everyday life of Muslim societies<sup>456</sup>, within and for the benefit of Mudanya were limited in number. About half of the arable fields and other kinds of lands in Mudanya were founded by the Sultanic *waqfs* in Bursa<sup>457</sup> and they gave some of their revenues as *öşür* to these foundations. Especially Hüdavendigâr, Musa, Alaattin, Esperce Hatun *waqfs* had important shares or revenues from their *waqf* lands in Mudanya and its villages.<sup>458</sup> Such taxes as *Beytûlmal-ı âmm ve hâs*, *Cürm ü Cinayet*, *Yave*, *Çiftbozan*, *mâl-ı gaybet*, *mâl-ı mefkûd*, *kul ve cariyeye* were revenues of these *waqfs* recorded in the *sicils*. Especially taxes levied on sellers and buyers of the properties like lands and houses were subjects of the many related records.<sup>459</sup> The afore-mentioned *waqfs* summoned to the court many times for these kinds of problems.

Hüdavendigâr *waqf* appeared in the records by its complaints especially about the problems of tax revenues taken from the villages.<sup>460</sup> We should also state here

<sup>456</sup> We do not discuss here their historical ventures or evaluations and theoretical debates over *waqfs* but only give their situations in Mudanya. For debates on these issues, see Berki, 1946; Yedi yıldız, 1986; Barnes, 1986; Gerber, 1988: Ch. 8; Akgündüz, 1988; Doumani, 1998; Çizakça, 2000. Doumani (1998) discusses *waqfs* especially in terms of family and property relations. He considers them a way of transmitting wealth to certain people with socially and historically significant strategies. He talks, for instance, about the exclusion of very close relatives and women from the properties owned by means of family *waqf* system.

<sup>457</sup> For more information, see Gerber, 1988: 152 ff.

<sup>458</sup> The *cizye* registers in the state archives (see D. CMH, 26632 dated 1102) contain information about which person gave his tax to where.

<sup>459</sup> Doumani (1998: 10) relates these Sultanic endowments to the authority and legitimacy of the ruler, economic development, ties between the center and the provinces and to providing wealth to their endowers and administrators.

<sup>460</sup> D-2: 31/2; 80/2; 84/3; D-3: 31/2.

that it owned Mudanya too.<sup>461</sup> Hüdavendigâr waqf, as well as others, inherited all properties of the deceased and lost non-Muslims who had no relatives.<sup>462</sup>

Tirilye, Ak, and Müslim Yenice villages of Mudanya belonged to the *waqf* of Yıldırım Bayezit Han;<sup>463</sup> Frenkli village was of Esperce Hatun *waqf*;<sup>464</sup> Seki village was owned by Sultan Musa *wakf*;<sup>465</sup> and Sultan Alaattin *waqf* took the revenues of Yörüklü and Misiboli village of Mudanya.<sup>466</sup> Finally, Altuntaş village belonged to Erhundi Hatun *wakf*.<sup>467</sup> There is one record about Lagar Nasuh *waqf*, which contains the sum of money taken from 32 non-Muslims in Mudanya. These pious foundations were all in Bursa.

In addition, a *waqf* from İstanbul, Kara Mustafa Paşa *Waqf*, owned also some properties in Mudanya.<sup>468</sup> For instance, rental revenues of shops within and around the Big Han and the Customs were received by this *waqf* by means of *mültezims*.<sup>469</sup> Detailed information about how these *waqfs* shared these villages and properties cannot be derived from the records. The address of this question, most probably, is their *waqfiyes* that do not take place in the *sicils* at hand.

As to the way in which the *waqfs* collect their revenues, we see that these *waqfs* usually collected their 'rights' by means of *mültezims*. But it is significant that

<sup>461</sup> D-2: 35/6. In 1102 the non-Zimmis in Mudanya mostly paid their *cizye* taxes to Gazi Hünkar or Hüdavendigâr *waqfs*. Other places that some people had tax relation were Hazine-i Hassa as a *perakende-i Has*, Orhan, Yıldırım, Sultan Musa and even Medine *waqfs*. See D. CMH, 26632.

<sup>462</sup> D-3: 21/5; D-4: 80/4.

<sup>463</sup> D-4: 4/4.

<sup>464</sup> D-4: 76/1; 72/1.

<sup>465</sup> D-4: 23/2; D. CMH, 26632.

<sup>466</sup> D-4: 51/5; see D. CMH, 26632.

<sup>467</sup> D-2: 93/1.

<sup>468</sup> We see two records in *Şikayet Defter* (71: 163/2 (Eh.S.1128/1716) and 172/4 (Es.R.1128/1716)) that contain information about the properties of this *waqf*. According to these records, Customs, port, Han and shops of the *waqf* burned in 1128/1716 and *mütevelli kaymakam* of the *waqf* asks the chief architect to investigate the situation and to help repairing of these buildings.

<sup>469</sup> D-4: 30/3; 87/2.

there is no such records within the second defter, namely in the second half of the seventeenth century. We derive all examples from early and late eighteenth-century records. Sultan Alaattin *waqf* took 1,500 guruş from *mültezim* by giving him the duty of collection of the taxes from its *waqfiye*, Tirilye village.<sup>470</sup> Kara Mustafa Paşa *waqf*, for his *Daru-l-hadis* and library in Divanyolu- İstanbul, gave the collection duty of the rents by 1,400 guruş to *mültezim*.<sup>471</sup> They were given annually, either from the middle of Muharrem to the end of Zilhicce or from the beginning of *Mart* to the end of *Şubat*.

Related to the Kara Mustafa Pasha *Waqf*, some struggles occurred between the renters in the Big Han and the *mütevellis* of the *waqf*: the *iltizam* was given to the same person who was the *mültezim* of the previous year (1212/1798), but the renters wanted to take the *iltizam* in that year, 1213/1799. The *kaimakam müteveli* did not accept this request because in this way the *mültezim* could lose money.<sup>472</sup> At this point, considering at the same time some other similar records, we can say that the *waqfs* had a tendency to give the *iltizam* to the same persons every year.

The same foundation, in another record, came to the court complaining that the new *han* that was built near the Big Han caused loss of money for the *waqf*.<sup>473</sup> This record gives the detailed description of the surrounding area of the Big Han, but does not give the result of the suit.

Besides these 'external' *waqfs*, more than half of the records about the pious foundations had a privilege of being local. These can be classified into two groups as *waqfs* for public buildings and *waqfs* for private realm of their founders. For instance mosques in that province, namely Cami-i Atik, Behram Ağa, Ömer Bey, Hasan Bey,

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<sup>470</sup> D-2: 35/3.

<sup>471</sup> D-4: 30/3.

<sup>472</sup> D-4: 87/2.

<sup>473</sup> D-4: 74/3

Musa Bey, Manastır, and Tekke-i Cedid were all the *waqf* buildings, having some properties of their own. In addition, many individuals gave these buildings' daily needs such as wax, olive oil for candles founding houses and lands as *waqfs*. However, these individuals did not found *waqfs* totally for the needs of the mosques, but they gave some parts of it, either for the expenditures of other public buildings like fountains, or to *imams* and *muezzins* of the mosques in return for their reading of chapters from the sacred book and praying God for the spirit of founder, his/her families and of all Muslims, or still to the payments of *mütevellis* and other servants of the *waqf*. Therefore, there were many functions of the *waqfs* ranging from individual needs to public concerns. All these points are simultaneously exemplified in a record that I present below.

The Hac Turgut *waqf* had one grocery (*bakkal*) near the Omer Bey Mosque. He conditioned that; first, the person who read the *Mülk* chapter from Koran, praying to the prophet for his spirit would take 2 *akçes* per day, second, oil would be given to the *mescid* for burning every night in three prayer times, and third, 1 *akçes* per day would be given as a *kandil akçes* to the *kayyim*. The grocery of this foundation was rented to one person by 3 *akçes* per day.<sup>474</sup> The record that contains information about the foundation was not its *wakfiye*,<sup>475</sup> but a suit between the renter and his trustee (*vasi*). From this record we learn at the same time that the value of the grocery was 11,000 *akçes*.

<sup>474</sup> D-2: 10/3 (5.B.1056/1646).

<sup>475</sup> For information about how *waqfiyes* were written, see Kütükoğlu, 1994: 359-368.

## 1- Properties of *Waqfs* and Their Ways of 'Surviving'

The founded properties usually include houses, arable fields, vineyards, olive groves, cash, water, and shops.<sup>476</sup> The foundations used these properties to provide themselves with revenues for their expenditures. For instance, they rented these properties (so called *icareteyn*<sup>477</sup>) in many examples. There were two kinds of payment in the rent as cash, *icare-i mü'accele*, and a due date, *icare-i müeccele*. Interestingly, the first one took, relative to the latter, a great amount of money; and the latter was very small sum. In one record, a house of Manastır Mosque *Waqf* was rented for 1,000 *akçes* in cash and 100 *akçes* per year as a due date.<sup>478</sup> In another instance, the water way rented for 600 *guruş* (66,000 *akçes*) in cash and 17 *guruş* (1,870 *akçes*) per year as a due date.<sup>479</sup> It was also possible to rent a place daily, monthly or yearly payments. As we see in an aforementioned record about the grocery, this property was rented for 3 *akçes* per day, which was equal to 10,800 *akçes* per year. Moreover, the rented property of one person was seen as an inheritance of this person to his/her inheritors.<sup>480</sup> This person, in addition, could sell this property whoever s/he wanted. In one record a woman sold a house by 130 *Kita Esedî Guruş* (about 14,300 *akçes*) and 180 *Akçes* annual rent payment with the permission of the *waqf müteveli*.<sup>481</sup> This was a very interesting property relation among the legal owner of the property and its practical owner.

<sup>476</sup> See the table (33) below.

<sup>477</sup> This term means the long-term leasing of the properties of the *waqfs*. This practice, according to Ömer Hilmi (cited in Gerber, 1988: 172) began after 1020/1611-2 because of the need of the *waqfs* to great amount of money in cash.

<sup>478</sup> D-2: 24/5.

<sup>479</sup> D-4: 78/1.

<sup>480</sup> D-2: 10/3.

<sup>481</sup> D-3: 6/3.

*Waqfs* that were founded on cash<sup>482</sup> invested this money by lending to people as loan by certain amount of return.<sup>483</sup> This was mostly called “*istiğlal*”<sup>484</sup> (mortgage) or *rehn* (pawn), *kefile vermek* (to give as a bail) and *istirbah* or *kâr etmek*”. Let us now consider these sentences taken from a record, “...*mā'ada ikiyüz elli guruşını dahi onu onbir buçuk [15 %] hesabıyla rehn-i kıavi ve kefil meli ve lede-l-ihtiyaç ikisinden biri ile alā vechi-l-halāl istirbāh ve istiğlāl olunup bifazlillahi te'ālā rub' ve nemāsından hāsıl olan gülleden akide şekeri...*”<sup>485</sup>

This small part of a *wakfiye* record indicates that money will be given as the strong pawn and rich bail to gain money and, at the same time, this process will be appropriate to the religious laws, without involving by interest to be *halal*. In another example, Cizyedarzade Hac Hüseyin Ağa gave 100 guruş as *waqf* money to Hac Mehmed Ağa. This Mehmed Ağa fulfilled the conditions of the *wakfiye* and made an investment with the money. As a result of this process, the amount of money became 700 guruş. After Mehmed Ağa, his son Hac Süleyman Ağa continued the process and made the money 4,784.5 guruş.<sup>486</sup> These people also used the words *istiğlal* and *istirbah* in explaining the returns in this capital investment. They fulfilled the repairs and other conditions by the *nema* of the above processes. However, the lack of time

<sup>482</sup> Çizakça (2000) discusses this type of *waqfs* from a legal (p. 27-42) and a historical perspective giving a special reference to the Ottoman case (p.42-56). For history of cash *waqfs* also, see Çizakça, 1993: 73ff.

<sup>483</sup> In the Ottoman Criminal Code this rate was 10 percent, but 15 percent was also allowed (See Heyd, 1973: 122 and footnote 103/2). Cezar (1998: 29) also finds 10-20 percent as an annual rate of interest (*nemā*) while analyzing the investment of trustees (*vasi*) on behalf of children.

<sup>484</sup> Gerber (1988: 128) describes this process in the following way: “the borrower handed over to the lender a piece of real estate, supposedly as a sale, but actually in pawn. If the borrower redeemed his debt after one year, the asset reverted to him. In the meantime, the lender leased the asset to the borrower (so that the owner could go on using it) and the ‘rent’ which was often exactly 10 percent of the loan...”

<sup>485</sup> D-4: 14/4 (21.M.1211/1797).

<sup>486</sup> D-4: 14/3 (25.M.1211/1797).

sequence of these processes makes it impossible to estimate the rate of *kār* received each year. In the records, the word of *müfredat defter* was used and probably including properties of the foundations and detailed calculations of sales, rents, pawns, and mortgages of them. What leads us to think that way is the information given in the bills of some foundations in the records.<sup>487</sup>

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<sup>487</sup> For Manastır Mescid see. D-3: 46/2; for Çorazade Abdullah Efendi Zaviye see D-3: 47/1; and for Hasan Bey Mosque see. D-3: 59/1. Çizakça (2000: 45) summarizes this process in the following way: “The endowed capital was disturbed as credit to a number of borrowers and the return from this investment was spent for religious and social purposes. If the return exceeded the expenses... the remainder was added to the original capital of the endowment in the following year.”

Table 33: Details of Waqfs in the Sicils

Name/Founder	Content/ Founded Goods	Value	Waqf Conditions	Notes/Shud-ul-Hal	Date	Source
Abdullah b. Abdullah	House, Garden, Olive Grove	—	These estates will be passed to his children; The <i>İmams</i> of the following four <i>salatin</i> mosques (Atik, Behram, Ömer, Hasan Bey) and Tekke-i cedid would be paid 5 guruş for each and their <i>müzzins</i> were paid 1 guruş for each; The <i>imams</i> and <i>müezzins</i> of other three <i>mescids</i> , Manastır, Musa bey, Tekke-i atik would also be paid 2 and 1 guruş for each respectively. The chapters, <i>İhlas</i> and <i>Fatiha</i> , from Koran would be read at every prayer and all Koran would be read ( <i>hatim</i> ) once a year in the month of Ramazan.	Şeyh Hafız Mehmed Emin Ef.; Seyyid Mehmed Ef. ?; Mehmed Ef. Kalyoncuzade; Seyyid Ahmed Ef.; Hac Süleyman Ağa ?; Şerifül Hac İbrahim Ağa; Seyyid Abdurrahman Ef.; İbrahim Ağa ?; Seyyid Hac İbrahim; Müminzade, diğerleri	5.M.1211/1797	D-4 13 1
Ali b. Hüseyin Abdulgani b. Ahmed (İmam of Haram Ağa Mosque)	Garden	—	To Şeyh Hüseyin Efendi and his poor	—	22.M.1057/1647	D-2 17 4
Şişme Çeşmesi	Actives	174.5 Guruş	—	—	Ev.M.1058/1648	D-2 24 1
Şişme-i Atik (Hacı İzzet-Zağlı el-Şişme)	Rent of Water	600 guruş Cash; 17 Guruş Annual Installment	—	—	G.M.1215/1800	D-4 78 1
Şişme-i Atik (Hacı İzzet-Zağlı el-Şişme)	Water	—	—	—	[ ]	D-4 81 4
Şişme-i Atik (Hacı İzzet-Zağlı el-Şişme)	Water	—	—	Şeyh Hafız Mehmed Ef.; Hamamcı Hac Ali Ağa; ?zade Süleyman Ağa; Hacı Halilzade Seyyid Mustafa; Kardeşi Seyyid İbrahim; Serturnay Mehmed Ağa; Subaşı Seyyid Osman Ağa; Attar Ömer Ağa; Hac İsmail Katip.	21.C.1214/1800	D-4 82 1
Şişme-i Atik (Hacı İzzet-Zağlı el-Şişme)	Cash	More than 284,5 guruş	Three <i>çeşmes</i> would be repaired with the profit of the capital.	Şeyh Hafız Mehmed Ef.; Seyyid Mehmed Ef. ?; Mehmed Ef. Kalyoncuzade; Seyyid Mehmed Ef.; İbrahim Ağa ?; Mehmed Ağa ?; Mustafa Ef. Muslizade; Attar Ömer Ağa; Hac	25.M.1211/1797	D-4 14 3

Name/Founder	Content/ Founded Goods	Value	Waqf Conditions	Notes/Shud-ul-Hal	Date	Source
				Ismail Katip		
Çorazade Abdullah Çavıyesi	Budget	87,845- 13,866 <i>akçes</i>	---	---	G.M.1127/1715	D-3 47 1
Şuhudi	Tax of Fishing	---	---	---	15.N.1095/1684	D-2 93 1
Esperce Hatun	Tax of Products	---	---	---	Ev.ZA.1213/1799	D-4 72 1
Esperce Hatun	Tax Farm for Taxes	---	---	---	İb.Mart.1213/1799	D-4 76 1
Fatıma bint Mehmed Ef.	Vineyard	---	Ölene kadar tasarrufu elinde kalacak; Her sene bağ tımarlanacak; Ramazan'da Tekke-i Atik mescidine 5 vukiye zeyt yağı; 1 vukiye şem'-i asel; Ramazan'da mescid imamı hatim okuyup Kadir gecesinde duası yapılacak...60 para alacak.	Hac Süleyman Ağa; Hac Şerif Ağa; Mehmed Ef. Tekke Mescidi İmamı; Mehmed Ağa Hac Hüseynzade; Seyyid Ebu Bekir Ef.; Seyyid Mustafa Beşe Tabbak; Molla İbrahim Şabanzade; Bektaş Ağa Hammam	25.CA.1211/1797	D-4 24 1
Fatıma bint Süleyman	Olive Grove	---	Her sene zeytinlik tımar edilip gillesinden ve menfaatinden akide şekeri vs alınıp her sene RA'de mevlit okutulsun. Okuyana 1 guruş verilsin ve dua edilsin. Mütevelli kocasından sonra şerr' ve ayanın seçeceği güvenilir ve mütedeyyin kişi olsun.	Şeyh Hafız Mehmed Emin Ef.; Çapazade Seyyid Mehmed Ef.; Hac Süleyman Ağa; Seyyid İsmail Ağa Kasap; Bahurzade Süleyman Ağa; Hamamcı Ali Beşe; Hacı Müminzade Seyyid Hac İbrahim Ağa; Hancı Küçük Mustafa; Dellal Ahmed Beşe; Hac İsmail Katip; Ali Beşe Muhzir; Diğerleri.	3.C.1209/1795	D-5 3 2
Hasan Ağa b. Mehmed Beşe b. Halil	Olive Grove, Olive Trees	---	Ölene kadar kendisi, öldükten sonra karısı Zaynep hatun ve onun ölümünden sonra Tekke-i Atik mescidinin imamı mütevelli olsun	Hac Süleyman Ağa; Hac Şerif Ağa; Attar Molla Ahmed; Hac İsmail Katip; Süleyman Ağa ?oğlu; Hafız Mehmed Emin Ağa; Hac Müezzinzade Seyyid Hac İbrahim Ağa; Bektaş Ağa ?; Osman ?; diğerleri	25?.B?.1211/1797	D-4 27
Hasan Bey Mosque	Sales of House	130 esedi Cash; 180 Akçes Annual Instalment	---	---	---	D-3 6
Hasan Bey Mosque	Actives	38,800 akçes	---	---	G.M.1126	D-3 59
Hasan Bey Mosque	Actives	3,680 akçes	---	---	G.M.1126	D-3 59

Name/Founder	Content/ Founded Goods	Value	Waqf Conditions	Notes/Shud-ul-Hal	Date	Source
San Bey Mosque	Rents of Houses and Estates	205 Guruş	—	—	G.M.1126	D-3 59 3
Fatime bint Musa	Cash, Estate	400 esedi	150 guruşuyla Ak Köyünde çeşme; aynı köyün Köprüdere mevkiinde babasının yaptığı kaldırımın tamiri için 50 guruş; kalan 250 guruşu 10- 11.5 karına rehn veya kefil olarak helal şekilde borç verilmesi..	Seyyid Mehmed Ef. ?; ?; Mehmed Ef. Kalyoncuzade; Mehmet Ağa Serhatzade; Hac Ali Ağa; Seyyid İsmail Ağa Kasap; Seyyid Abdurrahman Ef.; Bektaş Ağa ?; Süleyman Beşe ? Oğlu; Süleyman Ağa ?zade; Hüseyin Beşe Çolak; Seyyid Latif Molla; Hac İsmail; diğerleri	21.M.1211/1797	D-4 14 4
Fatime Hatun	Rent of Land	60 Akçes	To the <i>İmam</i> and <i>Müezzin</i> of Ömer Bey Mosque.	Şeyh Hafız Mehmed Emin Ef.; Hac Süleyman Ağa b. Hac Mehmed; Şerif Hac İbrahim Ağa ibn Salih; Hüseyin Ağa b. Hüseyin; Aşçı Hac Ömer; Hac İsmail b. Ömer; Kıbrıslı Hac Mehmed; diğerleri	15.R.1213/1799	D-4 60 2
Üdavendigar	Tax of Sales	—	—	—	Eh.RA.1061	D-2 38 6
Üdavendigar	Protection of Goods	—	—	—	Ev.S.1050	D-2 64 4
Üdavendigar	Tax of Sales	—	—	—	Ev.RA.1057/1647	D-2 80 2
Üdavendigar	Revenue from Inheritance	903 akçes	—	—	19.M.1179!	D-3 21 5
Üdavendigar	Revenues of Lands	—	—	—	Eh.S.1122!	D-3 31 2
Üdavendigar	Revenue from Inheritance	—	—	—	—	D-4 80 4
Ölüğ Vakfi	Sales of House	10,600 Akçes	—	—	7.B.1057/1647	D-2 32 4
Arara Mustafa Asha (İstanbul)	Tax Farm for Han, Shop, Customs	1,400 Guruş	—	—	—	D-4 30 3
Arara Mustafa Asha (İstanbul)	Complaint for Loss of Han	—	—	—	16.S.1214/1800	D-4 74 3
Arara Mustafa Asha (İstanbul)	Tax Farm for Han	—	—	—	G.M.1213/1799	D-4 87 2
Arar Nasuh (Bursa)	Actives	750 Guruş	—	—	Ev.Ş.1057/1647	D-2 22 5
Manastır Cami	Rent of House	1,000 Cash; 100 Akçes Annual Instalment	—	—	Ev.R.1058/1648	D-2 24 5
Manastır Cami	Budget	108,710-15,440 akçes	—	—	G.M.1127/1715	D-3 46 2

Owner/Founder	Content/ Founded Goods	Value	Waqf Conditions	Notes/Shud-ul-Hal	Date	Source			
Imed b. eyin	Vineyard	_____	Cami imamına meşrut; Ölene kadar kendisi mütevelli ondan sonra ?min oğlu Hüseyin mütevelli olacak; Gaflet olunmaya!; Camide okunacak hatim içim imama 3 guruş verilecek.	_____	14.Ş.1213/1799?	D-4	75	6	
sa Bey	Administration	_____	New duties	_____	ES.ZA.1127/1715	D-3	10	2	
ghbours of ni-i Atik and ram Ağa	Budget	40,710- 5,310		_____	G.R.1126	D-3	58	2	
vane b. ullah	Vineyard	_____	Yörüklü mescidi imamının Yasin okuması şartıyla bağını vakfediyor.	_____	21.L.1056/1646	D-2	14	7	
ha Hatun et-i Hamza	House	_____	She stayed until her death then her freed slave and her children stayed there. Residents would repair it..	_____	G.Z.1056/1646	D-2	16	8	
an Alaattin	Tax of Sales	_____		_____	Ev.M.1060/1650	D-2	55	2	
an Alaattin	Öşr	_____		_____	Ev.S.1213/1799	D-4	51	5	
an Musa kfi	Vineyards from Inheritance	_____		Seyyid Ahmed Ef. Efezade; Hac Sinan Ağa Permakarzade?; Şerifül hac İbrahim Ağa; Hasekizade Mustafa Ef.; Hafız Mehmed Emin Kethüdazade; Alemdâr Ahmet Ağa Seki köyü; Hac Ali Ağa Seki köyü; İsmail Ağa Seki köyü; Katip İsmail Ef.		23.[ ].1207/1793	D-4	23	2
tan Yıldırım vezit	Tax Farm for Taxes	1,500 Guruş		_____		1127/1715	D-3	35	3
tan Yıldırım vezit	Taxes	_____		_____		11.Ş.1210/1796	D-4	4	4
if Hac İbrahim a b. Salih Ağa	Olive Grove; Rent	39 guruş	Zeytinlik annesi Saliha'ya 39 guruşa kiralacak. 36 Guruşu Kalyoncuzade Mehmed Ef. verilip Behram Ağa cimii mektebinde sabahları çocukları okutan kişilere ay sonunda üçer guruş verilecek... Saliha öldükten sonra mütevelli müstehak olana kiralayacak.	Şeyh Hafız Mehmed Ef.; Hac Süleyman Ağa b. Hac Mehmed Ağa; Seyyid Ahmed Ef. Efezade; Seyyid Mehmed Ef. ?zade; Hamamcı Hac Ali Ağa; ?zade İbrahim Ağa; Ömer Ağa b. Hac İbrahim Ağa; Muamelecizade Mehmed Ağa; Hac İsmail Ef.		15.S.1213/1799	D-4	54	4

ame/Founder	Content/ Founded Goods	Value	Waqf Conditions	Notes/Shud-ul-Hal	Date	Source
yh Hac leyman Efendi	Cash	700 Guruş	Hacı Oruç Çeşmesi yollarının tamir ve termimine 500 guruş, Revgan-ı Şem için 60 guruş; Ömer Bey kürsüsüne ve Mülk süresi okunması	Seyyid Mehmed Ef. ?; Mehmed Ef. Kalyoncuzade; Ahmed Ef. Efezade; Mustafa Ef. Muslizade; Hac Şerif Ağa; Mehmed Ağa Cizyecizade; Hafız Mehmed Emin Ağa; Seyyid İsmail Ağa Kassap; Hac Mustafa Madenzade; Hac Süleyman Ağa; Seyyid Hac İsmail.	25.CA.1213/1799	D-4 40 2
yh Hac ileyman Efendi	Cash	500 guruş	500 guruşu Hasan Bey hamamının ve Çarşıya akan leziz suyun yollarının tamirine	_____	25.Z.1213/1799	D-4 40 3
argut? Vakfi	Shop	11,000 Akçes	Salavat, mülk süresi, cami kandili	_____	5.B.1056/1646	D-2 10 3
_____	Tax of Sales	_____	_____	_____	Ev.Ş.1057/1647	D-2 61 3
_____	Administrative Order	_____	_____	_____	17.N.1211/1797	D-4 29 1
_____	Administrative Order	_____	_____	_____	4.Z?.1213/1799	D-4 68 2
_____	Öşr	_____	_____	_____	Es.CA.1056/1646	D-2 84 3

## 2- Functions of the *Waqfs*

Turning back to conditions of the founders for the *waqfs* cited in the *waqfiyes* (*waqf* deeds), there were, firstly, conditions related to the religious rituals. For instance, reading either some parts especially *Mulk*, *Yasin*, *İhlas*, and *Fatiha* chapters daily and weekly or whole of Koran every month of Ramazan constituted one of these conditions regarding the rituals. Other rituals included the praying (*salavāt*) for the Prophet Muhammed and reading *mevlid* at certain nights such as in the twelfth-night of Muharrem for the spirit of founders, their deceased parents and all Muslims.

The second type of the conditions can be classified as socio-religious functional conditions. It means that though the religious aims are dominant in them, they have in addition proper functions in the social life of the city. For instance, in one record the founder conditioned that each *imam* of four mosques, *salātin camis*, would take 5 *akçes* and their *muezzins* 1 *akçes* whereas each *imam* of three *mescids* would take 2 *akçes* and their *muezzins* 1 *akçes*.<sup>488</sup> In another example, the founder wanted a person who taught children reading Koran in the mornings at Behram Ağa Mosque would take 3 *guruş* (330 *akçes*) at the end of each month.<sup>489</sup> In some records, the founder conditioned that the goods like sugar candy (*akide şeker*), honey, rose water and *aved(?)* would be delivered after the *mevlid* ritual in the twelfth-night of Muharrem.<sup>490</sup> Meeting candle needs of the mosques can also be taken into account in this category. In these examples the religious rituals and societal issues intersected in the practices.

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<sup>488</sup> D-4: 13/1.

<sup>489</sup> D-4: 54/4.

<sup>490</sup> D-4: 14/4.

Functions related to urban life of these pious foundations can be third type of founders' conditions. Conditions about repairs of fountains and waterways and pavements took place in the records. For instance, Şeyh Hac Süleyman Efendi gave 500 guruş as *waqf* money to repair the waterways that went down to bazaar (*çarşı*).<sup>491</sup>

In this context, we should note one interesting record, which is about the *waqf* founded by neighbors (*ashāb-ı cīrān*) for the *avarız* taxes of Muslims resided in Cami-i Atik and Behram Ağa *mahalles*.<sup>492</sup> There is no information how and when this foundation established. From the actives and passives of its annual budget, we see that its capital in the hands of people (*zümem-i ahali*) was 35,400 [*akçes*]. Its annual *istirbah* gained from its capital between the middle of the Rabiyyülevvel 1125 and the middle of the Rabiyyülevvel 1126, was 5,310 [*akçes*], which is around 15 percent of the total capital. In addition, this foundation gave 960 [*akçes*] to its *mütevelli* and 4,350 [*akçes*] to its servants and *avarız* taxes.<sup>493</sup>

### 3- Social Status of the Founders

When we analyze the founders of local *waqfs* in Mudanya from the point of view of gender, we see that there were five *waqfiyes* that belonged to women. In addition, two more records existed in which women took a place in the foundation. These figures are very similar to those of men,<sup>494</sup> of whom there were 8 *waqfiyes*. The rest are not newly established foundations. In four *waqfiyes* out of five, women did not

<sup>491</sup> D-4: 40/3.

<sup>492</sup> cf. Barkan, 1979, 2: 18.

<sup>493</sup> D-3: 58/2 (G.R.1126).

<sup>494</sup> Fay (1997: 34-35) regarding the eighteenth-century Egypt, gives 25 percent as a ratio of *waqfs*, 126 of the total 496, that were established newly by women whereas Meriwether (1997) gives 51% for the *waqfs* that were founded by women in Aleppo between 1770-1840. (See also Baer, 1983). Çizakça (2000: 16) says that the percentage of women as founders in *waqfs* of Edirne is 20%.

use representative or proxy in the court, but, instead, they put their conditions before *mütevellis* and the *kadı*. There was only one woman as *mütevveli*. However, this woman did not deal directly with the issues of *wakfs*, but appointed a *kaymakam* for running this *waqf*.<sup>495</sup>

Though in one case that is related to the appointment of the Bursa metropolite, religious leader of Christians, some *waqfs* owned by the church were mentioned, non-Muslims did not take place neither in *waqfiyes* nor for any duties within the *wakfs* in the records of the periods under examination.<sup>496</sup> They only took place within the actives of the *wakfs* indebted with their *cizye* taxes. Besides, when the deceased non-Muslims did not have any inheritors, their properties were also taken by the *wakfs* in whose lands they lived.

Social status of the founders does not show any intensification in one side. When we look at names of the founders, we see that one of the founders was *Ağa*,<sup>497</sup> another was both *Hac* and *Ağa*,<sup>498</sup> one of them was *Şeyh Hac*,<sup>499</sup> one of them was *Şerif Hac*,<sup>500</sup> the last one was only *Hac*,<sup>501</sup> and finally the last two had no titles in their names.<sup>502</sup>

### C- Crime and Punishment

In this section, we look at the cases related to various crimes analyzing them under particular subtitles. However, some types of criminal issues take place in the *defters*

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<sup>495</sup> D-4: 14/3.

<sup>496</sup> Layish mentions the existence of their *waqf* records within the Jaffa *sicils*. See Layish, 1975: 530.

<sup>497</sup> D-4: 27/2.

<sup>498</sup> D-4: 14/3.

<sup>499</sup> D-4: 40/2-3.

<sup>500</sup> D-4: 54/4.

<sup>501</sup> D-2: 10/3.

<sup>502</sup> D-4: 13/1; 75/6.

one or two times; for this reason, we do not put separate titles for them. For instance, one Muslim person used the word ‘infidel’ (*kafir*) for another Muslim, and the latter person litigated the former for this word.<sup>503</sup> A similar case occurred for maligning of a non-Muslim woman to a Muslim woman by attributing theft<sup>504</sup> and the husband of this Muslim woman brought the issue to the court.

The subject of another suit related to the crime was about suspicion of adultery. A Muslim man came to the *kadı* claiming that *Yasakçı*’s of the village went into his home for bad act, and supported his claim by many witnesses.<sup>505</sup>

Bayındır points out that *Maruz* related to the criminal issues were recorded in separate *defters*. Therefore, he refuses the argument that the *kadis* were not interested in the criminal issues and, hence, we cannot find records about the crimes in the *sicils*. He, on the contrary, argues that the rates of crimes were quite high in İstanbul than those supposed before.<sup>506</sup> The small number of records in the *sicils* under examination on the contrary to high numbers in the Mandaville’s case can be interpreted from this angle.<sup>507</sup>

## 1- Murder

We can classify the suits written in the records about murder into five groups. Suits that are related to examining or recognizing a deceased person and complaint or punishment were, quantitatively, more than the other three groups, namely those

<sup>503</sup> D-3: 72/2.

<sup>504</sup> D-2: 5/1 (Ev.RA.1056/1646).

<sup>505</sup> D-2: 34/2 (Es.C.1059/1649).

<sup>506</sup> Bayındır, 1996: 19.

<sup>507</sup> Mandaville (1975: 519) says that there were many related records in the sixteenth-century Jerusalem. On the other hand, Layish (Layish (1975) claims that there were few records about the criminal actions in the nineteenth century Jaffa. In the case of El-Nahal, (1979: 11), the number of criminal issues was also quite low.

related to the confession of the murderer, acquitting the suspicious people, and orders of arresting the murderer.

In the first *defter* (D-2), the number of requests from the court to examine the dead in the place where s/he died was quite high: five of the 12 suits were recorded in this *defter*. Other two *defters* included no such record. In these records, people came to the court and requested determining of the identity of the deceased person. There might be many reasons for these requests. The most possible one is that these people try to be free from the responsibility of the death. As we know, when the murderer of the dead person could not be found, all people of the place where the victim is found would be responsible for this event, and they paid blood money of the victim.<sup>508</sup> Therefore, in this way, they prevented probable future claims against them. In one of the four such cases, a woman died by falling down in her own home,<sup>509</sup> in another man died by drowning,<sup>510</sup> in the third case by unidentified cause, but with no injury,<sup>511</sup> and in the last one the result of the investigation was not given -it was only the order of investigation-.<sup>512</sup> The fifth case is very interesting. For, a person (*Ali Beg*) came to the court and asked the *kadı* to examine a deceased person

<sup>508</sup> The records in which relatives of victim or the injured one announced the murderer and acquitted the others also strengthen my argument here. For instance, in one case a *zimmi* was injured by Ali b. Abdullah within the Han. Since the guilty man escaped from the city, other people in the Han brought the *zimmi* to the *kadı*. There, he acquitted them and confessed the name of guilty. D-3: 3/3 (2.C.1127/1715).

<sup>509</sup> "... *Kiryāti nām nasrāniye kendi menzili penceresinden düşüp bilā ta'addi hālike olmuştur...*" D-2: 31/3 (Ev.Ş.1057/1647).

<sup>510</sup> "...*medine-i mezbure [Mudanya] kurbünde sāhil-i bahirde tārih-i kitap gicesi cümle vücudu tenessür olmuş bir garik kimesne bulundu...*" D-2: 25/3 (Ev.M.1058/1648).

<sup>511</sup> "... *karye-i merkume [Derekli] sakinelerinden Sürmeli bint Kasım nam hatunun memlūke-i cariyesi Melayim bint Abdullah nam hatun tārih-i kitap günü vakt-i salāt-ı fecirde tarik-i āmmda hatf-ı enfihe füc'eten fevt oldığın kibeli şer' üzerine varilup müteveffāy-ı mesfurenin... cümle a'zası mu'āyene ve müşāhede olunup asla ve kat'ā eser-i cerāheti olmadığı şer'an zahir ve mütebeyyin ve mütehakkik olup...*" D-2: 15/5 (G.ZA.1056/1646).

<sup>512</sup> D-2: 35/3.

who was killed at a particular place. But when the *kadı* and some Muslims arrived there, they found neither a dead body nor its tracks. Hence, they did not give a fine of blood money to the people of the village.<sup>513</sup>

There is no clear relationship in the records between the murderer and murdered. Hence, we cannot say a lot of thing about the reasons of the murder in the cases. Especially the first and the second *defter* do not give us the details of the events whereas the third *defter* (D-4) gives us, though indirectly, some clues about the reasons for a murder. For instance, in six of the seven records,<sup>514</sup> litigants claimed not only the crime of murdering but also *gasp*, namely taking by guilty people, unjustly, of goods and money of the dead person. Furthermore, claimants especially asked the *kadı* to take their rights (goods and money) back from them. These cases lead us to think that most probably economic factors constituted the chief reasons for the crime of murder.<sup>515</sup> Besides, interestingly, all these five records ended with compromise. The defendant side refuted the claim, but later, they and the plaintiffs negotiated a compromise with 250-400 gurus.<sup>516</sup>

The defendant side in the suits generally consisted of more than one person. Especially in the records of the third *defter*, defendants were, in one record, *askeri* and notable people of Mudanya who killed a bandit,<sup>517</sup> two people in the second case,<sup>518</sup> 31 people in the third record,<sup>519</sup> and four people in the last record.<sup>520</sup> In one

<sup>513</sup> D-2: 22/1 (G.B.1057/1647).

<sup>514</sup> D-4: 15/4; 34/1; 41/2; 66/5 (Between 1211/1797-1214).

<sup>515</sup> A similar idea is repeated by El-Nahal for a different type of trials. He (1979: 44) claims, "litigation between the husbands and wives centered around the financial obligations of the husband."

<sup>516</sup> D-3: 2/3, 3/4 (this was a suit of injuring) (1127/1715); D-4: 11/1, 22/4, 23/1 (d. 1210/1796-1211/1797).

<sup>517</sup> D-4: 34/1.

<sup>518</sup> D-4: 15/4.

<sup>519</sup> D-4: 41/2.

<sup>520</sup> D-4: 66/5.

case in the first *defter*, a person petitioned people of Mudanya claiming that they killed his brother unjustly, and consequently he took an order in accordance with his request.<sup>521</sup>

The religious status of the sides was quite mixed, too. Muslims and *zimmis* could take place together in each part of the different combinations. Women in murder suits took place only in the claimant side. We can give the following case as a very good example for the mixture of gender and religious status of the sides. One Muslim as the leader gathered 30 *zimmis* to attack on a house of a Muslim. They killed him and took his valuables. Thus, in the court, they were the defendant side of the suit. The claimant side was a son (newly reached puberty) and the wife of the victim. They petitioned the guilty people some years after the event because the son was small and his mother could not able to litigate them alone until that time. The victim's son said that they, in that period, had a very poor life. Then, they requested an order from the Sultan to take back the valuables of the victim and to carry out requirements of the Shari'a.<sup>522</sup>

As a punishment of murdering, retaliation (*kisas*) or *diyet* should be acted according to Shari'a. Nevertheless, there was only one record including the punishment of retaliation. Although Yorgaki veled Vasi refuted the claim of the family of murdered person, punishment of retaliation was applied to him. This is because of the testimony of the witnesses against the defendant.<sup>523</sup> In other cases, either the result of the suit was not given or blood money, compromised gurus and other kinds of compensations were paid.

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<sup>521</sup> D-2: 69/2 (Eh.CA.1212/1797).

<sup>522</sup> D-4: 41/2. This figure is 510 Gurus in the *Şikayet Defteri 1: 134/588*. For the original documents of this case as three copies, see Picture 2 in the Appendix.

<sup>523</sup> D-3: 2/1 (6. RA. 1127/1715).

## 2- Theft

The number of theft records in the three *defter*s is about twelve, of which six take place in the first *defter*, one in the second *defter*, and five in the third *defter*. Nine of these records are directly related to the issue of theft, the other three are arresting orders of the above-mentioned three theft records.

The stolen object was money in four out of the nine records. The values of this money were 900 guruş,<sup>524</sup> 1,510 guruş,<sup>525</sup> 4,000 *akçes*,<sup>526</sup> and 1,200 guruş.<sup>527</sup> In the two records, stolen object was not given. One of them only contains the kinds and names of gold<sup>528</sup> and the other one only said “goods cost of 5,000 guruş”.<sup>529</sup> Two records give the names of the goods, but not their values.<sup>530</sup> The final record includes both money and goods as the subjects of the theft. In this last case, the litigant claims that a *zimmi* stole his 700 guruş in cash and goods worth of 350 guruş.<sup>531</sup>

One of the interesting things in these records is that the thieves were more than one person in 6 of the 7 records. In addition, some persons like *hancıs* and *subaşı*s also took place in the defendant side, and some theft events occurred in the cells (*oda*) of the hans. This may explain the role of the above-mentioned important persons in practicing the theft especially in the protected places. The spaces of the crime were *han* in two records, home in three records, and road in one record. The thefts that occurred in the *hans* and on the road were against the merchants. Since

<sup>524</sup> D-2: 49/3 (Ev.CA.1059/1649).

<sup>525</sup> D-2: 42/1 (Es.CA.1060/1650).

<sup>526</sup> About 37 guruş (1 guruş = 110 *akçes*), D-3: 13/4 (Ev.R.1130/1718).

<sup>527</sup> D-4: 89/3 (Eh.M.1215/1800/1801).

<sup>528</sup> D-2: 17/3 (23.S.1057/1647).

<sup>529</sup> D-4: 89/1 (Eh.M.1215/1800/1801).

<sup>530</sup> D-2: 7/6-7 (R.1056/1646).

<sup>531</sup> D-4: 27/1 (Ev.C.1211/1797).

these merchants stayed in Mudanya at nights while they were going to Bursa, they saved their valuables in the cells of the hans.

The parties of the suits in most cases consisted of people who had different religious affiliations and gender identities. Women appeared as a claimant in four cases<sup>532</sup> and among the defendants in two cases.<sup>533</sup> The mixture of the religious status of the people both as a litigant and defendant was seen in every mentioned theft case.

The kinship linkage between the two sides existed only in one case. A certain Mehmed, the janissary in İstanbul, litigated his daughters and their husbands claiming that they took 1,510 guruş from his home when he was in İstanbul.<sup>534</sup>

It is not possible to follow the results of these suits from the records. They ended either by confession of the crime or by order to be made the requirements of the Shari'a and *kanun*. Only two suits ended with negotiating a compromise.<sup>535</sup>

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<sup>532</sup> D-2: 17/3 (23.S.1057/1647), 7/6-7 (R.1056/1646); D-4: 89/1 (Eh.M.1215/1800).

<sup>533</sup> D-2: 42/1 (Es.CA.1060/1650); D-4: 89/1 (Eh.M.1215/1800).

<sup>534</sup> D-2: 42/1 (Es.CA.1060/1650).

<sup>535</sup> D-2: 7/6-7 (R.1056/1646).

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

I want to point out here some significant findings of this study and some questions and suggestions about issues, which require future studies.

One of these points is related to the women and non-Muslims in Mudanya. This issue is very crucial for us by being very good example expressing one of the questions of this study, namely the relationship between historiography and a historical source in debating the issues in history.

Last two decades have witnessed in the literature groundbreaking analyses and studies in these issues. The old ideas and imaginations about the status of women in the Ottoman society and of non-Muslims as separate groups (*millet system*) within the cities have been challenged by these works.<sup>536</sup> It should be noted furthermore that they used especially *sicils* in constructing these new ideas.

This thesis completely agrees with the claims of aforementioned recent works. In several sections of the thesis, we have tried to show the roles and positions of women and non-Muslims in the life of Mudanya. At this point, we want to say some further thoughts on this issue. It seems to us that it is misleading to accept the marginality of women and non-Muslims in the Ottoman society. Therefore, we prefer to use for them the concept of 'pseudo-marginals'. Since women and non-Muslims had a kind of special position in the eyes of the religion and the State, they were marginals administratively, which is based on the State and male point of view.

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<sup>536</sup> For instance, Ze'evi (1995: 169) claims the existence of 'separate network' for women in Jerusalem. What this argument refers to is that they had different kind of freedom and social standing in terms of public and private realms from those of men in that society and what the women had in the West. In this way he refutes the ideas and images produced by the earlier travelogues about the marginality of women in Jerusalem.

Moreover, this marginality was at the same time 'pseudo' because it seems that women and non-Muslims were from a sociological point of view not a unit of analysis in the composition of the groups in this society. In other words, there were no such social groups as 'women' and 'non-Muslims' in that society. We can argue in this context that being a woman and a non-Muslim for a person had no special impact, positive or negative, on his/her behaviors and positions within the society. As we already discussed before, the titles people had in their names and networks within this system were more determining factors for their social positions.

The important thing here is that sociologically based historiographical approach to the city and society, which I employ in this study, in general provides us with the possibility of reaching such conclusions in this complex issue. *Sicils* as a historical source make it, on the other hand, easier to look at the issue from this point of view giving significant clues about the issue. The basic or determining factor here is again to analyze the issue by taking society as a complex whole consisting of different networks and communities.<sup>537</sup> The source, *sicils*, did not lead us to think the issue in that way.

This example in fact states precisely in a concise way the main idea of this thesis about the relation between historiography and a historical source. The usage of the *sicils* as a historical source for the Ottoman history, as we discussed in the first chapter of the thesis, began and spread very rapidly because of the historiographical turn that has taken place in the early nineteenth century in the social and micro history. It seems, however, that later the studies based mainly on the *sicils* have lost their historiographical sense in making history. Approaching to the *sicils* with special problematique like the position of women, the notables, the material culture provide

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<sup>537</sup> cf. Gara, 1998.

us with some very significant new points; but the lack of textual critiques as well as neglecting other primary sources<sup>538</sup>, render these studies and their findings less reliable. Moreover, the ignorance of new debates in historiography creates a hiatus on the one hand between the source and the probable problems it contains, on the other between the sources and new ways in their analysis.

In this study, I pay special attention to the Ottoman urban studies based on the *sicils*. In general, these kinds of studies make very superficial histories of the cities. We even do not want to use the terminology of 'urban study' in describing them. As we discussed at the first chapter related section of the thesis, the descriptive information based merely on the *sicils*, the lack of problematique or any micro urban issues as well as the uncritical readings of the texts and abstractions of the information given by the *sicils* from their historical contexts and general tendencies of the system lead historians, in my view, to produce very limited and least fruitful studies. For this reason, at least, comparative studies can be made for different areas of the State to be aware of the possible gaps in making a construction about a city on the basis of the *sicils*.

In making textual analysis of the *sicils*, we should undoubtedly answer some crucial questions about the process of the court, bargaining and negotiations among the people within and outside of courts. These are important to attribute meaning to the recorded trials, and to their social and legal standings, compared to unrecorded ones in general; and to understand the limits of their ability to represent the 'facts' and people in that area in particular. There has been no attempt at studying this side of the *sicils* and the legal culture in the Ottoman system so far. The present study needed very much such works in the process of analyzing the contents of the records.

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<sup>538</sup> *Fatwas* should also be thought at that point.

The questions this study asks may thus be useful to historians who want to study these issues in the future.<sup>539</sup>

Other points that we want to emphasize here derived from the findings on Mudanya. Though this district had a small number of people with 2,000-3,000 population, it seems that it had a significant size of economic activities. Even we can claim that a person who reads the records in the *sicils* would probably have a tendency to think that most of the records, from sales deeds to the donations, from waqf deeds to the crimes of murder were basically due to the economic reasons. However, this can be a fallacy. Especially the existence of goods of waqfs that originally established within and for İstanbul and Bursa in the district can be interpreted as an indication of significant place of this city.

One of the striking findings of this study is that there were considerable differentiations in the values of estates among the *mahalles* within the city. The most expensive estates were in the furthest *mahalle* from the port. Hence, we can claim that in the periods under study the factor that created the value in estates was not the port or physical proximity to the sea in Mudanya.

Another kind of differentiation is seen in the amounts and values of goods exchanged among the people who had different social positions in the Mudanya society. If we take the titles adjacent to the names as a sign of certain social positions within the society, we can argue that people who had the titles of *Hajj*, *Ağa*, *Beg*, *Seyyids* as well as the merchants were the wealthiest in terms of size and value of their goods and other kinds of properties. From this perspective, the *beshe* people consisted of the lowest rank of whole groups.

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<sup>539</sup> The need for the linguistic studies in the texts of *sicils* and the antropological methods in studying the process of the court should also be implied here.

The aforementioned people, we called at the same time the notables of the district, were also different from others in their family sizes, marriage relations, and legal positions in the courts especially in the late eighteenth century. In other words, we see that there was a positive correlation between the wealth and the size of families. At that point we should note that the average number of family members was four. Interestingly the marriage between the children of these notables was very frequent, therefore, in some instances the children carries the same titles with their fathers. Women at this point were mostly affiliated with their husbands and fathers. Last but not least, these notables took significant place in the courts as *shud-ul-hāl*. Especially in the late eighteenth century, the same people, mostly from these notables composed of the *shud-ul-hāl*.

Another point that I want to stress here is about the death issue. It seems, with some doubts on the quality of the *tereke* records, that in general, people die in their early ages, namely under their forties and even thirties. However interesting thing was that people in these early ages had important amount of goods in their *tereke*s. This can lead us to think of getting married in very early ages; but at the same time this point, particularly when we see the deceased people who had no wife, but valuable goods, should lead us to consider the minimum age of getting their own properties. Though we cannot say a lot of things about whether couples lived with their parents in the same house or not, but we can assert that every married person had some goods independently of their parents. Even some young bachelors had their own properties.

We also want to pay special attention to the increasing numbers and amount of the taxes levied on people from mid-seventeenth to the late eighteenth century. For instance, the new arrangements in the collection of *cizyes* and some new taxes like

*imdādiyes* were introduced also in the eighteenth century. The very long lists related to the whole annual or six-month expenses of the district were recorded only in the *sicils* of the late eighteenth century. When we look at these lists, we recognize the intensity of taxes and other kinds of expenses levied on the people of Mudanya.

We tried to point out some striking findings of the thesis about Mudanya above. But the reader should be aware of the fact that only the comparative analysis of these findings with those of the similar districts and the contextualizing them within the macro trends of the period can give us the possibility of situating their significance better.

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Table 34: Subject Distributions of the *Sicil* Based Studies (Detailed)

Subject	Sub-Subject	Location	Date	Author	Source
Biography	Ayan, Eşraf, Tüccar	Bursa, Konya, Ankara	16th	Ö. Ergenç	Ergenç, 1982
Biography	Builder: Hacı Abdullah	Bursa		S. Faroqhi	Faroqhi, 1999c
Biography	Canfedaoğlu: Outlaw	Çorum	1596	S. Faroqhi	Faroqhi, 1995
Biography	<i>Efendi</i> -Inheritance		16th	L. Fekete	Fekete, 1965
Biography	İsmail Ebu Taqiyye: Egyptian Merchant	Egypt	1580-1625	N. Hanna	Hanna, 1998
Biography	Notables	Jerusalem	17th	D. Ze'evi	Ze'evi, 1994
Biography	City Architects	Adana ve Balıkesir.	(17th)	C.Orhonlu	Orhonlu, 1981
City	Administration	Jerusalem	16th	A. Singer	Singer, 1994
City	Administration	Egypt	17th	G. el-Nahal	el-Nahal, 1979
City	Administration			Ö. Ergenç	Ergenç, 1989
City	Architecture	Konya		Z. Atçeken	Atçeken, 1998
City	Architecture	Saruhan	16th; 17th	İ. Gökçen	Gökçen, 1946
City	Communities	Kara Ferye	17 <sup>th</sup>	Eleni Gara	Gara, 1998
City	Construction	Cairo	1517-1798	N. Hanna	Hanna, 1984
City	Dervish Orders	Bursa	17th	H. B. Öcalan	Öcalan, 2000
City	Economy	Ankara	1600-1615	Ö. Ergenç	Ergenç, 1975
City	Economy	Jerusalem		A. Cohen	Cohen, 1989
City	Education	Bursa	14th; 15th; 16th	M. Hızlı	Hızlı, 1998

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Biography	Builder: Hacı Abdullah	Bursa		S. Faroqhi	Faroqhi, 1999c
Biography	Canfedaoğlu: Outlaw	Çorum	1596	S. Faroqhi	Faroqhi, 1995
Biography	<i>Efendi</i> -Inheritance		16th	L. Fekete	Fekete, 1965
Biography	Ismail Ebu Taqiyye: Egyptian Merchant	Egypt	1580-1625	N. Hanna	Hanna, 1998
Biography	Notables	Jerusalem	17th	D. Ze'evi	Ze'evi, 1994
Biography	City Architects	Adana ve Balıkesir.	(17th)	C.Orhonlu	Orhonlu, 1981
City	Administration	Jerusalem	16th	A. Singer	Singer, 1994
City	Administration	Egypt	17th	G. el-Nahal	el-Nahal, 1979
City	Administration			Ö. Ergenç	Ergenç, 1989
City	Architecture	Konya		Z. Atçeken	Atçeken, 1998
City	Architecture	Saruhan	16th; 17th	İ. Gökçen	Gökçen, 1946
City	Communities	Kara Ferye	17 <sup>th</sup>	Eleni Gara	Gara, 1998
City	Construction	Cairo	1517-1798	N. Hanna	Hanna, 1984
City	Dervish Orders	Bursa	17th	H. B. Öcalan	Öcalan, 2000
City	Economy	Ankara	1600-1615	Ö. Ergenç	Ergenç, 1975
City	Economy	Jerusalem		A. Cohen	Cohen, 1989
City	Education	Bursa	14th; 15th; 16th	M. Hızlı	Hızlı, 1998

Subject	Sub-Subject	Location	Date	Author	Source
City	Education- Book	Bursa	16th	A.İ. Karataş	Karataş, 1999
City	Everyday Life	Üsküdar	1521-1524	Y. Seng	Seng, 1991
City	<i>Mahalles</i>	Bursa	15th; 16th	N. Köseoğlu	Köseoğlu, 1946
City	Modernization	Aleppo	18th	A. Marcus	Marcus, 1989
City	Political and Social	Palestine (Jaffa, Nazareth)	19th and 20th	A. Layish	Layish, 1975
City	Social Life	Eyüp	18th	T. Artan	Artan ed., 1998
City	Social History	Afyonkarahisar	17 and 18 <sup>th</sup>	E. A. Baki	Baki, 1951
City	Society and Economy	Aleppo		B. Masters	Eldem; Goffman; Masters, 1999
City	Society and Economy	al-Quds	17th	D. Ze'evi	Ze'evi, 2000
City	Society and Economy	Bursa	1656-1658	M.A. Yediyıldız	Yediyıldız, 1994
City	Society and Economy	Bursa	1600-1700	H. Gerber	Gerber, 1988
City	Society and Economy	Damascus	16th	M. Bakhit	Bakhit, 1982
City	Society and Economy	Konya, Kayseri, Ankara		S. Faroqhi	Faroqhi, 1984
City	Society and Economy	Syria	(16th)	A. Rafeq	Rafeq, 1989
City	Society and Economy	Trabzon- Maçka	1560-1640	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1999.
City	Urban History	Bulaq		N. Hanna	Hanna, 1983
City	Urban History	Saray Bosna	(1700s)	H. İncalık	İncalık, n.d.

Subject	Sub-Subject	Location	Date	Author	Source
City	Yerleşim Durumu	Ankara	17th	Ö. Ergenç	Ergenç, 1980
City		Ankara	19th	R. Özdemir	Özdemir, 1998
City		Bursa		N. Yücelt	Yücelt, 1945
City		Bursa		R.R. Yücer	Yücer, 1940
City		Damascus	1723-1783	A. Rafeq	Rafeq, 1970
City		Haifa	1870-1914	M. Yazbak	Yazbak, n.d.
Demography	Forced Transfers	Cyprus	1571-1640	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1993
Demography	Population	Kayseri, Karaman, Amasya, Trabzon, Erzurum.	16th	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1976
Demography	Yörük; Türkmen	Saruhan	16th; 17th	İ. Gökçen	Gökçen, 1946b
Disaster	Locusts, Plague, Malaria	Cyprus	1571-1640	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1993
Disaster	Plague	Trabzon	(1565-1640)	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1999
Economy	Counterfeiting	Ankara	1599	Faroqhi	Faroqhi, 1995
Economy	Craft Corporations	Damascus	18th	A. Rafeq	Rafeq, 1976
Economy	Leather			İ. Gökçen	Gökçen, 1945
Economy	House owners and House property	Ankara- Kayseri	17th	Faroqhi	Faroqhi, 1987
Economy	Interest	(Selçuklu)		O. Turan	Turan, n.d.
Economy	Silk	Bursa		F. Dalsar	Dalsar, 1960
Economy	Land; Property	Damascus	19th	J. Reilly	Reilly, 1987
Economy	Land; Property			B. Johansen	Johansen, 1988

Subject	Sub-Subject	Location	Date	Author	Source
Economy	Loan and Credit	Cyprus	1571-1640	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1993
Economy	Loan and Credit	Kayseri	17th	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1999
Economy	Monetary		16th	Ö. Ergenç	Ergenç, 1978-9
Economy	Monetary			H. Gerber	Gerber, 1982
Economy	Navies, Trade, Piracy	Cyprus	1571-1640	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1993: 345-384
Economy	Payments, Süftece	Bursa	15th	H. Sahillioğlu	Sahillioğlu, 1975
Economy	Partnership	Bursa		M. Çizakça	Çizakça, 1999
Economy	Partnership	Galata, İstanbul, Üsküdar, Havas-ı Refia, Tophane, Trabzon	16th; 17th	F. Gedikli	Gedikli, 1998
Economy	Partnership			H. Gerber	Gerber, 1981
Economy	Partnership		Medieval	A. Udovitch	Udovitch, 1970
Economy	Peasants and Land	Lower Egypt	1740-1858	K. Cuno	Cuno, 1992
Economy	Price; Silk	Bursa	1550-1650	M. Çizakça	Çizakça, 1980
Economy	Real Estate	Aleppo	18th	A. Marcus	Marcus, 1983
Economy	Slave	Bursa	15th; 16th	H. Sahillioğlu	Sahillioğlu, 1980
Economy	<i>Timar</i> and Taxation and Town officials	Çorum	1590s	Faroqhi	Faroqhi, 1995: 59-84.

Subject	Sub-Subject	Location	Date	Author	Source
Economy	Trade	Cairo		A. Raymond	Raymond, 1991
Economy		Cyprus	1571-1640	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1993: 311-344.
Family	Divorce	Cyprus	1580-1640	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1993: 517-530
Family	Divorce	Libya		A. Layish	Layish, 1991
Family	Divorce- Jewish	Yemen		I. Hollander	Hollander, 1995
Family	Inheritance Inventory	Bursa	1463-1640	H. Özdeğer	Özdeğer, 1988
Family	Inheritance Inventory	Manisa	1600-1700	J.H.Matthews	Matthews, 2000
Family	Marriage	Anadolu (Ankara, Konya, Çankırı, Kayseri)	16th	İ. Ortaylı	Ortaylı, 1980
Family	Marriage	Cairo	17th	N. Hanna	Hanna, 1996
Family	Marriage	Nablus	1720-1856	J. Tucker	Tucker, 1988
Family	Negotiation	Sana'a		A. Würth	Würth, 1995
Family		Ankara	1700-1730	Ö. Demirel	Demirel, 1990
Family				S. Savaş	Savaş, 1993
Historiography	Archives	Ankara		H. Ongan	Ongan, 1958
Historiography	Archives	Ankara		H. Ongan	Ongan, 1974
Historiography	Archives	Bursa	15th	H. İnalçık	İnalçık, 1953-4
Historiography	Archives	Bursa		H. İnalçık	İnalçık, 1980-1
Historiography	Archives	Cyprus	(1590-1640)	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1999: 567-582

Subject	Sub-Subject	Location	Date	Author	Source
Historiography	Archives	Gaziantep		C.C. Güzelbey	Güzelbey, 1966
Historiography	Archives	Gaziantep	1729-1825	C.C. Güzelbey	Güzelbey, 1970
Historiography	Archives	Syria, Jordan		J. Mandaville	Mandaville, 1966
Historiography	Archives	Bursa		K. Kepecioğlu	Kepecioğlu, n.d.
Historiography	Archives	Manisa		M. C. Uluçay	Uluçay, 1953
Historiography	Archives	Sofia		Y. Özkaya	Özkaya, 1979-80
Historiography	Archives-Fermanlar	Bursa	1451-1481	H. İnalçık	İnalçık, 1947
Historiography	Catalogue			A. Akgündüz	Akgündüz et.al., 1988-9
Historiography	Catalogue			Y. Hallaçoğlu	Hallaçoğlu, 1976
Historiography	Catalogue			M. İlgürel	İlgürel, 1975
Historiography	Catalogue			O. Ersoy	Ersoy, 1963
Historiography	Source			A. Singer	Singer, 1990
Historiography	Source			Orhan Avcı	Avcı, 1999
Historiography	Source			B. K. Ataman	Ataman, 1987
Historiography	Source	Palestine		A. Manna'	Manna, 1986
Historiography	Source	Lefkoşe		K. Çiçek	Çiçek, 1992
Historiography	Source	Cyprus		V.H. Bedevi	Bedevi, 1971
Historiography	Source	Damascus		A. Rafeq	Rafeq, 1979
Historiography	Source	Jerusalem	16th	A. Cohen	Cohen, 1976
Historiography	Source	Jerusalem	(16th and 17th)	J. Mandaville	Mandaville, 1975

Subject	Sub-Subject	Location	Date	Author	Source
Historiography	Source	Palestine		B. Doumani	Doumani, 1985
Historiography	Source			T.M. Yalman	Yalman, 1938
Historiography	Source			H. İnalçık	İnalçık, 1943
Historiography	Source			C. Baltacı	Baltacı, 1985
Historiography	Source			İ.H. Uzunçarşılı	Uzunçarşılı, 1935
Historiography	Source			D. Ze'evi	Ze'evi, 1998
Law	Court	Beirut; Damascus		Z. Ghazzal	Ghazzal, 1996
Law	Court	Cyprus	1571-1640	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1993: 69-106.
Law	Court	Kayseri	17th	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1999, 295-326
Law	Court			F. Turgal	Turgal, 1943
Law	<i>Kadi</i>	Kayseri	17th	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1999: 247-276
Law	Oath	Lefkoşa- Nicosia	1580-1640	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1999: 539-552
Law	Shari'a			A. Layish	Layish, 1995
Law	Vekil	Kayseri	17th	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1999: 277-294
Military	Bandits	Kayseri	1600-1627	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1999: 327-346
Military	Bandits	Saruhan	17th	M.C. Uluçay	Uluçay, 1944
Military	Bandits	Saruhan	18th; 19th	M.C. Uluçay	Uluçay, 1955
Military	Corps and Police	Cyprus	1571-1640	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1993: 107-131.

Subject	Sub-Subject	Location	Date	Author	Source
Military	Soldier	Bursa	16th	R.R. Yücer	Yücer, 1940b
Military	Source			M. Kayıran	Kayıran, 1983
Military	Tereke Defterleri	Edirne	1545-1659	Ö.L. Barkan	Barkan, 1966
Military	Tereke Defterleri	İstanbul	17th	S. Öztürk	Öztürk, 1995
Military		Bursa		S. Ünver	Ünver, n.d.
Non-Muslims	İhtida	Bursa	1472-1909	O. Çetin	Çetin, 1994
Non-Muslims	Jewish	Jerusalem	(16th)	A. Cohen	Cohen, 1984
Non-Muslims	Jewish		16th; 17th	H. Gerber	Gerber, 1986
Non-Muslims	Jewish-Muslim	Haifa	1870-1914	M. Yazbak	Yazbak, 1994
Non-Muslims	<i>Millet System</i>	Jerusalem	16th	A. Cohen	Cohen, 1982
Non-Muslims		Cyprus	1571-1640	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1993: 132-172.
Non-Muslims		Kayseri	17th	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1999: 347-412
Pious Foundations		Cyprus	1571-1640	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1993: 40-68.
Pious Foundations		Trabzon	1565-1640	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1999: 613-666
Rural Life	Agriculture		1500-1878	S. Faroqhi	Faroqhi, 1987b
Slaves		Cyprus	1590-1640	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1999: 553-566
Slaves		Konya	16 and 17th	İ. Sak	Sak, 1989

Subject	Sub-Subject	Location	Date	Author	Source
Slaves		Cyprus	1571-1640	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1993: 240-247.
Women	Iqrar	al-Quds	14th	H. Lufti	Lufti, 1983
Women	Legal Position	Jaffa and Haifa	(19th)	I. Agmon	Agmon, 1995
Women	Legal Position	Kayseri	1590-1630	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1999: 115-142
Women	Women and Men	Egypt	Late 18th	A. L. S. Marsot	Marsot, 1995
Women		Bursa	1600-1700	H. Gerber	Gerber, 1980
Women		Cyprus	1571-1640	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1993: 14-39
Women		Egypt	19th	J. Tucker	Tucker, 1985
Women		Jerusalem	17th	D. Ze'evi	Ze'evi, 1995
Women		Kayseri	17th	R.Jennings	Jennings, 1999: 143-200
Women				M. Zilfi	Zilfi ed., 1997
Women		Nablus	18th; 19th	J. Tucker	Tucker, 1991

Table 35: Distribution of Subjects within the *Sicils* Under Study (Detailed)

Main Category	Subject	D-2 (Mid-17 <sup>th</sup> )		D-3 (Early 18 <sup>th</sup> )		D-4 (Late 18 <sup>th</sup> )		TOTAL	
		Quantity	Proportion	Q	Pr.	Q	Pr.	Q.	Pr.
Administrative		0	0,0	3	1,3%	3	0,8%	6	0,5%
Administrative	Alındı	1	0,2	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Administrative	Askeri	18	3,8	33	13,8%	27	6,9%	78	7,0%
Administrative	Çayır	4	0,8	3	1,3%	0	0,0%	7	0,6%
Administrative	Çiftlik	0	0,0	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	1	0,1%
Administrative	Düzenleme	1	0,2	2	0,8%	11	2,8%	14	1,3%
Administrative	Enfiye	0	0,0	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	1	0,1%
Administrative	Eşkiya	12	2,5	10	4,2%	4	1,0%	26	2,3%
Administrative	Göç	0	0,0	2	0,8%	4	1,0%	6	0,5%
Administrative	Hapis	2	0,4	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	3	0,3%
Administrative	İaşe	0	0,0	0	0,0%	2	0,5%	2	0,2%
Administrative	İmdad	1	0,2	0	0,0%	2	0,5%	3	0,3%
Administrative	Karz	1	0,2	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Administrative	Kürek	0	0,0	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	1	0,1%
Administrative	Menzil	1	0,2	1	0,4%	2	0,5%	4	0,4%
Administrative	Odun	0	0,0	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	1	0,1%
Administrative	Soğan	0	0,0	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	1	0,1%
Administrative	Sürgün	1	0,2	4	1,7%	1	0,3%	6	0,5%
Administrative	Sürsat	0	0,0	1	0,4%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Administrative	Tartı	1	0,2	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Administrative	Teftiş	3	0,6	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	3	0,3%
Administrative	Tersane	18	3,8	4	1,7%	50	12,8%	72	6,5%
Administrative	Tımar	5	1,0	1	0,4%	1	0,3%	7	0,6%
Administrative	Ücret	0	0,0	3	1,3%	1	0,3%	4	0,4%
Administrative	Yakalama	0	0,0	5	2,1%	3	0,8%	8	0,7%
Administrative	Yol	5	1,0	1	0,4%	7	1,8%	13	1,2%
Administrative	Zahire	0	0,0	8	3,3%	4	1,0%	12	1,1%
Appointment		0	0,0	1	0,4%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Appointment	Ağa	5	1,0	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	5	0,5%
Appointment	Bekçi	11	2,3	0	0,0%	3	0,8%	14	1,3%
Appointment	Bostancıbaşı	1	0,2	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Appointment	Cami	8	1,7	9	3,8%	1	0,3%	18	1,6%
Appointment	Emin	3	0,6	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	3	0,3%
Appointment	Eyalete	0	0,0	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	1	0,1%
Appointment	Kasap	2	0,4	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	2	0,2%

Main Category	Subject	D-2 (Mid-17 <sup>th</sup> )		D-3 (Early 18 <sup>th</sup> )		D-4 (Late 18 <sup>th</sup> )		TOTAL	
		Quantity	Proportion	Q	Pr.	Q	Pr.	Q.	Pr.
Appointment	Kaymakam	0	0,0	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	1	0,1%
Appointment	Kethüda	11	2,3	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	11	1,0%
Appointment	Kısmeti Askeriyye	12	2,5	2	0,8%	0	0,0%	14	1,3%
Appointment	Menzilci	0	0,0		0,0%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%
Appointment	Mimar	0	0,0	3	1,3%	0	0,0%	3	0,3%
Appointment	Muhzir	2	0,4	1	0,4%	0	0,0%	3	0,3%
Appointment	Mütesellim	0	0,0	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	1	0,1%
Appointment	Mütevelli	5	1,0	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	6	0,5%
Appointment	<i>Naib</i>	9	1,9	4	1,7%	15	3,8%	28	2,5%
Appointment	Rahip?	1	0,2	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Appointment	Serdar	10	2,1	9	3,8%	8	2,0%	27	2,4%
Appointment	Subaşı	1	0,2	2	0,8%	3	0,8%	6	0,5%
Appointment	Vekil	5	1,0	1	0,4%	4	1,0%	10	0,9%
Appointment	Yasakçı	10	2,1	4	1,7%	1	0,3%	15	1,4%
Appointment	Yalan Yemin	1	0,2	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Architecture	Ev	1	0,2	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Conversion		5	1,0	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	6	0,5%
Divorce		3	0,6	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	3	0,3%
Donation ( <i>Hibe</i> )		11	2,3	1	0,4%	4	1,0%	16	1,4%
Fetva	<i>Avarız</i>	1	0,2	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Fetva	<i>Kadı</i>	1	0,2	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Fetva	Mülkiyet	1	0,2	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Fetva	Öşür	3	0,6	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	3	0,3%
Inheritance		18	3,8	2	0,8%	1	0,3%	21	1,9%
Inheritance	Beytülmal	17	3,6	4	1,7%	15	3,8%	36	3,2%
Inheritance	Paylaşım	7	1,5	9	3,8%	55	14,0%	71	6,4%
Inheritance	Vasi	8	1,7	3	1,3%	2	0,5%	13	1,2%
Marriage		1	0,2	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
<i>Muhalaa</i>		3	0,6	1	0,4%	0	0,0%	4	0,4%
<i>Narh</i>		1	0,2	1	0,4%	8	2,0%	10	0,9%
Partnership		1	0,2	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Sales		2	0,4	1	0,4%	0	0,0%	3	0,3%
Sales	Bahçe	0	0,0	1	0,4%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Sales	Bağ ve Tarla	20	4,2	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	21	1,9%
Sales	Bağ ve Zeytinlik	0	0,0	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	1	0,1%

Main Category	Subject	D-2 (Mid-17 <sup>th</sup> )		D-3 (Early 18 <sup>th</sup> )		D-4 (Late 18 <sup>th</sup> )		TOTAL	
		Quantity	Proportion	Q	Pr.	Q	Pr.	Q.	Pr.
Sales	Dükkan	0	0,0	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	1	0,1%
Sales	Gedik	0	0,0	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	1	0,1%
Sales	Mahzen	2	0,4	2	0,8%	0	0,0%	4	0,4%
Sales	Menzil	15	3,1	4	1,7%	2	0,5%	21	1,9%
Sales	Su Hakkı	0	0,0	0	0,0%	4	1,0%	4	0,4%
<i>Sicil</i>		1	0,2	1	0,4%	1	0,3%	3	0,3%
Slavery		3	0,6	1	0,4%	0	0,0%	4	0,4%
Tax		10	2,1	3	1,3%	2	0,5%	15	1,4%
Tax	<i>Avarız</i>	26	5,5	1	0,4%	2	0,5%	29	2,6%
Tax	<i>Avarız ve Mütekaidin</i>	0	0,0	2	0,8%	0	0,0%	2	0,2%
Tax	<i>Avarız ve Nüzul</i>	1	0,2	2	0,8%	0	0,0%	3	0,3%
Tax	<i>Avarız ve Nüzul ve Mütekaidin</i>	0	0,0	3	1,3%	4	1,0%	7	0,6%
Tax	<i>Avarız; Mütekaidin; Maktuat</i>	3	0,6	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	4	0,4%
Tax	Caize	0	0,0	1	0,4%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Tax	Cizye	34	7,1	4	1,7%	0	0,0%	38	3,4%
Tax	Esnaf	3	0,6	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	3	0,3%
Tax	Gümrük	4	0,8	3	1,3%	1	0,3%	8	0,7%
Tax	İltizam	8	1,7	5	2,1%	16	4,1%	29	2,6%
Tax	<i>İltizam ve Kethüdalık</i>	0	0,0	1	0,4%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Tax	İmdad	0	0,0	9	3,8%	28	7,1%	37	3,3%
Tax	Kıptıyan	0	0,0	1	0,4%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Tax	Koyun	0	0,0	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	1	0,1%
Tax	Masraf	1	0,2	0	0,0%	13	3,3%	14	1,3%
Tax	Menzil	0	0,0	1	0,4%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Tax	Muafiyet	4	0,8	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	4	0,4%
Tax	Mukataa	4	0,8	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	4	0,4%
Tax	<i>Nüzul</i>	3	0,6	4	1,7%	3	0,8%	10	0,9%
Tax	Saman (Fodder)	0	0,0	2	0,8%	0	0,0%	2	0,2%
Tax	Sekban	0	0,0	0	0,0%	2	0,5%	2	0,2%
Tax	Sürsat	0	0,0	2	0,8%	0	0,0%	2	0,2%
Tax	<i>Sürsat ve Belderan</i>	0	0,0	2	0,8%	0	0,0%	2	0,2%

Main Category	Subject	D-2 (Mid-17 <sup>th</sup> )		D-3 (Early 18 <sup>th</sup> )		D-4 (Late 18 <sup>th</sup> )		TOTAL	
		Quantity	Proportion	Q	Pr.	Q	Pr.	Q.	Pr.
Tax	Tekalif	1	0,2	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Tax	Tezkere	0	0,0	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	1	0,1%
Tax	Zahire	2	0,4	16	6,7%	5	1,3%	23	2,1%
Tax	Zeamet	1	0,2	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	2	0,2%
Trial	Alacak ve Borç	28	5,9	6	2,5%	10	2,6%	44	4,0%
Trial	Cinayet	12	2,5	10	4,2%	7	1,8%	29	2,6%
Trial	Hırsızlık	6	1,3	1	0,4%	5	1,3%	12	1,1%
Trial	Kefil	1	0,2	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Trial	Su Hakkı	0	0,0	1	0,4%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Trial	Şetm	1	0,2	1	0,4%	0	0,0%	2	0,2%
Trial	Zina	1	0,2	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	1	0,1%
Village	Establishment	3	0,6	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	3	0,3%
Waqf		2	0,4	0	0,0%	4	1,0%	6	0,5%
Waqf	Düzenleme	1	0,2	1	0,4%	2	0,5%	4	0,4%
Waqf	Gelir ve Giderler	1	0,2	8	3,3%	0	0,0%	9	0,8%
Waqf	Harcama	0	0,0	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	1	0,1%
Waqf	İltizam	0	0,0	0	0,0%	3	0,8%	3	0,3%
Waqf	Kiralama-Satış	2	0,4	1	0,4%	2	0,5%	5	0,5%
Waqf	Kurma	3	0,6	0	0,0%	7	1,8%	10	0,9%
Waqf	Miras	0	0,0	1	0,4%	2	0,5%	3	0,3%
Waqf	Vergi	7	1,5	0	0,0%	2	0,5%	9	0,8%
Waqf	Zarar	1	0,2	0	0,0%	1	0,3%	2	0,2%
Unidentified		7	1,5	0	0,0%	2	0,5%	9	0,8%
	<b>TOTAL</b>	477	100,0	240	100,0%	392	100,0%	1109	100,0%

Table 36: Order of the Records Within the Second Sicil (D-3) of Mudanya

Defter No	Page	Inside No:	Day	Month	Year	Main Category	Subject	Location	Defter No	Page	Inside No:	Day	Month	Year	Main Category	Subject	Location	
D-3	1	1	G	M	1127	Vakıf	Gelir ve		D-3	34	1	Ev	II	1129	İdari	Askeri	İzmir, ? Menemen, Turghu, ?	
D-3	1	1	G	RA	1127	Dava	Canayet	Ayatodoruz M	D-3	35	1	22	R?	1127	İdari	Askeri	Bursa	
D-3	2	2	G	RA	1127	İdari	Tersane	Terekli N, Çeçni K, Ak K	D-3	35	2	24	Z	1126	Vergi		Bursa	
D-3	2	3	17	RA	1127	Canayet	Canayet	Ayatodoruz M	D-3	35	3	8	CA	1126	Vakıf	Gelir ve	Bursa	
D-3	3	1	18	CA	1127	Sahı	Düğün	Canı-Atk M	D-3	36	1	Ev	R	1127	İdari	Askeri		
D-3	3	2	12	R	1127	Sahı	Menal	Musa Bey M	D-3	36	2	8	CA	1126	İdari	Çayır	Bursa kadın, Mudanya, Kite,	
D-3	3	3	2	C	1127	Dava	Canayet	Behrem Aga Cami Vakıf	D-3	37	1	28	RA	1130	Tayan	Canı	Mudanya	
D-3	3	4	G	B	1127	Dava	Canayet	Canı-Atk M	D-3	37	2	Et	C	1130	İdari	Surgan	Mudanya Nahi	
D-3	3	5	10	R	1127	Dava	Canayet	Mudanya	D-3	37	3	20	C	1130	İdari	Zahire	Mudanya Nahi, Halil (Miri)	
D-3	5	1	G	S	1127	Tayan	Mudanya		D-3	37	4	Et	C	1130	İdari	Surgan	Mudanya Nahi	
D-3	5	2	G	S	1127	Tayan	Nab	Mudanya	D-3	38	1	22	R	1130	Vergi	Zahire	Bursa Kadın, Gökeçedag,	
D-3	5	3	G	S	1128	Tayan	Canı	Onur Bey ve Kaki? Cami	D-3	38	2	Et	S	1130	Vergi	Zahire	Gökeçedag, Yenipazar, Domanya,	
D-3	5	4	G	S	1127	Tayan	Yasağı	Mudanya	D-3	38	3	Et	S	1130	Vergi	Zahire	Mudanya Nahi	
D-3	5	5	7	N	1127	Dava	Alacak ve	Hasköy-Parmak Kapı M	D-3	38	4	Ev	RA	1130	İdari	Surgan	Mudanya Nahi	
D-3	5	6	7	N	1127	Sahı	Mahzen	Hasköy-Parmak Kapı M	D-3	39	1	Ev	S	1129	Tayan	Canı	Hasan Bey Cami	
D-3	5	7	7	N	1127	Sahı	Mahzen	Hasköy-Parmak Kapı M	D-3	40	1	Et	Z	1129	Vergi	Avanz	Bursa Kadın, Hudavendigar	
D-3	6	1	12	N	1127	Dava	Su Hakki	Seke K.	D-3	40	2				Vergi	Nezel	Bursa Kadın, Hudavendigar	
D-3	6	2	9	N	1127	Miras	Vani	Canı-Atk M	D-3	40	3				Vergi	Sursat ve	Bursa Kadın, Hudavendigar	
D-3	6	3				Vakıf	Sahı	Hasan Bey M	D-3	41	1	8	S	1130	Vergi	Avanz ve		
D-3	6	4	G	L	1127	Tayan	Subaş	Mudanya	D-3	41	2	18	Z	1129	Vergi	Kapıyan		
D-3	6	5	4	ZA	1127	Sahı	Bahç	Seit-Berice K., Mudanya	D-3	41	3	8	S	1130	Vergi	Sursat ve		
D-3	6	6	7	ZA	1127	Sahı	Menal	Gemlik- Aya Yorgi M.	D-3	42	1	Et	M	1130	İdari	Askeri	Anadolunun Sag kolman romanı	
D-3	6	7	7	ZA	1127	Dava	Alacak ve	Mudanya	D-3	42	2				İdari	Askeri	Anadolunun Sag kolman romanı	
D-3	7	1	16	Z	1127	Sahı	Menal	Canı-Atk M	D-3	43	1				İdari	Askeri	Anadolunun Sag kolman romanı	
D-3	7	2	21	Z	1127	Köle	Kaçak	Mudanya (?)	D-3	43	2	Et	S	1130	İdari	Askeri	Üsküdar'dan Anadolunun Sag	
D-3	7	3	G	M	1128	Tayan	Nab	Mudanya	D-3	44	1	Et	S	1130	Tayan	Serdar	Mudanya Nahi	
D-3	7	4	10	M	1128	Sahı	Menal	Musa Bey M	D-3	44	2	Ev	RA	1130	Miras	Paylaşım	Hudavendigar sarcağında arpalık	
D-3	7	5	16	M	1128	Miras	Paylaşım	Canı-Atk M	D-3	44	3				Miras	Paylaşım	Bursa kadın	
D-3	8	1	11	B	1128	Muhabaha	Tekke? M		D-3	44	4							
D-3	8	2				Vergi	Zahire	Mudanya Kadın, Ayan (İ)	D-3	44	5	21	RA	1130	Vergi	İmdad		
D-3	8	3				Tayan	Vakıf		D-3	45	1	Ev	RA	1130	İdari	Askeri	Anadolunun Sag kolman romanı	
D-3	8	4	G	CA	1128	Tayan	Nab?	Mudanya	D-3	45	2				Dava	Canayet	Mudanya Kadın	
D-3	8	5	G	ZA	1128	Tayan	Kismet	Mudanya	D-3	45	3	26	C	1131	İdari	Ucret		
D-3	8	6	G	Kasım	1128	Vergi	İbzam		D-3	45	4	26	C	1131	İdari	Ucret		
D-3	9	1	2	ZA	1128	Hibe	Canı-Atk M		D-3	45	5	26	C	1131	İdari	Ucret		
D-3	9	2	2	Z	1128	Miras	Beitülmil	Behram Aga Cami Yanında	D-3	46	1	23	RA	1120	İdari	Askeri	Mudanya	
D-3	9	3	7	L	1127	Miras	Beitülmil	Mudanya, İstanbul (miras)	D-3	46	2	G	M	1127	Vakıf	Gelir ve	Manastır M	
D-3	9	4	6	CA	1128	Tayan	Nab?	Mudanya	D-3	47	1	G	M	1127	Vakıf	Gelir ve	Mudanya	
D-3	9	5	E	C	1129	İdari	İmkanlı	İmir arsan	D-3	47	2	2	ZA	1127	İdari	Yol	İdi Hanıdan? Antaarye	
D-3	10	1	27	S	1128	Tayan	Miras		D-3	47	3	22	S	1128	Vergi	Sursat	Bursa Kadın, Hudavendigar	
D-3	10	2	ES	ZA	1127	Vakıf	Mudanya Kadını		D-3	48	1				Vergi	Zahire	Hudavendigar sarcağında olan	
D-3	10	3	7	L	1129	Miras	Paylaşım	Tekke? M	D-3	48	2	24	ZA	1126	Vergi	Gümrük	İstanbul Galata, Üsküdar ve	
D-3	11	1	17	L	1127	Miras	Paylaşım	Musa Bey M, Bursa-Şeker	D-3	49	1	3	S	1128	Miras	Penaye M		
D-3	11	2	G	Z	1129	Miras	Beitülmil	AK K.	D-3	49	2	20	Z	1127	Vergi	Zahire	Bursa kadını, Hudavendigar	
D-3	12	1	5	R	1130	Vergi	İbzam	Mudanya	D-3	49	3	3	Z	1127	Vergi	Avanz ve	Bursa Kadın, Hudavendigar	
D-3	12	2	10	CA	1130	Vergi	İbzam	Mudanya	D-3	50	1	10	Z	1127	Vergi	Avanz ve	Bursa Kadın, Hudavendigar	
D-3	13	1	27	S	1130	İdari	Zahire	Mudanya Kadın, Ayan (İ)	D-3	50	2	10	Z	1127	Vergi	Nezel	Bursa Kadını, Hudavendigar	
D-3	13	2	4	R	1130	İdari	Zahire	Mudanya Kadını; Münhalık	D-3	50	3	G	M	(1128)	Vergi	Avanz ve	Mudanya	
D-3	13	3	10	R	1130	Vergi	İbzam	Türkiye	D-3	50	4	16	M	1128	Vergi	İmdad	Mudanya kadın, Kethüda	
D-3	13	4	Ev	R	1130	Dava	Hürsüklü	Bostancıbaşı (Hassa)	D-3	51	1	Ev	L	1127	İdari	Şerh	Mutafa (Arpalık olarak	
D-3	14	1	12	C	1136	Vergi	Zahire		D-3	51	2	11	Z	1127	Tayan	Serdar	Mudanya Kadını	
D-3	15	1	20	M	1127	Vergi	Avanz ve	Bursa Kadını, Hudavendigar	D-3	51	3	26	R	1127	İdari	Eğriya	Mudanya Kadın, Kethüda	
D-3	15	2	18	M	1127	Vergi	Avanz ve	Bursa Kadını, Hudavendigar	D-3	51	4	7	M	1127	İdari	Tersane	Gemlik, Mudanya, Eşvalar,	
D-3	15	3				İdari	Zahire	Mudanya Kadını, Mobyaya	D-3	52	1	10	C	1127	Vergi	Cünye		
D-3	16	1	2	S	1128	Vergi	Zahire	Bursa Kadını, Hudavendigar	D-3	52	2				Vergi	Zahire	Mudanya	
D-3	16	2	29	M	1130	İdari	Yakalama	Mudanya Kadın	D-3	52	3	23	N	1127	Vergi	Zahire	Mudanya kadın, Kethüda	
D-3	16	3	Ev	M	1127	İdari	Askeri	Mudanya ve Hudavendigar	D-3	52	4	6	L	1127	İdari	Eğriya	Mudanya Nahi	
D-3	17	1				Dava	Canayet		D-3	52	5	7	N	1127	İdari	Göç	(Bursa) Kadın, Anadolunun Sag	
D-3	17	2	7	M	1130	İdari	Eğriya	Bursa Kadını, Mudanya;	D-3	53	1	12	CA	1127	İdari	Eğriya		
D-3	17	3	Et	S	1128	İdari	Askeri	Borahın Aga (Turhanov?)	D-3	53	2	10	C	1127	Vergi	Cünye	Hudavendigar sarcağı ve Bursa	
D-3	18	1				İdari	Askeri	Mudanya Nahi	D-3	54	1	Ev	R	1127	İdari	Eğriya	Abdullah Paşa (Yeni, Salla	
D-3	18	2	G	L	1129	Vergi	Canı	Gemlik- Mudanya Kadın	D-3	54	2	12	CA	1127	İdari	Eğriya	Hudavendigar sarcağında olan	
D-3	18	3	29	N	1127	İdari	Askeri	Mudanya Nahi, Gümrük	D-3	54	3	Ev	R	1130	İdari	Askeri	Münhalık, Kermar, Manyas	
D-3	18	4	G	ZA	1129	Tayan	Yasağı	Mudanya	D-3	55	1	29	R	1130	Vergi	Zahire	Mudanya, Münhalık kadları,	
D-3	18	5				İdari	Eğriya	Kutahya Müterelli	D-3	55	2	G	CA	1130	Tayan	Yasağı	Mudanya	
D-3	19	1	Es	B	1130	İdari	Askeri	İmkanlı, Bala-İ Abad.	D-3	56	1	Et	CA	1130	Dava	Canayet	Mudanya Nahi	
D-3	19	2	18	B	1129	Tayan	Canı	Mudanya	D-3	56	2	G	M	1127	Tayan	Menlikli	Mudanya	
D-3	19	3	11	B	1129	Tayan	Miras	Bursa, Kite, Mudanya,	D-3	57	1				Vergi	Avanz ve	Mudanya	
D-3	19	4				Vergi	Zahire	Mudanya Kadın, Ayan ve İ	D-3	57	2				İdari	Zahire	Eşadima, Mudanya;	
D-3	19	5	Ev	I	1129	Vergi	Sanan	R. K. Kibize, Atalar, Yurden, İ	D-3	57	3	13	M	1127	İdari	İmdad	Mudanya kadın, Kethüdayen,	
D-3	20	1	23	CA	1129	İdari	Çayır	Bursa Kadını, Mudanya;	D-3	58	1	4	M	1127	İdari	Askeri	Anadolunun sag kolı romanı	
D-3	20	2	G	S	1129	İdari	Çayır		D-3	58	2	G	R	1126	Vakıf	Gelir ve	Ashab-ı Ceran Cami-Atk M.	
D-3	20	3	7	T	1129	İdari	Askeri	Üsküdar, Anadolu sag.	D-3	58	3	25	S	1126	Miras	Canı-Atk M		
D-3	21	1	Ev	B	1129	Tayan	Canı	Mudanya	D-3	59	1	G	M	1126	Vakıf	Gelir ve	Hasan Bey Cami	
D-3	21	2	Ev	R	1130	İdari	Yakalama	Mutafa (Hassa)	D-3	59	2	G	M	1126	Vakıf	Gelir ve	Hasan Bey Cami	
D-3	21	3	Ev	B	1129	Tayan	Canı	Mudanya	D-3	59	3	G	M	1126	Vakıf	Gelir ve	Hasan Bey Cami	
D-3	21	4	Et	M	1129	Tayan	Canı	Mudanya	D-3	59	4	10	RA	1128	Vergi	Sursat	Mudanya	
D-3	21	5	19	M	11791	Vakıf	Miras	Mudanya	D-3	59	5	Ev	RA	1128	Tayan	Serdar	Mudanya kadın	
D-3	21	6	18	S	11791	Miras	Paylaşım	Seke K.	D-3	60	1	G	R	1128	Tayan	Kismet		
D-3	22	1	27	M	11781	Miras	Paylaşım	Tekke-İ Atk M	D-3	60	2	G	R	1128	İdari		Mehmed Celib	
D-3	22	2	24	S	1179	Miras	Beitülmil	Albasura Kaz. Rumeih.	D-3	60	3	14	RA	1128	Tayan	Subaş	Mudanya (Hudavendigar	
D-3	22	3	6	RA	1179	Miras	Vani	Nigde- Anadolu Vlayet.	D-3	60	4	10	RA	1128	İdari	Tersane	Mudanya, Bardima, Kapı Dağı,	
D-3	23	1	26	S	1179	Miras	Paylaşım	Canı-Atk M	D-3	60	5				İdari	Tersane	Mudanya, Bardima, Kapı Dağı,	
D-3	23	2	Ev	B	1179	Tayan	Serdar	Mudanya	D-3	61	1	Ev	R	1128	İdari	Tersane	Mudanya	
D-3	23	3	Ev	B	1179	İdari	Üsküdar, Anadolu sag		D-3	61	2	20	C	1124	Vergi	Gümrük	Bursa kadın, Mudanya nahi	
D-3	24	1	Ev	B	1179	Miras	Vani	Mudanya Nahi	D-3	62	1	2	R	1128	Vergi	İmdad	Mudanya kadın, Kethüda	
D-3	24	2	7	B	11179	Vergi	İmdad	Mudanya Kadın, Kethüda;	D-3	62	2	22	R	1128	İdari	Askeri	Üsküdar, K. anhalca?, ? Yolunda	
D-3	25	1	17	S	1179	İdari		Mudanya Nahi	D-3	62	3	22	K	1128	Tayan	Miras	Mudanya	
D-3	25	2	Et	C	1127	Tayan	Mühaz	Mudanya	D-3	62	4	Ev	CA	1128	İdari	Askeri	Anadolunun sag kolunda	
D-3	25	3	29	C	1129	Tayan	Canı	Onur Bey Cami	D-3	63	1	Et	CA	1128	İdari	Askeri	Üsküdar'dan Anadolunun sag	
D-3	26	1				Vergi	Cünye	Hudavendigar, Bursa, Biga,	D-3	63	2	Et	CA	1128	İdari	Askeri	Anadolunun sag kolunda sag ve	
D-3	26	2	Ev	CA	1129	İdari	Eğriya	Üsküdar'dan Anadolunun	D-3	63	3				İdari	Askeri	Anadolunun sag kolunda sag ve	



Table 38: Records for the *Temettuat* Tax of Mudanya, 1260/1844-1261/1845

Tem. 9097/ 1260/1844	House.	Total Value (Guruş)	Total Tax	Proportion
<i>Mahalle-i Cami-i Atik</i>	39	45.105,20	7.510,23	16,7%
<i>Mahalle-i Manastr (Mescid-i Şerif)</i>	35	19.555,00	2.191,10	11,2%
<i>Mahalle-i Hasan Bey</i>	36	167.391,20	26.474,07	15,8%
<i>Mahalle-i Tekke</i>	30	39.110,00	6.537,28	16,7%
<i>Mahalle-i Ömer Bey</i>	20	9.477,00	938,10	9,9%
<i>Mahalle-i Musa Bey</i>	45	38.459,20	6.080,27	15,8%
Perakende (9078)	85	93.342,00	13.737,40	14,7%
Perakende Total <sup>540</sup>	85	81.460,00	12.189,24	15%
Mudanya Total	205	412.439,60	63.468,45	15,4%
Mudanya Total <sup>541</sup>	205	400.557,60	61.920,29	15,5%

Map 2: Budamya (Mudanya): Its villages and Cities Around it (circa 16<sup>th</sup> c.)<sup>542</sup>

<sup>540</sup> There were two calculations in the *defter*.

<sup>541</sup> There were two calculations in the *defter*.

<sup>542</sup> 166 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Anadolu Defteri. (1995). Ankara.

Table 38: List of the Names in the *Shud-ul-hāls* (D-3)

No	Names and Titles	Type of Records	Date	No	Names and Titles	Type of Records	Date
11	Ağtayoz v. Yayaloğoz,	Alacak	7.N.1127	26	İbrahim Çelebi b. Hac Ahmed;	Cinayet	6. RA. 1127
115	Ağtayoz v. Yalaloğoz,	Satış	7.N.1127	96	İbrahim Çelebi? b. Şaban;	Miras	9.N.1127
111	Ahmed ? b. Ali;	Satış	10.CA.1127	15	İbrahim Ef. B. Şaban;	Cinayet	6. RA. 1127
125	Ahmed b. Ali Katip	Satış		65	İbrahim Ef. b. Şaban Ağa;	Vergi	G. RA. 1127
51	Ahmed b. Ali;	Cinayet	G.B.1127	53	İbrahim Ef. B. Şaban;	Hibe	2.ZA.1128
69	Ahmed b. Ali?	Köle	21.Z.1127	43	İbrahim Efendi b. Şaban;	Cinayet	17.RA.1127
152	Ahmed Beşe b. Mehmed Çelebi;	Satış	4.ZA.1127	9	İsmail Beşe b. İslam;	Alacak	7.N.1127
157	Ahmed Çelebi b. Ali;	Satış	4.ZA.1127	106	İsmail Beşe b. İslam;	Satış	10.CA.1127
4	Ahmed ef. B. Ali;	Alacak	07.ZA.1127	118	İsmail Beşe b. İslam;	Satış	7.N.1127
135	Ahmed Ef. B. Ali;	Satış	07.ZA.1127	34	İsmail Çelebi b. Mustafa;	Cinayet	2.C.1127
159	Ali b. Süleyman;	Satış	4.ZA.1127	100	İsmail Çelebi b. Mustafa;	Muhalaa	11.B.1128
89	Ali Bali (b.) Musli	Miras	25.Ş.1126	121	İsmail Çelebi b. Mustafa;	Satış	
36	Ali Bali b. Musli;	Cinayet	2.C.1127	108	Mahmud Beşe b. Abdullah;	Satış	10.CA.1127
91	Ali Bali b. Musli;	Miras	9.N.1127	24	Mehmed Ağa b. Ahmed;	Cinayet	6. RA. 1127
110	Ali Bali b. Musli;	Satış	10.CA.1127	86	Mehmed Ağa b. Ali Çelebi;	Miras	25.Ş.1126
122	Ali Beşe b. Ali;	Satış		55	Mehmed Ağa b. Mustafa Mütevellî;	Hibe	2.ZA.1128
58	Ali Beşe b. Mustafa;	Hibe	2.ZA.1128	44	Mehmed Ağa b. Mustafa;	Cinayet	17.RA.1127
52	Ali Beşe b. Sinan	Cinayet	G.B.1127	23	Mehmed Ağa b. Mustafa;	Cinayet	6. RA. 1127
46	Ali Beşe b. Sinan;	Cinayet	17.RA.1127	25	Mehmed Ağa b. Mustafa;	Cinayet	6. RA. 1127
28	Ali Beşe b. Sinan;	Cinayet	6. RA. 1127	68	Mehmed Ağa Mütevellî;	Köle	21.Z.1127
83	Ali Beşe b. Süleyman	Miras	3.S.1128	164	Mehmed Ali Ağa	Vergi	21.RA.1130
2	Ali Beşe b. Süleyman;	Alacak	07.ZA.1127	133	Mehmed Beşe Ali Beşe;	Satış	07.ZA.1127
37	Ali Beşe b. Süleyman;	Cinayet	2.C.1127	150	Mehmed Beşe b. Ali;	Satış	10.M.1128
71	Ali Beşe b. Süleyman;	Köle	21.Z.1127	155	Mehmed Beşe b. Ali;	Satış	4.ZA.1127
134	Ali Beşe b. Süleyman;	Satış	07.ZA.1127	162	Mehmed Ef.;	Vergi	21.RA.1130
149	Ali Beşe b. Süleyman;	Satış	10.M.1128	66	Mehmed? Ağa b. Mustafa;	Vergi	G. RA. 1127
31	Ali Beşe b. Süleyman;	Cinayet	10. R. 1127	126	Molla Ahmed b. Hüseyin;	Satış	12. R. 1127
27	Ali Bey b. Hasan;	Cinayet	6. RA. 1127	127	Molla Hasan b. Abdullah;	Satış	12. R. 1127
124	Ali Çelebi b. Hüseyin;	Satış		87	Molla Hasan b. Ali Beşe;	Miras	25.Ş.1126
103	Ali Çelebi b. Sefer Çelebi;	Satış	10.CA.1127	130	Molla İbrahim b. ?	Satış	12. R. 1127
140	Atah Omer Ağa b. ?;	Satış	16.Z.1127	50	Molla İbrahim b. ?;	Cinayet	G.B.1127
13	Bahd v. Musa	Alacak	7.N.1127	92	Molla İbrahim b. ?;	Miras	9.N.1127
112	Bayram Ali b. Ali;	Satış	10.CA.1127	109	Molla İbrahim b. ?;	Satış	10.CA.1127
77	Bektay Ağa b. Mustafa;	Miras	3.S.1128	147	Molla İbrahim b. ?;	Satış	10.M.1128
29	Düğerlen	Cinayet	6. RA. 1127	80	Molla İbrahim b. Musli;	Miras	3.S.1128
38	Düğerlen	Cinayet	2.C.1127	131	Molla İbrahim b. Mustafa;	Satış	07.ZA.1127
67	Düğerlen	Vergi	G. RA. 1127	3	Molla İbrahim;	Alacak	07.ZA.1127
90	Düğerlen	Miras	25.Ş.1126	144	Molla Mehmed b. ?	Satış	16.Z.1127
113	Düğerlen	Satış	10.CA.1127	72	Molla Mehmed b. Ahmed?;	Köle	21.Z.1127
151	Düğerlen	Satış	10.M.1128	6	Molla Mehmed b. Ali;	Alacak	7.N.1127
160	Düğerlen	Satış	4.ZA.1127	119	Molla Mehmed b. Ali;	Satış	7.N.1127
59	düğerlen?	Hibe	2.ZA.1128	49	Molla Mehmed b. Hac Recep;	Cinayet	G.B.1127
73	düğerlen?	Köle	21.Z.1127	56	Molla Mehmed b. Hac Recep;	Hibe	2.ZA.1128
12	Dimutrakı v. Rali;	Alacak	7.N.1127	148	Molla Mehmed b. Hac Recep;	Satış	10.M.1128
114	Dimutrakı v. Rali;	Satış	7.N.1127	1	Molla Mehmed b. Hac Recep?;	Alacak	07.ZA.1127
136	Esrayanor v. ?;	Satış	07.ZA.1127	82	Molla Mehmed b. Recep;	Miras	3.S.1128
74	Fahrulakran Hasan Aha Ahmed Çelebi;	Miras	3.S.1128	120	Molla Mustafa b. Mehmed Ef.	Satış	7.N.1127
84	Fahrulümera Hasan Ağa b. Ahmed Ağa;	Miras	25.Ş.1126	10	Molla Mustafa b. Mehmed Ef.;	Alacak	7.N.1127
39	Fahr'ul-Umera Hasan Ağa b. Ahmed Çelebi;	Cinayet	17.RA.1127	85	Molla Mustafa b. Mehmed Ef.;	Miras	25.Ş.1126
60	Fahr'ul-Umera Hasan Ağa b. Ahmed Çelebi;	Vergi	G. RA. 1127	75	Molla Mustafa b. Mehmed? Ef.;	Miras	3.S.1128
145	Fahr'ul-Umera Hasan Ağa b. Ahmed Çelebi;	Satış	10.M.1128	141	Molla Mustafa b. Omer Ef.;	Satış	16.Z.1127
54	Fahr'ul-ümera İbrahim Ağa b. Hac Omer;	Hibe	2.ZA.1128	88	Mustafa Ağa b. Hac Halil;	Miras	25.Ş.1126
45	Hac ? b. Hac Mehmed;	Cinayet	17.RA.1127	156	Mustafa Beşe b. Mehmed;	Satış	4.ZA.1127
42	Hac Ahmed b. ?;	Cinayet	17.RA.1127	101	Mustafa Beşe b. Yusuf;	Muhalaa	11.B.1128
143	Hac Ali b. Ahmed;	Satış	16.Z.1127	153	Mustafa Çelebi b. İsmail;	Satış	4.ZA.1127
41	Hac Hadı? Ağa b. Mustafa;	Cinayet	17.RA.1127	94	Mustafa Çelebi? b. Mustafa;	Miras	9.N.1127
142	Hac Halil b. Mustafa;	Satış	16.Z.1127	98	Nektes Agalar?;	Miras	9.N.1127
19	Hac Mehmed Ağa b. Hac Ahmed Ağa;	Cinayet	6. RA. 1127	48	Osman Ağa b. Mustafa;	Cinayet	G.B.1127
132	Hac Mustafa Ağa b. Hac Mehmed;	Satış	07.ZA.1127	76	Osman Ağa b. Mustafa;	Miras	3.S.1128
70	Hac Omer Ağa b. Ahmed ?;	Köle	21.Z.1127	97	Osman Ağa b. Mustafa;	Miras	9.N.1127
79	Hac Omer Ağa b. Ahmed Çavuş;	Miras	3.S.1128	128	Osman Ağa b. Mustafa;	Satış	12. R. 1127
61	Hac Seyid Mustafa Ağa b. Mehmed;	Vergi	G. RA. 1127	22	Osman Ağa b. Mustafa;	Cinayet	6. RA. 1127
8	Halil Beşe b. Ahmed;	Alacak	7.N.1127	63	Osman Beşe b. Mustafa;	Vergi	G. RA. 1127
105	Halil Beşe b. Ahmed;	Satış	10.CA.1127	158	Salih Çelebi b. Mehmed Çelevi;	Satış	4.ZA.1127
117	Halil Beşe b. Ahmed;	Satış	7.N.1127	161	Selim Ağa;	Vergi	21.RA.1130
57	Halil Beşe b. Mehmed;	Hibe	2.ZA.1128	95	Seyyid Mustafa b. Mehmed;	Miras	9.N.1127
18	Hasan Ağa b. Ahmed Ali;	Cinayet	6. RA. 1127	163	Seyyid Osman Çelebi;	Vergi	21.RA.1130
32	Hasan Ağa b. Mehmed Ağa;	Cinayet	10. R. 1127	138	Yalaloğoz v. Seryalor;	Satış	07.ZA.1127
123	Hasan Çelebi b. Osman;	Satış		137	Yalas? V. Mali;	Satış	07.ZA.1127
81	Hasan Ef. b. Ali;	Miras	3.S.1128	104	Yunus Çelebi b. Mehmed;	Satış	10.CA.1127
93	Hasan Ef. b. Ali;	Miras	9.N.1127	14	Yusuf Ef. B. İmam Cami Atik;	Cinayet	6. RA. 1127
99	Hasan Ef. B. Ali;	Muhalaa	11.B.1128	5	?	Alacak	07.ZA.1127
129	Hasan Ef. b. Ali;	Satış	12. R. 1127	102	?	Muhalaa	11.B.1128
16	Hasan Ef. B. Ali;	Cinayet	6. RA. 1127	139	?	Satış	07.ZA.1127
40	Hasan Efendi b. Ahmed;	Cinayet	17.RA.1127	64	? Ağa b. Mustafa;	Vergi	G. RA. 1127
35	Hüseyin Beşe b. Mustafa;	Cinayet	2.C.1127	47	? b. Abdullah	Cinayet	17.RA.1127
7	Hüseyin Beşe b. Veli;	Alacak	7.N.1127	20	? b. Ali;	Cinayet	6. RA. 1127
107	Hüseyin Beşe b. Veli;	Satış	10.CA.1127	30	? b. Mustafa;	Cinayet	10. R. 1127
154	Hüseyin Beşe b. Veli;	Satış	4.ZA.1127	17	? b. Omer Ef.;	Cinayet	6. RA. 1127
116	Hüseyin Beşe b. Veli;	Satış	7.N.1127	33	? b. Safer	Cinayet	10. R. 1127
62	İbrahim Ağa b. ?;	Vergi	G. RA. 1127				
21	İbrahim Ağa b. Hac Omer Ağa;	Cinayet	6. RA. 1127				
78	İbrahim Ağa b. Hac Omer;	Miras	3.S.1128				
146	İbrahim Ağa b. Hac Omer;	Satış	10.M.1128				

Table 39: List of the Names in the *Shud-ul-hâls* (D-4)

No	Names and Titles	Type of Records	Date	No	Names and Titles	Type of Records	Date
143	Ahmed Aga,	Satp. Çeşak	2. Z. 1212	202	Huseyin Aga b. Huseyin,	Vakuf Kuruma	15 R 1213
18	Aliakac ve Borg	Alacak ve Borg	25.8.1212	143	Huseyin Aga,	Satp. Çeşak	2. Z. 1212
162	Ahmed Bege Dotali,	Satp. Menzil	15. Z. 1211	226	Huseyin Bege Çelak,	Vakuf Kuruma	21 R 1211
5	Ahmed Bege Dotali,	Alacak ve Borg	8. C. 1210	196	Huseyin Aga 7,	Vakuf Kuruma	25.2.1211
100	Ahmed Dai der kayseri Çeşak,	Miras-Vasi	11. Z. 1210	214	İbrahim Aga 7,	Vakuf Kuruma	5 M 1211
264	Ahmed Ef. Hicazlı,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. C. 1214	167	İbrahim Ada Zevce,	Satp. Menzil	15. Z. 1211
267	Ahmed Ahmed Aga Seki koyu,	Vakuf Miras	21. C. 1207	209	İsmail Ada Çelik koyu,	Vakuf Miras	21. C. 1207
27	Ahmed Ahmed Aga Seki Koyunden,	Suh	21. C. 1211	42	İsmail Aga Seki Koyunden,	Suh	21. C. 1211
178	Ali Aga,	Tayin-Vakuf	17. C. 1212	177	İstanbul Halir,	Tayin-Vakuf	17. C. 1212
84	Ali b. Feyzullah,	Hibe	11. B. 1211	176	İstanbul Mehmed b. ?,	Tayin-Vakuf	25.11.1207
165	Ali Bege Kalyoncu,	Satp. Menzil	12. Z. 1211	175	Kasap Mehmed Bege,	Satp. Bag. Tarla	15. L. 1212
12	Ali Bege Mubâr,	Alacak ve Borg	11. C. 1210	185	Kasap Seyyid İbrahim,	Vakuf	21. C. 1214
65	Ali Bege Mubâr,	Suh	19. R. 1210	150	Kasap Mehmed Bege,	Satp. Menzil	25. C. 1210
110	Ali Bege mubâr,	Miras-Vasi	17. M. 1211	43	Kasap İsmail Ef. E,	Suh	21. C. 1211
242	Ali Bege Mubâr,	Vakuf Kuruma	3. C. 1209	82	Kasap İsmail Ef. E,	Hibe	15. B. 1211
165	Ali Bey,	Satp. Menzil	15. Z. 1211	119	Kasap İsmail Ef. E,	Satp. Bag. Tarla	15. L. 1211
117	Ali Muhbir Han Serif Aga,	Satp. Bag. Tarla	15. L. 1211	290	Kasap İsmail Ef. E,	Vergi-Sekban	19. R. 1213
203	Ali Hacı Ömer,	Vakuf Kuruma	22. C. 1212	296	Kasap Mehmed Emin Ef. E,	Vergi-Sekban	4. S. 1213
122	Atar 7,	Satp. Bag. Zeytinlik	25. Z. 1214	181	Kasap Mehmed Emin Ef. E,	Vakuf Kuruma	29. M. 1211
39	Atar Molla Ahmed,	Suh	21. C. 1211	205	Kasap Hüseyin Mehmed,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. C. 1213
142	Atar Molla Ahmed,	Satp. Çeşak	2. Z. 1212	115	Kasap Mehmed Bege,	Satp. Bag. Tarla	15. L. 1211
138	Atar Molla Ahmed,	Satp. Menzil	15. Z. 1211	193	Mehmed Aga 7,	Vakuf Kuruma	29. M. 1211
254	Atar Molla Ahmed,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. Z. 1212	267	Mehmed Aga Çiçmezoğlu,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. C. 1213
139	Atar Molla Emran,	Satp. Çeşak	2. Z. 1212	29	Mehmed Aga Hacı Huseynzade,	Suh	15. Z. 1210
24	Atar Molla Emran,	Suh	15. Z. 1210	247	Mehmed Aga Hacı Huseynzade,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. C. 1211
25	Atar Ömer Aga,	Satp. Menzil	25. C. 1210	36	Mehmed Aga Çiçmezoğlu,	Suh	25. C. 1211
148	Atar Ömer Aga,	Satp. Menzil	15. Z. 1211	21	Mehmed Ef. Kalyoncu,	Suh	15. B. 1210
159	Atar Ömer Aga,	Vakuf	21. C. 1214	96	Mehmed Ef. Kalyoncu,	Miras-Vasi	11. Z. 1210
107	Atar Ömer Aga,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. M. 1211	156	Mehmed Ef. Kalyoncu,	Satp. Menzil	19. Z. 1211
197	Atar Ömer Aga,	Vakuf Kuruma	3. C. 1209	192	Mehmed Ef. Kalyoncu,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. C. 1214
226	Bahadırzade Süleyman Aga,	Vakuf Kuruma	21. M. 1211	209	Mehmed Ef. Kalyoncu,	Vakuf Kuruma	5. M. 1211
225	Bektaş Aga,	Vakuf Kuruma	29. R. 1211	230	Mehmed Ef. Kalyoncu,	Vakuf Kuruma	31. M. 1213
299	Bektaş Aga 7,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. C. 1214	264	Mehmed Ef. Kalyoncu,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. C. 1213
251	Bektaş Aga Hanımın,	Vakuf Kuruma	3. C. 1209	246	Mehmed Ef. Tekke Mesrûci Emami,	Hibe	11. R. 1211
238	Çarşazade Seyyid Mehmed Ef. E,	Suh	15.11.1211	87	Mehmed Emin Hafiz Ağa,	Hibe	3. C. 1212
50	Dallal Ahmed Bege,	Hibe	15. B. 1211	174	Mehmed Sadullah Ağa,	Tayin-Vakuf	3. C. 1212
61	Dallal Ahmed Bege,	Hibe	15. B. 1211	221	Molla Abdurrahman Seyyid Rüşdim Aga,	Satp. Dükkan	4. S. 1213
189	Dallal Ahmed Bege,	Satp. Menzil	15. Z. 1211	133	Molla Abdurrahman Seyyid Rüşdim Aga,	İlbe	11. B. 1211
240	Dallal Ahmed Bege,	Vakuf Kuruma	3. C. 1209	85	Molla Emin b. Sipahî Süleyman Ef. E,	Vakuf Kuruma	29. C. 1213
27	Derya Mehmed Ef. E,	Suh	19. Z. 1211	250	Molla İbrahim Şahinzade,	Vakuf Kuruma	29. C. 1213
293	Derya Mehmed Ef. E,	Vergi-Sekban	14. C. 1210	15	Molla Mustafa b. Mustafa,	Miras-Vasi	11. Z. 1210
58	Derya Mehmed Ef. E,	Suh	14. C. 1210	6	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Hibe	11. B. 1211
6	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Alacak ve Borg	8. C. 1210	86	Molla Mustafa b. Ahmed,	Alacak ve Borg	11. B. 1211
13	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Alacak ve Borg	11. C. 1210	14	Molla Mustafa b. Huseyin,	Alacak ve Borg	11. B. 1211
44	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Suh	21. C. 1211	280	Münimzade Mehmed Aga,	Vakuf Kuruma	15. S. 1214
99	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Suh	14. C. 1210	153	Mustafa Ef. Müslimzade,	Satp. Menzil	15. Z. 1211
75	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Hibe	25. C. 1210	196	Mustafa Ef. Müslimzade,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. M. 1211
83	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Hibe	15. B. 1211	282	Mustafa Ef. Müslimzade,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. C. 1214
92	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Hibe	11. B. 1211	34	Mustafa Efendi Huseynzade,	Suh	21. C. 1211
102	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Miras-Vasi	11. Z. 1210	72	Münimzade Hacı İbrahim Aga,	Hibe	25. C. 1210
111	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Miras-Vasi	15. M. 1211	80	Münimzade Hacı İbrahim Aga,	Hibe	11. B. 1211
120	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Satp. Bag. Tarla	15. L. 1211	91	Münimzade Hacı İbrahim Aga,	Hibe	11. B. 1211
126	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Satp. Bag. Zeytinlik	25. Z. 1214	123	Münimzade Hacı İbrahim,	Satp. Bag. Zeytinlik	25. Z. 1214
135	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Satp. Dükkan	4. S. 1213	137	Münimzade Seyyid Han İbrahim ağa,	Satp. Çeşak	2. Z. 1212
144	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Satp. Çeşak	2. Z. 1212	25	Münimzade Seyyid Hacı İbrahim,	Suh	25. C. 1210
152	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Satp. Menzil	25. C. 1210	216	Münimzade,	Vakuf Kuruma	5. M. 1211
166	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Satp. Menzil	15. Z. 1211	66	Musa Muz. Kırıntılı,	Suh	19. R. 1210
180	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Tayin-Vakuf	17. C. 1211	266	Ömer 7,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. C. 1211
206	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Vakuf Kuruma	15. R. 1214	279	Ömer Aga b. Hacı İbrahim Aga,	Vakuf Kuruma	1. Z. 1214
217	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Vakuf Kuruma	5. M. 1211	97	Pehlivan Abdullâh Bege der kayseri Huseyn 7,	Miras-Vasi	11. Z. 1210
231	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Vakuf Kuruma	21. M. 1211	48	Pehlivanzade 7 İbrahim ağa,	Suh	15.11.1211
243	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Vakuf Kuruma	3. C. 1209	70	Pehlivanzade 7 İbrahim ağa,	Hibe	15.11.1211
261	Düğürtli (Çayırhan)	Vakuf Kuruma	25. Z. 1211	114	Sahâ (Ak Koyu),	Satp. Bag. Tarla	15. L. 1211
67	Eci Yalabaz,	Suh	19. R. 1210	101	Sahâ Bege der kayseri Çeşak,	Miras-Vasi	11. Z. 1210
68	Eci Yalabaz,	Suh	19. R. 1210	73	Sarıncı Ahmed Ef. E, Emni 7,	Hibe	25. C. 1210
138	Efendzade Seyyid Ahmed Ef. E,	Satp. Çeşak	2. Z. 1212	186	Şeriatzade Mehmed Aga,	Vakuf	21. C. 1214
128	Efendzade Seyyid Mehmed Ef. E,	Satp. Dükkan	4. S. 1213	213	Seyyid Abdurrahman Ef. E,	Vakuf Kuruma	3. M. 1211
154	Emran Ef. Kuyupazı,	Satp. Menzil	15. Z. 1211	224	Seyyid Abdurrahman Ef. E,	Vakuf Kuruma	21. M. 1211
47	Hac Ali Aga b. İbrahim Aga,	Suh	15. Z. 1211	17	Seyyid Ahmed b. Ebubekir,	Alacak ve Borg	19. R. 1210
43	Hac Ali Aga Seki koyu,	Suh	21. C. 1211	275	Seyyid Ahmed Ef. Hicazlı,	Vakuf Kuruma	15. R. 1211
208	Hac Ali Aga Seki koyu,	Vakuf Miras	23.11.1207	282	Seyyid Ahmed Ef. Hicazlı,	Vakuf Miras	25.11.1207
78	Hac Ali Aga,	Hibe	15. B. 1211	49	Seyyid Ahmed Ef. Hicazlı,	Hibe	25. C. 1211
179	Hac Ali Aga,	Tayin-Vakuf	17. C. 1212	93	Seyyid Ahmed Ef. Hicazlı,	Miras-Vasi	11. Z. 1210
222	Hac Ali Aga,	Vakuf Kuruma	21. M. 1211	210	Seyyid Ahmed Ef. E,	Vakuf Kuruma	5. M. 1211
98	Hac Ali Der kayseri Çeşak,	Miras-Vasi	11. Z. 1210	20	Seyyid Ahmed Ef. E,	Suh	15. Z. 1210
92	Hacı Halidzade İsmail Aga,	Suh	19. R. 1210	52	Seyyid Ahmed Ef. E,	Suh	14. C. 1210
49	Hacı İbrahim Aga b. Münir,	Suh	15.11.1211	145	Seyyid Ahmed Ef. E,	Satp. Menzil	25. C. 1210
174	Hacı İbrahim Ef. E,	Tayin-Vakuf	3. C. 1212	31	Seyyid Ahmed Efendi,	Suh	21. C. 1211
11	Hacı İsmail b. Çavuş,	Alacak ve Borg	11. C. 1210	193	Seyyid Ahmed Efendi 7,	Miras-Vasi	3. C. 1212
204	Hacı İsmail b. Ömer,	Vakuf Kuruma	15. R. 1213	173	Seyyid Ali Aga,	Tayin-Vakuf	3. C. 1212
125	Hacı İsmail Ef. E,	Suh	15. S. 1214	248	Seyyid Bıyık Bekir Ef. E,	Vakuf Kuruma	29. C. 1211
198	Hacı İsmail Ef. E,	Suh	15. S. 1214	1	Seyyid Bıyık Bekir Ef. E,	Alacak ve Borg	25. C. 1210
109	Hacı İsmail Kasap,	Satp. Bag. Zeytinlik	25. Z. 1214	7	Seyyid Bıyık Bekir Ef. E,	Alacak ve Borg	11. C. 1210
54	Hacı İsmail Kasap,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. M. 1211	105	Seyyid Hacı İbrahim Münimzade,	Miras-Vasi	19. M. 1211
245	Hacı İsmail Kasap,	Vakuf	21. C. 1214	215	Seyyid Hacı İbrahim,	Miras-Vasi	5. M. 1211
198	Hacı İsmail Kasap,	Suh	25. C. 1210	295	Seyyid Hacı İsmail Ef. E,	19. R. 1210	
251	Hacı İsmail Kasap,	Vakuf Kuruma	3. C. 1209	272	Seyyid Hacı İsmail,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. C. 1213
245	Hacı İsmail Kasap,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. Z. 1211	16	Seyyid Harun b. Mustafa,	Alacak ve Borg	25. B. 1212
198	Hacı İsmail Kasap,	Miras-Vasi	15. M. 1211	4	Seyyid Harun Aga 7,	Alacak ve Borg	14. C. 1210
230	Hacı İsmail,	Vakuf Kuruma	21. M. 1211	56	Seyyid İbrahim Aga Hacı Halil zade,	Satp. Menzil	15. Z. 1211
151	Hacı İsmail,	Satp. Menzil	25. C. 1210	160	Seyyid İsmail Aga Kasap,	Satp. Menzil	15. Z. 1211
26	Hacı Mehmed 7,	Suh	15. Z. 1210	263	Seyyid İsmail Aga Kasap,	Vakuf Kuruma	21. M. 1211
270	Hacı Mustafa Madencizade,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. C. 1210	22	Seyyid İsmail Aga Kasap,	Vakuf Kuruma	3. C. 1209
258	Hacı Münimzade Seyyid Hacı İbrahim Aga,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. Z. 1211	269	Seyyid İsmail Aga Kasap,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. C. 1213
294	Hacı Recep Ef. E,	Vergi-Sekban	19. R. 1213	301	Seyyid İsmail Aga,	Vergi-Sekban	19. R. 1213
203	Hacı Sinan Aga Fermankarcı 7,	Vakuf Miras	23.11.1207	229	Seyyid Latif Köllü,	Vakuf Kuruma	21. M. 1211
9	Hacı Süleyman Aga b. Hacı Mehmed Aga,	Vakuf Kuruma	3. M. 1211	157	Seyyid Mehmed Ef. E,	Satp. Menzil	19. Z. 1211
274	Hacı Süleyman Aga b. Hacı Mehmed Aga,	Alacak ve Borg	11. C. 1210	262	Seyyid Mehmed Ef. E,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. C. 1213
129	Hacı Süleyman Aga b. Hacı Mehmed,	Vakuf Kuruma	15. S. 1213	276	Seyyid Mehmed Ef. E zade,	Vakuf Kuruma	15. S. 1213
200	Hacı Süleyman Aga b. Hacı Mehmed,	Satp. Dükkan	19. R. 1213	302	Seyyid Mehmed Ef. E,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. C. 1213
43	Hacı Süleyman Aga b. Hacı Mehmed,	Vakuf Kuruma	15. R. 1213	208	Seyyid Mehmed Ef. E,	Vakuf Kuruma	5. M. 1211
2	Hacı Süleyman Aga b. Mehmed Aga,	Suh	15.11.1211	104	Seyyid Mehmed Ef. E,	Miras-Vasi	13. M. 1211
2	Hacı Süleyman Aga,	Alacak ve Borg	8. C. 1210	19	Seyyid Mehmed Ef. E,	Vakuf Kuruma	29. M. 1211
25	Hacı Süleyman Aga,	Suh	15. Z. 1210	218	Seyyid Mehmed Ef. E,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. C. 1210
32	Hacı Süleyman Aga,	Suh	21. Z. 1211	74	Seyyid Mustafa Ağa Hacı Halidzade,	Hibe	25. C. 1210
60	Hacı Süleyman Aga,	Suh	19. R. 1210	219	Seyyid Mustafa Bege Tublak,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. C. 1211
70	Hacı Süleyman Aga,	Hibe	15. B. 1211	124	Seyyid Mustafa Ef. (Çavuş Bey Camii Emami),	Satp. Bag. Zeytinlik	15. Z. 1210
76	Hacı Süleyman Aga,	Hibe	15. B. 1211	141	Sohbatzade Mehmed Ağa,	Satp. Çeşak	2. Z. 1212
89	Hacı Süleyman Aga,	Hibe	11. B. 1211	187	Suluşay Seyyid Osman Aga,	Vakuf	21. C. 1214
95	Hacı Süleyman Aga,	Hibe	11. Z. 1210	256	Süleyman Aga Ogdu,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. B. 1211
118	Hacı Süleyman Ağa,	Miras-Vasi	15. L. 1211	257	Süleyman Aga Zade,	Vakuf Kuruma	21. M. 1211
153	Hacı Süleyman Ağa,	Satp. Bag. Tarla	15. L. 1211	226	Süleyman Bege 7 Oğlu,	Vakuf Kuruma	21. M. 1211
187	Hacı Süleyman Ağa,	Satp. Menzil	15. Z. 1211	226	Süleyman Bege 7 Oğlu,	Vakuf Kuruma	21. M. 1211
170	Hacı Süleyman Ağa,	Satp. Su Hakkı	11. C. 1211	201	Süleyman Bege 7 Oğlu,	Vakuf Kuruma	15. R. 1213
234	Hacı Süleyman Ağa,	Satp. Su Hakkı	11. C. 1211	61	Süleyman Bege 7 Oğlu,	Suh	19. R. 1210
244	Hacı Süleyman Ağa,	Vakuf Kuruma	3. C. 1209	130	Süleyman Bege 7 Oğlu,	Vakuf Kuruma	15. R. 1213
244	Hacı Süleyman Ağa,	Vakuf Kuruma	3. C. 1209	130	Süleyman Bege 7 Oğlu,	Satp. Dükkan	4. S. 1213
252	Hacı Süleyman Ağa,	Vakuf Kuruma	29. C. 1211	136	Süleyman Bege 7 Oğlu,	Satp. Çeşak	2. Z. 1212
252	Hacı Süleyman Ağa,	Vakuf Kuruma	25. Z. 1211	171	Süleyman Bege 7 Oğlu,	Satp. Su Hakkı	15.

Table 40: Currencies in the Periods Under Study (*Akçes*)

Defter No	Year	Type of Records	Altın (Şerefi Ceyyid; Frengi)	Guruş	Esedî Guruş	Zolata Guruş	? Tanesi	Weight-Dirhem
D-2:87,5	N.1055/1645	Cizye	118	78	68	38	14	11
D-2:73,2	13.C.1056/1646	Cizye	118 (170)	78 (80)	68 (80)	38	14	11
D-2:33,2	L.1057/1647	Cizye	128	78	68	38	14	
D-2:78,1	20.C.1057/1647	<i>Avarız</i>		80				11
D-2:36,4	4.Ş.1060/1650	Cizye		80	70	40	15	
D-2:41,1	16.C.1060/1650	Cizye	118	78	68	38	14	11
D-2:35,1	12.S.1061	<i>Avarız</i>		80	70	40	15	
D-2	12.M.1062	<i>Avarız</i>		80				
D-3:50,1	10.Z.1127/1715/1715	<i>Avarız</i>	275 (2,5 Guruş)	40 Para	110 (120)			
D-3:67,3	25.R.1128/1716	<i>Avarız</i>	275 (2,5 Guruş)	40 Para	110			
D-3:40,1	Eh.Z.1129/1717	<i>Avarız</i>	275 (2,5 Guruş)	40 Para	110			
D-4:19,3	11.R.1211/1797/1796	Miras		40 Para				
D-4:36,1	G.M.1212/1798	<i>Nüzul</i>			110			

Table 41: Price and Wage Indexes in İstanbul for the Years Under Study (Pamuk, 2000)

Years	Consumer Price Index (1469=1,0)	1645=1,0	Silver Content of Akçes (Gram)	Consumer Price Index, Grams of Silver (1469=1,0)	1645=1,0	Value of One Akçes at the end of 1998 as TL	Value of One Akçes at the end of 1998 as USA Dolar	Food Price Index (1469=1,0)	1645=1,0	Daily Wages of Unskilled Workers (Akçes)	Daily Wages of Skilled Workers (Akçes)	Purchasing Power of Daily Wages of Unskilled Workers (1489-90=1,0)	1649=1,0	Purchasing Power of Daily Wages of Skilled Workers (1489-90=1,0)	1649=1,0
1645	3,95	1,00	0,28	1,25	1,00	115.410	0,37	4	1,00	--	--	--	--	--	--
1646	4,19	1,06	0,28	1,35	1,08	108.753	0,34	4,2	1,05	--	--	--	--	--	--
1647	4,21	1,07	0,28	1,36	1,09	108.294	0,34	4,22	1,06	--	--	--	--	--	--
1648	4,78	1,21	0,28	1,54	1,23	95.361	0,3	4,93	1,23	--	--	--	--	--	--
1649	4,80	1,22	0,28	1,55	1,24	94.943	0,3	4,81	1,20	15,2	29,5	0,79	1,00	0,84	1,00
1650	4,31	1,09	0,28	1,39	1,11	105.783	0,33	4,32	1,08	--	--	--	--	--	--
<i>Avr.</i>	<i>4,4</i>	<i>1,1</i>	<i>0,3</i>	<i>1,4</i>	<i>1,1</i>	<i>104.757</i>	<i>0,3</i>	<i>4,4</i>	<i>1,1</i>	<i>15,2</i>	<i>29,5</i>	<i>0,8</i>	<i>1,0</i>	<i>0,8</i>	<i>1,0</i>
1715	7,44	1,88	0,128	1,11	0,89	61.286	0,19	7,5	1,88	24,9	37,7	0,83	1,05	0,69	0,82
1716	6,66	1,69	0,133	1,02	0,82	68.473	0,22	6,3	1,58	23,7	34,4	0,89	1,13	0,71	0,85
1717	7,02	1,78	0,133	1,08	0,86	64.944	0,21	6,58	1,65	28,3	41,8	1,00	1,27	0,82	0,98
1718	6,75	1,71	0,133	1,04	0,83	67.531	0,21	6,35	1,59	23,5	35,1	0,87	1,10	0,71	0,85
<i>Avr.</i>	<i>7,0</i>	<i>1,8</i>	<i>0,1</i>	<i>1,1</i>	<i>0,9</i>	<i>65.559</i>	<i>0,2</i>	<i>6,7</i>	<i>1,7</i>	<i>25,1</i>	<i>37,3</i>	<i>0,9</i>	<i>1,1</i>	<i>0,7</i>	<i>0,9</i>
1797	28,71	7,27	0,492	1,63	1,30	15.889	0,05	30	7,50	78,3	147	0,68	0,86	0,70	0,83
1798	24,04	6,09	0,492	1,37	1,10	18.975	0,06	25,8	6,45	--	--	--	--	--	--
1799	23,81	6,03	0,492	1,36	1,09	19.156	0,06	26,4	6,60	91,4	151	0,96	1,22	0,87	1,04
<i>Avr.</i>	<i>25,5</i>	<i>6,5</i>	<i>0,5</i>	<i>1,5</i>	<i>1,2</i>	<i>18.007</i>	<i>0,1</i>	<i>27,4</i>	<i>6,9</i>	<i>84,9</i>	<i>149,0</i>	<i>0,8</i>	<i>1,0</i>	<i>0,8</i>	<i>0,9</i>

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