

Alcohol Consumption in Ottoman Istanbul According to Zecriye Tax Records: 1792-1828¹



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Abstract

Selim III applied an alcohol ban which would last two years in order to ensure public security in Istanbul and prevent a social breakdown in the year of 1792 when Austro-Turkish and Russo-Turkish wars were taking place. This ban lifted in 1792, and *Zecriye Muhassılıđı*, assigned to collected alcoholic beverages tax, was founded. The main purpose of this study is to put forth the change in the alcohol consumption amounts in Istanbul over tax records of *Zecriye Muhassılıđı* between the years of 1792 and 1828. The study will also present the alcohol consumption amounts, along with the amounts of wine and raki consumption of the towns of Istanbul between the years of 1792 and

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1828. Finally, the study shows the relationship between the number of wine houses in certain years and the alcohol consumption of towns.

Key words: Selim III, Alcoholic Beverages Ban, Wine, Raki, Istanbul, Alcoholic Beverages Consumption

Zecriye Vergisi Kayıtlarına göre Osmanlı İstanbul’unda İçki Tüketimi: 1792-1828

Öz

III. Selim, Osmanlı-Avusturya ve Rusya savaşlarının devam ettiği 1790 yılında toplumsal bozulmaların önüne geçmek ve İstanbul’da asayişini sağlamak amacıyla iki yıl sürecek olan içki yasağı uygulamasına gitmiştir. 1792 yılına gelindiğinde ise bu yasak kaldırılmış, alkollü içki vergisini toplamakla görevli olan Zecriye Muhassıllığı kurulmuştur. Bu çalışmanın temel amacı 1792-1828 tarihleri arasında Zecriye Muhassıllığına ait vergi kayıtları üzerinden İstanbul’un içki tüketim miktarında meydana gelen değişimin sebeplerini ortaya koymaktır. Yine çalışmada 1792-1828 yıllarında ait İstanbul’un semtlerinin içki tüketim miktarları ile şarap ve rakı tüketim de verilecektir. Son olarak çalışmada bazı yıllara ait meyhane sayıları ile semtlerin içki tüketimi arasındaki ilişki gösterilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: III.Selim, Alkollü İçecek Yasağı, İstanbul, Şarap, Rakı, İçki Tüketimi.

Introduction

The Ottoman State executed an order of law that went beyond Sharia. This was made possible through the customary rules of law practiced by pre-Ottoman Islamic states. Sultan resolved issues that were not included in the scope of the Sharia law this way. Thus, sultan gained absolute power within the state, and at the same time the interests of the state were placed above everything else (İnalçık, 2006: 57-58). More-

over, the administrative codes of law which shaped the Ottoman Empire did not come into being swiftly via the guidance of the Sharia law. Codes belonging to the realm of administration were formed through edicts in the shape of administrative precautions and orders inspired by judgement, custom and experience (Barkan, 1986). The Ottoman State based and operated the production, taxation, trade and consumption of a such forbidden good as alcohol on the law and taxation practices of Islamic states which existed before itself by improving them with customary law. It is revealed by the punishments in the legal code that the customary law was applied not only to the taxation of alcohol, but also to the crime of drinking alcohol (for further information, Akgündüz, 2006, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1996, 2016; Zarinebaf, 2010; Yazıcı, 2012; Yılmaz, 2005a).

Tax revenue is the base of the economic establishment. Because, most of the government activities of the states depend on tax revenues. In the Ottoman Empire taxes were divided into two categories, it was called Sharia taxes and customary taxes (örfi). Taxation of alcoholic beverages falls into the scope of sharia taxes. Since Ottoman Empire was being an Islamic state, has received tax from alcoholic beverages. It seems to conflict with his Islamic characteristics (Gedikli, 2009).

However, taking the wine tax is controversial issue among the Muslim jurists. According to Ebu Hanife, taking tax from non-Muslims for alcoholic beverages, but not from pig. On the other hand, according to Ebu Yusuf, if a non-Muslim have both of them, tax should be taken from both goods. According to Imam Zufer, both can be taken separately from the tax because they are the same in terms of quality to in the eyes of non-Muslims. In this case, the Hanefi imams are in consensus on the issue of the beverages should be taxed. according to İmam Şafi, neither of the goods should be taxed. So much so that, these goods are not *mütekavvim*; they are goods Muslims are forbidden to make use of, thus making it unlawful to protect these goods. The Ottoman Empire had chosen the opinion of Zufer, instead of Imam Hanife in their lawbook. The reason for the tax according to Ebu Hanife, the state's protection of

property for non-Muslim citizens in exchange. Furthermore, the objects of non-Muslims that were considered as goods were not be taxed and it created an unfair competition to Muslim traders. Therefore, in order to ensure justice and to prevent unfair competition between the two sectors, jurists have given the opinion that there should be a taxation (Ebû Ubeyd Kâsım b. Sellâm , 2016: 68; Bilmen, 2013: 95; Dohsson, 1824: 17; İmam Ebu Yusuf, 1973: 21, 221-222; Gedikli, 2009).

In Ottoman history, wine houses and alcohol trade were banned in different periods for different reasons by the government on the basis of the authority given by the Sharia law. However, there is one common prominent feature in spite of the different periods, which is that the wine houses where alcohol was consumed were public places just like bozashops, coffee houses, bathhouses or occasionally barbershops in İstanbul and other cities. In other words, they were the communication places of the time, and criticism, gossip and dissatisfaction towards the government spread from these places. Those implemented occasionally prohibitions have peculiar reasons depending on the conditions of their times. Suleyman the Magnificent prohibited all Muslims from consuming alcoholic beverages and ordered to burn ships which bring those alcoholic beverages. Similarly, during the Istanbul uprisings occurred at the end of the 16th century, Selim II, Mehmet III and Murat III closed all wine houses and banned the drinking of alcoholic beverages. Furthermore, during the reigns of Ahmet I, Murat IV, Mehmed IV and Süleyman II. in 17th century, wine houses were also closed and alcoholic beverages trade banned. Again, in the 18th century, Ahmed III, Mahmud I and Selim III closed wine houses and prohibited alcohol trade. Due to significant political events related to the security of İstanbul such as the Case of Alemdar, the Greek Uprising and *Vak'a-i Hayriyye*, Mahmud II also closed wine houses (Busbecq, 2005: 196-197; Nişancı Mehmet Paşa, 1983: 187; Dohsson, 1791: 57-58, Katip Çelebi, 2016: 457, 734-735; Naima Mustafa Efendi , 1968: 646; Ahmed Cavid, 1998: 215-217; İnalçık, 2014: 356; Ocakaçan, 128-129; Koçu, 1947:5; Baer, 2010: 174-178; Râşid Mehmed Efendi, 2013: 147; Tabakoğlu, 1985: 274; Yılmaz, 2005b: 149; Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi, 2000:11; Şem'dânî- Zâde Fındıklı

Süleyman Efendi, 1976: 130, 138; Altınay, 1988:163-164; Georgeon, 2008; Yılmaz, 2005a; Yılmaz, 2015: 131). However even during the periods when alcohol was prohibited, it was allowed to bring in and around Istanbul enough amount of alcohol for non-Muslims to consume at home (Yılmaz, 2005a).

After the applied ban on alcoholic beverages in the Ottoman State, during the reign of Selim III, taxation of alcoholic beverages became more comprehensive compared to the previous periods. At 4th of April 1792, “Rusumat-ı Hamr ve Arak Muhassıllığı” established with a new regulation. Muhasıllık started to be governed by emanet system. According to this new regulation, it was decided to collect 2 pare as taxes from one kıyye (1,282 kilograms) of the wine and 4 pare from one kıyye of rakı and similar beverages. In addition to that, non-Muslim community would not pay taxes from the alcoholic beverages produced for the personal consumption. The revenues obtained from these taxations allocated to the İrad-ı Cedid treasure (Cezar, 1986: 183-184). Yet, even though the opening of the wine houses seemed positive for non-Muslim citizens and wine house owners, new taxes imposed upon alcoholic beverages caused discontent among non-Muslims. They organized protests in the Sublime Porte, saying “We cannot afford to pay wine tariffs (Uzunçarşılı, 1973).

The Ottoman Empire’s non-Muslim citizens had gone to the wine houses very easily and were able to buy a drink to their homes. When viewed travelogues, many places within the border of the Ottoman Empire is famous for its vineyards and wines. In the 16th 17th 18th and 19th centuries, it is known that wine was exported from the Aegean Islands and Cyprus to various European ports (Micgaund and Poujaoulat, 2007: 339; Olivier, 1991: 31; Tournefort, 2013: 137).

In the Ottoman State, trade of alcoholic beverages mostly done by non-Muslim Ottoman citizens. Therefore, alcohol trade was both a monopoly given to them and a domestic trade (COA, HAT. 195/09749, 28 Temmuz 1794 (29 Zilhicce 1209); COA, C.İ. 5/209, 1 Aralık 1800 (27 Recep 1215); COA, C.ML. 505/20534, 6 Temmuz 1804 (27 Rebi-yülevvel 1219); BOA, C.HR. 49/2438, 28 Temmuz 1825 (14 Zilhicce

1240)). However, it does not mean that Ottoman State did not import alcoholic beverages from other countries. When Istanbul Custom records are examined, alcoholic beverages like whisky, beer, vodka and rom could be seen to be imported (COA, KK.d 5207, 29 Mayıs 1604 (29 Zilhicce 1012): 33; COA. D.BŞM.ZCR.d.20424, 11 Haziran 1825 (24 Şevval 1240): 1-2; COA. D.BŞM.ZCR.d 20453, 24 Ağustos 1826-13 Ağustos 1828 (20 Muharrem 1242-1 Safer 1244): 44, 45; De Kay, 2009:142). But, imported alcohol amount is relatively very small compared to the domestically produced. I think Ottoman State's taxing policy is one of its reasons along with consumption patterns and transportation costs. In the 19th century, wine house keeping was considered as a privileged trade (COA. C.BLD. 89/4431 16 Aralık 1829 (19 Cemazeyilahir 1245); Hazarfen, 1994).

According to archive registers most of the alcoholic beverages exported to Istanbul comes from Marmara coasts close to Istanbul. Climatic factors and transport costs make an important advantage of Marmara coast. The terms of climate are important for the production of agriculture and its productivity. Likewise, transportation conditions and costs are important too. Because of these reasons, viticulture was an important source of income for the coast of Marmara. It is seen that most of the alcoholic beverages comes to Istanbul from Marmara coasts due to the fact that it's closeness. It is understood that viticulture is an important source of income in these region. So, for non-Muslims living along the coasts of Tekirdağ, Balıkesir and Bursa production of wine and arak is a significant source of income. Furthermore, we can say that these regions were specialized in the production of alcoholic beverages. Moreover, many of the boatman brought alcoholic beverages to the pier in Istanbul, were from Tekirdağ (Rodoscuk), Şarköy, Artake (Erdek), Bandırma, Paşalimanı, and Marmara Island. The Ottoman Empire wanted to prevent smuggling of alcoholic beverages so tax was charged in the pier of Istanbul. However, government officials were present in the port of Marmara coasts. They registered all of boatman brought alcoholic beverages likewise Istanbul too. But they didn't charged tax. Because tax

was charged only in İstanbul by custom officers. Wine house owners were Greeks, Armenians and Jewish in the İstanbul. Alcoholic beverages brought to Istanbul were sold by wine house owners. Therefore, Ottoman non- Muslim Ottomans who wanted to drink alcohol they had to purchase it from wine houses either consumed at their home or drunk at wine houses.

Description of the source Material and Methodology

This exploration is based on Ottoman archival materials. I based my study on the Ottoman archival sources such as Baş Muhasebe (D. BŞM.d), Baş muhase zecriye (D.BŞM.ZCR.d), Maliyeden Müdevver series (MAD.d), Kamil Kepeci series (KK. d) and Cevdet Maliye (C.ML) and Cevdet İktisat (C.İ) registers. The main part of archive materials is based on tax registers. Archival materials cover the period only 35 years and it consist of tax register of alcoholic beverages trade. Besides it is containing all kinds' issues relevant to alcohol production, tax registers, and alcoholic beverages trade in Ottoman provinces and İstanbul. Another detail which can be seen in graphs, caused by the difference in the way archive materials were kept, is alcohol amounts of more than one residential areas. The reason for this is some boats stopping by more than one docks and taking or unloading alcohol supplies. For instance, a boat loaded with alcohol in Tekirdağ would stop by Paşalimanı and Marmara islands and make its way to Istanbul after taking alcohol supplies from these places. Similarly, a boat setting out from Erdek or Marmara islands, or Gemlik would take alcohol supplies from Erdek as well and from there head to Istanbul. Ultimately, a boat leaving from a certain place would stop by different residential places in different combinations, for taking alcohol supply, and arrive in Istanbul. Similarly, boats would sometimes stop by only one town, and sometimes more than one. For example, a boat unloading its supplies in Galata would also unload in some towns in Bosphorus, or a boat unloading wine or raki in Kumkapı would stop by Fener and Balat. The same boats would stop by and unload alcohol supplies similar to the way they loaded alcohol supplies.

In addition, in some documents belonging to the period between 1792 and 1828, the name of the owner of the alcohol is written rather than the docks in Istanbul where alcohol supplies were unloaded. Therefore, in the graphs the amount of alcohol in these documents is marked unknown in graphs.

The data related to the consumption of alcohol, recorded daily by the Ottoman officials. So, in order to make the data more understandable, consumption rates are shown yearly by turning daily records into monthly records, and monthly records into yearly records. Yet, the documents belonging to the years of 1820-21 have not been found in the archives. This could be caused by Greek Uprising. Similarly, as seen in Table 4 attached to the study in the appendix, data for certain years cover a time span of less than 12 months. The main reason for this is that some registers are missing or some archive documents belonging to certain years have not been found. Moreover, during certain months, there was no alcohol arrived to Istanbul because of the weather conditions; or in certain years a limited amount of alcohol was let in after wine houses were closed or the number of them was reduced due to wars, uprisings or political disturbances. Finally, other studies to be made about the residential places where alcohol was produced on the coasts of Marmara may be more useful in terms of explaining the decrease in the production of alcohol and the decline in the consumption of it in regards with the demographic structure of Istanbul. Detailed studies specifically about the boatmen who ensured the continuation of the trade and consumption of alcohol, or in other words brought alcohol to Istanbul, and wine house owners who bought the alcohol will obtain more detailed information regarding the reasons for the decline in the production and consumption of alcohol after 1815.

Because the figures regarding the alcohol consumption in the Ottoman Istanbul were obtained over tax records, it is necessary to employ a precautionary approach towards the consumption amounts in which Galata is included. Since Zecriye was a kind of miri tax, müstemens were taxed in the same way as Ottoman citizens. Nonetheless, zecriye

taxes of müstemmen boats sailing to the Black Sea would be collected in Istanbul. Similarly, müstemmen boats unloading supplies at Galata coast would buy alcohol from the taverns in this area to use as victuals or sell in Russian areas (COA, C.İ 209/20534, 1 Kasım 1804 (27 Recep 1219); COA. C.ML. 16/701, 19 Haziran 1803 (18 Safer 1218)). For this reason, in the study, along with the graphs given in regards to the total alcohol consumption in Istanbul, graphs in which the alcohol consumption amount of Galata will also be shown. Additionally, because the figures obtained regarding consumption were kept for tax records, the amount of alcohol brought to Istanbul in illegal ways is unknown. The study has been limited to the year of 1828 as another purpose of the study is, in addition to revealing the amount of total alcohol consumption in Istanbul, presenting the relationship between the wine houses and the distribution of the amount of alcohol consumption among towns. In other words, since the way to keep zecriye taxes changed after the year of 1828, the scope of the study has been determined as the years of 1792-1828 because in the documents after 1828, what was recorded was not the docks where alcohol supplies were unloaded but the names of wine house owners and tradesmen. Lastly, the archive documents regarding the wine houses during the period from 1790 to 1830 have been used as secondary sources in the study in order to show the relationship between wine houses as the places where alcohol was consumed and sold and the alcohol consumption amounts of towns because the transportation costs of such a heavy product as alcohol was high and the nearest docks were preferred to unload the supplies. Additionally, since it was a problem for the Muslim folk to openly carry alcohol and this situation was observed in the form of complaints, the docks nearest to the wine houses were preferred (Altınay, 1935: 48); (Yılmaz, 2010: 92, Hüküm No:58, 11 Şubat 1618 (15 Safer 1027)); (Yılmaz, 2011: 125-126, Hüküm No:109, 26 Şubat 1645 (29 Zilkade 1054)).

Alcoholic Beverages Consumption in the Ottoman Istanbul

The Ottoman Istanbul was composed of variety of ethnic groups. Therefore, ethnic and religious differences were reflected the consump-

tion patterns of the Istanbul. Hence the change in demographic and topographic structure of Istanbul is important in terms of alcoholic beverage consumption.

Mantran predicts that the population of Istanbul was approximately 400.000 in the 16th century, %58 of it being Muslim and %42 non-Muslim. He assumes that in the 17th century, the population was around 600.000 with the Bosphorus neighborhoods excluded; and 700.000 with Üsküdar and Bosphorus villages included (Mantran, 1991: 47-48). Tabakoğlu states that the population was 550.000 in 1557, 600.000 in 1689, 426.000 in 1794, and 600.000 in 1820 (Tabakoğlu, 2008: 178). B. McGowan suggests that at the end of the 18th century, the population of the walled part of Istanbul was around 300-350.000 (when there were no epidemics or disasters), and the population of the districts outside the walls was 600.000. Again, it is stated that %33.3 of the population was Rum, %13.3 Armenian, %4.16 slaves, %0.5 müstemen, %50.2 Muslim (McGowan, 2004: 716). Eton reckons that the population of Istanbul was below 300.000 at the beginning of the 19th century. He even claims that the calculations made by James Porter and other envoys over the production of wheat are inaccurate (Eton, 2009: 176-178). Olivier predicts that the population of Istanbul was 500.000 at the end of the 18th century based on the official figures for wheat production (Olivier, 1977: 16). Karpat, on the other hand, states that the population of Istanbul was 600.000 between 1820-40 (Karpat, 2010: 76). T. Güran suggests that the male population of Istanbul in 1830 was 212.333 (141.237 married, 71.050 single). According to these figures, %45.72 of the population consisted of Muslims and %54.28 of the population consisted of non-Muslims. In the light of these data, he predicts that the population was 353.616 assuming that the population of married men equaled female population. Adding to these figures soldiers and those who were not counted, he states that the overall population was around 450.000 (Güran, 1988). Shaw and Kural S. suggest that the population of Istanbul in 1844 was 391.654 and %50 of the population was Muslim and the remaining %50 was non-Muslim, and %19.40 of non-Muslims consisted of Rums, %21.81 of Armenians, %2.63 of Catholics, %6.14 of Jews (Shaw and Kural Shaw, 2005: 242).

Michaud and. Poujoulat estimate that the population of Istanbul was 400.000 in 1830. He writes that there were about 100.000 Armenians, 50-60.000 Jews and 50-60.000 Rums. They observed that the population of Turks would not go beyond 200.000 (Michaud and Poujoulat, 2014: 70).

In the Ottoman Istanbul Eminönü and Unkapanı would form the commercial layer of the city, being independent from the ethnic and religious roots of the people. The structure of other residential areas remaining outside was shaped by ethnic and religious features. For example, the Rum and Armenian patriarchates in Fener and Kumkapı determined the settlement structure of these places. The change in the demographic structure of the towns of the Ottoman Istanbul the demographic structure changed with non-Muslims being pushed towards the edges of the city from the inside of the walls (Eldem, 2012: 184-185). In the Ottoman Istanbul, Rums had the second largest population after Turks. After the year of 1601, Rums settled down in between Balat of Haliç and Cebeali (Cibali). Other Rums were residing in the towns of Samatya, Topkapı, Galata, Hasköy and Kasımpaşa. In the villages in Bosphorus, too, such as Kuruçeşme, Tarabya, Yeniköy, Arvanutköy, Büyükdere, Üsküdar and Çengelköy, Rums were living. However, the places where Rums were mostly living were the edges of Haliç, such as Fener. As of the second half of the 17th century, Armenians had been living in Samatya, Sulumanastır, Yenikapı, Kumkapı, Balat, Topkapı, Hasköy, Kasımpaşa and Galata. In the towns of Bosphorus such as Beşiktaş, Ortaköy, Kuruçeşme, and Üsküdar was the Armenian population. And while Jews made up most of the Bahçekapı population in the 16th century, the places they mostly settled in from the second half of the 17th century on were Balat, Ayazmakapısı, Ayvansaray, Cebeali (Cibali) and Tekfursarayı. The north of Haliç; Hasköy, Kasımpaşa, Galata and Mumhane were also crowded in terms of Jewish population. Similarly, Jews also lived in Bosphorus towns of Beşiktaş, Ortaköy, Kuzguncuk and Üsküdar (Mantran, 1991: 49-51, 53). Additionally, itinerants who visited Istanbul during the time which the study covers give accounts similar to what is explained above.

Olivier defines the people of Istanbul at the end of the 18th century as consisting of Turks, Rums, Armenians, Jews and Europeans to a certain extent. While Turks made up the majority of the city's population, he states, after Turks came respectively Rums, Armenians, Jews and European folks (Olivier, 1977: 13). In 1830, Michaud and Poujoulat observed that Rums mostly lived in Fener, Galata, and Pera towns. He also said that Armenians heavily populated Yedikule and Theodosios Port (Yenikapı), yet they dispersed around Pera, Galata and other towns of the capital too. He stated that Jews lived in the coasts of Bosphorus such as Hasköy, Ortaköy and such towns as Karaköy and Balat (Michaud and Poujoulat; 2014: 64-66, 68). The demographical structure of Istanbul is significant in terms of pinning down the town where alcohol was consumed since Koltuks and wine houses where alcohol was sold and consumed were not allowed in neighborhoods where Muslims lived homogenously. Yet, in some neighborhoods, both Muslims and non-Muslims lived together. In this type of neighborhoods, when a tavern opened, Muslims were able to complain to the state regarding their discontent and get the place closed (COA. C.ZB. 16/772, 9 Ekim 1796 (6 Rebiulahir 1211); COA. C.BLD. 57/2819, 1 Ekim 1806 (18 Recep 1221); Kurt, 2016: 457).

Moreover the studies related to the quantity of wine houses of Istanbul in that period is significant to explain the meaning of alcoholic beverage consumption. The number of wine houses closed after the alcohol ban in 1790 is recorded by Sekbanbaşı. Accordingly, inside the walls 101 places, 63 koltuk wine houses (it was smaller than taverns) and 38 wine houses (taverns), were closed (COA. HAT. 211/11470, 29 Ağustos 1791, (29 Zilhicce 1205)). 90 wine houses between Kadıköy and Beykoz, and 266 wine houses between Hasköy and Sarıyer were also closed. Nevertheless, it is important to mention at this point that most of the recorded places in Bosphorus towns except Hasköy, Ortaköy, Beşiktaş, Üsküdar, Kadıköy and Kuzguncuk were not wine houses. For instance, there are 13 people recorded in Sarıyer and only two of them were wine house owners. It should be pointed out that since Bosphorus towns were countryside parts of Istanbul, there were practices of viticulture at the

same time and certain rayahs and wine house owners produced alcohol in these places (COA. HAT 212/11497 29Ağustos 1791, (29 Zilhicce 1205)). However, some places recorded as şerbethane (sherbet house) in some towns were places where alcohol was produced, sold cheapest, and which was used as cellar. Finally, there was no information in either document about Galata.

Table 1: The Number of Wine Houses (taverns) and Koltuk Wine Houses Closed Inside the City Walls of Istanbul

Neighborhood	Number of Wine Houses (taverns)	Number of Koltuk Wine Houses	Owner
Gedik Paşa	1	0	Rum/Armenian
Kumkapı	9	0	Rum/Armenian
Langa	0	5	Rum/Armenian
Samatya	8	4	Rum/Armenian
Yedikule	1	0	Rum/Armenian
Ayazma	0	1	Rum/Armenian
Unkapanı	3	0	Rum/Armenian
Fener	7	3	Rum/Armenian
Balat	5	2	Rum/Armenian
Balat	0	34	Jewish
Tekfursarayı	0	9	Jewish
Tekfursarayı	0	1	Rum/Armenian
Cibali	4	4	Rum/Armenian
Total	38	63	101

Source: COA. HAT. 211/11470, 29 Ağustos 1791, (29 Zilhicce 1205).

The distribution of wine houses and koltuk wine houses inside the city walls of Istanbul per towns can be seen in Table 1. With respect to Table 1, Balat pier most taverns. Balat is followed respectively by Samatya, Fener, Tekfursarayı, and Kumkapı. The alcohol consumption amounts of the towns and the distribution of taverns per towns reveal a directly proportional relationship. Tekfursarayı should also be examined separately here because it does not have a port due to its location. It is recorded that 70 wine houses, 4 koltuks, as well as 77 rayahs had

more alcohol than they could consume themselves. According to Table 2, Hasköy where Jews predominantly lived has the most wine houses. When examined together, Table 1 and 2 shows that these towns come to the forefront in terms of wine consumption. Therefore, a directly proportional relationship is observed between the alcohol consumption in Istanbul and the number of wine houses in towns.

Table 2: The Number of Closed Wine Houses, *Koltuks*, *Şerbethanes* and Rayahs Producing Alcohol in Their Homes in both the Anatolian Side and the Bosphorus Towns in the European Side in the Year of 1790

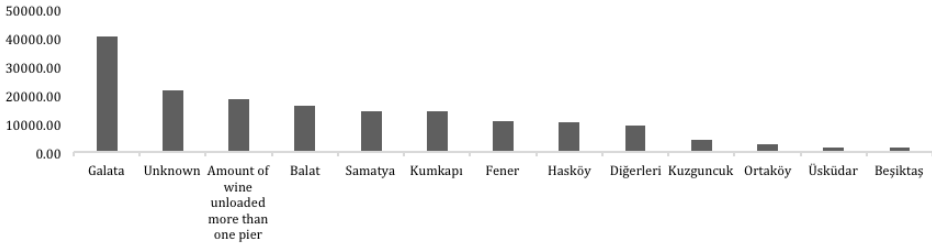
<i>Neighborhood</i>	<i>Number of Wine Houses</i>	<i>Number of Koltuk wine Houses</i>	<i>Number of Şerbethanes</i>	<i>Those Producing Alcohol at Home</i>	<i>Owners</i>
Sarıyer	0	0	0	13	Rum/Armenian
Büyükdere	1	0	0	11	Rum/Armenian
Tarabya	0	0		13	Rum/Armenian
Yeniköy	0	0	29	0	Rum/Armenian
İstainye	0	0	0	9	Rum/Armenian
Orta Hisar	0	0	0	12	Rum/Armenian
Arnavutköy	0	0	54	0	Rum/Armenian
Kuruçeşme	0	0	12	0	Rum/Armenian
Ortaköy	6	4	0	0	Jewish
Ortaköy	4	0	5	0	Rum/Armenian
Beşiktaş	0	0	12	0	Rum/Armenian
Hasköy	20	0	0	0	Rum/Armenian
Hasköy	26	0	0	0	Jewish
Beykoz	0	0	0	10	Rum/Armenian
Çengelköy	0	0	20	2	Rum/Armenian
Kuzguncuk	2	0	6	7	Jewish
Üsküdar	5	0	21	0	Rum/Armenian
Kadıköy	7	0	10	0	Rum/Armenian
Total	70	4	169	77	266

Source: COA. HAT 212/11497 29 Ağustos1791, (29 Zilhicce1205).

Similarly, there are 554 recorded wine houses for the year of 1829. Yet, 215 of these were allowed to open. While the names of three of these wine houses were deleted, 336 of them were not allowed to open.

81 of the wine houses were inside the city walls of Istanbul. The number of wine houses belonging to Jews in the towns of Balat, Tekfursaray, Mahkeme Altı and Cibali is 13. The number of wine houses belonging to Jews in Hasköy, Piri Paşa and Galata is eight. While the number of wine houses belonging to Rums and Armenians at the border of Hasköy and Halıcıoğlu is 8, the number of wine houses belonging to Rums and Armenians in Beyoğlu and Kurtuluş is 27. The number of wine houses belonging to Rums and Armenians in Galata is 17. While the number of wine houses belonging to Rums and Armenians between Kadıköy and Beykoz is 8, the number of Rum, Armenian and Jewish wine houses between Beşiktaş and Sarıyer is 40 (COA. C.BLD. 89/4431 16 Aralık 1829 (19 Cemazeyilahir 1245); Hazarfen, 1994). In 1831, %16 of the wine houses in Istanbul were inside the city walls, %33 between Galata and Tatavla, %31 between Beşiktaş and Sarıyer, and %10 between Kadıköy and Beykoz (Çokuğraş, 2016: 163).

Graph 1: Total Wine Consumption Amount of Istanbul Towns
(1792-1828)
(tonne)

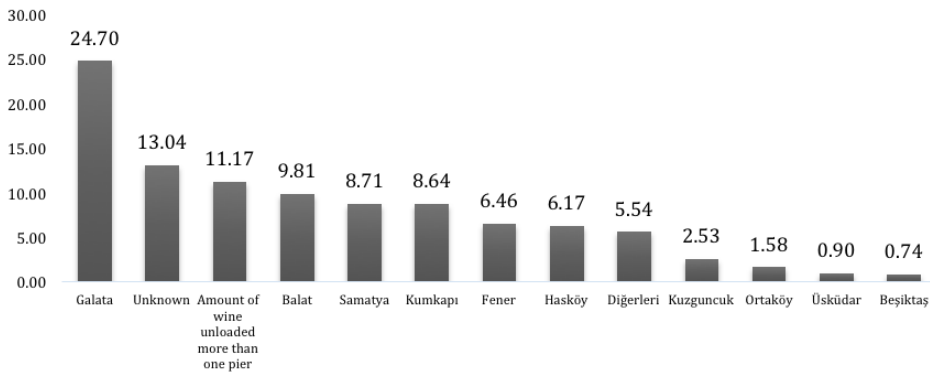


Source: Same source with table 3

According to Graph 1, the town where most wine production was made between the years of 1792 and 1828 is Galata with 403.757,25 (%24,7) tons. However, as stated beforehand, it is important to look at the consumption amount of Galata with precaution as it is a commercial port. Nonetheless, wine house records for 1829 show that the number wine houses in Galata, Kurtuluş and Beyoğlu is 52, which is %24,18 of the

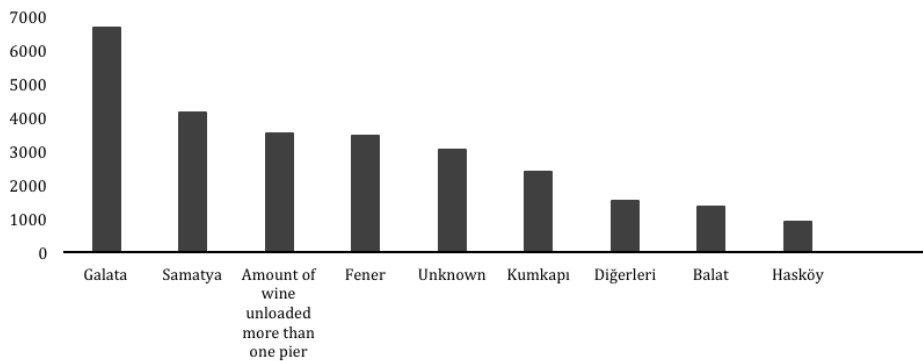
number of wine houses allowed to open. Galata is followed in terms of wine production by Balat (16028,47 tons), Samatya (14243,39 tons), Fener (10563,13tons), Hasköy (10087,27 tons), Kuzguncuk (4135,36 tons), Ortaköy (2588,57 tons), Üsküdar (1470,70 tons) and Beşiktaş (1205,76 tons).

Graph 2: Wine Consumption Amount of Istanbul Towns in percentages (1792-1828)
(%)



Source: Same source with table 3

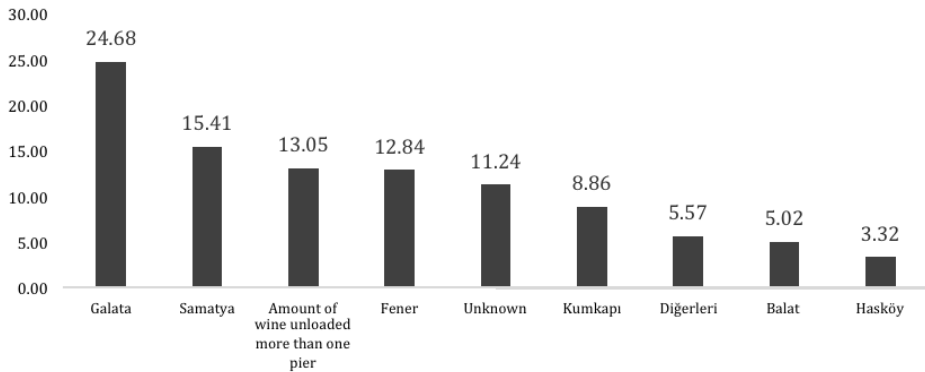
Graph 3: Total Arak Consumption Amount of Istanbul Towns (1792-1839)
(tonne)



Source: Same source with table 3

Similarly, the town in Istanbul with most raki consumption is Galata with 6649,43 tons (%24,68). After Galata, towns with most raki consumption are respectively Samatya (4151,97 tons), Fener (3459,7 tons), Kumkapı (2386,84 tons), Balat (1352,41 tons) and Hasköy (895,13 tons). Raki consumption amounts are also in parallel with the distribution of wine houses per towns. Yet, if Galata is excluded, we can deduce that raki consumption is in bigger amounts in towns where Armenian and Rum wine houses are more intense. These towns were mostly places such as Samatya, Fener and Kumkapı where most residents were Rum or Armenian.

Graph 4: Arak Consumption Amount of Istanbul Towns in percentages (1792-1839) (%)



Source : Same source with table 3

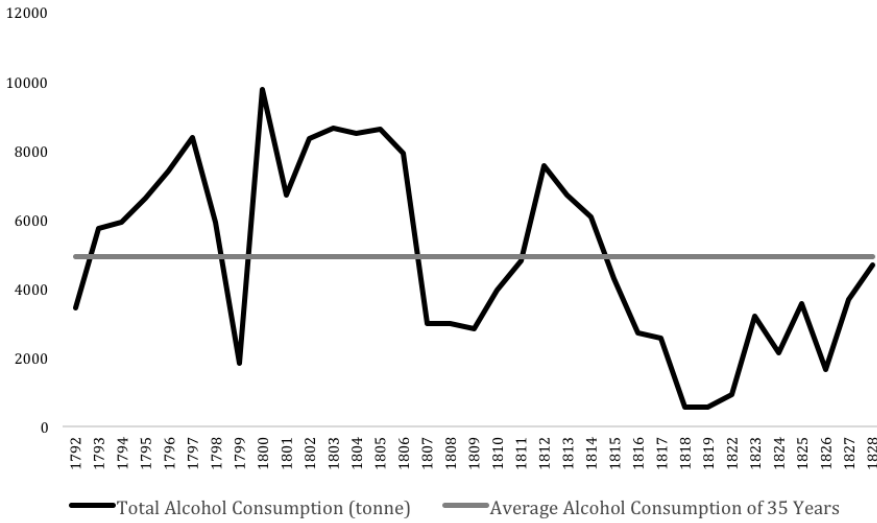
Reasons For The Change in the Alcohol Consumption of Ottoman Istanbul

According to Graph 5, the alcohol consumption amount in Istanbul increased from the May of 1792 when wine houses were allowed back to open to the July of 1798 when Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Egypt. Nevertheless, the French invasion of Egypt affected alcohol trade as well as all other goods. It can be said that this was caused by the way the Otto-

man State organized the expeditions and the fact that sea trade came to a halt. Therefore, the alcohol consumption trend of Istanbul started declining in 1798 due to disruptions in trade and it reached the rock bottom in 1799 (Danişmend, 1972: 74, 78).

The year of 1807 can be called the year of crises and wars for the Ottoman State. Events such as the closure of the Straits by the English, the Russo-Turkish War, the Kabakçı Rebellion following one after the other affected trade and consumption negatively. When England ambassador Arbuthrit, who asked the Ottoman State to cut its political ties with France and wanted the former alliances to be re-made, was turned down, he brought the English fleet in Bozcaada to Istanbul strait on 20 February 1807, and the English fleet stayed in Istanbul strait for 10 days. Additionally, on 12 April 1807, the Ottoman army started the Russia expedition. Finally, on 15 May 1807, the breakout of the Kabakçı Mustafa rebellion caused problems in terms of public security, got Selim III dethroned and ended the order of Nizam-ı Cedid. Prior to the rebellion, high cost of living and downswing were the issues people were mostly complaining about. However, the fact that statesmen remained indifferent to this situation was one of the main reasons why people of Istanbul were supportive of the rebellion. Yet, there was no recovery in terms of economy, which caused problems regarding public security that would last two years. This two-year period is when Alemdar Mustafa Pasha came to Istanbul, did away with Kabakçı Mustafa, Mahmud II came to the throne, and the case of Alemdar took place (Mütercim Ahmet Âsım Efendi , 2015: 791; Oğulukyan, 1972: 4-5, 10, 21, 22, 39, 40; Mustafa Nuri Paşa, 2008: 457-460, 463-468; Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, 2008: 137, 164-165; Danişmend, 1972: 90, 96-97; Shaw, 2008: 526-527; Beydilli, 2001:8).

Graph 5: The Change in the Total Alcohol Consumption of Istanbul
(tonne)



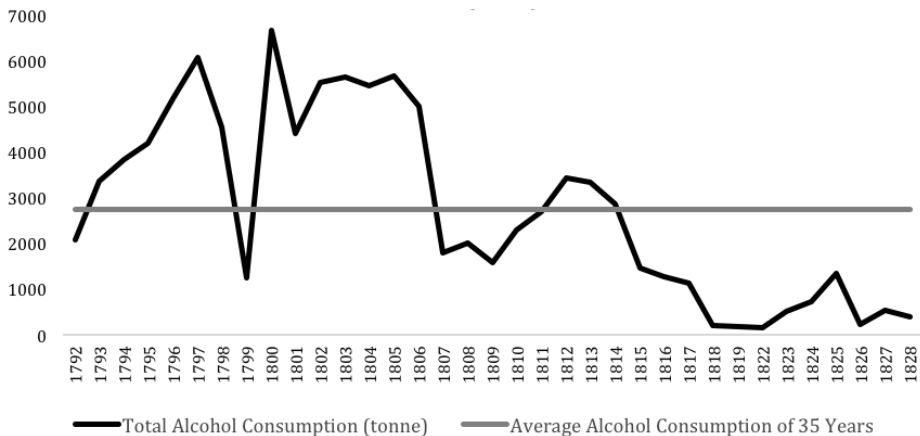
Source: Same source with table 3

Nonetheless, following the rebellion, during the time when Mustafa IV remained in power, *müskirat* boats brought alcoholic beverages to Istanbul. In the following centuries, after the rebellions, wine houses were closed and *müskirat* trade was banned. Yet it is understood through the archive documents used in the study that wine houses remained open after the rebellion. One can interpret this as failing to ensure state authority because archive documents show that *müskirat* boats did not reach to Istanbul during the period from 25 July 1808 to 15 May 1809, which is the time interval in which Alemdar Mustafa Pasha interfered with the rebels, Mahmut II came to power, and the Case of Alemdar took place. According to the archive sources, one can at least deduce that the wine houses in Istanbul were closed for security reasons one more time or the wine houses got closed on their own as Istanbul was in quite a poor situation in terms of public security (COA. MAD. 6507, 29 Haziran 1807- 24 Haziran 1808 (22 Rebülahir1222- 29 Rebiulahir 1223): 121 122; COA. C.ML265/10841, 6 Ağustos-3 Eylül1807 (1-29 Cemazeyilahir 1222);

COA. D.BŞM.ZCR.d 20310, 2 Kasım 1807- 26 Mayıs 1808 (1 Ramazan 1222- 30 Rebiulevvel 1223): 4-29; COA. C.ML. 696/28491 25 Haziran-24 Temmuz 1808 (1 Cemazeyievvel – 30 Cemazeyievvel 1223)). Ultimately, it can be said about this period that according to both Graph 5 and 6, from 1807 to 1810, the amount of alcohol consumption in Istanbul decreased especially due to public security reasons.

The alcohol consumption in Istanbul increased from 1810 until 1814. But following 1814, the alcohol consumption was under the 35-year average until 1828. The everlasting Greek Uprising and abolition of the guild of janissaries (Yeniçeri Ocağı) were impacted these. Due to the Greek Uprising, the Ottoman State took such precautions as the evacuation of inns, sending all Rums who knew how to use a gun to Anatolia, collecting the guns owned the people Istanbul, prohibiting women from going to picnic areas, and closure of wine houses in order to ensure public security (Tayfur, 2003: 160-177).

Graph 6: The Change in the Total Alcohol Consumption of Istanbul Excluding Galata (tonne)



Source: Same source with table 3

In this period, again, it is understood via *hatt-ı humayun* that wine houses were closed. It is reported that, since most of the military class were armed, the 15.000 kurush worth of payment that the guild of janissaries would get from wine houses was going to be paid from another source during this period where wine houses were closed in order to prevent any disturbances from taking place. In another document, it is reported that Muslim men were armed, and that was why wine houses were closed (COA. HAT. 1315/51277, 27 Eylül 1821 (29 Zilhicce 1236); COA. HAT. 263/15236, 16 Eylül 1822 (29 Zilhicce 1237)). Additionally, it can be said that the epidemic cholera that took place between the years of 1817 and 1823 over the world, and the Great Plague which took place between 1828 and 1829 had an impact (Somel, 2019: 470). Another important event that took place in 1826 is the annihilation of the guild of janissaries, called *Vak'a-i Hayriyye* in Ottoman history. The annihilation of the guild of janissaries was not limited to military only because the power of public places was utilized by rebels and janissaries in the Kabakçı Mustafa rebellion and the Case of Alemdar. So, while all of the barber shops and coffee houses where janissaries and the people came together, both parties socialized, and janissaries made propaganda were primarily closed, a certain number of the wine houses, most of which had been closed, were allowed to remain open during and following *Vak'a-i Hayriye*. Yet, in another order, those who went to wine houses were asked to stay there for a short while as in going to grocery store in the same way as those who went to barber shops were asked to do the same. Moreover, Bektashi lodges, which made the janissaries' discourse effective in the eyes of the people were closed as well (Yıldız, 2009: 83-85; Yeşil, 2016: 326; COA. HAT. 669/32648, 24 Temmuz 1827 (29 Zilhicce 1242)). Lastly, in a Hat-ı Humayun belonging to the year of 1825, janissaries were shown as the reason why the number of wine houses in Istanbul increased and taverns reached the same status as that of other shops. It is reported that despite the state's loss in terms of tax revenues, it closed the wine houses which were more than 500 in number in order to protect the honor of the Sharia. Depending on their locations in towns, one or two wine houses were allowed to remain open. It was

asked, similarly, of non-Muslims going to wine houses to have fun in a decent manner, and it was made clear that Muslims, should they go to wine houses, would be punished. After most of the wine houses in Istanbul were closed, Serasker Pasha explained to the grand vizier that the opening of wine houses would not only benefit their owners but also be an important source of tax for *Zecriye Muhassıllığı* as well in order for the wine houses to re-open. *Zecriye* collector Nuri Bey, on the other hand, explained to Serasker Pasha that the open wine houses were being charged 5235 kurush of *maktuat* but in the case of the wine houses and *koltuks* now closed being opened again, a monthly income of 41.000 kurush would be secured (COA. HAT. 639/31486, 24 Temmuz 1827 (29 Zilkade 1242)). After all, in Graph 5, or in other words the graph in which the alcohol consumption of Galata is included, there seems to be an increase compared to Graph 6 after the year of 1822. The demographic structure of Galata and there being more wine houses here had an impact in this.

Conclusion

I attempted to show an attempt has been made to show the alcohol consumption in Istanbul in two different ways using the same data. The first way is to show the amounts of alcohol consumption across the towns of Istanbul as well as the differentiation in the consumption of raki and wine per towns. The second way is an attempt to analyze the change in the amount of consumption based on such factors as the closure of wine houses, political events, wars, rebellions and epidemics by taking the average of the alcohol consumption of a 35-year long period.

The study shows that raki consumption was higher in towns where Armenian and Rum wine houses were abundant. Especially Samatya, Fener and Kumkapı are towns that are densely populated with Rums and Armenians. In addition, since the Ottoman State saw wine consumption as part of religious rituals, it allowed the entrance of a certain amount of wine to Istanbul which non-Muslim rayahs could consume at the privacy of their homes even in periods when wine houses were closed and alcohol

trade was banned (Yılmaz, 2005a). Also, wine consumed by non-Muslims on special occasions was exempted from tax by the Ottoman State. Yet, beverages such as raki which are high in alcohol were not subject to accommodation in terms of either tax or consumption (COA. D.BŞM. ZCR.d 20351 17 Ağustos 1814 -10 Ağustos 1815 (1 Ramazan 1229 – 4 Ramazan 1230): 27,28,29,32,31; COA, D.BŞM.ZCR.d 20384 29 Mart 1819 – 25 Nisan 1819 (2 Cemazeyilahir 1234- 29 Cemazeyilahir 1234)). In a similar way, there is a positive relationship between wine houses and the amount of alcohol consumption of towns. Moreover, the towns where wine houses are high in number are the towns where non-Muslim population is demographically dense.

The study has also attempted to interpret the change in the annual alcohol consumption of Istanbul by taking the average of the consumption of a 35-year period. Yet, the figures we were able to obtain regarding consumption come from tax records, so they reflect the taxed portion of the consumption. Therefore, the change in the tax-collecting system also affects the figures obtained regarding consumption. Put differently, taxation system is reflected to be fixed in emanet (trustee) system, and during the years of transition to iltizam system graphs show a decrease in the alcohol consumption amount of Istanbul. However, rather than tax records, the closure of wine houses due to the rebellions that took place as a result of the political events experienced in Istanbul were more influential on the decrease in the alcohol consumption of Istanbul. To add to this, it can be said that the straits were affected by the expedition to Egypt and wars such as the Russo-Turkish war. Correspondingly, the closure of wine houses as a result of the security problems stemming from the Greek Uprising and the abolition of the guild of janissaries also lowered the amount of alcohol consumption.

Appendix:

Table 3: Wine and Arak Consumption Amount of Istanbul Towns.

Yıl	Balat		Beşiktaş		Cangaltı		Fener		Galata		Hasköy		Kumkapı		Sarıca		Diğerleri ¹	
	Arak (ton)	Hamir (ton)	Arak (ton)	Hamir (ton)	Arak (ton)	Hamir (ton)	Arak (ton)	Hamir (ton)	Arak (ton)	Hamir (ton)	Arak (ton)	Hamir (ton)	Arak (ton)	Hamir (ton)	Arak (ton)	Hamir (ton)	Arak (ton)	Hamir (ton)
1792	49.99	261.25	1.63	32.73	0.64	13.85	47.69	263.31	93.07	384.32	32.93	233.79	83.52	94.48	156.67	260.93	106.99	420.26
1793	51.32	422.44	5.51	31.96	0.33	9.68	87.55	330.45	307.42	1590.49	38.67	305.91	104.31	516.52	219.69	455.83	102.48	664.72
1794	84.59	490.87	0.00	15.13	0.58	29.13	110.98	242.06	183.30	1214.25	38.58	299.60	160.56	623.04	245.89	602.77	116.55	755.58
1795	52.54	550.34	1.72	10.06	3.38	12.71	137.45	418.78	229.77	1719.89	34.18	240.74	167.49	704.36	210.00	702.06	86.86	813.09
1796	74.49	707.87	23.49	91.57	0.38	7.69	192.08	654.46	491.23	1501.24	52.26	416.45	156.76	657.19	311.03	550.76	173.21	1073.30
1797	87.64	722.57	4.36	31.02	1.50	9.36	252.49	533.50	481.47	1700.86	82.46	606.03	210.26	1188.72	401.06	730.18	192.69	898.74
1798	37.24	504.63	0.00	17.31	0.00	24.23	214.80	340.45	322.77	1041.84	46.89	443.24	256.07	938.19	297.67	483.25	88.85	813.25
1799	10.01	144.78	3.58	31.43	0.00	13.92	190.53	62.80	521.25	2.78	121.07	32.03	233.29	17.22	195.71	37.28	201.19	
1800	117.94	1107.44	10.14	62.05	1.41	24.36	234.24	719.72	543.44	2391.95	97.38	543.39	137.77	1018.50	396.07	835.55	177.86	1170.34
1801	85.59	856.07	13.79	48.27	0.00	0.00	84.48	306.92	307.87	1776.11	60.00	523.80	98.26	685.41	137.91	712.38	35.55	738.23
1802	59.02	999.99	16.41	120.37	0.00	0.00	170.35	493.57	337.60	2224.40	41.07	631.16	78.55	716.81	309.42	694.91	49.93	1121.81
1803	91.20	1177.92	15.77	154.46	0.00	0.00	186.31	566.98	359.04	2598.70	30.12	613.29	155.03	623.92	268.55	694.44	52.38	996.97
1804	51.00	834.98	4.73	199.15	1.16	22.72	365.64	521.68	223.44	2758.54	39.24	470.61	94.59	732.77	204.32	900.50	55.48	936.49
1805	61.47	949.68	20.86	106.87	8.11	27.02	270.97	638.17	260.88	2500.09	36.82	447.83	156.71	795.88	283.56	1085.60	42.84	708.78
1806	53.41	859.30	5.79	72.97	0.00	0.00	320.65	576.95	299.92	2047.26	47.08	633.74	142.87	519.97	219.57	594.30	108.64	815.68
1807	21.05	274.67	3.10	27.83	3.31	16.54	62.79	178.85	109.34	726.87	24.52	240.86	20.99	330.59	60.19	222.36	15.73	270.12
1808	13.55	370.54	0.88	13.81	0.00	3.35	116.01	361.23	126.34	816.62	37.32	337.14	136.19	212.50	63.00	187.61	14.84	117.17
1809	20.78	373.49	0.00	6.15	0.00	3.33	50.32	185.86	87.76	494.75	31.83	150.79	58.78	198.56	14.37	248.14	15.56	199.12
1810	22.10	510.90	0.88	15.09	0.14	8.82	83.80	403.00	151.35	872.61	19.22	282.73	54.98	277.71	41.02	432.71	1.65	127.56
1811	24.79	497.13	2.56	27.86	0.00	10.26	83.45	372.63	103.04	1167.49	17.93	312.93	65.52	503.52	14.79	478.20	22.44	248.91
1812	60.33	572.11	0.00	2.95	0.00	16.99	119.85	366.19	346.17	1546.90	15.35	457.51	93.77	550.73	47.96	671.94	33.70	408.93
1813	39.22	518.33	0.00	32.43	6.45	29.31	62.68	459.57	224.21	1294.99	18.08	358.40	65.89	555.86	51.95	680.16	10.68	460.13
1814	37.15	367.96	0.91	14.51	2.26	11.51	63.50	311.53	159.37	1466.21	9.59	420.76	79.62	419.34	9.37	656.63	19.77	421.83
1815	22.28	197.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.33	7.69	164.88	106.39	955.10	10.28	260.99	24.73	187.79	32.15	213.79	14.32	298.51
1816	21.73	186.17	11.54	2.56	0.32	11.79	27.60	268.19	43.40	621.69	5.13	117.28	32.18	150.33	2.18	141.12	12.38	184.03
1817	12.24	197.24	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.04	21.99	234.99	106.88	666.77	19.17	99.10	7.77	128.69	11.67	254.28	3.72	115.74
1818	0.00	26.92	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.08	0.00	19.49	16.69	149.16	0.00	39.87	5.90	22.31	0.00	41.34	0.00	34.61
1819	0.00	34.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.28	0.00	3.46	119.87	191.87	0.90	30.13	0.99	60.04	0.00	22.24	0.00	0.00
1822	2.19	35.51	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.24	52.73	0.17	146.30	0.00	0.00	3.45	36.41	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1823	1.76	136.17	0.00	0.00	1.92	10.40	8.94	64.34	41.04	506.77	1.90	118.34	14.65	50.06	1.63	29.18	6.47	57.60
1824	12.73	189.42	0.09	12.49	0.00	5.11	2.13	54.36	104.21	483.71	1.19	85.55	31.24	98.02	53.44	141.55	0.71	16.08
1825	14.28	219.89	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	48.93	249.60	152.40	724.76	2.64	95.83	4.31	177.43	58.15	272.13	5.00	180.80
1826	0.00	53.61	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	47.19	218.83	0.63	100.69	0.76	11.15	5.19	14.27	0.00	16.20
1827	2.19	60.05	0.00	24.73	3.40	4.44	0.37	6.49	76.20	240.16	0.00	9.65	0.33	84.21	5.73	21.99	22.99	263.25
1828	3.13	23.43	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.79	11.65	0.01	57.81	0.01	18.09	0.00	0.00	0.55	42.42	24.96	237.66
Genel Toplam	1.298,95	15.520,26	147,74	1.205,76	35,29	334,37	3.459,70	10.563,13	6.509	39.252,15	895,14	10.087,2	2.836,84	14.124,30	4.152	14.243,39	1652,5	15786,7

¹ Balıkpazarı, Cibali, Kuzguncuk, Ortaköy, Üsküdar, Unkapanı, Kadıköy, Boğaziçi, Ayakapı, Eğrikapı, Arnavutköy, Ayestefenoy, Ayazma, Büyükdere, Eğrikapı, Kandilli, Kuruçeşme, Beyoğlu, Tatavla, Tarabya, Sarıyer, Yenikapı, Yedikule ve Unkapanı.

Source: COA, D.BŞM.ZCR. d. 20262 Ss.5 - 29, 1 May 1792 – 24 January 1793 (9 Ramazan 1206 – 11 Cemazeyilahir 1207); COA, MAD.d 4051 s. 10-13, 25 January 1793 – 8 October 1796 (12 Cemazeyilahir 1207 – 4 Rebiulahir 1211); COA, MAD.d 5600 Ss.142-160, 9 October 1796 – 12 August 1797 (5 Rebiulahir 1211- 18 Safer 1212); COA, MAD.d 4051 Ss. 36-54, 10 October 1796 - 17 May 1801 (6 Rebiulahir 1211 – 4 Muharrem 1216); COA, MAD.d 5600 Ss. 191-192, 18 May 1801- 11 June 1801 (5 Muharrem 1216 – 29 Muharrem 1216); COA, D.BŞM.ZCR.d 20300 Ss. 2 -14, 14 August 1801-14 August 1803 (4 Rebiulahir 1216 – 24 Rebiulahir 1218) COA, MAD.d 01699 Ss.4 -53, 15 August 1803 -27 September 1806 (25 Rebiulahir 1218 -14 Recep 1221); COA, C. ML. 303-12322, 10 January 1807 – 8 February 1807 (1 Zilkade 1221–30 Zilkade 1221); COA, C. ML. 442-17847 14 August 1807 – 3 September 1807 (9 Cemazeyilahir 1222-29 Cemazeyilahir 1222); COA, D.BŞM.d 07462, 4 September 1807 3 September 1807 (1 Recep 1222–30 Recep 1222); COA, D.BŞM.ZCR.d 20310 Ss. 4-29, 4 November 1807-10 May 1808 (3 Ramazan 1222-14 Rebiulevvel 1223); COA, C.ML. 696- 28491, 26 June1808-24 July 1808 (2 Cemazeyievvel 1223-30 Cemazeyievvel 1223); COA, D.BŞM.d 07646 Ss.2-4, 16 May 1809-11 August 1809 (1 Rebiulahir 1224 – 29 Cemazeyilahir 1224); C.ML. 400-16420, 12 August 1809 - 9 September 1809 (1 Recep 1224 - 29 Recep 1224); COA, D.BŞM.d 07773, Ss. 2-7, 21 May 1810 -11 August 1810 (16 Rebiulahir 1225 – 10 Recep 1225); COA, D.BŞM.d 41783, 12 August –24 August (11 Recep 1225 – 23 Recep 1225); COA, D.BŞM.d 07773, S.7, 2 September 1810–28 September 1810 (2 Şaban 1225 – 29 Şaban 1225); COA, C.İKT. 31-1511, 30 September 1810–27 November 1810 (1 Ramazan 1225 - 29 Şevval 1225); COA, D.BŞM.d 7862 Ss.1-2, 27 February 1811 - 11 March 1811 (3 Safer 1226 - 15 Safer 1826); COA, D.BŞM.ZCR.d 20331 Ss.1-2. 25 April 1811 - 30 April 1811 (Gurre-i Rebiulahir 1226 - 6 Rebiulahir 1226); COA D.BŞM.ZCR.d 20332, Ss.2-6, 1 May 1811 - 9 July 1811 (7 Rebiulahir 1226 - 17 Cemazeyilahir 1226); COA, D.BŞM.ZCR.d 20334 Ss, 2-45, 13 August 1811 - 15 August 1812 (23 Recep 1226 - 6 Şaban 1227); COA, MAD.0738.d, Ss.4-47, 14 September 1812 – 10 August 1813 (7 Ramazan 1227 – 12 Şaban 1228); COA, KK.d.05387, Ss. 4-48, 18 August 1813 – 15 August 1814 (20 Şaban 1228 -28 Şaban 1229); COA, D. BŞM.ZCR.d 20351 Ss. 2-53, 17 August 1814 -10 August 1815 (1 Ramazan 1229 – 4 Ramazan 1230); COA, C.ML. .658- 269055 10 September 1815 -4 October 1815 (5 Şevval 1230 - 29 Şevval 1230); COA, C. ML. 110-4870, 5 February 1816 – 28 February 1816 (6 Rebiulevvel 1231- 29 Rebiulevvel 1231); COA, C. ML. 290-11877, 30 March 1816 – 27 April 1816 (1 Cemazeyievvel 1231 – 29 Cemazeyievvel 1231); COA, C. ML. 3 – 124, 27 Haziran 1816 – 25 Temmuz 1816 (Gurre-i Şaban 1231 – 29 Şaban 1231); COA, C. ML. 662-27072, 30 July 1816 – 15 August 1816 (5Ramazan 1231 – 21 Ramazan 1231); COA, D. BŞM.d 08328, 25 September 1816 – 20 November 1816 (3 Zilhicce 1231 – 29 Zilhicce

1231); COA, D. BŞM.d 41869, 22 November 1816 – 19 December 1816 (2 Muharrem 1231 – 29 Muharrem 1231); C.ML.360-14741, 26 December 1816 – 18 January 1817 (6 Safer 1232- 29 Safer 1232); COA, D.BŞM.ZCR.d 20371, 23 January 1817 - 16 February 1817 (5 Rebiyülevvel 1232 – 29 Rebiyülevvel 1232); COA, C.ML. 355-14574, 19 March 1817 – 17 April 1817 (Gurre-i Cemazeyievvel 1232 – Selhi Cemazeyievvel 1232); COA, C.ML.401- 16490, 17 May1817 – 15 June 1817 (1 Recep 1232 - 30 Recep 1232); COA, C.ML. 402-16509, 18 June 1817-13 July 1817 (3 Şaban 1232 – 28 Şaban 1232); COA, C.ML. 444-17903, 21 July 1832 – 13 August 1832 (7 Ramazan 1232–30 Ramazan 1232); COA, C.ML. 260-10694, 17 October 1818 – 28 November 1818 (16 Zilhicce 1233- 29 Muharrem 1234); COA, D.BŞM.ZCR.d 20384, 29 March 1819 – 25 April 1819 (2 Cemazeyilahir 1234 - 29 Cemazeyilahir 1234); COA, KK.d 5502, Ss. 10-44, 15 August 1822 – 6 September 1823 (27 Zilkade 1237 – 29 Zilhicce 1238); COA, KK. d 5503 Ss.6-38, 18 August 1824 12 August 1825 (21 Zilhicce 1239 - 26 Zilhicce 1240); COA, D.BŞM.ZCR.d. 20421 Ss.2-14, 18 August 1824 12 August 1825 (21 Zilhicce 1239 - 26 Zilhicce 1240); COA, KK.d 5504 Ss.4-11, 7 September 1826 – 30 October 1826 (4 Safer 1242 - 29 Rebiulahir 1242); COA, D.BŞM.ZCR.d 20439 Ss. 1-14, 3 October 1826 – 18 March 1827 (2 Rebiulahir 1242- 19 Şaban 1242); COA, D.BŞM. ZCR.d 20442 Ss. 1-6, 20 May 1827 – 22 July1827 (23 Şevval 1242- 27 Zilhicce 1242); COA, D.BŞM.ZCR.d 20442 S.7, 26 July 1827 - 23 August 1827 (2 Muharrem 1243 - 30 Muharrem 1243); D.BŞM.ZCR.d 20453 Ss. 4-47, 26 July1827- 11 August 1828, (2 Muharrem 1243 - 29 Muharrem 1243); D.BŞM.d 9446, Ss. 2 -5, 15 August 1828- 14 August 1829, (3 Safer 1244 - 13 Safer 1245)

Table 4: Istanbul's alcoholic beverage consumption on a yearly basis

Year	Month	Wine		Arak	
		Kıyye	Ton	Kıyye	Ton
1792	8 ay	2.059.602	2640,41	621.576	796,86
1793	12 ay	3.691.880	4732,99	781.856	1002,34
1794	12 ay	3.763.518	4824,83	858.627	1100,76
1795	12 ay	4.327.933	5548,41	841.357	1078,62
1796	12 ay	4.596.092	5892,19	1.187.215	1522,01
1797	12 ay	5.108.268	6548,80	1.424.891	1826,71
1798	12 ay	3.619.251	4639,88	1.014.087	1300,06
1799	11 ay	1.293.050	1657,69	140.109	179,62
1800	12 ay	6.236.061	7994,63	1.391.521	1783,93
1801	10 ay	4.498.112	5766,58	725.655	930,29
1802	12 ay	5.581.396	7155,35	926.958	1188,36
1803	12 ay	5.823.752	7466,05	914.789	1172,76
1804	12 ay	5.806.505	7443,94	829.165	1062,99
1805	12 ay	5.759.688	7383,92	951.310	1219,58
1806	10 ay	5.003.144	6414,03	1.170.577	1500,68
1807	9 ay	1.956.443	2508,16	372.793	477,92
1808	8 ay	1.921.381	2463,21	417.956	535,82
1809	4 ay	1.896.388	2431,17	324.516	416,03
1810	7 ay	2.658.370	3408,03	427.605	548,19
1811	12 ay	3.367.200	4316,75	375.718	481,67
1812	12 ay	4.878.931	6254,79	1.008.112	1292,40
1813	12 ay	4.661.186	5975,64	579.111	742,42
1814	12 ay	4.244.509	5441,46	491.256	629,79
1815	11 ay	2.975.304	3814,34	375.640	481,57
1816	6 ay	1.951.942	2502,39	160.803	206,15
1817	7 ay	1.799.360	2306,78	207.278	265,73
1818	3 ay	381.076	488,54	60.640	77,74
1819	2 ay	410.484	526,24	38.861	49,82
1822	10 ay	683.713	876,52	43.931	56,32
1823	10 ay	2.195.694	2.814,88	296.459	380,06
1824	6 ay	1.464.041	1876,90	202.800	259,99
1825	10 ay	2.461.443	3155,57	321.591	412,28
1826	5 ay	1.139.477	1460,81	148.612	190,52
1827	12 ay	2.515.538	3224,92	370.530	475,02
1828	12 ay	3.350.031	4294,74	302.832	388,23
Total		126.199.555	161.787,83	21.920.242	28.101,75

Source: Same source with table 3

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COA, Cevdet Zaptiye: 16/772

COA, D.BŞM.d: 07462, 07646, 07773, 07862, 08328, 41783, 20384,9446

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