

SİYASET, EKONOMİ ve YÖNETİM ARAŞTIRMALARI DERGİSİ



RESEARCH JOURNAL OF POLITICS, ECONOMICS AND MANAGEMENT

July 2019, Vol:7, Issue:3

Temmuz 2019, Cilt:7, Sayı:3

P-ISSN: 2147-6071

E-ISSN: 2147-7035

Journal homepage: www.siyasetekonomiyonetim.org



Akhism in the Context of Social Policy

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Faruk Taşcı

Istanbul University, Faculty of Economics, Labor Economics and Industrial Relations, ftasci@istanbul.edu.tr

ARTICLE INFO

Article History:

Received 15 April 2019

Received in revised form 18 May 2019

Accepted 20 June 2019

Keywords:

Akhism, social policy, Ottoman period, working life, akhi middle chests

© 2019 PESA All rights reserved

ABSTRACT

Akhism is a structure that dates back to the pre-Ottoman period. In the Ottoman period, akhism had many important functions. One of these functions is related to the social and economic area. On the other hand, social policy has social and economic aspects, too. Social policy is for the working life, on the other hand it is related to the non-working life. With these aspects social policy corresponds to both social and economic areas. As such, the ground for dealing with social policy and akhism has emerged. Within this scope, the article focuses on the issue of akhism in the context of social policy. The article is not based on archive documents, only the social policy dimension of the akhi community is analyzed through the current Turkish literature review. The analysis is bi-directional. One aspect of analysis is in the form of akhism over the working life of social policy; another aspect of the analysis is about the non-working life of social policy. The main conclusion from the analysis is that akhism is not only one organization of craft; but is also a union of craftman with social policy functions. For this reason, on the one hand akhism regulates the working life of its members, on the other hand it tries to solve the problems of both its members and the society.

INTRODUCTION

As one of the four pillars of the foundation in the Ottoman Empire (Tabakoğlu, 1995: 56) akhism is an important institution with its many functions. Due to this importance, it is possible to find a lot of work about the akhism. The first works belong to such names as Ahmed Tevhid Ulusoy, Bereketzade Ismail Hakki, Halil Edhem Eldem, Mehmed Muhsin, Ahmed Refik Altınay, Muallim Cevdet Inancalp, Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad, Hasan Fehmi Turgal and Şinasi İlhan Tarus. In these early studies, futuwwa [rules and regulations of Turkish-Islamic guild] and contents were given importance. The origin of the word of “akhi” is another area of interest for researchers. In addition, the role of the akhies in the first period of the Ottoman Empire is also a curiosity. Again, akhism is discussed in the context of janissaries, bektashism and mevleviyeh (Günaydın, 2015: 222-223).

Looking at the recent works of akhism, the majority of the work on akhism is generally about akhism.¹ Some of the studies on akhism are related to their economic aspects.² Some studies also deal with the relationship between akhism and work ethics.³ The educational aspect of the akhism is also among the studies.⁴ In this sense, the relationship between the sufism and the akhism were examined.⁵ However, there are very few studies on the direct relationship between akhism and social policy in contemporary literature.⁶

Considering this absence, this study deals directly with the akhism in the context of social policy. Social policy is directed towards working life in its narrow sense, and it aims to solve the problems of all non-working social sectors in the broadest sense. In this manner, it is aimed to reveal akhies' conditions of the working life and non-working life by taking the akhism in the context of social policy. Thus, it is aimed to identify certain points of inspiration for today's social policies.

At the point of reaching the target, the question of how the akhies have a ground in the context of working life, how the working relations are, how the social security mechanism works between them and the nature of the control-punishment procedures are scrutinized as important questions. This examination is not through archival documents, it is mostly about academic literature in Turkish, is depictive, and is in the form of interpretation. For this reason, the study is limited to non-archive Turkish sources and due to this limitation, the results are just giving an idea and inspiration about akhism in the context of social policy.

In this context, the study primarily focuses on akhism in general sense. It then briefly mentions the moral and intellectual backgrounds of akhism. Finally, akhism in the context of social policy is examined from the aspect of working life and non-working life.

1. Akhism in the General Sense

The first issue with regard to akhism is about the origin of the word “akhi”. There are two different views on this issue. According to one view, the word akhi is based on “akhi” meaning “brother” in Arabic. According to the other one, the word akhi comes from the word “akı” in the sense of “generous hand” in old Turkish (Akgündüz, 2014: 10; Çakmak, 2014: 145). Whether the origin of the word akhi comes from Arabic or from the old Turkish, the word akhi has a blood-bond brotherhood and a fraternity which means making any sacrifice (Şeker, 2012: 446).

Another issue related to the akhism is its formation and development. The beginning period of akhies who first emerged as tanner and then spread to many branches of profession/art (Erarı, 1999: 121) are dated back to the first Muslim-Turkish state, Karakhanids (Kazıcı, 1978: 252).⁷

¹ For one, see. Çağatay, 1981.

² For one, see. Tabakoğlu, 1995.

³ For one, see. Özden, 2011.

⁴ For one, see. İkinci, 1985.

⁵ For one, see. Demirci, 1992.

⁶ For one, see. Uçma, 2017.

⁷ The similar entity to akhism can be seen as “chivalry” in the West, “bravery” in the Iranians, “samurai” in the Japanese, and “alps” in the ancient Turks. See. Tabakoğlu, 2007: 413.

However, according to some, the origin of the akhies should be sought in Anatolia. In this respect, akhism emerged in the 13th century (Çakmak, 2014: 146). According to this, there were migrations to Anatolia after the conquest by the Turks. With this migration, many craftsmen and merchants came to Anatolia. They were organized under the name of “akhism” in order to survive alongside the local Byzantine colleagues (Akıncı, 1985: 30). The organizer is Akhi Evran, but by looking at the emphasis that the akhies were in Anatolia before Akhi Evran (Dögüş, 2011: 229), some people claim that Sheikh Evhadüddin Kirmani organized akhies (Özköse, 2011a: 9).

Another issue related to akhism is in the context of relations with the state. When the state has conquered a place in the Ottoman Empire, it is known that one of the two sections consulted about the organization of that place is akhies (İnalçık, 2016: 45). In addition, it is understood that akhies were effective in periods when the authority was weakened. For example, due to the weakening of the authority of the Seljuk sultans at the time of the Mongol invasion, it is noted that in some cities of Anatolia, especially in the case of security affairs, the functions of the state were undertaken by “akhi baba” who are the head of the akhies (İnalçık, 1999: 191). Even according to some, “akhi government” was established in Ankara at that time (Tevhid, 2015: 117).⁸ However, it is known that after the establishment of the Ottoman state authority, the function of the akhies continued in the form of tradesmen (Tabakoğlu, 1995: 57). Therefore, with the strengthening of the state authority in the Ottoman Empire, there was no need for political or security (military) functions of the akhies; akhies abandoned their political functions (Ekinci, 2008: 133).

As a fourth issue related to this, it was not long time for akhies to take the form of craftsmen in the Ottoman Empire. With the 14th century, akhies began to be organized in the form of guilds. Thus, the structure of the akhies returned to putting the economic activity at the center (Kazıcı, 2006: 61). In this context, workplaces with the names of “bedesten” (covered Turkish bazaar), “arasta” (Ottoman bazaar) or “long bazaar” of each akhi group have emerged. There was a backdrop in which the akhies of the same profession worked together (Ekinci, 1989: 25). The influences of the akhies in a wide social field have been seen by means of akhi zawayah (lodges). In these lodges, wide range of economic, social and cultural structures have been established through the two groups, one is “internals” including helper (*yamak*), apprentices (*çırak*), assistant masters (*kalfa*), and masters those who are actively working, the other is “external” including retirees, powerless, disabled and patients (Özköse, 2011a: 11). With this kind of structure, akhism continued its effectiveness in the Ottoman Empire until the transition to the *gedik* system in 1727. Nevertheless, it is noted that traditions and systems of akhies continued in Anatolia until the 19th century (Dögüş, 2011: 226).⁹

2. Moral and Intellectual Background: Sufism, Futuwwa-Akhism

An important issue related to the structure of the akhies is the morality and mentality background of which they are based. The akhies are not a sufi institution, but this does not preclude the fact that the akhies have a “sufistic” mode of functioning. Köprülü also states that the akhies contain many *kadis* and *mudarrises* are not ordinary craftsmen; akhism is a sect-like structure (Köprülü, 1981: 213). As it is understood, the akhism is not a sufistic union, but it cannot be distinguished from sufism as an inseparable part.

Sufi morality is centrally located in akhies. This reality can be understood by the the fact that futuwwa charters (*fütüvvetname*) -as the codes of akhies- and definitions and advices of sufism were cast in the same mold. In this respect, in order to better understand the central place of sufi morality in akhi system, it is necessary to take a brief look at the nature of relationships between “sufism-futuwwa”, “futuwwa-akhism” and “sufism-akhism”. The reason for this is that the futuwwa charters are considered within the sources of sufism, and also seen as the source of the principles of akhism (Özköse, 2011a: 9).

⁸ There is no consensus on this issue. See. Günaydın, 2015: 221.

⁹ For example, the specific terms of akhism were found to be used in in the archival document dated 1824 relating to Thessaloniki and another document referring again to Ahi Evran. See. Kazıcı, 2013: 390.

The first issue here is the relation of sufism and futuwwa. Sufism is defined as the way of thinking, hearing, behaving and living which is improving techniques and seeking remedies for the realization of the “good human” type for developing the world by addressing the mystical, moral and spiritual worlds of individuals. However, since sufism is a state of “mood” (*hâl*), it is possible to define not only by the number of people, but also by the number of moods (Kara, 2005: 202, 203).

A document of such a sufistic thought that plays a very important role especially in the formation and spread of the moral understanding of the Ottoman society is futuwwa charters that have also active in economic sense.¹⁰ It can be said that the perception of the futuwwa is fed from the same root as sufism. For example, in some of the futuwwa genealogy of the old age, the majority of the futuwwa leaders who are based on the Ali bin Abu Talib are also sufistic persons (Çağatay, 1981: 17). Again, according to the words of Abu Hafs Omar al-Suhreverdî that the futuwwa is a part of sufism (Çağatay, 1981: 17), it can be concluded that the origin of futuwwa is closely related to sufism. Therefore, futuwwa is expressed as a sufistic concept (Tabakoğlu, 2007: 413). For example, sufism is explained separately as ten maqam in the work of Eşref bin Ahmed (1992), the oldest known verse of Turkish futuwwa charter, together with the other Gates (Sarıkaya, 2002: 7). The rules here and sufi Suhreverdî's rules in the his sufi books seem almost the same (Demirci, 1992: 84). Again, according to Cüneyd-î Bağdadî, futuwwa is that the servant does not consider himself superior and valuable to others (Çağatay, 1981: 5). For Jafar Sadiq, the futuwwa means “to distribute acquired one and to be thankful if it does not acquired” (Tabakoğlu, 1985: 51). The result that can be understood and deduced from all these is that the definitions of sufism and futuwwa signify the same thing, and they are one and unitary that cannot be separated from each other. Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that the futuwwa charters are also a kind of charter of the sufi passengers.

The second issue is about the relationship between the futuwwa and the akhism. First, it is understood that words of “feta” and “akhi” are used interchangeably without any hardship in the futuwwa charters (Yılmaz, 1995: 4; Şeker, 2012: 445). Akhism is seen as a sort of Anatolian futuwwa (Taeschner, 1953). Further, futuwwa charters are shown as the main determinant of the forward-looking work of the akhies. In order to understand the vision of akhism it is necessary to read and understand the futuwwa charters (Sancaklı, 2010: 5). Futuwwa charters contain opinions for akhies not only for prospective vision but also for maintaining their daily lives (Özköse, 2011a: 10).¹¹ In fact, according to some, the futuwwa charters are the catechism (*ilmihâl*) of the akhies (Günay, 2007: 173), that is, the guide texts explaining what and how they should do in the most detail of life flows. These guide texts explain rules and conventions of the akhies more didactically (Sarıkaya, 2008: 146).

As it can be seen, futuwwa charters, which are the directives of the sufi passengers, are also directives of the akhies. In this sense, it is necessary to look at the relationship between sufism and akhism as a *third issue*. The aspects of the relationship between sufism and futuwwa, and the relationship between futuwwa and akhism, which is mentioned briefly above, reveal the relationship between sufism and akhism. Thus, futuwwa charters can be seen as a “common charter” of both akhies and passengers of sufism. In fact, the ceremonies to be followed by the akhies and the terms used in the edicts issued to the akhies are evidence that akhies have relations with sufism. For example, in order to better understand the relationship between sufies and akhies, the similarities between the rituals and methods of sufies and the practices of akhies that are used when going from one city to another city are remarkable (Çağatay, 1981: 32). In addition, akhies who are showing progress in their work are roped with *shed* as in sufism (Günaydın, 2015: 89). Likewise, Akhi Baba's deputies are noted to be from sufies in some cities such as Bursa (Tabakoğlu, 2005: 324). Again, in akhism it is not possible to become a craftsman without connecting to a “ahki baba” as it is not possible to progress in the sufism

¹⁰ “Futuwwa” is an Arabic word. It is used as the singular form of “feta” in the dictionary, meaning a young, brave, hand-open, eye-hard, benign person. See. Çağatay, 1981: 4. The basis of the futuwwa is that the person is always in the service of other people. See. Cevdet, 2008.

¹¹ It is also pointed out that there are points where the akhism is different from the futuwwa. See. Özköse, 2011a: 20; Döğüş, 2011: 225.

without connecting (*intisab*) to a sheikh (Bayram, 2005: 143). Ahi Evran regulated the functioning of “the master, assistant master (*kalfa*), the apprentice (*çırak*) and the helper (*yamak*)” relationship in a manner similar to “the sheikh, caliph, follower (*mürid*), lover (*muhip*)” relations in sufism; it is also noted that the training and development of the employees are also made in the method and discipline in the sufi relationship (Özköse, 2005: 740). Thus, it can be said that akhism has an important function in transferring the mentality, universe and human model to the economic and social areas that is carried by sufism (Bayraktar, 2007: 84).

3. Akhism in the Context of Social Policy

Social policy, as one of today’s conceptualizations, comes to the agenda when akhism is associated with economic and social life, because social policy not only has a (narrow) aspect about working life; but also is associated with the issues of non-working (broad) social sectors.

3.1. Akhism in the Context of Working Life of Social Policy

In the case of akhism, four main issues arise in the context of the working life of social policy; “the necessity of working”, “working relations”, “social security in working life” and “intervention and control in working life”.

3.1.1. The Necessity of Working

The requirement of being one of akhies is to be one of the employees (Kara, 1999: 105). The characteristic of the akhi in the futuwwa charters is defined as “the work of movement and treatment, not just of speaking”. In this sense, a door facing laziness is kept closed. In some futuwwa chartes, unemployment is seen as “superstitious”, and there is an emphasis on “the lack of reason” for the unemployed person (Ekinci, 2008: 23). Everyone should have a job, and this job should be in the profession where the person is most talented (Ekinci, 1985: 34). Hence, unemployment is not accepted, and random work is not allowed. What is happening is to determine that the person works in a job where his mind and his hand are most prone (Özden, 2011: 159).

On the other hand, working for akhies is not to work in vain, but for Allah’s approval. An indication of the work of the akhies for the sake of Allah is to use being towards the public in the sense of “being towards the truth/Allah” (Anadol, 1991: 63). Accordingly, they believe that as long as they are beneficial to the people by working, they will be able to win Allah’s approval, go to heaven, and get close to Allah. In this sense, working for the akhies is regarded as an “internalized” worship. Otherwise, work is not seen only as a daily routine for the benefit of the akhi. “When you need it, give it to someone else on your hand”, one of the main principles of the akhies, should be the most obvious example of this situation (Cunbur, 1975: 26). Therefore, working for akhies is not only about making money for their own subsistence but also thinking about others (Sancaklı, 2010: 8). In this respect, a manuscript of 1524, written by Kadi of Bursa, draws attention:

“The person who collects the characteristics of the futuwwa must have embraced the idea that craft is for the needy servants of Allah. He has the opinion that he will fulfill the needs of the needy, perform the services and earn the halal in return for this service. The reason of this is that there is no more halal bite than a person’s own handicraft.” (Çağatay, 1981: 16)

Thus, on the one hand necessary materials for the life of the world is provided by working on the halal way in akhism; on the other hand a work is done that takes into account the needs of others in accordance with Allah’s approval. So, the life of the hereafter is not forgotten. In this sense, the existence of the balance of the world and the hereafter is obvious (Tekin, 2006: 221).

3.1.2. Work Relationship: Obedience Chain within Hierarchy

In order to be one of the akhies, it is imperative to be one who works for the sake of Allah, and in working relations there is a chain of obedience that is appropriate to Allah’s sake, and this chain has a hierarchical structure.

First of all, the head of the akhies is the “akhi *baba*” (father). Akhi father is both the spiritual leader and the person who fulfills his profession. There is a akhi father for every field of profession (Cevdet, 2008: 149). Akhi father has a working team consisting of helper (*yamak*), apprentice (*çırak*), assistant master (*kalfa*) and master. There is a stratification among them based on professional skills and seniority (Tabakoğlu, 1995: 59-60).

Being part of working life, that is, being part of working relationships, is not something that happens immediately; there is an acceptance process based on a systematic hierarchy. First, the person who wants to work has to apply to the master. The master begins to look for certain features of the applicant. After the examinations, the person who is positive in morality and ability enters into a job, that is being a member of akhies with a ceremony (Özköse, 2011a: 11). Thus, the candidate person is started to work as an helper (*yamak*) among the akhies. However, there are some conditions for the *yamak*: i) be under the age of 10 years, ii) continuity of work is necessary and must be provided by the parent. Being *yamak* as free and uninterrupted for two (2) years is necessary to rise to the level of apprenticeship (Şimşek, 2002: 40). For the training of apprentices, two (2) assistant masters (*kalfa*) are designated as path brothers (*yiğit başı*), and this is seen as a lifelong brotherhood (Kılavuz, 2005: 623). In order for the continuation of this brotherhood and the right to do its job, some characteristics are being sought in the apprentice. Timely speaking, being loyal, generosity, smiling, soft words, not to be gossip and avoid arrogance are among the most important ones (Şanal & Güçlü, 2007: 386). In the apprenticeship period, 124 rules and conventions have to be learned (Kaya, 2013: 49). Apprenticeship is generally 1001 days, although it is different according to their profession, but twenty (20) years is required in jewelry making very skillful (Ekinçi, 1985: 35-36). Therefore, those who fill these periods can be assistant master (*kalfa*). Assistant master is a candidate to be a master but is an employee who has not yet own capital (Şimşek, 2002: 41). The process of assistant master takes three (3) years in all professions. Three years later the assistant master takes an exam, and he presents his art to the masters’ council chaired by the sheik or the akhi father (Ekinçi, 1985: 36). But before that, assistant master has to train at least three (3) apprentices (Şimşek, 2002: 42). Technical requirements for mastery are thus completed. However, these technical requirements are not sufficient, no complaints about assistant master should be (Akgündüz, 2014: 16).

In this respect, there is a hierarchical system between akhi father and akhies, or a person with a high level of duty (like kethuda) and akhies. Köprülü also likens the situation between the akhi and the akhi elders with the relationship between the sheik and the follower (*murid*) (Köprülü, 1991: 63). According to this, the “head” person (akhi father) is protecting all members of the institution with a father’s affection; thus, he becomes the head of his members in terms of profession, politics, morality and religion (Ekinçi, 1989: 28). This ensures that there are intimate relationships among employees at all levels, similar to that of father-son. In other words, establishing a helper (*yamak*)- apprentice (*çırak*) - assistant master (*kalfa*) hierarchy that matured by staying a level in a certain period of time and keeping the people in these levels together with cordial bonds such as father-child relationship reinforce the professional foundations of craft ethics (Çağatay, 1981: 101). Thus, the apprentice who started to work at a young age, learns the subtleties of the craft transferred from generation to generation under the supervision and discipline of the masters (Pamuk, 2003: 71). The apprentice who starts out with small services until he learns his workplace, other apprentices and assistant masters (*kalfa*) can start working in the shop after this process of learning (Tabakoğlu, 2005: 320). There is some kind of vocational training, in-service training and special on-the-job training (Eken, 1998: 82; Özköse, 2011a: 12).

The most important aspect of such a relationship is *obedience to the master*. Obedience to the master appears in practice just like in sufism. Like a follower’s (*murid*) devotion to the sheikh, the helpers (*yamak*), apprentices and assistant masters (*kalfa*) must rest upon their masters. There is an unwavering loyalty and hierarchy (Bayram, 2005: 143). The main reason for this situation is based on “the cult of the first master”. The first master cult prevails in akhies of the Ottoman period. According to this, each craft branch has a master chain and it is called “pîr” (*founder of an order*) who is the beginning of this chain. In this sense, the first pîr of craft is the Prophet Adam, and then every prophet is taught a craft. As such, the beginning of many

arts is somehow taken back to a Prophet (Özbilgen, 2014: 350), and some arts are based on the Companions (*Sahabe*) and Islamic scholars (Günay, 2007: 165).¹² This obedience, which has a spiritual base, is applicable to shop opening and every other work, as is the case in raising the levels of akhies. For example, according to an edict of 1559, for an akhi student to be able to work on his own, he should be able to show the work he has prepared for akhie father, who is a good master in all respects, after “obtaining maturity” (*tekml-i sanat*) in his craft and then must receive the authorization (*icazet*) by akhi father. This is called being transplant (*başka çıkmak*). Those who do work without completing this process are banned from the profession. For example, in Bursa such a case was experienced in akhies dealing with heel iron (*nalçacı*) in 1594, and as a result of this it was decided to dismiss the employees (Yeniylıdız, 2003: 39). Therefore, the way to raise a level or open a shop between the akhies passes through “competent” and “qualified” marks of the master.¹³ Here, the issue is not about that an akhie student educates himself, but is about that he is trained by the master and learns the secrets of his work from his master (İnanır, 2014: 117).¹⁴ In other words, the person who enters the akhism cannot ascend unless he specializes in his profession by the patronage of his master and until the time comes; thereby cannot open a separate shop (Tabakoğlu, 1985: 59). For this reason, it is forbidden to open a shop without *icazet*. Parallel to this, it is essential not to change jobs and professions, unless necessary. The master who made changes for any reason, if he returns to his former job, can be forced to work like a assistant master (*kalfa*) for a while (Solak, 1997: 72). In this sense, it is clear that there is a sanction according to the hierarchy in any changes in the profession. Ultimately, the existence of this type of obedience and hierarchy is regarded as a respect for craft and expertise (Tabakoğlu, 2015: 471).

3.1.3. Social Solidarity and Security

As an extension of the hierarchical chain of obedience, the solidarity and assurance mechanism among the akhies are another important social policy context. The solidarity and cooperative nature of the akhies are unique. The structure of the akhies are not confrontational, they have a spiritual structure based on solidarity (Ekinci, 1989: 22). Akhies are far from the view of an interest-centered world (Sancaklı, 2010: 8). In this sense, an indicator of the solidarity structure is that the akhies do not exist for themselves, but for the benefit of others (society) (Tabakoğlu, 1985: 50). One of the “others” is their colleagues and there is no separation of interests between colleagues (Gökbel, 2007: 156). What exists is horizontal solidarity among colleagues (Toker, 2010: 60).

These cases also show that there is no jealousy among the akhies. Jealousy means there is no solidarity spirit because giving it to someone else requires loving someone else. Rûmî saying “as water grows beans the love of goods and wealth nourishes and nurtures dissension (*nifak*)” (Rumî, 1983: 81) expresses that the love of goods, which is one of the reasons of jealousy, nurtures the dissension. Naturally, separation is an obstacle to solidarity. The existence of a solidarity based on love, rather than jealousy, can be understood from the ceremonies of assistant master’s (*kalfa*) transition to mastery. “I don’t have a right at my master. My master has a lot of rights to me.” assistant master says. Then the master strokes the back of his assistant master, and the master prays long for his assistant master (Ekinci, 1989: 42).

The most concrete indicator of this kind of solidarity among the akhies is the presence of akhi middle chests (*ahi orta sandıkları*). Social security is provided to the akhies in the most general sense by means of akhi middle chests (Ekinci, 1989: 27) which are accepted as the prototype of social policy (Gökbel, 2007: 156). Therefore, there is a compensation mechanism against the social risks that the akhi may experience (Toker, 2010: 60). The sources of income of the akhi

¹² For example, every Prophet is considered to be the pîr of one craft; “Prophet Adam as farmer, Prophet Shit as hallac, Prophet Idris as tailor, Prophet Noah as merchant and sailor, Prophet Abraham as carpenter, Prophet İsmail as hunter, Prophet Isaac and Prophet Moses as the shepherd, Prophet David as armor, Prophet Suleiman as knitter, Prophet Lokman as physician, Prophet Yunus as fisherman, Prophet Jesus as pilgrim, Prophet Muhammad as gardener and pîr of merchants.” See. İnanır, 2014: 117.

¹³ The example of “key point” is given as an indicator of the lack of obedience to the master. See. Özden, 2011: 159.

¹⁴ In certain periods of the Ottoman era, the fatwas were asked whether the products of the craftsmen who do not have masters were halal. For an example, see. İnanır, 2014: 118.

middle chests are: i) membership fees, ii) promotion fees given by the workplace owner in case of level changes of akhi (like from apprentice to assistant master, from assistant master to master), iii) the income of properties of the akhi communities, iv) supports collected for wife and children of assistant master or master who have served military services, and v) other donations (Demir, 2000: 392). These resources are spent within a certain procedure.

One of the spending items is the support for the akhi members who opened a new shop. The requirement is to have worked as a master in a workplace for at least three years and to have permission to open a new shop. In this case, interest-free loans are granted by the akhi middle chests, some of which are non-repayable. A second form of support to the akhies is for emergencies. It is an example to give akhies a debit without a guarantor for sudden and small cash needs. The capital needs of the akhies are also within the scope of the support. However, this need should be medium and long term. The decision whether or not to support belongs to the akhi administration. Two vouchers are required within the member of akhi middle chests to have a support decision (Demir, 2010: 392). A fourth form of support from the akhi middle chest to akhies is the provision of wholesale raw materials (Ekinçi, 1989: 27). The support priority is the senior master who is old in his art, and has trained the most masters.¹⁵ The goal is to reduce prices by reducing production costs (Demir, 2010: 392). A fifth support is directed at the relatives of the akhies (Solak, 1997: 74). Here, support begins after the death of a akhi member. Then, there is support for a widow and an orphaned child. Thus, it is ensured that the family of the akhi member can lead a chaste life without opening a hand to anyone else. If the husband (akhi) did not die but went to the military, the family was given support from the chest. During military mobilization, the family of the akhi member is assisted without closing the shop. If the shop is closed, there is an amount supported from the chest that can continue the life of the family (Çalışkan & İkiz, 1993: 34-35). A sixth type of support is aimed at saving the akhi member with financially troubled situation. In this sense, the loan is given interest-free credit to akhi member for a certain period of time, thereby saving the akhi member who is under economic risk (Özden, 2011: 163). The chests are also interested in the problems of the akhi member, outside their working life; troubles are tried to be overcome together (Solak, 1997: 74). The last form of spending from the akhi middle chests is in the form of mutual shares or aids. In this sense, chests lend to each other. As a result, the cooperation between the akhies is not only for their own professional groups, but also for all the professional groups, and thus the solidarity of all the akhies come to exist (Ekinçi, 1989: 27).

3.1.4. Control and Intervention in Working Life: *Ihtisab* and Penalties

A final issue for the akhies is the controls and interventions during the working life. There are two types of audits.

The first is the autocontrol mechanism, which can be expressed as internal audit. This means that there is no external influence (state, etc.), and therefore on the basis of volunteerism, the akhies do not enter into a struggle with each other (Ekinçi, 2008: 20). For this reason, the phrase “those who have no enemy, no hostile” is used for akhies (Demirci, 1992: 87). As such, there is no ground for competition based on conflict in such a structure. Instead, a “race” based on cooperation and solidarity can be mentioned. For example, it is indicated that the akhies in this structure give great importance to the understanding of *siftah* (first sale of the day). The statement of “I haven’t *siftah* yet. That’s why I’m giving cheap.” is famous. The famous rumor is narrated as follows (Ergin, 1995: 589):

“A man enters the Egyptian Bazaar to buy something. Apply to the first shop. And he wants to get what he’s looking for. The shopkeeper says, ‘I have *siftah*, go to the shop next to me.’ He goes to the next shop. He is also exposed to the same answer. After wandering around a lot of shops, he finds a person who hasn’t *siftah* and gets it from him.”¹⁶

¹⁵ In the event of any dispute in distribution, it is acted according to the customs of the akhies. See. Tekin, 2006: 224.

¹⁶ There are other rumors about *siftah*. One of these is related to Ottman Ghazi. See. Özden 2011: 161.

The other (external) audit related to the akhi working life is about the institution of *ihtisab*. The origin of the *ihtisab* institution is based on the time of Prophet Muhammad (as) in the early years of Islam. Omar bin Khattab was appointed for Medina and Sad bin al-As for Mecca by the Prophet Muhammad (as) in charge of *ihtisab* (Ergin, 1995: 300). *Ihtisab* that is also known as “hisbe” has become fully equipped in the time of the Second Caliph Omar. The general aim of the *ihtisab* institution is to defeat the evils and make the goodness prevail (Kazıcı, 2013: 215).

Hence, the source is from Islam and the responsibility of regulating all relations between the akhies in the Ottoman Empire and solving possible conflicts that will arise belongs to the *muhtesib* (*ihtisab* staff), who is doing business in the name of kadi and also has names like “*ihtisab agha*” and “*ihtisab controller*”. If there is a kadi in a settlement, *muhtesib* is also presented as an assistant to kadi (Yılmaz, 2013: 343). In this respect, the *muhtesib* who supervises the akhies has many tasks as the government representative (Tabakoğlu, 2015: 469). These are in three main categories; i) judicial life, ii) religious life, and iii) economic and social life (Kazıcı, 2013: 219-220). The part that is directed towards the akhies is the tasks of the *muhtesib* related to economic and social life.

The first thing that comes to mind is the audit of production. To İnalçık’s statement, according to an approach developed by the classical Muslim jurists, a distinction must be made between real necessities and luxury goods. Accordingly, in practice, while the luxury commodity imported by most traders does not fall within the scope of the state’s price control, the needs and local products sold in the daily market must be under the strict control of the *muhtesib* appointed by the state (İnalçık, 2004: 83). Therefore, in the audit, attention is paid to the concept of “production according to needs”. In order not to have the unemployed and to prevent similar deprivation (Tabakoğlu, 1995: 59), surplus production is not allowed. For this reason, excessive production was prevented by subjecting shops to a certain rule. In this sense, being a master is not seen enough to open a shop (Özden, 2011: 160).

On the other hand, *muhtesib* audits do not only focus on production according to the needs, but also make inspections for the production of “high quality”. In this sense, the brand, which is the trademark of the products, is hit on the durable high quality ones. This brand means a product quality certificate on the one hand, and on the other hand it declares the akhi master and akhi unity that can be applied if there is a problem in the product (Özden, 2011: 162). For example, in terms of quality products, bread should be cooked according to the size; the butcher must cut the groomed animal and must sell clean meat; the additive should not be added to milk (Özbilgen, 2014: 402). An *ihtisab* rule in the period of Fatih Sultan Mehmet puts a similar measure on the leather (Akman, 2004: 142).

However, the quality of the product is still not enough, *muhtesib* also has to prevent fraudulent sales. To prevent fraudulent sales is the requirement of the principle of accuracy and is important to protect consumer rights (Özden, 2011: 163). Therefore, as an extension of the understanding of “customer is do-gooder”, it is important to have the *ihtisab*’s inspections in order to avoid faulty or fraudulent sales (Toker, 2010: 62).

In addition to the duties of regulating the working life of the akhies, *muhtesib* also has duties related to prices and taxes. In this sense, one of the most important of the *muhtesib*’s supervision is “*narh*” (Özbilgen, 2014: 403, 404). In general, *narh* refers to regulations on prices (Pamuk, 2033: 77). The aim here is to prevent the emergence of imbalances that will shake the social and economic order by collecting wealth in certain hands within the normal course of economic activity (Genç, 2003: 302). It should be said that due to the nature of man and the emergence of differences in society, the fact that some people are rich and some of them are poor are not wanted by the akhies, but they are considered normal. The objection of the akhies is that the strong one oppresses the weaker one or the unjust gain (Ekinçi, 1989: 23). Thus, while trying to achieve price stability with *narh*, monopolistic tendencies are also wanted to be prevented (Tabakoğlu, 2015: 476). Instead of monopolistic tendencies, the main issue is to ensure price change determined by changing the conditions. In the supply of production, *narh* prices are increased when there are drought, difficulties in transportation,

war, blockade and similar reasons; in case of expansion of production supply, narh prices are reduced. Change in prices also means re-price determination (Tabakoğlu, 2007: 430).

In fact, the situation in practice shows that the target which is desired to be reached with narh actually exists. For example, as a result of the application of narh, the prices have increased very little in the 16th and 17th centuries (Özbilgen, 2014: 403). In addition, for example, the richest master in the akhies can establish a superiority ranging from 50 % to 100 % from the middle-income master; the poorest may also be under the same proportions of the average. The absolute level of income, whose relative differentiation is so limited, mostly does not exceed the amount that in modest measures an akhi can keep up himself and his family and pay taxes (Genç, 2003: 302). In this sense, profits have a certain limit. For example, shoemakers can sell their products with 10 % profit after their capital and labor are deducted from the cost. In some cases, profit margins of up to 20 % and in some cases up to 40 % have also been accepted (Özbilgen, 2014: 402, 403). Thus, it is desired to prevent the accumulation of wealth in certain hands by balancing excessive earnings (Gülerman & Taşketil, 1993: 50).

On the other hand, it is known that *penalties* are given after external audits due to insufficiency of akhi internal audit. In fact, the small problems that have arisen are eliminated in the dinner party at the akhi zaviye (lodge); bigger problems are solved during the banquets in which all akhies participate; the larger problems are solved in the meetings of the akhi fathers (Tekin, 2006: 224). For this reason, problems generally appear to be solved in the akhi internal mechanism of control; court proceedings are rarely experienced (İnanır, 2014: 106). However, on the one hand it can be seen from the point of view of Evliya Çelebi that the akhies maintained their lives with a tradition connected with the rules and customs, it is also to be noted that, by looking at Evliya Çelebi, there were also attitudes of the akhi who did not consider the basic principles of akhies in the 16th century (Sarıkaya, 2002: 40). For example, it was found that many akhies acted against the law in Bursa in early 1571 (Yeniöldüz, 2003: 33). Similarly, the cheats of the crier and akhi in the bedesten; alliance of several Muslim and non-Muslims to make a slight increase in the amount of coin has been recorded in 1573 (Refik, 1935: 110).

The method of taking measures against this and similar negatives is to introduce penalties. The punishment has two types; internal punishment and state penalties (Tabakoğlu, 2015: 472).

The first of the internal (spiritual) punishment is in the form of serving. For example, the smallest service is to make coffee to the masters (Günaydın, 2015: 91). The second is to give advice. Here, those who behave contrary to moral ethics of akhi are advised (Özbilgen, 2014: 353). A third form of internal punishment is interruption of relations or embargo. To cut the salute (Şimşek, 2002: 39), silence blockade (Tabakoğlu, 2005: 323) or to stop shopping with him (Özköse, 2011b: 197) are of this type. Here, there are people who are referred to as "corrupt" and who cannot be provided with any aid (Ekinçi, 1985: 37). The relationship between those whose shoes are thrown on the roof (*pabucu dama atılanlar*) and the akhies is cut. Their situation is announced to all akhies of the same profession. Thus, they are prevented from doing work nationwide through the embargo (Demir, 2000: 396). Such examples are practiced as a kind of social exclusion, and are the heaviest method towards non-reclamated ones (Özbilgen, 2014: 353). Another internal punishment of the akhies is punishment for exposing them in akhies and public. For example, those who add water to the milk sold is pressed into the wellhole; in the case of the person selling sour molasses, molasses are headed to pass; akhi who uses a damaged scale is circulated to the bazaar-market that it may serve as a lesson to all (Özden, 2011: 162). The last form of internal punishment is curse. Those who reject the righteous way of the akhi, that is who do not recognize the authority of the akhi pîr, take the curse of the pîr (Asceric-Todd, 2018: 157).

The akhi punishment system is not limited to such internal punishments; secondly, it is observed that the penalties were given by the state. One of them is in the form of law fine (*cereme*). This is a kind of financial compensation. For example, the goods must be returned to sellers of defective goods. The second type of punishment is closing the shop. Those who insist on acting against the rules, or who consciously sell the defective goods again, are sentenced to close the shop, but the closure penalty usually does not exceed three days

(Özbilgen, 2014: 353). Such punishments are also found for those who cheat on the scale (Anadol, 1991: 84). A third species is beaten. This type of punishment is mentioned in the futuwwa charters (Anadol, 1991: 66), but there is no certainty about the existence of the application (Özbilgen, 2014: 353). Nevertheless, it is possible to find some examples that start with “if a leatherman desire for being a butcher, let him be beaten.” (Günaydın, 2015: 91). A fourth form of punishment is downgrade of guilty. Levels of akhies are reduced. For example, if masters of the 30-year-old craftsmen shake their hands and enter into a dispute within akhies, their mastership are taken and given back to the apprenticeship position (Günaydın, 2015: 91). Another form of punishment is dismissing from profession. Heavy crimes such as fraud, theft, the honor of the murder or the murder (Özbilgen, 2014: 353), alcoholic drinks, adultery, gossip, lies (Kazıcı, 2006: 68) result in complete removal from the akhi union. One last penalty is to put in jail. For example, if the deviation from narh reaches high rates and recurs, the offender is imprisoned (Genç, 2003: 299).

On the other hand, there is no punishment without warning, and the most important factor determining the duration of the sentence is repetition. Even if there is no repetition, even serious crimes can be forgiven after a short punishment (Genç, 2003: 299). In this sense, it is understood that there was no random punishment.

3.2. Akhism in the Context of Non-Working Life of Social Policy

Social policy also has a non-working (broad) meaning. For non-working life of akhies support for all disadvantaged people in the society comes to the agenda in addition to education in the akhi lodges.

3.2.1. Education in the Akhi Lodges

In the system of akhies, man (akhi) is considered as a whole and therefore social, religious and professional knowledge is required to be given to akhies at the same time (Kılavuz, 2005: 617). As such, there are vocational training on the one hand, and lifelong education on the other in order for the akhi to perform their work in a more moral and quality way and to lead a peaceful life. The name of the place where these are fulfilled are akhi lodges.¹⁷

Vocational education in the akhi lodges is important and operates around a certain procedure and rule (Özköse, 2011b: 193). First of all, those who do not have a master or those whose master is not certain cannot be a part of vocational education since they are not allowed to enter the lodges (Ekinçi, 2008: 84). Young apprentices who are part of vocational education participate to akhi lodges after their daily routine in the workplaces of the akhi, and thus have completed their vocational education by taking moral education in the akhi lodges (Köksal, 2006: 86). In this way, the vocational education they receive at workplace and the additional moral education in non-workpalce (akhi lodge) are integrated; character, mentality and physical education are presented as a whole (Kaya, 2013: 46).

For those who do not belong to a workplace, there are job placement efforts through vocational rehabilitation in akhi lodges. In this respect, it is understood that the offenders were trained and thus brought into society (Kılavuz, 2005: 618). In this sense, for whatever reason, those who enter into the bandits are cleaned (İbn Battûta, 2018: 404), after being rehabilitated by the methods of akhi, they are provided to have a profession (Köksal, 2006: 73).

Another step for those who are or are not belonging to the akhi lodges is through lifelong education. It is effective that the akhies do not see age as a measure in providing education services. According to them, education from cradle to grave is important (Özköse, 2011b: 12). In addition to that the age is not important in this training in the akhi lodges, besides the akhi members there are also experts, virtuous, esteemed and pioneer people (Döğüş, 2011: 227) such as professor, kadi, preacher, preacher and ruler (Çağatay, 1981: 102). In these trainings,

¹⁷ There are many functions of the akhi lodges. One of them is to facilitate conquests. *See*. İnalçık, 1999: 191. At the same time, akhi lodges are also important ground for the conciliation policy of indigenous people. *See*. Keskin, 1999: 205. In addition, military trainees were also instructed to the students who took courses in the akhi lodges. *See*. Köksal, 2007: 191.

conversations are held on religious, literary, administrative, social and economic issues (Köksal, 2007: 191). Apart from the conversations, there is also information about the subjects such as literacy, Quran knowledge, sufism, grammar, music as well as the rules of living in society, attitudes and behaviors to be avoided (Özköse, 2011b: 193).

As a result, the existence of moral functions in both vocational education and lifelong education leads to the consideration of the akhi lodges as “a moral school” (Gülerman & Taştekil, 1993: 55). Ultimately, the whole goal is to gain the morals of Islam (Eken, 1998: 49).

3.2.2. Outright Support for All Needy

As an extension of these trainings, akhies have functioned on a wide range of grounds such as providing unpaid support for all segments of society. An important feature of the akhies is that they take their environment or others into the center for fulfilling their needs (Kazıcı, 2006: 73). While doing this, it is in the foreground to look after a human being as the basic mission. For this, steps are being taken to cooperate in goodness and to avoid evil (Kıyak, 2012: 773).

The first concrete indicator of the mission of doing outright goodness is the hospitality of the akhies as individually or their akhi lodges as a whole. Catering to guests in the akhi lodges comes usually from akhi middle chests (Akgündüz, 2014: 13). Regardless of whether people are good and bad (Demirci, 1992: 86), that is regardless of who he/she is and where he/she comes from, akhies has a universal principle of leaving no person hungry and protecting them (L. Bayraktar, 2007: 91). At this point, hospitality is important. Guest hospitality is so important that it is recorded by Ibn Battuta, where the akhies are arguing for a fight with each other in order to entertain the guests (Ibn Battûta, 2018: 409). The guest reception period is not less than three days, because the reputation of the akhies is not accepted for less than three days (Ibn Battûta, 2018: 418). Almost no limit to generosity against the guest seems to be (Demirci, 1992: 86).

The second ground of the akhi’s mission to do outright goodness is applied over the akhi middle chests. Here, a second group, known as the “outsiders”, comes into play as well as the insiders that use the akhi middle chests. One of the outsiders who benefited from the akhi middle chests is retirees. The retirees are old masters who cannot go to their workplaces and cannot work. Their workplaces are not closed (Demir, 2000: 394) and are operated by one of the masters they have trained. However, the capital of the workplace is their own (Ekinci, 1989: 26). Pensioners pay the chest fees, and do not have any monetary support from the chest (Köksal, 2007: 189). The second group who benefited from the akhi middle chests are the needy. These are older masters who cannot work, but they do not have workplaces or revenues. For this reason, periodically (Demir, 2000: 394) in cash and kind assistance is provided to them from the chest (Köksal, 2007: 190). A recent group benefiting from the akhi middle chests is disabled people or patients. They are those who lost their ability to work as a result of an accident when they are members of a akhi union and are unable to do work as a result of any illness. They are paid from the chests (Demir, 2000: 394).

The third pillar of the akhi’s outright support mission is the personal support of the akhies or the institutional supports from the akhi middle chests for all. One of them is poor. For example, if a poor girl is to marry, it is important for the akhies to complete the trousseau and to cover the costs (Çalışkan & İkiz, 1993: 34). Secondly, after the death of the poor members of the akhies or of one of their family members, he/she was given the support for a proper funeral (Gülerman & Taştekil, 1993: 53). Thirdly, the money of sherbet which are distributed in the blessed days and nights of Islam for the martyrs etc are given by the akhies (Çalışkan & İkiz, 1993: 34). In addition to this, the expenses for the public during the Ramadan months and the water (*sebil*) expenses during the summer periods are covered by the outright support of the akhies (Eken, 1998: 70). With all these supports, akhies have achieved a social and economic balance in society (Şanal & Güçlü, 2007: 384).

CONCLUSION

The root of akhism was based on the pre-Ottoman period, but it became a systematic and original structure during the Ottoman period. As a structure of craftsmen who became systematic in the Ottoman period, they have many functions. One of these functions is on the social and economic area. Social policy also coincides with the social and economic area, and on the one hand, it has a dimension that looks at the economic sphere in the context of work life, and on the other hand it has the aspect facing the social life with its non-working life. In this context, the issue of akhies in the context of social policy can be discussed, which is what is done in this study.

According to this, there are certain points about akhies for the working life of social policy.

- i) The first and indispensable condition of being an akhi is to be in the working life. For this reason, the direction of social policy in relation to working life is already a fundamental condition for akhies.
- ii) The working relationships in akhies are based on the relationship between akhi father and his master/assistant master/apprentice/helper. This relationship is a obedience relationship based on hierarchy. Thus, on the one hand there is a commitment on the father-child level, on the other hand there is a professional hierarchical stratification. In akhism, there is a unique and distinctive relationship from the worker-employer relationship in the working life of modern social policy.
- iii) At the same time, there is a cooperative solidarity in the working relations of the akhies. The institutional reflection of this is the akhi middle chests. The needs of the akhies during their working life are met from these chests. In this respect, there is a feature that resembles the modern social insurance system, which is an instrument of social policy.
- iv) Audit of of working life is also important. In this regard, the akhi internal audit mechanisms and then the external audit (through the hands of the muhtesib) are under surveillance. The resulting problematic actions are also eliminated through penalties.

Social policy has also non-working life aspects, and there are some points that stand out for the akhies.

- i) Education is important in the akhi lodges. On the one hand moral trainings are given alongside vocational education of the akhies, and on the other hand those who are not the member of akhism and are from different part of the society are given training through the lifelong education process. There are also occupation and job-making activities for “former convicts” through vocational rehabilitation in akhi lodges.
- ii) Akhi middle chests serve not only for the akhies at working life (the insiders), but also for those who are retired, the needy, disabled and sick (outsiders). However, apart from the outsiders, the poor and other kind of needy people are also benefiting from the akhi middle chests.

With all these aspects, akhism fulfills the functions of social policy in modern sense besides many functions. However, in order to determine the exact dimensions of these functions, it is necessary to scan archive documents in a very intensive way, which is a waiting area for those who want to do new studies.

REFERENCES

- Akgündüz, M. (2014). Ticarî hayatta kardeşliği esas alan ahîlik teşkilatı, *Harran Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 31, 9-18.
- Akman, M. (2004). *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Ceza Yargılaması*. İstanbul: Eren Yayınları.
- Anadol, C. (1991). *Türk-İslam Medeniyetlerinde Ahilik Kültürü ve Fütüvvetnâmeler*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.

- Asceric-Todd, I. (2018). *Bosna'da Dervişler ve İslam: Müslüman Bosna Toplumunun Oluşumunda Tasavvufî Boyutlar*. (Çev. H. Macic & Ö. Kobak). İstanbul: KTB Yayınları.
- Bayraktar, F. (2007). Ahîliğe Felsefî Bir Bakış, (Ed. M. F. Köksal) *II. Ahî Evran-ı Velî ve Ahîlik Araştırmaları Sempozyumu (Bildiriler-13 Ekim 2006)*. (ss. 83-87), Ankara: Ahî Evran Üniversitesi Ahîlik Kültürünü Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları.
- Bayraktar, L. (2007). Ahîlik ve Ahlâk. (Ed. M. F. Köksal) *II. Ahî Evran-ı Velî ve Ahîlik Araştırmaları Sempozyumu (Bildiriler-13 Ekim 2006)*. (ss. 89-94), Ankara: Ahî Evran Üniversitesi Ahîlik Kültürünü Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları.
- Bayram, M. (2005). Bir Eğitim ve Öğretim Aracı Olarak Ahî Teşkilatı. (Ed. İ. Canan), *İslam'da Aile ve Çocuk Terbiyesi (II)*. (ss. 139-145), İstanbul: Ensar Neşriyat.
- Cevdet, M. (2008). *İslam Fütüvveti ve Türk Ahîliği (İbn-i Battuta'ya Zeyl)*. (Çev. C. Yazar). İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları.
- Cunbur, M. (1975). *Anadolu Tarihinde Ahîlerin Seyfi Kolu*. Türk Kültürü, 153-155.
- Çağatay, N. (1981). *Bir Türk Kurumu Olan Ahîlik* (2. bs.). Konya: Selçuk Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Çakmak, M. (2014). Ahîliğin Tasavvufî Temelleri ve Ahîlik-Fütüvvet İlişkisi. *Hikmet Yurdu: Düşünce – Yorum Sosyal Bilimler Araştırma Dergisi*, 13, 143-158.
- Çalışkan, Y. & M. L. İkiz (1993). *Kültür, San'at ve Medeniyetimizde Ahîlik*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Demir, G. (2000). *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu ve Ahîlik*. İstanbul: Ahi Kültürünü Araştırma ve Eğitim Vakfı.
- Demirci, M. (1992). Ahîlik'te Tasavvufî Boyut: Fütüvvet. *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 7, 83-90.
- Döğüş, S. (2011). Anadolu'da Sosyal Örgütlenme Sürecinde Ahîliğin Rolü. *Ahîlik Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildiri Kitabı* (ss. 219-243).
- Eken, V. (1998). *Bir Sivil Örgütlenme Modeli: Ahîlik*. Ankara: Seba Yayınları.
- Ekinci, Y. (2008). *Ahîlik* (10. bs.). Ankara: Özgün Matbaacılık.
- (1989). *Ahîlik ve Meslek Eğitimi*. İstanbul: MEB Yayınları.
- (1985). *Eğitim Kurumu Yönleriyle Ahî Birlikleri*. Diyanet Dergisi, 21 (1), 30-38.
- Erarı, F. (1999). Ahîlik ve Ahîlik Kültürünün İktisadi Hayatımızdaki Anlamı ve Önemi. *II. Uluslararası Ahîlik Kültürü Sempozyumu Bildirileri*. (ss. 117-124), Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Ergin, O. N. (1995). *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediyye (C. I-II)*. İstanbul: İBB Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları.
- Genç, M. (2003). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve Ekonomi* (3. bs.). İstanbul: Ötügen Yayınları.
- Gökbel, A. (2007). Ahîliğin Sosyo-Ekonomik İşlevleri. (Ed. M. F. Köksal). *II. Ahi Evran-ı Velî Ahîlik Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildirileri*. (ss. 149-161), Ankara: Valilik ve Ahi Evran Üniversitesi Ahîlik Kültürünü Araştırma Merkezi.
- Gülberman, A. & S. Taştekil (1993). *Ahi Teşkilatının Türk Toplumunun Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı Üzerindeki Etkileri*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Günay, Ü. (2007). Ahîliğin Dinî ve Sosyal Yönleri (Ed. M. F. Köksal). *II. Ahi Evran-ı Velî Ahîlik Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildirileri*. (ss. 163-189), Ankara: Valilik ve Ahi Evran Üniversitesi Ahîlik Kültürünü Araştırma Merkezi.
- Günaydın, Y. T. (2015). *Ahîlik Araştırmaları (1913-1932)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.
- İbn Battûta Tancî, Ebû Abdullah Muhammed (2018). *İbn Battûta Seyahatnâmesi I* (5. bs.), (Ed. A. S. Aykut). İstanbul: YKY Yayınları.
- İnanır, A. (2014). *XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Fetvalarında Ahîlik*. Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi, 36, 103-138.
- İnalçık, H. (2016). *Seçme Eserleri – IX: Osmanlı Tarihinde İslâmiyet ve Devlet*. İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.
- (2004). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi (1300-1600) (C. I)* (2. bs.). İstanbul: Eren Yayınları.
- (1999). Ahîlik, Toplum ve Devlet. *II. Uluslararası Ahîlik Kültürü Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (ss. 189-200), Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Kara, M. (2005). *Türk Tasavvuf Tarihi Araştırmaları*. İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları.

- (1999). *Din Hayat ve Sanat Açısından Tekkeler ve Zaviyeler* (4. bs.). İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları.
- Kaya, U. (2013). Değerler Eğitiminde Bir Meslek Teşkilatı: Ahilik. *Değerler Eğitimi Dergisi*, 11 (26), 41-69.
- Kazıcı, Z. (2013). *İslâm Medeniyeti ve Müesseseleri Tarihi* (11. bs.). İstanbul: İFAV Yayınları.
- (2006). Ahilik ve Yetişkinlik Dönemi Eğitimindeki Yeri. (Ed. M. F. Bayraktar). *Yetişkinlik Dönemi Eğitimi ve Problemleri* (ss. 57-75). İstanbul: Ensar Neşriyat.
- (1978). Esnaf Teşkilatı (Ahilik). *Diyanet Dergisi*, 17 (3), 250-255.
- Keskin, M. (1999). Osmanlı Devleti'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayatının Tanziminde Ahiliğin Oynadığı Rol. *II. Uluslararası Ahilik Kültürü Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (ss. 203-213). Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Kılavuz, M. A. (2005). Ahilik Kurumunda Din ve Ahlak Eğitimi Anlayışı. (Ed. M. F. Köksal). *I. Ahi Evran-ı Veli ve Ahilik Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildirileri – II* (ss. 615-628). Kırşehir: Kırşehir Valiliği & G.Ü Ahilik Kültürü Araştırmaları Merkezi.
- Kıyak, A. (2012). İslam'ın Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Prensiplerinin Sosyal Hayata Aksettirilmesinde Ahiliğin Rolü (Fütüvvetnameler Ekseninde). (Ed. K. Ceylan). *2. Uluslararası Ahilik Sempozyumu Bildirileri-II* (ss. 767-786), Kırşehir, Ahi Evran Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Köksal, M. F. (2006). *Ahi Evran ve Ahilik*. Kırşehir: Kırşehir Valiliği
- Köksal, M. (2007). *Ahilik Kültürünün Dünü ve Bugünü* (3. bs.). Ankara: Kırşehir Belediyesi Yayınları.
- Köprülü, F. (1991). *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- (1981). *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*. Ankara: DİB Yayınları.
- Özbilgen, E. (2014). *Bütün Yönleriyle Osmanlı*. İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık.
- Özden, H. Ö. (2011). Ahilik ve İş Ahlakı. *Ahilik Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildiri Kitabı*, Kayseri, 152-168.
- Özköse, K. (2011a). Ahilikte Ahlak ve Mesleki Eğitim. *CÜ İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 15 (2), 5-19.
- (2011b). Tasavvufi Öğretiler Bağlamında Ahilikte Şahsiyet Eğitimi. *Ahilik Uluslararası Sempozyum: "Kalite Merkezli Bir Yaşam" Bildiri Kitabı*, Kayseri, 193-199.
- (2005). Ahiliğin Tasavvufi Boyutu. (Ed. M. F. Köksal). *I. Ahi Evran-ı Veli ve Ahilik Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildirileri – II* (ss. 739-749). Kırşehir: Kırşehir Valiliği & G.Ü Ahilik Kültürü Araştırmaları Merkezi.
- Pamuk, Ş. (2003). *100 Soruda Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisat Tarihi: 1500-1914*. İstanbul: K Kitaplığı.
- Refik, A. (1935). *XVI. Asırda İstanbul Hayatı (1553-1591)* (2. bs.). İstanbul: İstanbul Devlet Basımevi.
- Rûmî, E. (1983). *Müzekkin-Nüfus*. İstanbul: Salah Bilici Kitabevi Yayınları.
- Sancaklı, S. (2010). Ahilik Ahlakının Oluşumunda Hadislerin Etkisi. *İ.Ü. İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 1 (1), 1-28.
- Sarıkaya, M. S. (2008). Ahiliğin Dünya Görüşü ve Bunu Oluşturan Dinî Ahlâkî Değerler. *İslam ve Çalışma Hayatı Ulusal Sempozyumu* (ss. 145-157), İzmir: İzmir İlahiyat Fakültesi Vakfı Yayınları.
- (2002). *XII.-XVI. Asırlardaki Anadolu'da Fütüvvetnameler Göre Dinî İnanç Motifleri*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Solak, F. (1997). Ahilik (Ed. M. Özel). *İktisat ve Din* (2. bs.) (ss. 81-96), İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık.
- Şanal, M. & M. Güçlü (2007). Bir Toplumsallaştırma Aracı Olarak Ahilik. *Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 23, 379-390.
- Şeker, M. (2012). Türk-İslam Medeniyetinde Bir Kardeşlik Müessesesi Olarak Ahilik. *Kutlu Doğum Haftası "Hz. Peygamber Kardeşlik Ahlakı ve Kardeşlik Hukuku" Sempozyumu* (ss. 442-449), Ankara: DİB Yayınları.
- Şeyh Eşref b. Ahmed (1992). *Fütüvvet-Nâme*. (Haz. Orhan Bilgin). İstanbul: Yıldızlar Matbaası.
- Şimşek, M. (2002). *TKY ve Tarihteki Bir Uygulaması Ahilik*. İstanbul: Hayat Yayınları.
- Tabakoğlu, A. (2015). *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi* (13. bs.). İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları.

- (2005). *Türk İktisat Tarihi* (7.bs.). İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları.
- (2007). Ahiliğin Türk Esnaf Ahlakına Tesirleri (Ed. M. F. Köksal). *II. Ahi Evran-ı Veli Ahilik Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (ss. 411-443), Ankara: Valilik ve Ahi Evran Üniversitesi Ahilik Kültürünü Araştırma Merkezi.
- (1995). Sosyal ve İktisadi Yönleriyle Ahilik. *Türk Kültürü ve Ahilik: XXI. Ahilik Bayramı Sempozyumu Tebliğleri* (ss. 49-72), İstanbul: Yaylacık Matbaası.
- Taeschner, F. (1953/1954). İslam Ortaçağında Fütüvva Teşkilatı (Çev. Fikret Işıltan). *İ.Ü. İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, XV/1-4, 3-32.
- Tekin, M. (2006). Bir Sosyal Kontrol Aracı Olarak Ahilik ve Toplumsal Dinamikleri. *Selçuk Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 21, 219-235.
- Tevhid, A. (2015). Ankara'da Ahiler Hükümeti (Der. Y. T. Günaydın). Ahilik Araştırmaları (1913-1932) (ss. 115-118). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.
- Toker, Ö. (2010). Bütüncül Bir Model Olarak Ahiliğin Girişimcilik Boyutunun Zihniyet Temelleri. (Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi), Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi.
- Uçma, İ. (2017). *Bir Sosyal Siyaset Kurumu Olarak Ahilik* (2. bs.). İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları.
- Yılmaz, A. (1995). Ahilikte Din ve Ahlâk Eğitimi. (Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi), İzmir: 9 Eylül Üniversitesi.
- Yılmaz, M. (2013). Hisbe Teşkilatı (Ed. E. Baş). *İslam Kurumları Tarihi* (ss. 339-350). Ankara: Grafiker Yayınları.