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The Craft of Dyers in the Medieval Islamic Mediterranean (9th–15th Centuries)

Ortaçağ İslâm Akdenizi'nde Boyacılık Zanaatı (9.–15. Yüzyıllar)

Sercan AKİNİZ

Dr.

Independent Researcher

Bağımsız Araştırmacı

Eskişehir | Türkiye

sercanakiniz@gmail.com

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5288-8804>

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The Craft of Dyers in the Medieval Islamic Mediterranean (9th–15th Centuries)*

Abstract

The medieval Islamic Mediterranean was a significant hub for textile dyeing, not only due to its technical achievements but also because of its economic and commercial networks that played a defining role across the region and beyond. Compared to their European counterparts, Islamic states historically had broader access to dyestuffs, positioning themselves as key nodes in both production and interregional dyeing networks. Historical sources indicate that dyeing was a widespread economic activity throughout the Islamic world, from Egypt to al-Andalus, from the Maghreb to Anatolia. This study examines dyeing centers in the medieval Islamic Mediterranean, the organizational structures of dyers, their economic and social status, and the legal frameworks regulating their profession. By integrating historical records, legal documents, futuwwa manuals, waqf deeds, and archaeological findings, this research provides a comprehensive analysis of the role of the dyeing industry in medieval Islamic societies. The primary research question of this study is how the dyeing profession was positioned within the socio-economic framework of medieval Islamic societies and how its operational mechanisms were structured. Furthermore, it evaluates the relationship between dyers and governing authorities, as well as the legal and institutional mechanisms that regulated their activities. Previous studies have predominantly focused on specific textile centers, the procurement of dyestuffs, or the technical aspects of dye production. However, there is a notable gap in the literature regarding the institutional, legal, and socio-economic regulations governing the dyeing craft. By examining the position of dyers within medieval Islamic craft organizations and the legal frameworks shaping their profession, this study aims to address this gap. Synthesizing legal texts with historical narratives and archaeological findings, it offers a holistic perspective on the historical development of the dyeing industry and its impact on Islamic economies. Methodologically, this research utilizes a range of primary sources, including legal treatises, travelogues, and historical and geographical accounts, alongside secondary studies. Legal sources provide valuable insights into regulations imposed on dyers, covering taxation, occupational oversight, and commercial disputes. Historical chronicles and travel narratives offer extensive descriptions of the geographical distribution and economic significance of dyeing centers. Waqfiyya archives present evidence regarding the locations of dye workshops and their contributions to local economies, while archaeological findings confirm the material evidence of dye production and practices. The integration of these diverse sources facilitates a multidisciplinary approach that combines historical, legal, and archaeological perspectives. This study demonstrates that the dyeing profession was deeply embedded in the economic and social fabric of medieval Islamic societies. It highlights the professional organization of dyers within different communities, ranging from futuwwa and Ahi brotherhoods to the later development of guilds. Futuwwa manuals emphasize the ethical and spiritual dimensions of the craft, identifying legendary figures as patrons of dyers. Additionally, Islamic legal sources underscore the regulatory role of the *hisbah* institution in overseeing the dyeing profession. Muhtasibs were responsible for monitoring dye quality, ensuring compliance with professional standards, and preventing fraudulent practices. In this context, *hisbah* treatises and *ihtisab* laws are examined to delineate the professional obligations of dyers. Another key finding of this study challenges the prevailing notion that dyeing was an exclusively Jewish profession. This widely accepted perspective is critically analyzed, and the study establishes that dyeing was not confined to any particular religious or ethnic group. The research underscores the significant role of Muslim dyers and emphasizes that assessments of the profession must consider regional and demographic variations. In conclusion, this study directly addresses the dyeing craft, which has often remained overshadowed within medieval textile studies. By integrating historical, geographical, legal, and archaeological sources, it provides a broad evaluation that extends from the placement of dye workshops to professional regulations, quality control mechanisms, and consumer protection measures. The findings highlight that the dyeing industry did not develop arbitrarily but rather within the framework of specific legal and social regulations, demonstrating its multicultural and dynamic nature.

Keywords: Medieval History, Islamic History and Civilization, Islamic Law, Hisba, Textile, Fabric Dyer, Dyehouse, Craftmanship.

Ortaçağ İslâm Akdenizi'nde Boyacılık Zanaatı (9.–15. Yüzyıllar)**

Öz

Ortaçağ Akdeniz'inde İslâm dünyası, sadece teknik başarılarıyla değil, aynı zamanda bölge genelinde ve ötesinde belirleyici bir rol oynayan ekonomik ve ticari ağları sayesinde de tekstil boyamacılığı için önemli bir

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merkezdi. Avrupalı muadilleriyle karşılaştırıldığında, İslam devletleri tarihsel olarak boyarmaddelere daha geniş erişim olanaklarına sahipti ve bu sayede hem üretim hem de bölgesel ve bölgeler arası boyama ağlarında kilit düğümler hâline gelmişlerdir. Tarihi kaynaklar, boyacılığın Mısır'dan Endülüs'e, Mağrip'ten Anadolu'ya kadar tüm İslam dünyasında yaygın bir ekonomik faaliyet olduğunu göstermektedir.

Bu çalışma, Ortaçağ Akdeniz İslâm coğrafyasında öne çıkan boyama merkezlerini, boyacıların örgütsel yapılarını, ekonomik ve sosyal statülerini ve mesleklerini düzenleyen yasal çerçeveleri incelemektedir. Tarihi kayıtlar, hukukî belgeler, fütüvvetnameler, vakfiye kayıtları ve arkeolojik bulguların bütünleştirilmesiyle bu araştırma, boyacılık endüstrisinin Ortaçağ Akdeniz İslam toplumlarındaki rolüne dair kapsamlı bir analiz sunmaktadır.

Bu çalışmanın temel araştırma sorusu, boyacılık mesleğinin Ortaçağ Akdeniz İslam toplumlarının sosyo-ekonomik yapısı içinde nasıl konumlandığını ve işleyiş mekanizmalarının nasıl yapılandığını anlamaktır. Ayrıca, boyacıların yönetsel otoritelerle olan ilişkileri ile meslekî faaliyetlerini düzenleyen yasal ve kurumsal mekanizmaları da değerlendirmektedir.

Önceki çalışmalar büyük ölçüde belirli tekstil merkezlerine, boyarmadde teminine veya boyama tekniklerinin teknik yönlerine odaklanmıştır. Oysa literatürde, boyacılık zanaatını düzenleyen kurumsal, hukukî ve sosyo-ekonomik düzenlemeler konusunda belirgin bir boşluk bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışma, boyacıların Ortaçağ İslam zanaat örgütleri içindeki konumlarını ve mesleklerini şekillendiren hukukî çerçeveleri inceleyerek söz konusu boşluğu gidermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Hukukî metinleri tarihi anlatılar ve arkeolojik bulgularla birleştiren bu çalışma, boyacılık endüstrisinin tarihsel gelişimine ve İslam ekonomileri üzerindeki etkisine dair bütüncül bir bakış açısı sunmaktadır.

Yöntemsel olarak bu araştırma, hukukî risaleler, seyahatnameler ve tarihi ve coğrafi kaynaklar gibi birincil kaynakların yanı sıra ikincil literatürü de kullanmaktadır.

Hukukî kaynaklar, boyacılara yönelik vergilendirme, meslekî denetim ve ticari uyuşmazlıklar gibi düzenlemelere dair önemli bilgiler sunmaktadır. Tarihi kronikler ve seyahat anlatıları, boyama merkezlerinin coğrafi dağılımı ve ekonomik önemi hakkında kapsamlı betimlemeler sunar. Vakfiye kayıtları, boya atölyelerinin konumlarına ve yerel ekonomilere katkılarına dair kanıtlar sunarken; arkeolojik bulgular, boyama üretiminin ve uygulamalarının maddi kanıtlarını teyit etmektedir. Bu çeşitli kaynakların bütünleştirilmesi, tarihi, hukukî ve arkeolojik bakış açılarını birleştiren çok disiplinli bir yaklaşımı mümkün kılmaktadır.

Bu çalışma, boyacılık mesleğinin Ortaçağ İslam toplumlarının ekonomik ve sosyal dokusuna derinlemesine yerleşmiş olduğunu göstermektedir. Farklı topluluklar içinde boyacıların fütüvvet ve Ahi kardeşliklerinden loncaların sonraki gelişimine kadar olan profesyonel örgütlenmelerini vurgular. Fütüvvetnameler, zanaatın etik ve manevi boyutlarını öne çıkararak efsanevi figürleri boyacıların manevi koruyucuları olarak tanımlar. Buna ek olarak, İslam hukuk kaynakları, boyacılık mesleğini denetleyen hisbe kurumunun düzenleyici rolünü vurgular. Muhtesipler, boya kalitesini denetlemekten, meslekî standartlara uyumu sağlamaktan ve hileli uygulamaları önlemekten sorumluydu. Bu bağlamda, hisbe risaleleri ve ihtisap kanunları, boyacıların meslekî yükümlülüklerini belirlemek amacıyla incelenmektedir. Çalışmanın bir diğer önemli bulgusu, boyacılığın yalnızca Yahudilere özgü bir meslek olduğu yönündeki yaygın görüşe meydan okumaktadır. Bu yaygın kabul eleştirel bir şekilde analiz edilmekte; boyacılığın herhangi bir dinî ya da etnik grupla sınırlı olmadığı ortaya konmaktadır. Araştırma, Müslüman boyacıların önemli rolünü vurgulamakta ve bu mesleğe dair değerlendirmelerin bölgesel ve demografik farklılıkları da hesaba katması gerektiğini savunmaktadır.

Sonuç olarak, bu çalışma Ortaçağ tekstil araştırmalarında sıklıkla gölgede kalan boyacılık zanaatını doğrudan ele almaktadır. Tarihi, coğrafi, hukukî ve arkeolojik kaynakları bütünleştirerek, boya atölyelerinin konumlandırılmasından meslekî düzenlemelere, kalite kontrol mekanizmalarından tüketici haklarının korunmasına kadar uzanan geniş kapsamlı bir değerlendirme sunmaktadır. Elde edilen bulgular, boyacılık endüstrisinin rastgele değil, belirli hukukî ve sosyal düzenlemeler çerçevesinde geliştiğini ve çok kültürlü, dinamik bir yapıya sahip olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ortaçağ Tarihi, İslam Tarihi ve Uygarlığı, İslam Hukuku, Hisbe, Tekstil, Kumaş Boyacısı, Boyahane, Zanaatkârlık.

Introduction

The dyeing craft played a fundamental role in the economic, social, and legal structures of the medieval Islamic Mediterranean. As a significant component of the textile industry, dyeing was not merely a technical process but a regulated craft operating within institutional, legal, and market frameworks. In Islamic cities, dyehouses functioned as specialized production centers where dyers were integrated into craft guilds, subjected to legal oversight, and deeply embedded in commercial networks. However, despite the established importance of the textile

industry in the medieval Islamic economy, the institutional and socio-economic dimensions of the dyeing craft have remained largely underexplored in historical research. Existing studies have primarily focused on textile production, manufactured goods, and the procurement of dyestuffs, while limited attention has been given to the structural organization of dyers, their roles within craft guilds, and their legal status and challenges in Islamic societies.

The academic literature on dyeing in the medieval Islamic world has generally approached the subject within the broader context of the textile industry, with particular emphasis on the technical aspects of dye production, dyestuffs and their supply chains, as well as textile production techniques and their economic impact.¹

However, a significant gap remains in the study of dyeing as an organized and regulated craft in medieval Islamic societies. This study addresses this gap by offering a comprehensive analysis of the dyeing profession as an organized and regulated craft in the medieval Islamic Mediterranean. It examines the structure of dyeing guilds, the regulation of production, and the legal frameworks that shaped the profession's development. It argues that dyeing was not an isolated technical activity, but a structured field embedded in economic, legal, and social systems. Additionally, the study also challenges the widely held assumption that dyeing was a profession monopolized by Jewish craftsmen, showing instead that Muslim dyers were significantly involved across regions and that the craft's demographic composition was more diverse and context-dependent than previously assumed.

Methodologically, this research adopts a multidisciplinary approach, incorporating historical sources, Islamic legal texts, *hısbah* tracts, *futuwwa* manuals, *waqf* records, travelogues, and archaeological evidence to reconstruct the historical development of the dyeing craft. Legal texts provide insights into market regulations, pricing policies, and occupational oversight mechanisms, while *waqfiyya* archives document the presence of dyehouses and their integration into urban economies. Historical narratives describe dyeing centers, production techniques, and the social status of dyers, offering valuable information on the broader context of the craft. By synthesizing these diverse sources, this study aims to clarify the economic, legal, and social dimensions of the dyeing craft in medieval Islamic civilization.

Ultimately, this research sheds light on the institutional, regulatory, and economic mechanisms that governed the dyeing craft, highlighting the significance of a craft that has often been overlooked within the broader context of medieval Islamic Mediterranean textile production. Through a detailed examination of both primary sources and relevant scholarly works, this study seeks to offer a comprehensive and original contribution to the understanding of craftsmen's organization, the intersection of law and economy, and the regulation of dyeing as a structured craft.

¹ Ali Mazaheri, *Ortaçağda Müslümanların Yaşayışları*, trans. Bahriye Üçok (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınevi, 1972); Emre Dölen, *Tekstil Tarihi* (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1992); Zahide İmer, "Türklerin Dokuma Sanatında Boyacılık", *Erdem* 10/29 (1999), 331-354; Abdulhalik Bakır, "Ortaçağ İslâm Dünyasında Dokuma Sanayi", *Belleten* 64/241 (2000), 749-826; Abdulhalik Bakır, *Tekstil Sanayi Giyim-Kuşam ve Moda* (Ankara: Bizim Büro Yayınları, 2005); Zeynep Güngör, *XI-XII. Yüzyıllarda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret* (Kahramanmaraş: Sütçü İmam Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ph.D. Dissertation, 2014), 120-122; Ahmet Nurullah Özdal, *Ortaçağ Ekonomisi ve Müslüman Tüccarlar* (İstanbul: Selenge Yayınları, 2016); Elnure Azizova, *Hız Peygamber Döneminde Çalışma Hayatı ve Meslekler* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2017); Ahmet Nurullah Özdal, *Ortaçağ İslam Dünyasında Ekonomik Ekosistem* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2019); Halil Inalcık, *Türkiye Tekstil Tarihi* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2021); Zeki Tez, *Renk, Pigment ve Boyarmaddelerin Kültürel Tarihi* (İstanbul: Doruk Yayınları, 2023).

1. An Overview of Major Dyeing Centers in the Islamic Mediterranean

The medieval Islamic Mediterranean demonstrated remarkable advancements in the art of dyeing, both in terms of technical mastery and the development of commercial networks, playing a pivotal role in the production and consumption networks of the Mediterranean and beyond. Compared to the Byzantine Empire and the Italian city-states, medieval Islamic states held a more privileged position in accessing dyeing materials. The Islamic territories stood out as both production centers and key nodes in the trade networks for many dyestuffs used in fabric dyeing. In this context, dyes produced in Egypt, in particular, enjoyed a distinguished reputation in the medieval Mediterranean world.²

Dyeing became a significant industry in various cities of the Islamic Mediterranean, shaped by the contributions of both Muslim and non-Muslim communities. In cities such as Baghdād, Basra, and Kūfa, it is known that non-Muslim dyers operated alongside their Muslim counterparts. In this context, while records concerning taxes on dyers are limited, the available information primarily relates to the *jizya* collected from non-Muslims living in these cities. Although no specific references exist regarding additional taxes paid by Muslim dyers, Abū Yūsuf's observations on the *jizya* system are particularly valuable. According to Abū Yūsuf, artisans such as tailors, dyers, shoemakers, and saddlers were required to pay an annual *jizya* of 12 dirhams. These taxes were collected by governors and later transferred to the *bayt al-mal*.³ Muslim dyers were obligated to pay *zakat* on the dyestuffs stored in their workshops, even if these materials remained unused, as their value was considered to increase over time. However, they were exempt from paying *zakat* on the tools and equipment employed in their craft.⁴

In addition to cities such as Baghdād, Kūfa, and Basra, dye houses were also known to operate in Latakia and Baniyas, even during the Crusades. In Latakia, Jewish dyers resided in separate quarters from Muslims.⁵ Similarly, under Crusader rule in Jerusalem, Jewish dyers were granted the right to engage in dyeing activities in exchange for an annual fee.⁶ In the Near East, Muslims and Jews cooperated in many fields of production, with Jewish artisans often playing a prominent role in the dyeing industry.⁷ Historically, Jewish communities, known for their strong artisan traditions and involvement in trade, held a significant position in professions requiring expertise, such as dyeing. This occupation became an essential sector within the social structure of Jewish communities and allowed them to play a key role in the dyeing industry through their active participation in commercial networks.⁸ Nevertheless, while Jewish artisans had a notable presence in the dyeing industry of Near Eastern Islamic cities, they did not possess sufficient demographic weight to influence broader socio-economic dynamics. It is essential to emphasize, however, that dyeing was not an occupation exclusive to Jews. Within the medieval Islamic Mediterranean, the dyeing industry was shaped significantly by the skill and contributions of Muslim artisans as well. In cities like Baghdād, Basra, and Kūfa, Muslim dyers

² Muhammed b. Ahmed Mukaddesî, *Ahsenu't-takâsîm*, trans. Ahsen Batur (İstanbul: Selenge Yayınları, 2023), 223.

³ Ya'kûb b. İbrâhîm Ebû Yūsuf, *Kitâbü'l-Harâc*, trans. Ali Özek (İstanbul: Albaraka Yayınları, 2019), 197.

⁴ 'Alî ibn Sulaymân Mardâwî, *al-Inşâf fî ma'rifat al-râjîh min al-khilâf*, ed. 'Abd Allâh b. 'Abd al-Muhsin al-Turkî-'Abd al-Fattâh Muḥammad al-Ḥilû (Cairo: Hajar, 1995), 7/57.

⁵ Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord A L'époque Des Croisades Et La Principauté Franque D'antioche* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1940), 187, 475.

⁶ Tudelalı Benjamin, *Ortaçağ'da İki Yahudi Seyyahın Tudela'lı Benjamin ve Ratisbon'lu Petachia İslâm Dünyası Gözlemleri*, trans. Nuh Arslantaş (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Vakfı Yayınları, 2009), 49.

⁷ Wilhem Heyd, *Yakın-Doğu Ticaret Tarihi I*, trans. Enver Ziya Karal (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2000), 195.

⁸ For information on fabric dyeing among Jews; see. Nuh Arslantaş, *İslam Dünyasında İktisadi ve İlimi Hayatta Yahudiler Abbasiler ve Fatimiler Dönemi* (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Vakfı Yayınları, 2009), 227-233.

were known to be actively involved in the trade, which was regarded as both a widespread and respected profession among Muslim craftsmen. While the contributions of Jewish artisans to the dyeing industry were undoubtedly substantial, the involvement of Muslim dyers highlights the multicultural nature of production and trade networks in the medieval Islamic Mediterranean, as well as the absence of religious or ethnic restrictions on professions.⁹ Benjamin of Tudela mentions that Jewish dyers operated in Jerusalem, Lydda, Bethlehem, and Jaffa, where dyeing activities were prominent.¹⁰ Similarly, Maqdisī notes that the majority of dyers in Syria were Jewish.¹¹ However, these observations do not suggest that dyeing was monopolized by Jews. In both Andalus and the Islamic states of the Near East, there is no evidence of religious or ethnic restrictions imposed on the dyeing profession. In this context, S.D. Goitein, known for his extensive work on Jewish communities in the Mediterranean, highlights that Muslim dyers, tanners, glassmakers and pharmacists often worked alongside their Jewish counterparts, emphasizing that no trade or profession was restricted to a specific community.¹²

Among the aforementioned cities, Baghdād was home to a street named after its community of dyers, known as the “Street of the Dyers (شارع الصباغين)” where many dyers operated together. While recounting the events of the years 1163–1164, Ibn al-Athīr mentions a fire that broke out on both sides of the area extending to the Street of the Dyers in Baghdād. However, the extent of the damage to the dyers’ workshops during this fire and the subsequent recovery process remains unknown. Despite this incident, historical records indicate that the dyeing industry continued to thrive in Baghdād throughout the medieval period.¹³ Moreover, in Aleppo, there was also a separate market dedicated to dyers, and dyeing, as one of the city’s major industries, maintained its prominence during the Mamlūk period after the Ayyubid era.¹⁴ The dyehouse in Aleppo was located in the al-Hashabiya neighborhood, near the cemetery of the Al-Hashab family and in the vicinity of the school of Ibn al-Sāhib. It is also noted that an olive oil workshop was first established near the dyehouse, followed by a bakery.¹⁵

In Islamic states, dyers were able to establish their workshops either by purchasing shops according to the scale of their capital or by renting state-owned shops to conduct their activities. During the reign of Salah al-Dīn, properties and lands referred to as *riba* and *ahkar* were prominent. In Cairo, as well as state-owned shops, mills, and warehouses in Alexandria, represented properties classified as *riba*. These properties were often rented out to various craftsmen, including dyers, weavers, and perfumers. On the other hand, *ahkar* referred to plots of land and gardens leased to tenants. While some *riba* and *ahkar* properties dated back to the Fatimid period, others were newly established under Salah al-Dīn’s administration. These properties were managed by appointed trustees (*mutawallis*), who oversaw their administration and collected rent on a monthly or annual basis.¹⁶

Another significant dyeing facility was located in Ramla, a city corroborated by both historical chronicles and archaeological findings. Ramla was founded by Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik, one

⁹ Claude Cahen, *Haçlı Seferleri Zamanında Doğu ve Batı*, trans. Mustafa Daş (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları, 2013), 130.

¹⁰ Tudelalı Benjamin, *Ortaçağ'da İki Yahudi Seyyahın Gözlemleri*, 46, 53, 57.

¹¹ Mukaddesî, *Ahsenü't-takāsım*, 196.

¹² Shelomo Dov Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society I* (London: University of California Press, 1999), 101.

¹³ İbnü'l Esîr, *el-Kamil Fi't-Tarih XI*, çev. M. Beşir Eryarsoy (İstanbul: Bahar Yayınları, 1985), 242.

¹⁴ Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 33; Ramazan Şeşen, *Salâhaddin Eyyûbi ve Devlet* (İstanbul: Çağ Yayınları, 1987), 296.

¹⁵ Abū Dharr Ḥalabî, *Kunūz al-dhahab fî târîkh halab*, ed. Shawqî Sha's-Fâliḥ Bakkūr (Aleppo: Dar al-Qalam, 1996), 1/427, 441.

¹⁶ Şeşen, *Salâhaddin Eyyûbi ve Devlet*, 274–275.

of the commanders of al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik. After selecting the location for the city, Sulayman initiated construction with a building known as Dār al-Ṣabbāghīn (House of the Dyers) and placed a cistern at its center. Following this, a mosque was also constructed in the city. After Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik’s death, Dār al-Ṣabbāghīn was transferred to the heirs of Salih b. Ali b. ‘Abdallah b. al-Abbās.¹⁷ Archaeological excavations in the city of Ramla, founded in the 8th century by Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik’s, have uncovered the cistern associated with the dyeing facility mentioned by Balādhurī, as well as traces of red dye in the area.¹⁸ On March 1, 1047, Nasir Khusraw visited Ramla and stayed for two days. In his account, he mentioned the White Mosque, the pools that supplied the city with water, and the production of colored marble for the city’s marble industry. However, he made no reference to the renowned dyeing center, Dār al-Ṣabbāghīn. This omission raises the possibility that Dār al-Ṣabbāghīn may have been destroyed by the time of Nasir Khusraw’s visit. This possibility is further supported by an inscription noted by Nasir Khusraw in his work. The inscription on the facade of the White Mosque stated: “On December 10, 1033, a great earthquake occurred here. Many buildings were destroyed, but no lives were lost.”¹⁹ The earthquake mentioned in the inscription recorded by Nasir Khusraw is also documented in historical earthquake catalogs. According to these records, the earthquake caused tremors that lasted for 40 days and resulted in the destruction of one-third of the city of Ramla.²⁰ This case illustrates that dyeing was not merely a commercial activity, but a foundational element in early Islamic urban planning, incorporated into the very design and infrastructure of newly established cities.

Another city where dye workshops have been identified through archaeological excavations is Jerash. The dye workshops in Jerash operated continuously from 696 CE until the major earthquake of 748 CE, according to excavation findings. It is believed that the dyes used in these workshops were vat dyes, as no evidence of furnaces was found. Traces of indigo and red alum dyes have been identified. Since vat dyes require alkali and low temperatures to dissolve, Umayyad-era dyers likely combined quicklime and water to create a suitable environment. Five dye workshops have been identified in the hippodrome of Jerash, and these findings highlight the city’s role as a vibrant center of craftsmanship.²¹

During the Fatimid period in Egypt, state-owned textile workshops were established in cities such as Damietta and Tinnis. In Damietta, workshops were dedicated to the production of the Fatimids’ white textiles, while in Tinnis, workshops specialized in producing colored and dyed

¹⁷ Belāzurī, *Fūtūhu’l Būldān*, trans. Mustafa Fayda (İstanbul: Siyer Yayınları, 2013), 167; The Dār al-Ṣabbāghīn has been interpreted as the “House of the Dyers” by Philip Hitti; see Ahmed ibn Yaḥyā Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūh Al-Buldān*, trans. Philip Khuri Hitti (New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2002), 220; Cengiz Kallek also highlights that in the city of Ramla, founded by Sulayman b. Abd al-Malik, a dyeing facility (Dār al-Ṣabbāghīn) was constructed for the production of luxury textiles, along with a cistern within its premises to support its operations; see Cengiz Kallek, *İslām İktisat Düşüncesi Tarihi II* (İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2022), 144; Cahid Baltacı, *İslam Medeniyeti Tarihi* (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Vakfı Yayınları, 2010), 286.

¹⁸ Myriam Rosen Ayalon, “The First Century of Ramla”, *Arabica, L’Oeuvre de Claude Cahen: Lectures Critiques* 43/1 (1996), 254-255; Oren Tal-Itamar Taxel, *Ramla (South) an Early Islamic Industrial Site and Remains of Previous Periods* (Tel Aviv: Emery and Yass Publications, 2008), 190; Gideon Avni, *The Byzantine-Islamic Transition in Palestine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 170; Myriam Rosen Ayalon, *Islamic Art and Archaeology in Palestine* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 98.

¹⁹ Nāsır-ı Hüsrev, *Sefernâme*, trans. A. Naci Tokmak (İstanbul: Demavend Yayınları, 2020), 42-43.

²⁰ D. H. Kallner Amiran, “A Revised Earthquake-Catalogue of Palestine”, *Israel Exploration Journal* 4/1 (1951), 227; the destruction of Ramla, and specifically the Dār al-Ṣabbāghīn (House of the Dyers), which is a focal point of this study, is believed to have been caused by the 1033 earthquake associated with the Jordan Valley fault. This earthquake has been cataloged with a magnitude of 7.3; see Iason Grigoratos et al., “An Updated Parametric Catalog of Historical Earthquakes around the Dead Sea Transform Fault Zone”, *Journal of Seismology* 24/4 (2020), 823.

²¹ Fanny Bessard, et.al., “Umayyad Dyers’ Workshops of The Hippodrome of Jarash (Preliminary Report 2007)”, *ADAJ* 52 (2008), 173-177.

fabrics.²² However, following the Fatimid period, a document dated to the late 12th or early 13th century from the Ayyubid era indicates an attempt to establish a blue dyeing workshop in Damietta. It is recorded that a group of indigo dyers from Cairo was approached by an investor with a proposal to establish a dyeing workshop in Damietta, resulting in some of these Cairo-based dyers relocating to the city.²³ Another prominent center of dyeing in the medieval Islamic Mediterranean was Tinnis, renowned in the medieval period for its vibrantly colored garments. These garments were widely exported to various regions, showcasing the city's prominence in the textile trade.²⁴ Among the exported products of Tinnis, one particularly unique and expensive type of fabric stood out: the so-called “chameleon fabric.” This luxurious textile, frequently mentioned in historical sources, exemplifies the high level of craftsmanship and innovation in Tinnis's textile production.

In medieval Egypt, a type of fabric known as “chameleon” (bukalemun) was produced, which was reputed to change its color depending on the time of day.²⁵ Although our study does not specifically focus on textile products, the chameleon fabric is discussed here due to its remarkable property of shifting colors based on the intensity and angle of light, as referenced in various historical sources. This unique fabric, whose fame extended across regions, appears in Islamic sources from the 9th to the 11th century. Our aim is to explore whether this color-changing feature was a result of specific dyes or dyeing techniques.

The earliest reference to chameleon fabric appears in Kitāb al-tabaṣṣur bi'l-tijāra, a treatise by Jāhiz. He describes the fabric as follows: “The chameleon fabric is a type of silk, adorned with green, red, and violet stripes, featuring the purest Rūmī Khusrawānī red. It is said to display various colors under the intensity of the sun and throughout the day. Its value is exceptionally high.”²⁶ As observed, Jāhiz reports the fabric's properties as part of popular belief rather than verified fact. Another detailed description of this fabric is found in Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik by Iṣṭakhrī, where he writes: “At a certain time of the year, an animal emerges from the sea near Shantarīn (Santarem). This animal rubs against the coastal rocks, leaving behind its soft, golden fur, which is gathered and woven into fabric. The fabric is dyed in different colors and crafted into garments that only Umayyad rulers were permitted to wear. These garments could only be transported secretly to other regions. Due to their beauty and rarity, the price of these garments could reach as high as 1,000 dinars.”²⁷

Similarly, Maqdisī, in Aḥsan al-taqāsīm, mentions chameleon fabric in the section on strange things in the Andalusian region. He states: “This region has many fascinating things, one of which is the chameleon. It lives on rocks by the sea and sheds its soft, golden fur there. The fur is highly valuable and continuously sought after. This fur is collected and made into garments that change color throughout the day. The sultan has prohibited the export of this fur to other countries, except for those smuggled out illegally. A garment made from this fur can cost around

²² Nāsir-ı Hüsrev, *Sefernâme*, 69.

²³ Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society I*, 366.

²⁴ Mukaddesî, *Ahsenü't-Takāsīm*, 222.

²⁵ Ali Mazaheri, *Ortaçağda Müslümanların Yaşayışları*, çev. Bahriye Üçok (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınevi, 1972), 33; Abdülhalik Bakır, “Ortaçağ İslâm Dünyasında Dokuma Sanayi”, *Belleter* 64/241 (2000), 785-786.

²⁶ Mahfuz Söylemez, “Cāhiz'in Et-Tebassur Bi't-Ticare Adlı Risalesi”, *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 42/1 (2001), 316; For the economic geography analysis of the mentioned work of Jāhiz in the Abbasid World; see. Muhammet Yurtseven, “Abbāsî Dönemi İktisat Coğrafyası ve İslam İktisat Düşüncesine Mekânsal Bir Yaklaşım: Cāhiz'in er-Tebassur bi't-Ticāra İsimli Eseri Üzerine Bir İnceleme”, *Hitit İlahiyat Dergisi* 23 (2024), 264-290.

²⁷ İstahri, *Ülkelerin Yolları*, trans. Murat Ağarı (İstanbul: Ayışığı Kitapları, 2020), 45.

10,000 dinars.”²⁸ Finally, Nasir Khusraw’s *Safarnāma* provides additional insights into the chameleon fabric in relation to the famous textile center of Tinnis in medieval Egypt. He writes: “In the city of Tinnis, they weave chameleon fabrics, which are found nowhere else in the world. These fabrics appear in different colors at different times of the day. They are taken from Tinnis to the east and west. I have heard that the Byzantine emperor sent envoys to the Egyptian sultan, offering to exchange a hundred cities from his kingdom for Tinnis, but the sultan refused. The reason for his refusal was none other than the production of silk and these iridescent fabrics.”²⁹ As seen in these accounts, the chameleon fabric occupied a unique place in medieval textile production, both for its extraordinary properties and its association with exclusivity and luxury. These accounts underscore how dyeing, beyond its technical and economic aspects, was embedded in medieval perceptions of rarity, political symbolism, and transregional prestige.

According to the sources we have presented regarding chameleon (bukalemun/abū kalāmūn) fabric, its uniqueness stemmed from two primary features: its production from the fur or skin of an animal collected seasonally from specific rocky areas and its ability to change color depending on the intensity of light. As the sources indicate, the production methods for al-buqalemon fabric were kept as a closely guarded secret, and its manufacture was limited to regions such as al-Andalus and Egypt, with its use reserved exclusively for caliphs. The color-changing property of chameleon fabric raises questions about the dyes used in its production. If we consider that the effect could have been influenced by the application of dyes, it is worth noting that modern thermochromic dyes—capable of changing color in response to heat or light—were far beyond the technological capabilities of the medieval period. Therefore, the al-buqalemon fabric described in the sources is likely to correspond to the iridescent textiles known as ὑποκάλαιμον (hypocalamon), which were imported by the Byzantines from Egypt.³⁰ The exaggerated prices mentioned in historical accounts, such as the claim that the Byzantine Emperor offered to trade one hundred cities in exchange for Tinnis, likely served to create an aura of exclusivity around chameleon fabric and increase its desirability. This deliberate mystique may have been part of a broader marketing strategy, as the spread of rumors surrounding the fabric would have naturally fueled public curiosity and demand. As Özdal explains in his work, merchants in the medieval period often employed intermediaries such as dellâl (criers) and münâdî to advertise and promote their goods. These individuals were known to collaborate with merchants to publicize products in an authoritative and convincing manner.³¹ It is plausible, therefore, that the legendary reputation of chameleon fabric was perpetuated through such marketing techniques. The medieval authors who recorded these stories may have heard and documented the rumors, which were themselves part of an intentional strategy to elevate the perceived value of the fabric and secure higher prices in the market.

In addition to Tinnis, the region of al-Andalus gained fame for its chameleon fabric, as well as its expertise in dyeing other textiles. The Andalusian cities of Granada and Baza, in particular, were famous for producing garments made from summer and winter wool and for their vibrant dyeing

²⁸ Mukaddesî, *Ahsenü't-Takâsîm*, 253-254; For the translation by Ramazan Şeşen, see. Makdisî, *Ahsenü't-Tekasim*, trans. Ramazan Şeşen (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları, 2022), 185.

²⁹ Nasir-ı Husrev, *Sefername*, trans. Abdülvehap Tarzi (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1967), 78; In A. Naci Tokmak’s translation, the term “Abū Kalamūn” is not explicitly mentioned. Instead, it is translated as ‘gold-embroidered silk fabric.’; see. Nâsir-ı Hüsrev, *Sefernâme*, A. Naci Tokmak, 70.

³⁰ Maurice Lombard, *İslâm Medeniyetinin Altın Çağı*, trans. Neziha Uzel (İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları, 2020), 262; A. J. W. Huisman, “Abū Kalamūn”, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. H. A. R. Gibb et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 1/131.

³¹ Özdal, *Ortaçağ Ekonomisi ve Müslüman Tüccarlar*, 330.

techniques.³² Archaeological excavations in Granada have uncovered two dyeing facilities: one located in the Alhambra Palace area and the other near the Darro River. These areas were historically referred to as the Dyers' Quarter (al-Ṣabbāghīn) and the Tanners' Quarter (al-Dabbāghīn).³³ Despite the smoke and unpleasant odors produced by the dyeing activities, which might have disturbed the surrounding areas, their location in the city center suggests that the dyers' need for access to water took precedence.³⁴ Dyers, by the nature of their profession, preferred to be located near water sources; however, this sometimes led to significant damage. For example, the dyers' workshops in the alcázar (palace) district of Córdoba were flooded in 1008 due to the overflowing of the Guadalquivir River, as they were located near the riverbanks. This incident demonstrates both the advantages of being close to water sources such as rivers and the risks that such locations can entail.³⁵

As Muslim rule in al-Andalus began to decline, many skilled artisans from cities such as Seville, Granada, and Cordoba were forced to migrate to Fez. This transfer of artisanal knowledge illustrates how Fez inherited and preserved the dyeing expertise of al-Andalus, reinforcing its position as a major textile center in the post-Andalusian Islamic Mediterranean. Fez provided an ideal working environment for these migrant dyers, offering easy access to the water sources essential for dyeing processes. Leo Africanus notes that the dyeing workshops in Fez were situated along the riverbanks and were supported by fountains and cisterns designed for the dyers.³⁶ In the social structure of the Maghreb, dyers were generally considered part of the middle class. According to Ibn Abī Zar', an important historical source on the history of Morocco, the city of Fez housed 116 dyeing workshops.³⁷ This highlights Fez's significance as a center for textile dyeing and production during the medieval period.

The perception that dyeing was a profession monopolized by Jews during the Middle Ages requires reconsideration, taking into account regional and demographic variations. In this context, the case of dyers in Anatolia holds particular significance for challenging this generalization and providing a more nuanced understanding. In the construction of a new city or the settlement and urban planning of an existing city, dyehouses frequently played a significant role as one of the fundamental economic enterprises.³⁸

During our research, waqfiyyas and studies conducted on these documents have been instrumental in identifying dyers and dyehouses from the Seljuk, Anatolian Beyliks, and Ottoman periods. The Altun-aba Waqfiyya is one such example. Upon examining the Altun-aba Waqfiyya, it becomes evident that, although it is not possible to generalize about all dyers in Anatolia, some were indeed affluent individuals. One such figure is Hoca Yusuf b. Salim, a dyer from Konya. According to the waqfiyya, Hoca Yusuf was among the wealthier dyers, as he financed

³² Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb fī dhikr wazīrīhā Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb*, trans. P. Gayangos et al. (London: Allenn & Company, 1840), 93.

³³ Alberto García Porras, "From Stones to Clay Bowls. Visual Arts of the City's Islamic Past", *A Companion to Islamic Granada*, ed. Bárbara Boloix-Gallardo (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 52.

³⁴ Adela Fábregas García, "The Economic Sources and Resources of Islamic Granada (2nd–9th/8th–15th Centuries)", *A Companion to Islamic Granada*, ed. Bárbara Boloix-Gallardo (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 271.

³⁵ Eduardo Manzano Moreno, *The Court of the Caliphate of al-Andalus*, trans. Jeremy Roe (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023), 383–384.

³⁶ Basim Musallam, "Müslüman Toplumun Düzeni", trans. Nuri Akbayer, *Cambridge Resimli İslâm Ülkeleri Tarihi*, ed. Francis Robinson (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005), 231.

³⁷ Ibn Abī Zar' Fāsī, *al-Anīs al-muṭrib bi-rawḍ al-qirṭās fī akhbār mulūk al-maghrib wa-tārīkh madīnat Fās*, ed. A. W. Benmansour (Rabat: Dār al-Mansūr, 1972), 48.

³⁸ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İmâret Sitelerinin Kuruluşu ve İşleyiş Tazîna Âit Araştırmalar", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 23/1-2 (1963), 239.

the construction of one of the four mosques mentioned in the document, built adjacent to the Altun-aba Madrasa.³⁹

One of the Muslim dyers in Konya was Osman b. Veysel. It is understood from the Altun-aba Waqfiyya that Osman b. Veysel owned a dyeing shop in the inn located next to the Altun-aba Madrasa. The mentioned waqfiyya includes forty-three names, four of whom are Christians, while the others are Muslims. Among the mentioned Muslims, one whose profession is identified is Hasan the Dyer. Additionally, the name of the region's muhtasib is Fahreddin Yunus b. Hasan of Konya.⁴⁰ The fourth dyer mentioned in the waqfiyya is Emir Biremuni of Konya.⁴¹

The existence of a dyehouse is documented in the records of the Seyid Harun Complex Waqf, one of the wealthiest waqfs in the Seydişehir region, which was an important area after Konya. The Waqfiyya's records date between 1439 and 1445, and a dyehouse located in Seydişehir is registered under this waqf. What distinguishes this waqfiyya from others is the measures taken to prevent the establishment of additional dyehouses, tanneries, and bakeries in the city, ensuring that the waqf's revenues would not decrease. According to the Seyid Harun Complex Waqfiyya, there was only one dyehouse registered to the waqf in Seydişehir, and this dyehouse generated an income of 360 akça (silver coin) for the waqf.⁴²

Another waqfiyya where traces of dyers can be found is the Melek Hatun Waqfiyya, dated 1385. Among the properties endowed in the Melek Hatun Waqfiyya, we learn that the possessions of Sinan the Dyer in Larende (Karaman) were also included.⁴³

Another dyeing center in Anatolia was the city of Kayseri, where one of the city gates was named "Dyers' Gate". This suggests that many workshops in the area were either dyehouses or that dyers constituted the dominant professional group.⁴⁴ One such dyehouse was registered under the Waqf of Hoca Ahmed b. Abdurrahman, dated 1477.⁴⁵

During the Sultanate of Rum period and later under the Ottomans, dyehouses operated in Konya, Sivas, and Kırşehir, where both fabric dyeing and dye production were carried out.⁴⁶ In

³⁹ İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Âbideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Konya Tarihi*, ed. M. Ali Orak-Ali Bektaş (Konya: s.n., 2007), 147; Konyalı noted that Osman Turan, in his facsimile of the waqfiyya, referred to Hoca Yusuf the Dyer as Hoca Yusuf the Jeweler. However, Konyalı argued that the presence of a yarn market and the İplikçi Mosque in the area of the mosque made it more plausible for the region to require a dyer rather than a jeweler; see. Konyalı, *Âbideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Konya Tarihi*, 306; The mosque commissioned by the aforementioned Hoca Yusuf the Dyer no longer has any remains existing today; see. Caner Arabacı, "Selçuklu Devri Konya Medreseleri", *Konya Kitabı XIX Türkiye Selçukluları ve Konya İlim ve Kültür*, ed. Caner Arabacı et al. (Konya: Konya Ticaret Odası, 2023), 3/176.

⁴⁰ Konyalı, *Âbideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Konya Tarihi*, 310.

⁴¹ Erdoğan Merçil, *Türkiye Selçukluları'nda Meslekler* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 2000), 186.

⁴² Fahri Çoşkun, "888/1483 Tarihli Karaman Eyaleti Vakıf Tahrir Defteri", *Vakıflar Dergisi* 33 (2010), 18, 86.

⁴³ İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, "Bir Huccet İki Vakfiye", *Vakıflar Dergisi* 7 (1968), 108; It can be stated that dyeing continued in Larende even after the Middle Ages. Indeed, in the 16th century, the mukataa of the dyehouse in Larende was recorded as 1,000 akça; see. M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, "XVI. Asırda Karaman Eyaleti ve Lârende (Karaman) Vakıf ve Müesseseleri", *Vakıflar Dergisi* 7 (1968), 36.

⁴⁴ Aziz B. Erdeşir-i Esterâbâdi, *Bezm u Rezm*, trans. Mürsel Öztürk (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990), 285; Yaşar Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri Hakkında Araştırmalar II* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1991), 112; Merçil, *Türkiye Selçukluları'nda Meslekler*, 28; Ahmet Tabakoğlu, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2021), 170; The aforementioned Dyers' Gate in Kayseri was demolished by the municipality in 1964. For further information on the dyehouse and the dyers' market in Kayseri during the 16th century; see. Mehmet Çayırdağ, "Kayseri'de Kitabelerinden XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Yapıldığı Anlaşılan İlk Osmanlı Yapıları", *Vakıflar Dergisi* 12 (1981), 555, 562.

⁴⁵ Methiye Gül Çötel, "İslâm Kentinde Vakıfların Ticaret Bölgesinin Oluşumu Üzerine Etkisi: Hayrat-Akar İlişisinin Döngüsel Doğası", *Vakıflar Dergisi* 45 (2016), 26.

⁴⁶ Osman Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslâm Medeniyeti* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1965), 266; İsmet Kayaoğlu, "Anadolu Selçukluları Devrinde Ticari Hayat", *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 24 (1981), 370; Salim Koca, "Türkiye Selçuklu Sultanlarının İzledikleri Ekonomik Politikalar", ed. Hasan Celal Güzel et al. (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002), 525.

the reign of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, the revenues from three dyehouses in Konya were endowed to support the Devlet Hatun Mosque.⁴⁷

It is important to emphasize that woven textile products could not always be dyed at their place of production. This highlights the potential fallacy in assuming that the development of a weaving industry necessarily implied the presence of dyehouses in the same location. In particular, textiles produced in rural areas were often transported in bulk to dyehouses located in larger towns and cities, where the dyeing process was carried out.⁴⁸ At times, skilled dyers from various cities were invited by rulers, beys, or prominent individuals to prepare for significant events. For instance, during the preparations for the wedding of Selçuk Hatun, the daughter of Fahreddin Behrāmshāh, the ruler of the House of Mengüjek, and Kaykaus I, Sultan of the Sultanate of Rum, in 1218, it is recorded that master tailors and dyers from across the country worked for three months.⁴⁹

During the Ottoman period, Bursa emerged as a significant dyeing center. The city's reputation for dyeing extended to distant regions. For instance, silk from Baghdād was brought to Bursa for dyeing and then returned to Baghdād to be offered to customers.⁵⁰ Throughout the Middle Ages, Bursa served as an important hub for dyeing activities. Dyestuffs from India, Egypt, and Syria were transported to Bursa along with spice shipments, typically via the Damascus-Aleppo-Bursa route or the Alexandria-Antalya route. Furthermore, the trade volume of dyestuffs exported to Bursa continued to increase steadily even after the medieval period and, by 1487, the revenue generated from customs duties on dyes and pepper had reached 100,000 akça.⁵¹

Michael Dukas noted that, following the conquest, monasteries in Constantinople were left vacant, and he reported that fabric dyers resided in the now-empty Pantokrator Monastery, where they practiced their craft.⁵² However, it is evident that the dyehouses in Bursa continued to maintain their significance even after the conquest of Constantinople. Textiles belonging to the palace and flags for the navy were dyed in Bursa. While Bursa was renowned for its expertise in dyeing across various color groups, it gained particular fame for its red dyes.⁵³ The dyehouses in Bursa were also organized under a well-structured system. This system ensured that dyers were divided based on the materials they used and the colors in which they specialized. Dyers in Bursa were categorized as wool, silk, felt, and linen dyers, as well as by their proficiency in specific color groups. For instance, a master of red wool dyeing could not dye wool in blue. Each dyer exclusively worked with the textile material and color in which they were specialized.⁵⁴ This specialization in a single color was known to be carried out through the master-apprentice

⁴⁷ İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Âbideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Konya Tarihi*, 136.

⁴⁸ Halil İnalçık, *Türkiye Tekstil Tarihi Üzerine Araştırmalar* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2008), 130.

⁴⁹ Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslâm Medeniyeti*, 271.

⁵⁰ Kâmil Kepçioğlu, "Bursa'da Şer'i Mahkeme Sicillerinden ve Muhtelif Arşiv Kayıtlarından Toplanan Tarihi Bilgiler ve Vesikalar", *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942), 414.

⁵¹ Halil İnalçık, *Bursa Araştırmaları*, ed. Yusuf Oğuzoğlu (Bursa: Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kitaplığı, 2012), 79.

⁵² Michael Dukas, *Bizans Tarihi*, trans. Vladimir Mirmiroğlu (İstanbul: İstanbul Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1956), 196.

⁵³ Kepçioğlu, "Bursa'da Şer'i Mahkeme Sicillerinden", 414.

⁵⁴ Zahide İmer, "Türklerin Dokuma Sanatında Boyacılık", *Erdem Dergisi* 10/29 (1999), 333; Kepçioğlu, "Bursa'da Şer'i Mahkeme Sicillerinden", 414. The specialization of dyers in different dyestuffs and the colors associated with them, such as madder dyers and indigo dyers, was commonly observed across medieval Islamic states; see. Yedida Kalfon Stillman, "New Data on Islamic Textiles from the Geniza", *Textile History* 10/1 (1979), 190; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society I*, 107.

relationship and loyalty to trade associations. The dyeing processes of Muslim dyers and the secrecy surrounding their techniques as "guild secrets" often frustrated European merchants.⁵⁵

In the fifteenth century, large dyehouses continued to operate in Amasya, Tokat, and Kayseri.⁵⁶ Additionally, dyehouses were present in Alanya and Antalya.⁵⁷ The earliest historical records from the late fifteenth century provide significant information about the state of dyehouses in Bursa. According to the 1486 Bursa Shari'a Court register, a dyer named Abdullah b. Iskender received ten thousand akça from Tachedin b. Sinan, the Imperial Construction Treasury Officer (Hassa Harç Emni), for dyeing felts to be used in the imperial tents. Another record from 1496 contains data regarding the dyestuffs used in dyeing, the names of essential equipment such as vats and cauldrons in dyers' workshops, and the use of alum brought from Gediz in the dyehouses. Although these records fall outside the scope of this study, it is worth noting that the foundations of Bursa's dyehouses were laid during the Middle Ages, and records from the sixteenth century and later in the Bursa Shari'a Court reveal that the dyeing profession was predominantly controlled by Muslims. Additionally, some of these dyers were assigned to Edirne, and bakkam dye continued to be an important dyestuff.⁵⁸

Among the dyers in Bursa, there were also wealthy individuals. One notable example is Mehmed the Dyer, who lived in Kurşunlu. Mehmed passed away in 1531 while performing the pilgrimage, leaving behind an estate valued at 86,461 akça. It has been determined that Mehmed earned his capital through dyeing, invested in vineyards and houses, which he rented out, and increased his wealth further through money-lending activities.⁵⁹

The knowledge of dyers being reassigned from the dyehouse in Bursa to the dyehouse in Edirne has drawn our attention to Edirne. In this context, during our examination of waqfiyyas related to Edirne, we identified records of dyers' shops endowed to the waqf in the 1493 Waqfiyya of the Sulejman Pasha Mosque in Edirne.⁶⁰

The existence of a dyehouse in Uşak, on the other hand, is evident from the Waqfiyya of the Ahi Gasasız Zawiya. This waqfiyya mentions a dyehouse registered under the zawiya. However, it is known that the zawiya was in a dilapidated state during the fifteenth century. Furthermore, the absence of the Ahi Gasasız Zawiya in waqf records from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries suggests that the zawiya was no longer active during these periods.⁶¹

The exact location, number, and condition of the dyehouses we examined from the medieval period cannot be fully determined due to the limitations of available sources. Although it is challenging to ascertain the precise number of dyehouses throughout the medieval period, it is understood that the number of dyehouses in the Rûm provinces, identified during the cadastral surveys of Sultan Selim I's reign and still existing during the reign of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, was twelve.⁶²

⁵⁵ Patricia Baker, *Islamic Textiles* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), 29.

⁵⁶ İnalçık, *Türkiye Tekstil Tarihi*, 80.

⁵⁷ Mehmet Ali Bozkuş, "Ortaçağ Alanya'sında Ticaret ve Ticari Yollar", *Phaselis* 2 (2016), 216.

⁵⁸ Kepeçioğlu, "Bursa'da Şer'i Mahkeme Sicillerinden", 414.

⁵⁹ Halil İnalçık, "A Case Study of the Village Microeconomy: Villages in the Bursa Sancak, 1520-1593", *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire Essays on Economy and Society*, ed. İlhan Başgöz (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1993), 173-174.

⁶⁰ Abdulkadir Şener, "Edirne'de Süleyman Paşa Camii Vakfiyesi", *Vakıflar Dergisi* 11 (1978), 13.

⁶¹ Murat Mustafa Öntü, "Uşak'ta Ahilik ve Ahi Kurumları", *Vakıflar Dergisi* 32 (2009), 147.

⁶² Tayyip Gökbilgin, "15 ve 16. Asırlarda Eyâlet-i Rûm", *Vakıflar Dergisi* 6 (1965), 56.

2. The Position of Dyers in Medieval Islamic Craft Organizations

In medieval Islamic civilizations, dyers organized themselves under various structures depending on their regions and practiced their craft within these frameworks.

One such organization was the Futuwwa. The belief that every craft had its own spiritual guide (pir) fostered a sense of brotherhood among members of the futuwwa order. This, in turn, facilitated their organization and professional practice, reflecting the fundamental nature and structure of the organization.⁶³ According to the Razavi Futuwwa Manual, the master (pir) of dyers is Amir b. Imrān Sabbagh.⁶⁴ Furthermore, various futuwwa manuals suggest that dyers trace their spiritual lineage through Qāsim b. Nasrullah al-Kūfi and Amir b. Imrān al-Sayyagh to Salmān al-Fārisī, and ultimately to ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib.⁶⁵

During the reign of Saladin, various artisans and merchants were organized into guilds, each led by a head (reis). The quality and prices of goods sold in the markets were supervised by both the guild leaders and the muhtasib (market inspector). Those who sold goods that did not meet the standards were either punished or expelled from their profession. A similar oversight mechanism was also in place in major cities such as Cairo and elsewhere.⁶⁶

In al-Andalus, professions such as dyers, goldsmiths, and blacksmiths were organized within their own guilds. As in the broader medieval Islamic Mediterranean, practitioners of the same trade in al-Andalus were often grouped together. Streets, neighborhoods, or markets where these professionals were located were frequently named after their respective crafts. Each profession was led by individuals known as ‘ārifs or āmīn, who were recognized as the most skilled in their trade and respected by their peers.⁶⁷

The process by which Futuwwa evolved into trade guilds and professional organizations in other parts of the medieval Islamic Mediterranean remains unclear. However, this transformation is distinctly evident during the Anatolian Seljuk period. Indeed, Futuwwa took the form of Ahi in Anatolia.⁶⁸ In the context of its development in Anatolia, it is observed that the Futuwwa organization, institutionalized by the Abbasid Caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (1180-1125), was organized in Anatolia and transformed into a structure that encompassed craftsmen and tradesmen.⁶⁹ Caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh sent the renowned Sufi Sheikh Shahābuddīn Suhrawardī to Anatolia, further institutionalizing Ahiism as an organized structure.⁷⁰ Ahi Evran, considered the founder of Ahiism in Anatolia. With the support of Sultan Alaeddīn Keykubad, Ahi Evran not only established Islamic Sufi thought in Anatolia but also adhered to the principles of Futuwwa. He organized relationships between sheikhs and disciples in the lodges and zawiyas while

⁶³ Süleyman Uludağ, “Fütüvvet”, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1996), 13/259.

⁶⁴ Serdar Aktaş, *Razavî Fütüvvetnâmesi Hacıbektaş Halk Kütüphanesi No: 49/560 Metin Çevirisi ve Değerlendirmesi* (Nevşehir: Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Master’s Thesis, 2014), 115; Haşim Şahin, *Adalet Dürüstlük ve Bereketin Temsilcisi Ahiler* (İstanbul: Erdem Yayınları, 2012), 72.

⁶⁵ Ali Torun, *Türk Edebiyatında Türkçe Fütüvvet-Nâmeler Üzerine Bir İnceleme* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1998), 124.

⁶⁶ Şeşen, *Salâhaddîn Eyyûbi ve Devlet*, 296; Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 33.

⁶⁷ Mehmet Özdemir, *Endülüs* (İstanbul: İSAM Yayınları, 2014), 296.

⁶⁸ Franz Taeschner, “İslam Ortaçağında Futuvva (Fütüvvet Teşkilatı)”, trans. Fikret Işıltan, *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 15/1-4 (2015), 17.

⁶⁹ Mikâil Bayram, “Ahiliğin Selçuklulardan Osmanlılara İntikali”, *Osmanlı Öncesi ile Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Dönemlerinde Esnaf ve Ekonomi Semineri Bildirileri* (İstanbul: Globus Dünya Basımevi, 2003), 1/94.

⁷⁰ Yusuf Benli, “Ahilikte Şiilik Etkisi ve Ahiliğin Anadolu’da Aleviliğe Tesirleri Meselesine İlişkin Bazı Değerlendirmeler”, *The 1st International Symposium on Culture of Ahism and Kirsehir* (Kırşehir: Ahi Evran Üniversitesi Ahilik Kültürünü Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, 2011), 1/197.

structuring the dynamics between masters, journeymen, and apprentices. Thus, he laid the foundations for the principles of guilds that regulated the economic life of Anatolia.⁷¹

The organizational structure of Ahiism continued to exert its influence during the period of the Anatolian Beyliks. Indeed, this era reflected characteristics that were, both economically and culturally, a continuation of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum.⁷² We see in Ibn Battūta's travel book that each occupational group was organized separately. Ibn Battūta praises Ladik (Denizli) for its weavings and spends Eid al-Fitr here. He tells that Yınanç Bey and his soldiers gathered in front of the mosque to celebrate the feast and that Ahi craftsmen, dressed in their splendor, carried flags indicating their professions and that each professional group slaughtered the sacrifices they brought with them and distributed them to the poor. Ibn Battūta does not mention the characteristics of these flags identifying the professions, such as their figures and patterns.⁷³ However, it would not be wrong to imagine that the dyers in Ladik were carrying a pennant with the figures of a dyer's cauldron and a mallet that defined the profession of dyeing. This section demonstrates that the dyeing craft was not practiced in isolation but was deeply embedded in the social, spiritual, and institutional fabric of medieval Mediterranean Islamic civilizations. From the Futuwwa brotherhoods to the Ahi guilds of Anatolia and the urban guild structures of al-Andalus, dyers participated in highly organized systems of craft regulation, moral discipline, and economic oversight. These organizations not only structured apprenticeship and professional ethics but also linked dyeing to broader networks of Islamic governance and urban life.

3. Supervision of Dyers: Professional Rules, Duties, and Responsibilities

Among the professions that undermined social trust and commercial ethics in medieval Islamic civilizations, two groups in particular were criticized: Dyers, who did not fulfill their promises to their customers or constantly delayed them, and goldsmiths, who were criticized for their frequent involvement in interest and their tendency to deceive.⁷⁴

The accusation of dishonesty directed at dyers is reflected in the following hadith: Abū Huraira (may Allah be pleased with him) narrated: "The Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings be upon him) said: 'The greatest liars among people are dyers and goldsmiths.'" In his study of Kutub al-sitta, Ibrahim Canan notes that this hadith is among the weak narrations found in Ibn Mājah. He further states that since both professions are indispensable for social life, it is unlikely that the Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him) intended to disparage these trades. Instead, it is more appropriate to interpret this hadith as referring to instances when they failed to deliver their work on time, thus being perceived as dishonest.⁷⁵

In an environment of lack of supervision, dyers were among the professional groups that were likely to abuse their profession.⁷⁶ In Islamic states, the regulations and inspections that dyers were required to follow bring us to the institution of *hisbah*, its rules, and the roles of *muhtasibs*.

⁷¹ Saffet Sancaklı, "Ahi Ahlakının Oluşumunda Hz. Peygamber Hadislerinin Rolü ve Etkisi", *The 1st International Symposium on Culture of Ahiism and Kırşehir* (Kırşehir: Ahi Evran Üniversitesi Ahilik Kültürünü Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, 2011), 2/902.

⁷² Tabakoğlu, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, 195.

⁷³ Ibn Battūta, *İbn Battūta Seyahatnâmesi*, trans. A. Sait Aykut (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2004), 410.

⁷⁴ Abdülhalik Bakır, *Ortaçağ İslam Dünyasında Tekstil Sanayi, Giyim Kuşam ve Moda* (Ankara: Bizim Büro, 2005), 320; Özdağ, *Ortaçağ Ekonomisi ve Müslüman Tüccarlar*, 42.

⁷⁵ Ibrahim Canan, *Kütüb-i Sittü Muhtasarı Tercüme ve Şerhi* (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 1995), 17/246-247.

⁷⁶ Mustafa Hizmetli, "Abbasilerde Hisbe ve Muhtesib: Bağdat Örneği", *Journal of History Culture and Art Research* 6/6 (2017), 435.

From its earliest periods, the role of the muḥtasib involved overseeing the accuracy of measurement and weighing instruments, as well as ensuring the standardization of coins. They were also responsible for punishing those who violated these standards. Additionally, the establishment of principles for commercial transactions and resolving discrepancies in market measurement systems became integral to the muḥtasib's duties.⁷⁷ During the Seljuk era, muḥtasibs were tasked with maintaining order and security in marketplaces and bazaars while also managing municipal affairs. In the Mamlūk period, the ḥisbah was administered through three positions: two based in the capital and one in provincial areas. Until the Ottoman period, the ḥisbah institution in Turkish-Islamic states continued to function as an authority responsible for municipal services in every region.⁷⁸ In the Ottoman era, muḥtasibs were subordinate to the Qāḍī (judge), executing the qāḍī's directives while also assisting in the supervision of economic activities. They were responsible for monitoring the enforcement of pricing regulations (narh) and ensuring that tradespeople complied with established rules. In this capacity, they played a pivotal role in regulating economic and social life, particularly in economic activities. For instance, they inspected tradespeople and protected the rights of guilds. Furthermore, their responsibilities included collecting a tax known as İhtisābiyyah on imported goods that competed with local products, allocating tax revenues to specific needs, maintaining public order, and ensuring the provision of essential goods to the population. These multifaceted duties made the muḥtasib a key figure in both the economic and administrative life of Ottoman cities.⁷⁹ In medieval Islamic states, dyers were not only supervised by the muḥtasib, the head of the ḥisbah organization, but also by individuals known as ʿārifs or āmīn. As mentioned in the previous pages under the title "the position of dyers in medieval Islamic craft organizations", every profession in the medieval Islamic Mediterranean was overseen by an official called an ʿārifs or āmīn, who represented that trade. These officials were responsible for providing the necessary training to members of their profession and teaching them the rules they were required to follow. They would then conduct inspections to ensure compliance with these rules. The ʿārifs were obligated to maintain control within their own professional groups through regular inspections, as they were themselves accountable to the muḥtasib, the head of the ḥisbah organization, which served as the regulatory authority for the bazaar and market.⁸⁰ This dual system of professional and market supervision ensured that the dyeing craft was not only economically regulated but also ethically and technically standardized through layered accountability.

3.1. Regulations Regarding the Location and Environmental Impact of Dyehouses

The muḥtasib, responsible for maintaining urban order, also oversaw the spatial distribution and operational standards of shops and workshops within markets and residential quarters. The location of the dyehouses was also important in this regard. The fire that was lit to boil the cauldrons during the dyeing process and the dense smoke that was generated was a cause of discomfort for those in the neighborhood. The dye houses should not be located in a location that would not cause discomfort to the people around them due to the smoke. For this reason, it was forbidden to open dye houses in densely populated city centers.⁸¹ However, Ibn Ukhuwwa

⁷⁷ Cengiz Kallek, "Hisbe", *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1998), 18/137.

⁷⁸ Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri* (İstanbul: Fey Vakfı Yayınları, 1990), 1/235.

⁷⁹ Ziya Kazıcı, "Ahilik", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1988), 1/540-542.

⁸⁰ Özdemir, *Endülüs*, 296.

⁸¹ Evariste Lévi-Provençal, *Séville Musulmane Au Début Du Xii^e Siècle: Le Traité d'Ibn 'Abdun Sur La Vie Urbaine Et Les Corps De Métiers* (Paris: Maisonneuve&Larose, 2001), 81.

presents two contrasting legal opinions on the matter: according to the Merv school, converting a home into a dyehouse is impermissible, while the Iraqi school allows it under certain conditions, including structural reinforcement and adherence to local customs.⁸² The establishment of dye workshops in close proximity to residential areas often caused discomfort among the local population. Initially, permission might be granted for opening such workshops, but subsequent objections and complaints often led to corrective actions. For instance, a document dated 1030 records that Ya'qūb b. Muwassar rented a shop in the Ibn Habisha district of Palestine to use as a dye workshop, paying an annual fee of five dinars. However, the presence of a synagogue on the same street and the workshop's close proximity to it disturbed the neighborhood residents. As public opposition grew, the dye workshop's operations were ultimately halted.⁸³

Like the location of the dyehouse, there were also rules regarding the drying areas for the dyed fabrics. After dyeing, the dyed fabrics required drying outside if there was not enough drying space inside the shop. In this regard, the muhtasib set a rule that they should dry in a place away from the road so as not to obstruct the passage of people on the street where the dyehouse was located and held the dyers responsible for complying with this rule.⁸⁴

The dyer was responsible for ensuring that any smoke produced during the dyeing process was discharged in a way that would not disturb the surrounding environment. Additionally, they were required to avoid polluting the streets during the dyeing process and to dispose of any waste afterward in a manner that would not harm the environment.⁸⁵ These responsibilities reflect an early form of urban environmental regulation embedded within the Islamic legal framework. In sum, the regulation of dyehouses extended beyond economic control to include spatial planning and environmental accountability, reflecting a holistic vision of urban governance in medieval Islamic cities.

3.2. Regulations Regarding the Dyestuff

There were also rules regarding the dyestuffs used by dyers. The muhtasib, who was obliged to protect the public interest, also took measures in this regard. He made inspections to ensure that dyers did not use flimsy dyes that faded and ran quickly when dyed. Accordingly, dyestuffs that were forbidden to be used by dyers were specified. In Ibn Abdūn's treatise, it is defined as cheating for dyers to obtain the green color from mishnān (مشنان) and the sky blue color from bakkam (Brazilwood). It was stated that the use of green color with mishnān and sky blue color with bakkam was forbidden because it caused the dyed fabric to deteriorate quickly.⁸⁶

⁸² Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Ukhawwa, *Ma'ālim al-qurbā fī aḥkām al-hisbah*, critical ed. Reuben Levy (London: Cambridge University Press, 1938), 45.

⁸³ Shelomo Dov Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society II* (London: University of California Press, 1999), 433.

⁸⁴ Mustafa Hizmetli, *Endülüs'te Hisbe Teşkilatı* (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 2011), 108.

⁸⁵ Ibn 'Abd al-Ra'ūf, "Risāla fī ādāb al-hisba wa'l-muhtasib", *Thalāth Rasā'il Andalusīyya fī ādāb al-hisba wa'l-muhtasib*, ed. Évariste Lévi-Provençal (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1955), 111.

⁸⁶ Muḥammad ibn Ahmad al-Tujībī Ibn 'Abdūn, *Risāla fī al-qaḍā' wa al-hisba*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal (Cairo: Institut Français d'archéologie Orientale, 1955), 51; French translation by Lévi-Provençal, *Séville Musulmane Au Début Du XIe Siècle*, 82, 105; The name of the plant, from which it is forbidden to obtain green color, is mentioned as matnan in Arabic in the references used by Lévi-Provençal in his translation, and as mishnan in Mustafa Hizmetli's work. We consulted the work cited by Lévi-Provençal to determine which plant matnan or mishnan corresponds to in Turkish. In the work, matnan is defined as Daphne Gnidium (Thymelaea hirsuta Endl.). In the Illustrated Multilingual Dictionary of Plant Names, which we used frequently during our study, it is referred to as kurd bağı, beyneb fidanı. During our research, we came across that mishnan/matnan is used as tülkü çekem in Turkish; see: Hizmetli, *Endülüs'te Hisbe Teşkilatı*, 113; Armenag K. Bedevian, *Resimli Çokdilli Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*, ed. Ruken Kızıler (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2021), 227; Ahmet İlçim, *Hatay'ın Sessiz Güzelleri* 900 Yabancı Çiçek Hatay Bitki Envanteri (Hatay: Hatay Valiliği Yayınları, 2014), 862; In another study, the French translation of Ibn Abdūn's work

The information provided by Shayzarī, who dedicated a separate section to dyers, holds great significance for our topic. Shayzarī notes that dyers in workshops would sometimes use henna instead of madder to dye silk and other thread materials red. While this method gave the woven products a temporary beauty and shine, the color would fade and deteriorate when exposed to sunlight. He also mentions that when dyeing fabrics black, dyer's oak and iron sulfate (Vitriol/zaç-ı Kıbrıs/Karaboya) were used. These substances would produce a deep black color when added to the dyeing vat, but Shayzarī emphasizes that this color, too, would quickly fade, with the dye losing its intensity over time. The use of henna instead of madder for red and dyer's oak and iron sulfate for black is described as deceitful. Shayzarī asserts that such practices should be prohibited by the muḥtasib to ensure the integrity of the craft and protect consumers.⁸⁷

A similar deceit is mentioned by Ibn Ukhuwwa, who states that dyers might commit fraud by dyeing red with henna instead of madder, emphasizing that the muḥtasib must be vigilant and prevent such practices. In cases where customers requested dyeing in kuhlī (surmeh black), it is understood that, in addition to the dyes Shayzarī mentions, dyers also engaged in deceit using carob. Ibn Ukhuwwa describes how dyers would dip the fabric into a dye vat made with carob, remove it, and treat it with the froth from the vat before returning the fabric to the customer. However, fabrics dyed with carob would revert to their original color in a short time.⁸⁸ Ibn Ukhuwwa states that no reeds other than the Qulzumī (قُلْزُمِي) type can be dyed, as other types of reeds would quickly rot and are not resistant to dyeing. For dyeing Qulzumī mats, he specifies that only Cyprus madder root should be used. If madder is replaced with bakkam, he warns that the color of the mat will change, and if acidic substances fall on it, the mat will yellow, leaving stains that cannot be removed. Suggests that if the price of madder root increases, making it too expensive or scarce in the market, it can be mixed with bakkam in a ratio of one-third or two-thirds for dyeing. For achieving a black color, vitriol must be used. He emphasizes that dyers should not forget that people perform prayers on these mats, and therefore the water used in the dyeing process must be clean, and the drying must also be done in a clean environment.⁸⁹

Ibn Bassām regards the use of henna instead of madder root for dyeing red as an act of fraud by dyers. Regarding the dyeing of mats, he similarly emphasizes that madder root must be used to achieve a red color, as bakkam is unsuitable for mat dyeing. He explains that mats dyed with bakkam are prone to discoloration and deterioration when exposed to heat or sunlight. Ibn Bassām also underscores the importance of using pure and clean water in the dyeing process. Furthermore, he advises the ʿārifs (عريف), the heads of professional craft organizations, to take the necessary measures to ensure that dyers comply with the established guidelines and instructions.⁹⁰

Ibn Bassām created a separate section specifically for purple dyers. This complex process and the rules to be followed are as follows. ʿĀrif must be present during the production of purple

was used, but the plant was defined as dyer's broom, not in accordance with the historical source; see. Ana Miranda-Isabel Pombo Cardoso, "Beyond Art Technical Sources: Understanding Colour Production in Andalusī Texts", *Conservar Património* 48 (2025), 6.

⁸⁷ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Naṣr Shayzarī, *Nihāyat al-rutba fī talab al-hisba: The Book of the Islamic Market Inspector*, trans. R. P. Buckley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 92.

⁸⁸ Ibn Ukhuwwa, *Ma ʿālim al-qurbā fī aḥkām al-hisbah*, 45.

⁸⁹ Ibn Ukhuwwa, *Ma ʿālim al-qurbā fī aḥkām al-hisbah*, 93-94.

⁹⁰ Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutbah*, ed. Aḥmad Farīd Mazīdī (Beirut: Dar al-Kotob al-Ilmiyah, 2003), 348, 377.

dye in order to constantly supervise the purple dyers and observe the process of dye production. If a pure purple dye is produced with minimal addition of lac and alum, he must ensure that lime is added in proportion to the weight of the dye. The addition of lac should be the same as the amount of dye. If a pure dye is produced with minimal lac and lime is added to darken the color and then treated with bakkam, this is also considered fraudulent. Instead, alum should be used to strengthen the dyeing during a second treatment and lac added until the dye reaches the desired density. These procedures must be carefully monitored, banned when necessary, and those involved must swear an oath in the name of Allah Almighty that they will follow the rules exactly.⁹¹

Among the *ḥisba* treatises and *İhtisāb* manuals we reviewed, only ‘Uṭrūsh’s *İhtisāb* work explicitly prohibits dyeing men’s fabrics or garments with saffron. This prohibition stems from the fact that wearing such saffron-dyed clothing was considered forbidden for men. It was also emphasized that dyers must thoroughly wash the fabric after completing the dyeing process.⁹²

In the *Kanunname-i İhtisab-ı Bursa* (The Law of The Municipality of Bursa), issued as an imperial edict by Sultan Bayezid II to maintain production standards, regulations for dyers were also included. For instance, mixing lac dye with madder to produce a red color was explicitly defined as fraudulent and prohibited.⁹³ Furthermore, the Bursa *İhtisab* Law mandated that Futa fabric could only be dyed with woad.⁹⁴ After the reign of Bayezid II, Ottoman dyers continued to be monitored under the *Kanunnâme-i İhtisāb-ı İstānbūl al-Maḥrūsa*, which ensured they carried out their work properly. Even the dyes they used were subjected to inspection by separate officials.⁹⁵ For example, dye workshops in Bursa underwent multiple levels of control and oversight. Dyers were supervised by the city’s chamberlain (*kethüda*), while the dye materials and their quality were inspected by the city’s *yiğitbaşı*. Additionally, the final products were checked by a skilled expert specialized in the dyeing of all color tones to ensure proper quality control.⁹⁶

These detailed prescriptions illustrate that dyestuff regulation in medieval Islamic and Ottoman contexts extended far beyond color preference encompassing chemical composition, religious permissibility, craft ethics, and multilayered institutional control.

3.3. Regulations on the Use of Labels in Dyeing Practices

We believe that dyers occasionally preferred to dye the threads, fabrics, or garments brought by customers in batches. This method can be considered a practical approach that prevented the need to prepare separate dye vats for each new item, thus reducing the waste of dyeing materials and saving time. Indeed, Bukhārī mentions a common practice in dyeing processes. Dyers would typically collect their customers’ garments and dye them all at once in a single vat, rather than dyeing each customer’s garments separately. Bukhārī notes that if a specific amount of dye had to be measured for each garment and each piece dyed individually, the process

⁹¹ Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutbah*, 378. On the use of lac and bakkam dyestuffs in the Mediterranean medieval period see. Sercan Akiniz, *Ortaçağ Akdeniz’inin Renkleri Boyarmaddelerin Üretimi ve Kullanımının Tarihi Süreci* (Antalya: Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Akdeniz Uygarlıkları Araştırma Enstitüsü, Ph.D. Dissertation, 2023), 91-95, 102-106.

⁹² Ḥasan b. ‘Alī ‘Uṭrūsh, *Kitāb al-İhtisāb*, *Studies in Arabian History and Civilisation Sec. VII*, ed. Robert Bertram Serjeant (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), 31.

⁹³ Türk Standartları Enstitüsü, *Kanunname-i İhtisab-ı Bursa*, *Türk Standartları Enstitüsü* (2013), 12.

⁹⁴ Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri* (İstanbul: Fey Vakfı Yayınları, 1990), 2/206.

⁹⁵ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “XV. Asrın Sonunda Bazı Büyük Şehirlerde Eşya ve Yiyecek Fiyatlarının Tesbit ve Teftişi Hususlarını Tanzim Eden Kanunlar I”, *Tarih Vesikaları Dergisi* 1/5 (1942), 337.

⁹⁶ Kepçioğlu, “Bursa’da Şer’i Mahkeme Sicillerinden ve Muhtelif Arşiv Kayıtlarından Toplanan Tarihi Bilgiler ve Vesikalar”, 414.

would become exceedingly laborious. Therefore, he suggests that collective dyeing is considered a more practical and efficient method.⁹⁷ The regulations in *ḥisba* treatises, which mandate the labeling of items brought by customers, support the idea that products were dyed collectively. Indeed, this is explicitly mentioned in the *ḥisba* treatises of Ukhuwwa and Shayzarī, where it was made obligatory to attach a label bearing the customer's name to the textile materials and garments brought for dyeing. This practice was intended to prevent confusion or loss of products.⁹⁸ However, the fact that dyers sometimes failed to adhere to this labeling requirement will become more evident in the legal issues concerning dyers, which we will explore under the next subheading. When the *muḥtasib* detected violations of the aforementioned rules and acts of fraud, he would publicize the fraudulent dyers in the public interest, thereby ensuring their exposure to the community.⁹⁹

4. The Legal Responsibilities and Rights of Dyers in Medieval Islamic Law

The examination of legal texts provides valuable insights into the challenges faced by dyers in their daily lives. The relationship between dyers and their customers sheds light on how the legal frameworks of medieval Islamic civilization sought to balance the rights and responsibilities of both parties in cases such as miscommunication over dye selection, disputes over pricing, and issues of liability in instances of negligence.

When a customer delivered a garment to a dyer to be dyed in a specific color, but the dyer dyed it in a different color, the owner of the garment had two options. First, the owner could claim compensation for the garment's value in its undyed state and leave the dyed garment with the dyer. Second, the owner could choose to accept the dyed garment but would then be required to compensate the dyer for the increase in value brought about by the dyeing process. If the garment was dyed in a shade resembling the requested color but not exactly matching it, the same rights applied. In this case, the owner could either claim the undyed value of the garment and leave the dyed piece with the dyer or accept the dyed garment and pay the actual value of the work performed. However, such payments could not exceed the amount initially agreed upon.¹⁰⁰

Disputes that arose during the dyeing process regarding instructions typically gave precedence to the customer's statement. For example, if the customer claimed that they had requested the garment to be dyed red, while the dyer insisted that the instructions were to dye it black, the customer's declaration was prioritized. If the customer chose to keep the dyed garment, they were obligated to pay the difference between the garment's undyed value and its dyed value. This payment was considered a legal obligation to compensate the dyer for their labor.¹⁰¹

The explicit specification of dye types significantly reduced disputes between the customer and the dyer. When customers requested specific dyes such as saffron, safflower or brazilwood, the risk of disagreement decreased. However, even when the correct dye was used, if the resulting shade did not meet the customer's expectations, the customer retained the right to claim compensation for the garment's undyed value. Conversely, if the customer chose to accept the

⁹⁷ Bukhārī, *al-Muḥīṭ al-burhānī fī al-fiqh al-nu'mānī*, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm Sāmī al-Jundī (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2004), 7/630.

⁹⁸ Ibn Ukhuwwa, *Ma'ālīm al-qurba fī aḥkām al-ḥisba*, 45; Shayzarī, *Nihāyat al-rutba fī talab al-ḥisba*, 92.

⁹⁹ Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sultāniyyah*, trans. Asadullah Yate (London: Ta-Ha Publishers, 1996), 358.

¹⁰⁰ 'Alā' al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Mas'ūd Kāsānī, *Badā'ī' al-sanā'ī' fī tartīb al-sharā'ī'*, ed. 'Alī Mu'āwaḍ-'Ādil 'Abd al-Mawjūd (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1997), 4/216.

¹⁰¹ Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, ed. Committee (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1989), 30/199.

dyed garment, they were obligated to pay the previously agreed-upon fee. In disputes over the choice of dye, such as when the customer claimed they had requested saffron but the dyer asserted that safflower had been specified, the customer's statement was usually prioritized and could be confirmed by an oath. However, according to Sarakhsī, Ibn Abī Laylā argued that the dyer's account should be considered authoritative in such cases.¹⁰²

The insufficient use of dye was another common source of disputes. For instance, if a customer requested that a garment be fully dyed with saffron but the dyer only partially completed the process, the customer had several options. They could claim the garment's undyed value and leave the partially dyed piece with the dyer, accept the partially dyed garment and pay proportionally for the work completed, or demand that the garment be fully dyed as per the original request, agreeing to pay the additional cost. Bukhārī noted that dyeing with saffron was often a gradual process and payments could be made either in installments as the work progressed or as a lump sum after completion.¹⁰³ Disputes over color instructions were also frequent. For example, if the customer claimed that the garment was to be dyed green while the dyer insisted that black or red was requested, the dyer's statement was initially taken as valid. However, if the customer could substantiate their claim, they were deemed to be in the right. If the dyer admitted to an error, the customer could either accept the dyed garment or seek compensation for any resulting loss in value.¹⁰⁴

The process of delivering the garment to the dyer was another area prone to disputes. If the customer claimed to have delivered the garment, but the dyer denied receiving it, the customer was required to present witnesses. These witnesses were examined separately, and inconsistencies in their testimonies rendered the evidence invalid. For example, if one witness stated that the garment was delivered to be dyed red for one dinar, while another claimed it was to be dyed yellow for the same fee, the testimonies were considered contradictory and inadmissible.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, if a third party was entrusted with delivering the garment to the dyer but could not prove delivery, the responsibility fell upon them.¹⁰⁶

In instances where a garment was accidentally dropped into the dyer's vat by a launderer due to the wind, and the dyeing process increased the garment's value, the added value was shared between the dyer and the garment owner. To determine the allocation, the difference between the garment's undyed and dyed value was calculated. The garment would then be sold, with the proceeds divided proportionally: the garment owner would receive compensation equivalent to the garment's value in its undyed state, while the dyer would be entitled to a share corresponding to the value added by the dyeing process. Conversely, if the dyeing process diminished the garment's value, the launderer was held responsible for compensating both parties for their respective losses, absolving the dyer of any liability. In cases where the dyer themselves accidentally dropped a garment into the vat, regardless of whether the dyeing process increased or decreased its value, the prevailing opinion suggested that the garment owner was obligated to compensate the dyer.¹⁰⁷ However, Qarāfī offered a different

¹⁰² Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūt*, 15/93.

¹⁰³ Bukhārī, *al-Muḥīṭ al-burhānī fī al-fiqh al-nu'mānī*, 7/575-576.

¹⁰⁴ Mālik ibn Anas, *al-Mudawwana*, (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1994), 3/401, 405.

¹⁰⁵ Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūt*, 16/9; Bukhārī, *al-Muḥīṭ al-burhānī fī al-fiqh al-nu'mānī*, 8/477-478.

¹⁰⁶ Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Zayd Qayrawānī, *al-Nawādir wa al-ziyādāt 'alā mā fī al-mudawwana min ghayrihā min al-ummahāt*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dabbāgh (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1999), 7/231.

¹⁰⁷ Qayrawānī, *al-Nawādir wa al-ziyādāt*, 7/71.

interpretation, classifying such incidents as intentional harm to another's property, thereby holding the dyer liable for the resulting damages. Additionally, when a dyed garment hung out to dry was torn by a passing woodcutter, the woodcutter was deemed responsible for the damage. However, if the garment had been hung in an area regularly used by the woodcutter for work, responsibility shifted to the dyer, as the placement of the garment in such a location was considered negligent.¹⁰⁸

If a dyed item was not delivered to the customer due to theft, the dyer was precluded from claiming the dyeing fee, as they bore responsibility for the safe return of the customer's property.¹⁰⁹ In cases where the dyer acknowledged receiving the garment but claimed it had been lost, they remained fully liable for the loss. The dyer's inability to provide compensation for the garment, whether due to financial hardship or other reasons, did not absolve them of their responsibility.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, in cases where a dyer pays 10 dirhams in compensation to the owner of a garment for a stolen item and the item is later found by the owner, it has been considered appropriate to repay the dyer 10 dirhams. This arrangement reflects a fair solution that balances the interests of both parties.¹¹¹

Dyers often hung the items they had dyed on ropes stretched along the road to dry. If the dyer had assigned a guard to ensure the security of these items and they were subsequently stolen, the thief would face the punishment of hand amputation, in accordance with the prevailing legal practices. However, in instances where no guard was present, and some of the stolen items were stored inside while others were left outside, the thief would not be subjected to hand amputation due to the dyer's negligence in safeguarding the items. Conversely, if the items were hung on the walls of the dyehouse and subsequently stolen, the thief would still be punished.¹¹² In situations where the theft occurred as a result of the dyer's negligence, the dyer was held accountable and required to compensate the owners for the stolen items. Additionally, if a dyer falsely claimed that the workshop had been robbed in an attempt to evade responsibility for the loss, such claims were not accepted. Nevertheless, the dyer was not held liable for losses resulting from events beyond their control. For example, damages or losses caused by incidents such as a fire in the workshop, the bursting of oil containers, or natural disasters were considered outside the scope of the dyer's responsibility.¹¹³ But what if it is rats or moths that damage the products in the dye house, in which case the dyer will be held liable if he or she is found to have failed to take the necessary precautions.¹¹⁴

In the aforementioned cases of loss, where a customer's product is reported missing, there is a possibility that the dyer may have rented the customer's garment to another party, with the item still in use at the time the customer comes to collect it. To avoid accountability, the dyer might falsely claim that the garment has been lost. Historical sources corroborate that dyers occasionally rented out garments entrusted to them for dyeing, allowing these items to be used

¹⁰⁸ Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Idrīs Qarāfī, *al-Dhakhīra*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥajjī, ed. Muḥammad Bukhubza (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1994), V/521-522.

¹⁰⁹ Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *al-Jāmi' li-'ulūm al-Imām Aḥmad-al-fiqh*, ed. Khālīd al-Rabbāt-Sayyid 'Izzat 'Id (Fayoum: Dār al-Falāḥ, 2009), 9/512.

¹¹⁰ Qayrawānī, *al-Nawādir wa al-ziyādāt*, 7/231.

¹¹¹ Ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Jāmi' li-'ulūm al-Imām Aḥmad-al-fiqh*, 9/515.

¹¹² Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Rushd, *al-Bayān wa al-taḥṣīl wa al-sharḥ wa al-tawjīh wa al-ta'līl li-masā'il al-mustakhraja*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥajjī et. al. (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1988), 14/210.

¹¹³ Ibn Rushd, *al-Bayān wa al-taḥṣīl*, 9/91-92.

¹¹⁴ Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Farḥūn, *Tabsirat al-hukkām fī uṣūl al-aqdiyya wa manāḥij al-aḥkām* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Kulliyāt al-Azhariyya, 1986), 2/327.

during festivals or weddings, only to retrieve them later. Such practices were regarded as a serious breach of trust, undermining the integrity of the profession. It was therefore emphasized that muḥtasibs should implement strict measures to prevent such misconduct and ensure the protection of customers' property.¹¹⁵

If a person delivered a piece of fabric to a dyer and the dyer dyed it red as instructed, but a dispute arose regarding the payment, specific legal principles were applied. For example, if the dyer claimed, "I dyed it for one dirham," while the fabric owner asserted, "You were supposed to dye it for two dāniq (دانيق)," the resolution depended on sworn oaths. If the dyer swore an oath proving that the agreement had been for one dirham, they were entitled to receive that amount. Conversely, if the fabric owner swore an oath and proved that the dyer's claim was unfounded, the dyer was paid two dāniq instead. In these disputes, the quality and appearance of the dyed fabric played a crucial role in determining the outcome. The evaluation took into account the potential losses of both parties: the dyer's loss if they were paid only two dāniq for a job worth one dirham, and the customer's loss if they had to pay one dirham for work valued at two dāniqs. If the quality of the dyed fabric reflected the value of a job worth one dirham, the dyer was paid one dirham. On the other hand, if the fabric's appearance suggested work worth two dāniq, the payment was adjusted accordingly. However, when the fabric was dyed black, the agreement between the dyer and the customer became irrelevant, even if the fabric owner claimed that the dyer had agreed to dye it black for free. In such cases, the fabric owner's statement took precedence. This was because black dye was regarded as reducing the value of the fabric, thereby justifying the prioritization of the fabric owner's claim over the dyer's.¹¹⁶

When two individuals delivered fabrics of different quality to a dyer at the same time one being of higher quality and the other of lower quality and the dyer mistakenly mixed up the fabrics, the problem became evident only after both individuals had worn the incorrect garments. In such situations, Ibn Sahnūn stated that the issue should be resolved by both parties returning the incorrect fabrics to one another. Any loss in the value of the fabrics due to use was to be balanced through compensation. For example, if the first person's fabric decreased in value by 10 dirhams due to use and the second person's fabric by 5 dirhams, the dyer was required to pay the 5 dirham difference. This ensured that the loss caused by the dyer's mistake was equitably addressed.¹¹⁷

The legal responsibilities and rights of dyers in medieval Islamic societies were regulated through a complex framework that balanced the principles of justice, commercial integrity, and social accountability. Drawing from diverse legal schools and jurists, the sources examined in this study reveal that the dyeing profession operated within a defined space of liability and protection—where compensation, procedural evidence, and ethical restraint were not abstract ideals, but enforceable obligations. These regulations underscore the embeddedness of craftsmanship within broader Islamic legal reasoning and highlight the institutional maturity of marketplace governance across different regions and periods.

¹¹⁵ Ibn Ukhuwwa, *Ma'ālim al-qurbā fī aḥkām al-hisbah*, 45; Shayzarī, *Nihāyat al-rutba fī talab al-hisba*, 92; Özdağ, *Ortaçağ Ekonomisi ve Müslüman Tüccarlar*, 324.

¹¹⁶ Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūt*, 15/94-95; For works containing opinions on similar provisions; see. Kāsānī, *Badā'ī' al-sanā'i' fī tartīb al-sharā'i'*, 4/220; Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī, *al-Bināya sharḥ al-hidāya*, ed. Ayman Ṣāliḥ Shabān (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2000), 10/339-340.

¹¹⁷ Ibn Rushd, *al-Bayān wa al-taḥṣīl*, 4/252-254.

Conclusion

This study has comprehensively examined the position of the dyeing profession within the economic, legal, and social structures of the medieval Islamic Mediterranean, revealing its significance in traditional textile production and commercial networks. Beyond its technical aspects, dyeing has been analyzed within a multilayered framework that includes professional organizations, legal regulations, ethical codes, and social status, thereby addressing a significant gap in the existing literature.

One of the most critical findings of this research is that the dyeing profession was not exclusive to any particular religious or ethnic group. The common assumption that dyeing was solely practiced by Jews in the medieval Islamic Mediterranean has been critically reassessed, and it has been clearly demonstrated that this craft was carried out by various religious and ethnic communities, including Muslims. Dyers, who were active across a vast geographical area stretching from al-Andalus to the Eastern Mediterranean, and from Baghdād to Anatolia, were among the key figures in local economic systems. This finding necessitates the evaluation of dyeing not merely as a craft but as a profession that shaped economic and social interactions between different communities.

The professional organization of dyers has also been examined in detail. It has been established that dyers were integrated into various institutional structures, ranging from *futuwwa* organizations to Ahi brotherhoods and eventually guilds. In *futuwwa* manuals, dyeing was not only described as a technical skill but also as a profession that had to be practiced in accordance with ethical and moral principles. Within the Ahi system, dyers were required to adhere to strict regulations and undergo professional training. By the Ottoman period, their activities were further regulated within the framework of guilds, ensuring the standardization of production processes, quality control mechanisms, and pricing policies.

Another significant finding of this study concerns the regulatory mechanisms governing the dyeing industry. It has been determined that, in addition to being overseen by *ḥisbah* institutions, dyers were monitored by experienced *ʿārifs* who possessed deep knowledge of dyeing techniques. *Muḥtasibs* supervised the quality of dyestuffs, production methods, and consumer rights, ensuring that the profession was practiced within established standards. An analysis of *ḥisbah* treatises and *ihtisab* laws has shown that professional ethics in dyeing extended beyond quality control to include environmental regulations. The location of dyehouses in urban areas, measures taken to prevent environmental pollution from dyeing waste, and the impact of dyeing activities on public health were all subject to strict oversight.

Additionally, the role of dyers in urban economies has been elaborated upon. It has been observed that in the medieval Islamic Mediterranean, dyehouses were primarily situated near major commercial centers and water sources. Records from Cairo, Baghdād, Damascus, al-Andalus, Konya, Bursa, and Kayseri indicate that dyehouses were concentrated in specific districts and that professional groups were organized within their own neighborhoods. *Waqf* records and historical sources confirm that dyeing was not merely an individual craft but a profession embedded within broader economic structures.

The legal aspects of the dyeing profession and internal professional disputes have also been evaluated in this study. The relationships between dyers and their customers, the legal sanctions applicable in cases of faulty or incomplete dyeing, and the financial responsibilities of dyers have been analyzed within the framework of Islamic legal sources. Legal mechanisms were activated

when dyers failed to meet customers' requests regarding color accuracy or when deliveries were incomplete, and disputes were resolved in accordance with established regulations. The examined legal documents reveal that such regulations were not only intended to protect individual rights but also to ensure commercial stability.

Altogether, these findings emphasize that the dyeing profession operated within a legally enforceable and institutionally embedded system of responsibility and accountability. The presence of ethical codes, professional oversight, and legal arbitration reveals the extent to which craftsmanship in the Islamic Mediterranean was integrated into broader judicial and economic structures.

In conclusion, this study has clearly demonstrated that the dyeing profession in the medieval Islamic Mediterranean was a craft directly linked to economic, legal, and social systems. Dyers were not merely responsible for coloring textiles but were also members of a professional group that shaped commercial activities, urban planning, and legal regulations. Dyeing became an integral part of the economic fabric of medieval Islamic Mediterranean societies, while craftsmen emerged as key figures in the textile industry. Within this context, this study contributes not only to the history of Islamic industry and craftsmanship but also to research on the medieval economy, legal system, and professional organizations. This research has provided evidence of how the dyeing profession in the medieval Islamic Mediterranean was conducted within a structured and regulated framework, shedding light on its organization, professional institutions, legal regulations, and its relationship with commercial systems in detail.

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