



Can Skopje, An Ottoman Sanjak, Be Evaluated Officially Fixed Price Fines Economically? *Bir Osmanlı Sancağı Olan Üsküp, İktisaden Narh Cezalarıyla Değerlendirilebilir mi?*

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Abstract

Migration is moving from one place to another place. Extraordinary situations such as wars, epidemics, or natural disasters end with the displacement of people and thus their migration, which leads to some consequences in terms of both migration sending and receiving sides as well as social and geographical consequences. The 93 War between the Ottoman Empire and the Russian State witnessed a great migration wave. Especially with the loss of Bulgaria after the war, the Muslim people living in Bulgaria became a refugee and were settled in Skopje, an important Ottoman sanjak due to its strategic location, by the Ottoman State. The Ottoman Empire used every opportunity for the Bulgarian immigrants to maintain their lives. It implemented price control, which is one of its general economic policies, effectively to that end. As in other regions within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, it continued this control which means narh policy in Skopje punished those who acted in the opposite direction. The study aims to evaluate Skopje during and after the 93 War within the scope of fines of narh.

Keywords: Skopje, officially fixed price (narh), 93 War, fine.

Öz

Göç; bir yerden başka bir yere intikal etmek demektir. Savaşlar, salgınlar ya da doğal afetler gibi olağanüstü durumlar insanların yer değiştirmeleriyle; göç etmeleriyle nihayetlenir. Bu durum, hem göç eden kesim hem de göç alan kesim tarafından gerek toplumsal açıdan gerekse de coğrafi açıdan bazı sonuçlar ortaya çıkarır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Rusya Devleti arasında yapılan 93 Harbi büyük bir göç dalgasına sahne olmuştur. Özellikle savaş sonrasında Bulgaristan'ın kaybedilmesiyle birlikte, Bulgaristan'da yaşayan müslüman halk mülteci konumuna geçmiş ve Osmanlı Devleti eliyle, stratejik konumu itibarıyla önemli bir Osmanlı sancağı olan Üsküp'e yerleştirilmiştir. Osmanlı, Bulgar muhacirlerinin hayatlarını idame ettirmeleri için her türlü imkânı kullanmıştır. Bu amaçla genel iktisadi politikalarından bir tanesi olan fiyat denetimini etkin bir şekilde uygulamıştır. Osmanlı sınırları dahilinde olan diğer bölgelerde olduğu gibi Üsküp'te de narh politikası anlamına gelen bu denetimi sürdürmüş ve aksi yönde hareket edenleri cezalandırmıştır. Çalışmanın amacı 93 Harbi sırasında ve sonrasında Üsküp halkını narh cezaları kapsamında değerlendirmektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Üsküp, narh, 93 Harbi, ceza.

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Introduction

Production, consumption and distribution activities are the main economic activities. Depending on these activities, a society or a state can maintain its life positively or negatively within the framework of certain standards. Migration and the accompanying population change are the main factors that will improve or worsen the standards of the mentioned activities. Because along with the migration, when it comes to the migration receiving segment, the population will increase, the needs will increase, the state will revise its production policies with additional resources, consumption patterns will change, and distribution will be planned again. Moreover, if the migration is based on an extraordinary reason such as war, both the society and the state are expected to be more careful.

The sanjak of Skopje, that witnessed an intense change by allowing immigrants after the 93 War, constitutes the space limit of this study. Skopje, which was a castle-based city before the Ottomans, changed its identity when it was conquered by the Ottomans, and it took the trilogy of mosque, bedesten (covered bazaar) and market in its center with the characteristics of a standard Ottoman city. This development caused Skopje to be described as Bursa of the Balkans.

The main segment that kept the city alive commercially and economically was the craft unions. In other words, the city was located on trade routes and the section that would keep this trade alive was the craft unions. Moreover, as Evliya Çelebi stated, 133 branches of profession were active in the XVth and XVIth centuries, and there were 1.150 shops (İnbaşı & Kul, 2018, p. 229-230). The number of shops reached 1.410 in the XXth century (İnbaşı, 2012, p. 379). This can be interpreted as an indication that the craft unions, that played an essential role in the establishment of the Ottoman Empire, developed its area of dominance in Skopje over time and thus brought the economic life under control. Craft unions were the people who were responsible for delivering the goods and services needed by the public to those in need. Thus, craft unions, that were a part of the transportation sector, certainly did not do the mentioned transaction for free, and they demanded money for their actions as a necessity of economic life, in other words, they sold the goods and services needed by people in return for paying a certain price. Furthermore, the goods and services they traded were inspected by the authorities (by the state) in terms of price and quality.

Narh policy was based on the price and quality control of the goods and services sold by craft by the state. According to the system, crafts were subject to certain sanctions if they acted against the price or quality standardization determined by the authorities. The mentioned sanctions could be fines as well as imprisonment or banishment.

Original archival documents and additionally secondary sources were used in this study, which was based on the hypothesis whether Skopje, which was an Ottoman Sanjak during the 93 War, could be evaluated with narh fines economically. The documents available in the Foreign Archive Macedonia section included in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives with the code YB (021) were used as archival documents (Sarıнай, 2022, p. 507). Among the mentioned documents, the narh fines imposed to craft during the 93 War were determined and tabulated. As a secondary source, the work entitled “1009 (1600) Tarihli Narh Defterine Göre İstanbul’da Çeşitli Eşya ve Hizmet Fiyatları [Prices of Various Goods and Services in Istanbul According to the Narh Book of 1009 (1600)]”, which is a fundamental work on this subject and was written by Mübahat Kütükoğlu, was the first source of reference. The publication entitled “Balkanlarda Bir Türk Şehri: Üsküp (Fetihten XVIII. Yüzyıla Kadar) [A Turkish City in the Balkans: Skopje (From the Conquest to the XVIIIth Century)]”, which clearly reveals the Ottoman identity of Skopje and constitutes a very large literature, was another secondary source used as a guide in the study. In addition to the mentioned sources, different secondary sources related to the subject were also sometimes used.

The main aim was to evaluate whether the narh fines were deterrent. During this evaluation process, the cash narh fines obtained from archival documents of the mentioned period were first determined, and it was revealed whether there was a change in narh fines over time. Then, the secondary sources were scanned, some economic dimensions such as the price of a real estate, repair cost of a household or subsistence wage at which a family can live at a standard level, transportation fees, salary payments, and workplace rents were reached. Finally, these data were evaluated relatively.

In this way, it was aimed that the reader would have an idea by making an evaluation on whether narh fines were deterrent or not.

1. Why was Skopje Important for the Ottoman Empire?

The states (principality or province) constituted the largest units of the Ottoman administrative structure in rural regions (İnalçık, 1995, p. 548; Kaynaklarla Osmanlı Coğrafyası Yer Adları Sözlüğü, 2020, p. 13). While provinces were divided into sanjaks (=liva), sanjaks were divided into districts, and districts were divided into townships and villages (=karye) (Halaçoğlu, 1991, p. 73). Sanjak was the basic unit of a state. Skopje, which was an important Ottoman sanjak, belonged to the Rumelia State. Rumelia was not only the geographically name given to the Balkan peninsula by the Ottomans, but also the state that included this region, and it was the top unit of the Ottoman administrative division (İnalçık, 2008, p. 232). Skopje, which was a part of Rumelia State at the beginning of the 1800s, became a sanjak of the Kosovo State towards the end of the century (Aktepe, 2022, p. 216). Its geographical position and location at the junction of European railways further increased the importance of Skopje (Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Kosova 1896, 2000, p. 108).

Skopje, that became the capital of Macedonia in 1991, is geographically located to the east and west of the Vardar River. While the northern part of the Vardar River gives the impression of a modern-looking city mostly settled by Christians, the southern part where Muslims are concentrated gives the impression of a traditional city with Ottoman traces due to its historical structures (Dede, 2015, p. 40).

Skopje including the traces of many different identities remained under the rule of Illyrians, Dardanians, Romans, Byzantines and Slavs, Macedonians, Normans, and Serbs for 110 years, respectively, and came under Ottoman rule in 1392 (İnbaşı & Kul, 2018, p. 10-15). Skopje, that was exposed to many wars and natural disasters in the historical process, always maintained its importance for the Ottomans. Skopje, which was a center where large cannonballs were casted during the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror, experienced a great earthquake in 1555 and had to struggle with the internal disturbance that emerged as a result of the Jelali revolts that took place in the XVIth century before the devastating effects of the earthquake were over (İnbaşı & Kul, 2018, p. 17-19). Moreover, the Plague Epidemic known as the Black Death that affected the city, and 1683 Second Vienna Siege in which Skopje was occupied by the Austrians were other important turning points in the history of Skopje. (İnbaşı & Kul, 2018, p. 20-21). Skopje, which came under the Ottoman rule again in 1690 after the siege, remained under the Ottoman rule until the beginning of the XXth century, was occupied by the Serbs in 1912 at the beginning of the XXth century and given to Serbia in 1913 along with several neighboring cities (İnbaşı, 2012, p. 379). Skopje, which is located on both sides of the Vardar river in the middle of the Balkan peninsula today, is the capital city of the Republic of Macedonia. The geographical position of the sanjak of Skopje can be clearly seen on Map 1. The mentioned map was used in its original form obtained from the Ottoman State Archives website so that its originality would not be impaired.

Map 1.**Ottoman Empire States in the XVIIth - XVIIIth Centuries**

Source: (Kaynaklarla Osmanlı Coğrafyası Yer Adları Sözlüğü, 2020, p. 872).

One of the reasons why Skopje, which was an important commercial center due to its location on trade routes, was still an important city in the 19th century was the railway. Skopje-Thessaloniki railway line and Skopje-Mitrovica railway line were opened in 1873 and 1875, respectively (Bektaş, 2020, p. 176). The railway line, which was opened on both sides in connection with Istanbul and Europe, respectively, contributed significantly to the socio-economic development of Skopje. In addition, the effect of Skopje's location on the Belgrade-Thessaloniki railway line, which was put into operation, is also undeniable (İnbaşı, 2012, p. 379).

As a result of the cheapening of transportation due to the developing railway lines and the loss of land due to the 93 War, Skopje became a migration-receiving city. Thus, population movements took place, and the authorities attempted to reconstruct the city in a way to respond to the demands of immigrants, which indicates that the city had to deal with many economic problems. Shelter, security, food and beverage, and the effort to have an income that can maintain daily life are some of them.

Table 1.

Population of Skopje from the XVIIIth century to the XXth century

Years	Muslim	Non-muslim	Copt	Jew	Total
1700	8.775	1.770	-	265	10.545
1797	-	-	-	-	5.000-6.000
1820	-	-	-	-	3.000
1831	9.660	11.700	900	-	22.960
1835	6.000	9.000	-	-	15.000
1840	-	-	-	-	15.000
1841-1842	-	-	-	-	25.095
1860	13.000	7.000	-	-	20.000
1870	13.000	7.000	-	800	20.800
1877	16.462	14.586	307	160	31.515
1882	17.770	16.382	-	-	34.152

1888	-	-	-	-	25.000
1890	15.000	14.100	1.920	-	32.000
1921	-	-	-	-	41.006
1931	-	-	-	-	64.807

Source: (İnbaşı & Kul, 2018, p. 120-121; İnbaşı, 2012, p. 379).

As it can be seen in Table 1, the population of Skopje increased from 31.515 to 34.152 in the years 1877-1878, during which the 93 War took place. This increase was both in Muslim and non-Muslim populations. The effect of the 93 War on this increase is undeniable.

Russia from the XVIth century and European States from the XVIIIth century agreed to remove Muslim communities from the region in order to put an end to the Turkish domination first in Europe and then in Anatolia (Paşaoğlu, 2013, p. 349). 93 War, also known as the 1877-78 Ottoman-Russian War, was the reason for the economic and political events that would deepen this purpose. As a result of the war, the Ottoman Empire was defeated by Russia. Eventually, the Treaty of San Stefano was first signed, and then, the Treaty of Berlin was signed on the grounds that this agreement was not in the interest of some party states. According to the Treaty of Berlin, the Ottoman Empire lost large amounts of land. As a state, the Ottoman Empire put forward some basic policies so that the people living in the lost lands would not be damaged by this situation. Migration was one of these policies. Skopje became the final stop of the mentioned migration policy.

Skopje Sanjak was an important settlement that received immigrants from the Balkans, which was considered as a messenger by Russia. Although the Ottoman Empire was in a difficult situation due to the defeat and additional costs of the war, it made great struggles so that the people living in the lost lands would not continue their lives with oppression and misery, however, it accepted the immigration demands to Skopje due to the limited opportunities. The acceptance of the immigration demands of people and finally the settlement policy in Skopje did not completely eliminate the existing problems. The lives of the immigrants who settled there were not easy, and they had to struggle for housing, food and beverages, health and many other issues. The authorities' request that no further immigrants should be allowed, diseases caused by the dense crowd, inability to bear many costs due to economic inadequacies, and burial procedures are the most obvious examples of this situation, and the factors that can be listed as thirst and not baking the bread in accordance with narh... can somewhat express the basic standards that immigrants who migrated to Skopje have to struggle with (Ahabab, 2016, p. 4; Kul, 2019, p. 19-23). Despite all the difficulties experienced, the immigrants adapted to the city and daily life over time.

2. What were the Principles of the Ottoman Narh Policy?

Narh, which derives from the Persian word nirh, meaning value or price, is the process of determining the price by the competent authorities (Kallek, 2006, p . 387). With a clearer statement, it refers to the determination of official ceiling price to prevent prices from exceeding a certain level by directly interfering with the market prices of the goods and services that meet the vital needs in order to ensure social welfare of the state (Kallek, 2006, p . 387). The outlines of the narh system, in which the basic principle is to inspect and control prices through the production of goods and services of good quality and also in accordance with the standards, are explained in the following items, as it was implemented in the Ottoman Empire:

- The narh policy is based on essential goods and services. These essential goods and services can be fabrics or foodstuffs such as wheat, rice or mutton, cleaning products such as soap, materials used in the production of shoes for palace, and ink, paper, bucket, fur or bow and arrow (Kütükoğlu, 1978, p. 18-72).
- The state could impose narh on its own initiative, or it could do so at the request of the other party. Consumers or craft could sometimes demand from the state to determine the narh, both of which were possible. While consumers applied to the authorities in case of excessive increase in prices, producers applied to the authorities either to prevent competition within themselves or in the face of falling profit rates due to the increase in raw material prices (Kütükoğlu, 1978, p. 2).

- Kadı determined the narh, to which sultan and grand vizier were not indifferent (Sahillioğlu, 1967, p. 38). Sometimes, ottoman constabulary (official for public order) who performed the same duty as today's municipal police could directly determine the narh (Sahillioğlu, 1967, p. 38). However, the determination process was generally performed at the meetings where kadı, ottoman constabulary, the notables of the city, chamberlain and yiğitbaşı of the craft union that produced and sold the goods, and the elderly came together (Sahillioğlu, 1967, p. 38). After the narh was determined, it was recorded in the court records and announced to the craft and the public (Tabakoğlu, 1987, p. 122).
- In the Ottomans, it was common to set the narh, and narh was normally set for the goods when the season came (Sahillioğlu, 1967, p. 37). Two separate narhs for summer and winter were determined for foodstuffs (grain and provisions) (Sahillioğlu, 1967, p. 38).
- Narhs were increased when the supply was limited due to natural disasters such as drought, flood or extreme winter, transportation difficulties, and political reasons such as war and blockade, however, in the contrary case, narhs were reduced if the supply expanded (Tabakoğlu, 2008, p. 334; Kütükoğlu, 1978, p. 3).
- The craft union assumed the function of being the internal executive and control mechanism of the Ottoman Empire during the implementation of the narh policy (Tabakoğlu, 1987, p. 125).

The change in the value of money was one of the most important factors that made the narh policy necessary. The state was in no hurry to set the narh in periods during which the value of money decreased, in other words, the state adopted inflationary policies, however, in periods of revaluation during which the value of the currency increased, it immediately intervened in the narhs and updated the prices over the new value of the currency (Sahillioğlu, 1967, p. 38). While narhs increased when the value of akce decreased, narhs decreased when the value of akce increased (Tabakoğlu, 1987, p. 334). This decrease or increase was different for all goods (Tabakoğlu, 1987, p. 334). At this point, the narh policy and thus price control were important because if price control was not implemented effectively, competition would lead to monopolization and thus competition would put an end to competition (Tabakoğlu, 1987, p. 112). Competition, which is a must for the markets in order to keep the economic life alive, reveals the importance of the narh policy. Here, the state served the purpose of creating an environment in which prices would be determined within the scope of normal supply and demand conditions, as required by classical economics, in order to intervene in the markets in the most wise way. To this end, it served the purpose of eliminating the people who came between the producer and the consumer, who were called as intermediaries or opportunists in the society, by minimizing the monopolistic tendencies.

The narh policy, which we know that it was also applied before the Ottoman Empire, gained an institutional nature during the Ottoman period (Kallek, 2006, p. 389). Because one of the basic duties of the state was the principle of provisionism, which was also one of the basic principles of the Ottoman economic worldview. According to the mentioned principle, it is essential to make a profit from an economic activity, and profit means different things for the producer and the consumer. While the profit for the producer is to keep the profit rate high by selling the product at the highest possible price, the profit for the consumer is to provide the goods and services they need as cheaply as possible, with high quality and in abundance (Genç, 2020, p. 47). The principle of provisionism focuses on the perception of profit of economic activity in relation to the consumer. So, the competent authority directly aimed to ensure social welfare, and while doing so, it had to provide consumers with the necessary standards to maintain their lives. The conclusion that can be drawn from this requirement is that, along with the narh policy, the authorities were obliged to provide the necessary goods and services to consumers so that they would maintain their lives at a certain standard.

The Ottoman Empire aimed to keep the prices of essential goods at a certain level to ensure the welfare of the people. The fact that the Ottoman Empire was an Islamic State also affected this situation. Because in the idea of balance, which is the main pillar of Islam, when it comes to the balance of society, justice comes to the forefront (Tabakoğlu, 1987, p. 75). The prerequisite for social welfare is to achieve justice. When justice is achieved, a bilateral balance will be achieved. Consumers would not have trouble when they were in a hurry to meet their essential goods and services, and producers would not be uneasy about the production and sale of essential goods and services that consumers needed.

In the Ottoman Empire, which was an Islamic State, the narh policy was important because it adopted the principle of achieving price stability as a result of ensuring justice and thus social welfare. So, the solution was to institutionalize price control by preventing monopolistic tendencies in the markets and by preparing an environment that allowed prices to be formed as a result of classical supply and demand conditions (Tabakoğlu, 1987, p. 132). Of course, there was non-compliance with the narhs, however, the state punished those who went beyond the determined narhs in order to prevent this situation. Imprisonment such as rowing fines, confinement in a fortress, the birch and banishment; fine of exile outside Istanbul until be emending; can be shown as examples for them (Kütükoğlu, 1978, p. 23; Tabakoğlu, 1987, p. 131).

3. What were the Narh Fines in Skopje?

The immigrants, who settled in Skopje during and after the 93 War, paved the way for the people of Skopje to be governed largely by the Ottoman system. The narh policy, which is a part of this systematics, and fines for those who acted outside the policy constituted the basis of this study entitled “Can Skopje, An Ottoman Sanjak, Be Evaluated Officially Fixed Price Fines Economically?”.

The narh fines applied during the 93 War in Skopje, an Ottoman Sanjak, are given below with examples from the documents:

Table 2.

Fines Paid by those Who Disobeyed Narhs in Skopje during the 93 War

Years		Craft		Fine	
hijri	gregorian	class	name	as original form in document	as kurus
1288	1871	bread maker	Berze	5 half beşlik (beşlik = 1/8 kurus)	12,5
		soapmaker	İstalko	10 beşlik	50
		candlemaker	Silye	10 beşlik	50
		candlemaker	İsteryo	10 beşlik	50
		other soapmaker	İstalko	10 beşlik	50
		other soapmaker	Mutte	10 beşlik	50
		candlemaker	Yani	10 beşlik	50
		candlemaker	İstoyan	10 beşlik	50
		grocer	Todor	10 beşlik	50
		candlemaker	Kadri	10 beşlik	50
		bread maker	Nikola	6 beşlik	30
				(total 96 beşlik)	<i>Unit sale price of the soap was 6 kurus, not 5,5.</i>
1289	1872/1873	bread maker	Lazo	1 beşlik	5
		bread maker	Nikola	6 beşlik	30
		grocer	Tanca	10 beşlik	50
		butcher	Dokula	10 beşlik	50
				(total 27 beşlik)	
		grocer	Yovan, Istoyan Tanca	10 beşlik (total 30 beşlik)	50
					<i>Unit sale price of rice was more than narh.</i>
1293	1876/1877	butcher	Durak ve Recep	20 beşlik (total 40 beşlik)	100
		butcher	Kantor Recep Hadjı Fettah Edhem	15 beşlik (total 45 beşlik)	75
		butcher	Celaeddin	15 beşlik	75
1294	1877/1878	candlemaker	Tuna	10 beşlik	50
		butcher	Abdülkerim	15 beşlik	75
		bagel seller	Espaso	10 beşlik	50

		bagel seller	Nako Sadık Buka Demir Başar Filib Simon Azu Volko Mustafa	10 beşlik (total 90 beşlik)	50
1296	1878/1879	bread maker	Yusuf	15 beşlik	75
		bread maker	Bije	15 beşlik	75
		butcher	Abdullah	15 beşlik	75
		bread maker	Koşu	15 beşlik	75 <i>He spent 1,5 weeks in prison because it was not possible to pay the money.</i>
		bread maker	Samuel	15 beşlik	75
		bread maker	Buyo	15 beşlik	75
		bagel seller	Recep Aga	10 beşlik	50
		bread maker	Yusuf	10 beşlik	50
		bagel seller	Köri	15 beşlik	75
		bagel seller	-	15 beşlik	75
		bagel seller	-	15 beşlik	75
		bread maker	5 people (there is no information about their names in documentaries)	15 beşlik (total 75 beşlik)	75
		bread maker	Koca	15 beşlik	75
		bread maker	Saru	20 beşlik	100
		yoghurt maker	Murat	10 beşlik	50
		bread maker	İbziltan	20 beşlik	100
		bread maker	Yahya	20 beşlik	100
		bread maker	Hayri Misâni Zâf ve Avram	20 beşlik (total 80 beşlik)	100
		bread maker	Nevhî	15 beşlik	75
		butcher	Dahvi Recep	15 beşlik	75
		butcher	Dokulak Ali	15 beşlik	75
		butcher	Yane	<i>Fine was given as kurus directly in documentary.</i>	75
		bread maker	4 people (there is no information about their names in documentaries)	<i>Fine was given as kurus directly in documentary.</i>	300 <i>Bread was sold between five and ten missing dirhams.</i> <i>He spent few time in prison because it was not possible to pay the money.</i>
		butcher	Bekir	15 beşlik	75 <i>It was sold more than officiallay fixed price; 1,5 kurus.</i>

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		millar	Ali	15 beşlik	75 <i>It was sold as two times of officiallay fixed price.</i>
		millar	Muslih	<i>Fine was given as kurus directly in documentary.</i>	75
		bread maker	-	15 beşlik	75
		millar	Ali	15 beşlik	75 <i>It was sold as two times of officiallay fixed price.</i>
		butcher	Mehmed Çavuş ve Bekir	15 beşlik (total 30 beşlik)	75
		bread maker	Ebu Yusuf	15 beşlik	75 <i>Unit sale price of bread was 4 kurus; not 3.</i>
		grocer	Kozman	10 beşlik	50
1297	1879/1880	bagel seller	Lahko ve Garto	10 beşlik (total 20 beşlik)	50
		butcher	Adem	15 beşlik	75
		butcher	Fettah	15 beşlik	75
		butcher	Jew Hayim	15 beşlik + imprisonment for 3 days	75 <i>Unit sale price was 100 money, but it was sold 4,5 kurus. İmprisonment was given with fine.</i>
		bread maker	Borin	15 beşlik	75
		bread maker	İzlat	15 beşlik	75
		bread maker	Seto	15 beşlik (total 30 beşlik)	75
1301	1883/1884	bread maker	Miloş	15 beşlik	75
		bread maker	Latin Agastin ve Iylo	15 beşlik	75 <i>Fine increased its 4 times because of they were not in their shop at the time of payment</i>
1304	1886/1887	bread maker	-	15 beşlik	75

Source: (Directorate of State Archives Ottoman Archives (İstanbul) (BOA), Foreign Archive: Macedonia YB(021), 68/94; 68/153; 68/236; 68/258; 71/382; 71/383; 72/51; 72/39; 72/40; 72/41; 72/42; 74/114; 74/115; 74/116; 74/121; 74/125; 74/128; 74/131; 74/132; 74/133; 74/135; 74/137; 74/139; 74/145; 74/149; 74/153; 74/154; 74/161; 74/163; 74/165; 74/172; 74/206; 74/208; 74/211; 74/216; 74/230; 74/241; 74/247; 74/261; 74/266; 74/299; 75/77; 75/93; 75/111; 75/133; 75/162; 75/166; 80/165; 80/168; 80/171; 84/110).

The table consists of 6 columns. The first two columns give the Hijri and Gregorian dates, respectively, during which the narh fines were applied. The date conversion guide on the website of the Turkish Historical Society was used during the conversion of the dates given as Hijri in the original archival documents to today's Gregorian calendar (Tarih Çevirme Klavuzu, 17.12.2021). The next two columns respectively give the craft group and the name of the person who acted in the opposite

direction of narh. The last two columns respectively give the value of the narh fines given by the authorities as their original forms in document and in kurus.

As it can be seen in the table, narh fines are expressed as beşlik in the documents. Beşlik, which is the general name of base silver issued during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II and means five, also means one-eighth of kurus (Ünal, 2011, p. 11; Sami, 2017, p. 231; Artuk, 1992, p. 6). It was determined that the narh fines are directly expressed in kurus in only 3 of the archival documents examined. The amounts expressed in beşlik converted to kurus currency in order to evaluate the economic dimension of narh fines.¹ Only in this way, it seems possible to make a proper evaluation.

The main aim of the study was to get an idea about whether the narh fines were sufficiently deterrent or not. It was mainly intended to establish standards that would enable the immigrant people to live comfortably. There are 2 important points that should be expressed before moving on to the mentioned standards. The first of them is the cases where narh fines were sometimes an alternative or addition to imprisonment. In a case where it was an alternative, a person who was not financially able to pay the fine could pay the fine as imprisonment, within the scope of his/her statement. In a case where it was an addition, the person had to fulfill the obligation to pay the fine in cash as well as imprisonment. The second important point is whether narhs changed over time. The following chart was prepared to present this situation.

Chart 1.

Average Narh Fines by Years (1871-1887)

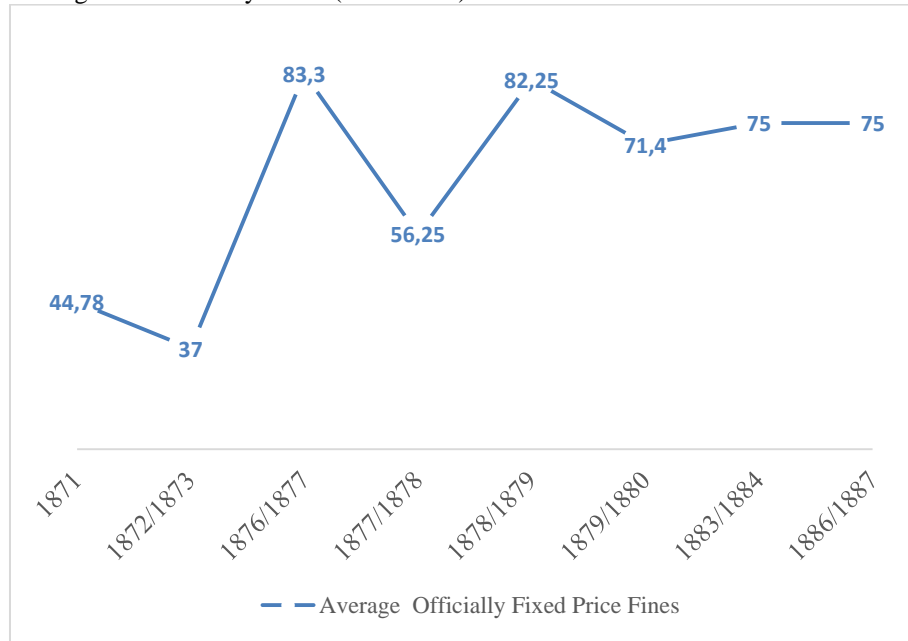


Chart 1 shows the cash fines imposed on those who acted in the opposite direction of narh in Skopje between 1871 and 1887, based on the original archival documents. When the general average is examined, it is possible to say that the fines changed in a standard range over time. However, it would be a big mistake to make a definite judgement on this issue. Because the average narh fines as 75 kurus for the years 1883/1884 and 1886/1887 in the chart are the results obtained from a single fine record from a single document. In addition, the average value for the dates 1878/1879 in the chart was obtained by taking the average of 31 fine records. At this point, the chart above is a valuable output for the reader to get a superficial idea of how narh fines changed over a 15-year period. It would be

¹ Beşlik is 1/8 of kurus. Based on the equation 1 kurus = 40 para = 120 akce, the values expressed as beşlik in the original documents were converted into kurus. This currency, which was a significant size in the 18th century, becomes a small amount after the 1870s; See for detailed information. Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Paranın Tarihi*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 1999, p. 178.

appropriate to increase the amount of data in order to make more precise judgments on the subject. The main aim here is to compare the fines with different economic sizes and to determine whether or to what extent they are a deterrent, rather than determining whether there was a change in narhs.

Some economic indicators that we could use to determine the deterrence of narh fines were collected from secondary sources. These indicators consist of numerical values obtained in the form of property or rent costs, housing prices, salaries and wages, sanjak income and expenses, education expenses, production and raw material fees, and communication and transportation costs. These numerical values are listed below in items:

- A house with unknown architectural features in Kōstendil where in the northeast of Skopje was 1.500 kurus for the year 1883 (Kul, 2019, p. 29).
- In 1882, the repair cost of a household in Skopje was around 700 to 800 kurus. This figure corresponds to the cost of some unspecified items and a weapon (Kul, 2019, p. 29).
- According to a record from 1884, the immigrants could use the buildings built by private individuals by paying 35 kurus to the state. In fact, immigrant Halil objected to being asked 124 kurus for a grocery store with two traps (Kul, 2019, p. 30).
- According to a record from 1883, the Skopje authority gave each family a pair of oxen, slingshots and a car worth 1.000 kurus to maintain their lives (Kul, 2019, p. 33).
- In a record dated 1890 of a waqf established by Selim II in Skopje, there is information that 220 kurus was paid to imam and speaker working in the mosque named Kulağuzlu in the village (Dede, 2015, p. 77).
- In 1893, İpek Sanjak was also a sanjak of Kosovo State, like Skopje. Municipal income and expense figures of İpek Sanjak are other factors that we can use to evaluate the size and therefore the deterrence of narh fines. In the period of 1893 - 1894, the yearly income of the municipality of İpek Sanjak was 11.350 kurus and its expense was 4.590 kurus (Ahmetaj, 2012, p. 62).
- The price information of the course books was obtained to evaluate the narhs through education costs. The average prices of the course books to be read by the students of Skopje Public High School (Üsküp İdadî Mülki Mektebi), which was established as a daytime school by the order of Abdulhamid II, for 7 years (1893-1900) are as seen in Table 3. The remarkable point is that there is one free course book among the books of the 4th and 5th grades, and these free course books were excluded while calculating the averages (Güler, 2019, p. 66-76).

Table 3.

Average Prices of the Course Books of Students in Skopje Public High School

Years	Classes	Average Annual Book Fees (kurus)
1893	1	1,27
1894	2	1,57
1895	3	1,75
1896	4	2,62
1897	5	2,87
1898	6	2,75
1899	7	3,94

Source: (Güler, 2019, p. 66-76).

- In 1896, in Prilep which is located in the south of Skopje and one of the important cities of Macedonia, it was decided to build a telegraph center, the cost of which would be borne by the public, and additionally, it was decided that a new line would be added to the telegraph line between Monastery and Prilep. This process would be performed with the help of the public. In this process, in which a total aid of 15.616,30 kurus was provided, the minimum aid was 12,5 kurus, while the amount of maximum aid was 495 kurus, and the aids varied by 25, 50, 60, 111, 275... kurus. The salary of the person working as a manager in the construction of the mentioned telegraph center and additional line was 800 kurus (Sarınay, 2005, p. 58-63).
- When the production or output costs are examined, the results showing the prices of the products sold by boza makers and halva makers in Skopje may also lead us to an evaluation.

According to the results, while the prices of tahina, walnut halva, kadayıf (oven baked shredded pastry with pistachio filling in thick syrup angel's hair dessert) and boza sold by boza makers in Skopje in 1870 were 7, 6, 2 and 0,5 kuruş, respectively, the prices of sugar tahina halva from white tahina, sugar tahina halva from black tahina, sugar walnut halva, pekmez tahina halva, kadayıf and boza sold by halva makers in Skopje in 1875 were 8, 7, 7, 6, 5, 2 and 0,5 kuruş, respectively (Sarınay, 2005, p. 97, 99).

- Some numerical values obtained from Yakup Ahabab's doctoral thesis entitled "Üsküp Sancağı'nın İdari ve Sosyo-Ekonomik Yapısı (1876-1911) [Administrative and Socio-Economic Structure of Skopje Sanjak (1876-1911)]" may contribute to the study for evaluating the material dimension of narh fines:

In 1877, the total annual allocation of Skopje Sanjak was 81.000 kuruş, including civil servant salaries, prison and police station expenses (Ahabab, 2015, p. 10),

In 1888, while the monthly salary of Hacı Ahmet Efendi, who worked as a Skopje registrar, was 1.000 kuruş, the monthly salary of the accompaniment clerk, Ali Efendi, was 250 kuruş (Ahabab, 2015, p. 20),

In 1876, the monthly salary of Vezir Halil Rifat Pasha, who served as the governor of Kosovo, was 40.000 kuruş (Ahabab, 2015, p. 34),

In 1874, the average salary of the qaimaqam of Skopje Sanjak was 1.786 kuruş (Ahabab, 2015, p. 43),

At the end of the XIXth century, the average annual rent of the Abdalbaki Waqf's shops was 219 kuruş. Among the mentioned rental payments, the shop with the highest rental price was a mill shop with 900 kuruş, and the shop with the lowest rental price was the shop of a gunman with 40 kuruş (Ahabab, 2015, p. 138),

When the railway fees were examined, it was determined that the transportation fees of the year 1876 differed depending on the route. In addition, the fact that the transportation fees on the Skopje-Thessaloniki line and on the Skopje-Mitrovice line varied between 9 and 206 kuruş and between 10 and 101 kuruş, is among, respectively, the results obtained from the literature (Ahabab, 2015, p. 219-220),

It was observed that the post transportation fees for the years 1876-78 were standardized at the weight of 10 grams of letters. It was indicated that 1,5 kuruş was charged for 10 grams of letters up to 100 hours, 3 kuruş was charged for 101-200 hours, and 6 kuruş was charged for distances longer than 201 hours (Ahabab, 2015, p. 222).

- In 1885, the salary of Ali Rıza Efendi, who worked as a mufti in Skopje, was 342 kuruş (Tamaç, 2020, p. 89).

- According to the documentaries (temettuat registers) of Tırhala, Skopje and Drama Sanjaks dated 1845-1847, the lowest and highest civil servant salaries were 150 and 1.000 kuruş, respectively, and the average salary of 136 officers working in the mentioned 3 sanjaks was 278 kuruş (Atar, 2012, p. 406).

The numerical values collected from secondary sources provide an opportunity to evaluate the economical dimension of the narh fines. Among the mentioned values, the fact that salaries and wages are approximately twice the narh fines is a justification that can strengthen this argument. According to the data obtained from the original documents, the fact that the narh fines, which were around 100 kuruş, were worth approximately half of 220 kuruş, a fee paid to the imam and speaker of a village mosque, or 250 kuruş, the monthly salary of an accompaniment clerk, may first suggest that these fines mentioned were deterrent. Based on the fact that the salaries increased as the status increased, it became very difficult to determine the deterrence of narh fines with the salaries of a registrar, qaimaqam or governor. In order to explain this situation clearly, it may be very convincing to consider the fact that the average salaries of the qaimaqams of the Skopje Sanjak in 1874 were 1.786 kuruş. Furthermore, the fines imposed for the years 1884 and 87 were 75 kuruş. In 1885, the salary of Ali Rıza Efendi, who worked as a mufti in Skopje, is 342 kuruş. As of the mentioned years, it was observed that the narh fines were approximately ¼ of the salary of a mufti. This situation shows that

the evaluation of the fines in a single item in terms of salaries does not give a healthy result and that a superficial idea can be obtained when the salaries are analyzed individually. Because salaries are the factors that vary according to the job or status.

In addition to salaries, sheltering costs are also important. Among the mentioned costs, it was determined that the rental price was 35 kuruş and the price of a property was 1.500 kuruş. However, the available data only allows us to reach the costs. The absence of any additional data on the physical properties of the residences, the ownership or rental price of which are expressed, limits us to make comparisons. Nevertheless, the fact that the need for shelter could be met in return for 35 kuruş paid to the state in a period during which the costs such as war were multiplied and living standards became harder and harder may suggest that narah fines were extremely high. Moreover, the fact that the property cost of a house that we have no idea about its physical properties was 1.500 kuruş may be a result that can support our hypothesis.

Apart from salaries and wages and housing costs, there are different economical dimensions that allow to evaluate the size of the narah fines. One of them is the education costs. The education costs can be evaluated over the average prices of the course books that the students of Skopje Public High School would read for 7 years (1893-1900). The annual average prices of the books varied between 1,27 and 3,94 kuruş. It is a fact that education costs do not consist only of the fees for the course books. In this manner, when it is considered that the narahs tended to be approximately 100 kuruş, it can be concluded that the narah fines imposed as a sanction by the state were very high compared to the education costs. Another fee item that allows evaluation is communication and transportation. The communication fees were 1,5, 3 and 6 kuruş depending on the weight of the letters. The transportation fees ranged from 9 to 206 kuruş depending on the distance. It can be said that the transportation fees were sometimes higher than the narah fines. So, based on the transportation fees rather than communication fees, it can be concluded that the narah fines were high. Finally, production and raw material fees can also be evaluated within this scope. The average sale prices of the boza and halva makers in Skopje were 3.875 kuruş for 1870 and 5 kuruş for 1875. It is a fact that the cost of nutrition, which is one of the vital needs of people, does not consist of only boza or halva prices. So, considering that the minimum narah fine was 5 kuruş, the high costs are clearly evident. In other words, we can say that the narah fines, which were almost equal to the costs of craft, were deterrent.

Conclusion

Along with the 93 War, the Ottoman Empire suffered a great deal of material damage. The lost lands, the compulsory costs of the war, and the vital needs such as nutrition, shelter and security of the immigrants who had to settle in the Ottoman lands were some of these material damages. The Ottoman economy sometimes had difficulties because it was not strong enough to bear all these costs. One of these difficulties, and even the most important one of them in terms of the study, was to prevent the Ottoman craft from acting outside the production and sales standards, who aimed to ensure a comfortable life for the immigrants who settled in their lands. They aimed to do it in Skopje, which is known as the Bursa of the Balkans and also known for the immigration of many immigrants there after the 93 War.

Skopje, a city that was under Macedonian, Roman, Balkan, Serbian and Ottoman rule in history, was an Ottoman sanjak during the 93 War. It remained under Ottoman rule from 1392 that which it was conquered by the Ottomans, until 1912, which it was captured by the Serbs during the Balkan Wars. Skopje, one of the most important cities of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, received intense immigration after the 93 War. When the lands lost as a result of the war combined with the intense wave of migration, the living conditions in Skopje became very difficult. The state did its best to meet the vital needs of the immigrants who settled here comfortably and to keep their living standards at a certain level. It is possible to talk about many economic policies implemented by the state for this purpose, however, the most important policy implemented was the narah policy. With the narah policy, the state interfered in the prices by using its authority.

Price is the most basic element that directs all economic activities of both the individual and the state. Prices are important for individuals because individuals will be able to reach a certain living standard and live in prosperity to the extent that they can provide goods and services that are under the

control of prices. Prices are important for the state because the state is obliged to provide a certain living standard to its individuals and therefore to keep them living in prosperity. Under this obligation, it is the primary duty of the state to control prices in a way that will both protect the craft and offer the consumer a comfortable living standard. The way to do this is through the narh policy. The narh policy, which is a standard price determination process, was the basis of the Ottoman price policy. The main purpose here is to prevent the consumer from living a life below the standard of living. Those who acts in the opposite direction with this policy, that the state considered as its primary duty, were subject to certain sanctions. These sanctions may include imprisonment such as rowing fines, confinement in a fortress, the birch and banishment; fine of exile outside Istanbul until be emending.

In the study, it was investigated whether there was a change in the narh fines after the 93 War in Skopje, an Ottoman Sanjak, and the direction of this change if there was a change. Furthermore, it was aimed to determine the fines imposed to those who did not comply with the narh were deterrent or not. To that end, some economic amounts obtained from secondary sources were included. These amounts were housing prices including property or rental costs, salaries and wages, sanjak income and expenses, education expenses, production and raw material fees, and communication and transportation costs. By comparing the mentioned amounts with the narh fines, it was examined whether the fines were deterrent or not for the Skopje craft.

When the narh fines are examined in terms of house prices such as property or rental costs, the idea that fines can be a deterrent comes to the forefront. Furthermore, the repair cost or minimum living amount of a household also supports this idea. However, in order to make our judgment clearer here, we need to know the characteristics of the mentioned houses or exactly what costs are included in the expenditures expressed as repair costs. Considering the salaries and wages, which are the second economic size, we can say that fines were deterrent. The fact that the narh fines were worth approximately 100 kurus while the salary given to the imam or speaker working in the mosque was 220 kurus in the mentioned period is a result that can prove this deterrence. The point to be noted here is that salaries and wages differed from time to time depending on the status or the job. Another economic size is the education costs that we reach based on the course books. Although the mentioned costs are far behind the fines shows that they were deterrent, keeping in mind that education costs did not only consist of course books will pave the way for a better evaluation. Income and expenses are another economic size. The annual income and expense figures of İpek Sanjak, another sanjak of Kosovo State, are important. Considering the figures mentioned, respectively, the income was 11.350 kurus and the expense was 4.590 kurus. There are two important conclusions to be drawn from here. Although the first one is not related to our subject, the municipal administration did not experience any financial difficulties because the incomes were approximately 3 times the expenses. The second one is that although the annual income and expense figures of the municipality seem very small at first, these figures highlight the idea that narh fines can be deterrent. According to the documents examined, 300 kurus, which was the highest narh fine, corresponded to 2,6% of the annual income and 6,5% of the annual expense of the İpek Sanjak. Considering the proportional sizes, the idea that the fines were deterrent comes to the forefront. However, the items that make up the annual income and expense figures of a sanjak should be taken into account. Finally, an evaluation can be made specifically for production and raw material fees, communication and transportation costs. In terms of production and raw material fees, average sale prices of boza makers and halva makers were 3.875 kurus for the year 1870 and 5 kurus for the year 1875. The fact that the minimum narh fine was 5 kurus in the mentioned period is a justification that can reveal the high costs and thus the deterrence of fines. Moreover, the cost of nutrition did not only consist of the prices of boza makers and halva makers. Considering the communication and transportation costs, communication fees varied depending on the weight of the letters and transportation fees varied depending on the distance. The minimum narh fine was the same as the communication fees, and the transportation fee for the longest distance was twice the average narh fine. It can be stated that the communication and transportation costs support the argument that the narh fines were deterrent.

When each of the economic sizes that we collected to compare with narh fines were evaluated on a specific scale, a common opinion on the deterrence of narh fines occurred. Although this common opinion enables us to make an evaluation from a non-detailed point of view, the results obtained

indicated that the fines were deterrent as expected. However, no statement supporting this situation was found in the original documents and secondary sources. To put it more explicitly, we can suggest that narh fines could be numerically deterrent when compared with the cost items examined within the scope of the study. However, this situation did not prevent the craft from acting against the narh policy implemented by the authorities and supported by sanctions.

This study, in which we have determined through the sources examined that narh fines were numerically deterrent, needs more detailed evaluations to be conveyed to the reader. Although the sources numerically prove that the fines could be deterrent, this deterrence could not be clearly observed in practice. An important conclusion that can be drawn from this is that the sanctions of the state on the craft within the scope of the narh policy were not effective. In other words, the fact that the cash fines imposed by the authorities were close to the costs incurred by the craft or the public was not at a level that would prevent the craft from acting against the narh.

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Araştırma ve Yayın Etiği Beyanı

Araştırmacı verilerin toplanmasında, analizinde ve raporlaştırılmasında her türlü etik ilke ve kurala özen gösterdiğini beyan eder.

Yazarların Makaleye Katkı Oranları

Makale tek yazarlı olarak hazırlamıştır.

Çıkar Beyanı

Makalenin hazırlanmasında herhangi bir çıkar çatışması bulunmamaktadır.