

by a nakib. On the other hand, each lonca was led by the *kethüda* or *kâhya* (steward or warden of a trade guild) and was administered by a *yiğit-başı*.²⁴ The differences between the Fütüvvets and the loncas were not merely formal or administrative, however. In essence and function, the Fütüvvets were similar to the tarikats or religious orders; hence their leaders, the şeyhs, were primarily religious functionaries who, in turn, were responsible to their supreme authority, the sheikh of sheikhs. In contrast, the loncas were part of the governmental apparatus, and the leaders of the individual trade guilds, namely, the *kethüdas* were, through their chief, the *kethüda-bası*, responsible to the *kadı*s (or judges), who were judicial functionaries of the state.

As noted, Turkish historical research has failed to draw the distinction between the Fütüvvet and lonca systems as organized under the Ottomans. Osman Nuri, for example, has made some unfounded suppositions on this matter²⁵ and has not even attempted to ascertain which terms used in historical sources refer to the Fütüvvet and which to the loncas.²⁶ A. Gölpınarlı, whose work was published subsequent to that of Osman Nuri, has simply comingled the data concerning the Fütüvvet and the loncas as though they were one and the same. He has also claimed that individuals known as *çırak* (apprentice), *usta* (master craftsman), nakib, nakib al-nukaba, *kethüda* or *kâhya*, *çavuş* (sergeant or guard), şeyh, şeyh al-maşayih or *duaci* (an official of the mosque especially to recite prayers), and *halife* (assistant to the şeyh) "were at the same time members as well as leaders in the hierarchy of the Fütüvvet."²⁷

It should be pointed out, however, that long before Nuri and Gölpınarlı and as early as the eighteenth century the Swedish diplomat and historian Mouradgea d'Ohsson, who was of Armenian descent, had clearly understood the nature of the loncas. Well versed in Ottoman matters, he has supplied on the basis of official Ottoman documents, the following accurate information about them:

Every craft, every trade, is subject to distinct laws, and those who are practitioners of these specialized crafts constitute different and distinct guilds called *esnafs*. The supervision of the *esnafs* rests with officials appointed by the state, whose responsibility is to insure the application of law and order among the craftsmen and the execution of decisions concerning them. Each one of these functionaries, known as *kâhya*, has a deputy whom they call *yiğit-başı*, and they all are under the supervision of the *kadı* of Stambul.²⁸

It is evident from this account that administratively the lonca system differed considerably from the Fütüvvet. And this raises an important question: Were there two separate and distinct artisanal organizations? In my view, although the Fütüvvet and lonca trade guilds had their distinct conceptual and administrative systems, they